



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

VOL. 3, NO. 1, March, 2023

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

March, 2023

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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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NOTE FROM THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

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.

This invaluable work has become a continuous success because of the support and contribution of the Editors, the members of the Department and the management of the National Open University. Special appreciation goes to the harem of our Professors in the Editorial Board who despite their busy schedules have not relented in providing

mentorship opportunity for every member of the Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution, NOUN.

I must of necessity appreciate all members of my team who have worked tirelessly to ensure the sustenance of this vision.

On a final note, I do appreciate the Almighty God who has been the source of my inspiration and from whom I draw the energy which mobilizes me for performance.



Dr. Samuel Opeyemi Iroye
Editor-in-Chief/ HOD, Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution

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

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The **NOUN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PEACE STUDIES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION [NIJPCR]** is a peer-reviewed journal publication of the **Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution**, Faculty of Social Sciences, National Open University of Nigeria, Abuja, which publishes twice a year but may also feature special editions as may be deemed fit at any material time. The Editorial Board of the journal welcomes well-researched original papers, for publication in the Journal which is released in the Months of March and August every year.

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.
2. Reference Style: All paper submissions must adhere to the current and recent edition of APA Style of Citation.
3. Font style and size: All submissions should use the Times New Roman fonts (12 font size) including the References. The manuscript should be formatted using 1.5 line spacing.
4. Abstract: Manuscripts must contain an abstract of not more than 250 words, which explains the content of the paper. The abstract must be expressed in clear words in the following format: the background of the research; description of the research problem; explanation of the research methods adopted; explanation of the findings, conclusion and recommendations.
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- by-section) process of resolving the problem. If the paper utilizes non-doctrinal methods, these should be clearly explained in the introduction.
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**ANALYSES OF ROAD ACCIDENTS MANAGEMENT ACTIVITIES OF THE
FEDERAL ROAD SAFETY COMMISSION (FRSC) IN KOGI STATE, NIGERIA
(2013-2022)**

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ABSTRACT

Road traffic accidents are no doubt a major challenge bedevilling travellers in Nigeria. This paper examines the role of the Federal Roads Safety Corps (FRSC) in the management of accidents on federal roads in Kogi state in a bid to safeguard lives of road users. The paper used the survey method of data collection, semi-structured questionnaire and unstructured in-depth interview in addition to secondary sources of data. Findings from the study showed that the efforts of FRSC in Kogi State within the period under study have not been able to manage accidents on federal roads despite efforts at educating road transport users. Thus, the paper concluded that Governments, Organizations and individuals need to take responsibility to ensuring safety on our roads. The paper recommends that members of the FRSC on federal high ways in Kogi state should be more proactive in the discharge of their duties by educating road users from time to time, at least once in every month. Also, traffic offenders and reckless drivers should be arrested and treated as saboteurs so that other road users can learn. Most importantly, the federal government should as a matter of urgency fix all the poorly constructed roads and the bad ones mended to avoid continuous untimely loss of lives on the road.

Keywords: Federal Roads Safety Corps, High ways, Transportation, Carnage and Accident

Introduction

Transportation remains a major ingredient in economic development globally. It forms the basis for almost all socio-economic activities especially within and between countries of the world. In many developing nations, lack of transport facilities hinders economic development. A good transport system however supports economic growth and development. Transport infrastructures in Nigeria has grown over the years and has revolutionized the process of spatial interaction and the location of human activities with respect to commerce, housing, recreation, education, industrial activities among others.

Road traffic accident however has been identified as a key negative aftermath associated with land transportation in spite of the numerous pivotal roles it plays in the effective functioning of modern societies (Ogunsanya, 2012 and Gbadamosi, 2015). Road traffic accident is therefore considered an issue of great concern as it has resulted in numerous deaths all over the world. It has been noted that accidents in developing countries cost almost one percent of these countries annual gross national product utilizing scarce financial resources they can ill-afford to lose (Akpoghomeh, 2018).

Nigeria, being the most populous country in Africa, with a total land area of 910,771 square kilometres and an estimated population of about 170 million and a high level of vehicular population estimated at over 7.6 million, the country has suffered severe loss of manpower and economy to fatal road accidents. Nigeria has a total road length of about 194,000 kilometres (comprising 34,120 km federal, 30,500 km, state, and 129,580 km of local roads (Sumaila, 2013). The population densities vary from urban to rural areas at about 51.7% and 48.3% respectively and this translates to a population- road ratio of 860 persons per square kilometres indicating high traffic pressure on the available road network. This of course is responsible for the high road traffic accidents in Nigeria (FRSC, 2022).

Nigeria is considered the second highest in the rate of road accidents among the 193 countries of the world (Aghbonkhese, Akanbi, and Mondigha, 2013). Oladepo & Brieger (2016) were of the opinion that $\frac{3}{4}$ of all accidents on Nigeria's roads are fatal. They

commented further that apart from Boko-Haram crisis, road accidents are by far the main causes of death in Nigeria. The spate of fatal road accidents in the country compelled stakeholders on road safety management including the United Nations (UN) Assembly to seek for alternative means of curbing fatalities on the road. Against this backdrop, in February 1988, the federal government of Nigeria established the Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC) through decree 45 of the 1988 as amended by decree 35 of 1992 which is referred to in the status book as the FRSC ACT cap 141 laws of the federation of Nigeria (FRN, 1999 Constitution) to reduce road mishaps.

FRSC Establishment Act 2007, section 10(3c) enshrines Public Enlightenment as part of FRSC core values for entrenching safer road culture in Nigeria. The basic applications of safety practices by an average road user in order to avoid a road traffic crash are achievable through Public Enlightenment campaigns (Samuel, 2014). The effective components of injury prevention are: Education for at-risk groups, Enforcement of safety regulations and Engineering (Zavareh, 2019).

The World Health Organization (WHO) underscored the likelihood of road traffic deaths becoming the 5th leading cause of death by 2030 unless a drastic action is taken. Although, road accident cannot be eradicated in as much as movement take place. However, its impact on the loss of life and property can be reduced to the barest minimum. To this end, government at various levels in Nigeria has come to terms with the establishment of specific strategies at managing traffic accident fatalities (Gbadamosi, 2015). Against this backdrop, road accidents in Kogi state are at the center of this research thesis since it is becoming a recurrent decimal especially between 2003 and 2020.

Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC).

The Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC) is a government agency with statutory responsibilities for road safety administration. Prior to the establishment of the Corps in 1988 by the former head of state, General Ibrahim Babangida, there was no concrete and sustainable policy action to address the carnage on Nigeria's road. The Shell petroleum tried and failed in 1960-65.

Similarly, the Nigerian Army attempted the first training of its men on road safety campaign in 1972 (Osarumense, 2013). The continuous trend in road traffic accidents in Nigeria made the federal government under the Babangida's administration to establish a commission in 1994 which was known as the Nigerian Road Safety Commission (NRSC). The impact of this body was however not sustained (Osarumense, 2013). In February, 1988, the federal government established the present (FRSC) through decree 35 of 1992 which is referred to in the status book as the FRSC act cap 141 laws of the federal constitution (Nigerian Constitution, 1999). The function of the FRSC includes:

1. Making the highway safer for motorists and other road users.
2. Recommending work and devices designed to eliminate or minimize accidents on the highway and advising the government on what to do about road mishaps in Nigeria.
3. Educating motorists and members of the public on the importance of discipline on the road.
4. Designing and production of drivers' license and plate numbers to be used by various road users.
5. Giving prompt attention and care to victim of road accident, conduct researches into the causes of the accident and method of preventing them and putting into use such findings.
6. Determining the speed limit of road users.
7. Providing road side and mobile clinics for the treatment of accident victims free of charge.

In exercising these functions, the commission shall have the power to arrest and prosecute persons reasonably suspected of having committed any traffic offences. The Federal Road Safety Commission of Nigeria is a body that aimed at encouraging good driving habits and help reduce and limit the impact of road traffic accidents. This can be realized through:

- i. Providing information on how road safety issues can be achieved.
- ii. Publicizing important governmental and community initiative to help reduce traffic accidents and make our roads safer.

iii. Regulate and coordinate all road traffic safety management activities through robust data management activities.

Theoretical Review of Literature

The theory adopted in this paper is the Safe System Approach and the Risk theory. The Safe System approach was conceptualized with the introduction of the Dutch Sustainable Safety Approach (Koornstra, Mathijssen, Mulder and Roszbach (2012). This thinking laid the foundation for the recommendations developed by WHO (World Health Organization, 2019) and the United Nations (United Nations, 2021) and was incorporated into the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2022) report ‘Towards Zero fatality’ (OECD, 2022) and the World Bank Country Guidelines for the Conduct of Road Safety Management Capacity Reviews (Bliss and Breen, 2022).

The World Bank Guidelines was developed specifically to promote the Safety System Approach and introduced road safety capacity reviews as a first step to redress the growing road safety problems. The underlying principle of the Safety System Approach is that the entire transport system is designed around the limitations of the road users (Koornstra, Mathijssen, Mulder and Roszbach (2012); OECD (2022); Tingvall and Haworth (2019); Wegman and Aarts (2016).

It maintained that safety measures on the road must be designed to accommodate and compensate for human error. In other words, a safe system accepts human failures and mitigates for these accordingly. Accordingly, a Safe-road System has the following characteristics (OECD, 2022).

1. Road users that make mistakes, irrespective of efforts designed to prevent incidents.
2. Designers and operators of the road transport system that accept and embrace a shared responsibility for the safety of the system.
3. Users of the road transport system that accept the responsibility to use the system as it is intended to be used, adhering to rules and regulations.

4. Safety management decisions that are aligned with other transport and related policy goals and decisions (i.e. road safety management does not occur in a vacuum and takes into account the broader transport related economic, human and environmental goals).
5. Road safety interventions that aim at meeting long term goals.

Types of Road Accidents

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2022), four common types of road accidents have been identified:

- a) Lane departure crashes: This occur when a driver leaves his or her lane to collide with another vehicle or a road side object. It also includes head on collisions and run-off road collisions.
- b) Accidents at junctions that include; rear end collision and angle/side impacts.
- c) Accidents involving the pedestrians and motorcyclists.
- d) Collision with animals.

Causes of Road Accidents

The principal cause of road accidents in Nigeria is the poor state of roads, particularly, poorly constructed and very rarely managed roads. The roads do not follow international standards causing quick degradation and deterioration. A road like any structure deteriorates due to accumulated damage from vehicles and environment forces like oxidation, thermal cracking, and potholes. It is very sad to know that potholes are still on our busiest motor-ways and are left unattended for so long that it ends up claiming so many lives. Most drivers' often bumps into these potholes, causing their cars to somersault, while others run into other vehicles on the road, while trying to avoid the potholes, leading to untimely death. An average life on the road in Nigeria is a chaos; most people do not obey, know or follow any traffic rules. Driving in Nigeria is a game of who is the smartest and these have led to unnecessary accidents and deaths (Ogunsanya and Gbadamosi, 2015).

Speed limits are often neglected in Nigeria despite our bad roads, these makes it a lot difficult for drivers to control the cars in a reasonable manner when things go wrong leading

to many accidents. In addition, many people get their driver's license from the comfort of their homes without undergoing any test or learn how to drive formally, that way we have so many unlearned drivers on our roads increasing the level of road accidents in Nigeria.

Finally, loads in our vehicles are not weighted, a 75 tons trailer should not be made to do 100 tons, it will help the driver to control the large vehicles when things go wrong and will save our roads from constant damage. A vehicle that is designed to accommodate 4 passengers, are often overstretched to carry as much as 9 passengers.

Record of Accidents along Lokoja-Okene Roads (2019-2020).

Total road traffic accident	2019	2020	% Increase
Number killed	359	480	25.21%
Number injured	392	1847	5.31%
Total casualties	1564	2261	13.49%
Total vehicles involved	494	683	27.67%

Source: Federal Road Safety Commission Lokoja/Okene: Policy Research and Statistics Department, 2022

From the table above, the rate of accidents on federal roads between Lokoja and Okene in 2019 and 2020 increased by 27.7% with 13.49% casualties. This is an indication that accident rates on federal roads in Kogi state in the period under discussion is on the increase.

Record of Accidents along Ankpa-Anyigba-Ajaokuta Roads (2019-2021).

Total road traffic accident	2019	2020	2021	% Increase
Number killed	1034	870	1,459	30.1%
Number injured	780	724	900	8.0%
Total casualties	2154	3261	3789	23%
Total vehicles involved	679	800	1580	47%

Source: Federal Road Safety Commission Ankpa-Anyigba-Ajaokuta Roads: Policy Research and Statistics Department, 2022.

From the table above, the rate of accidents on federal roads between Ankpa-Anyigba-Ajaokuta in 2019-2021 increased by 30.1%, with 23% casualties. This is an indication that accident rates on these federal roads in Kogi state within the period under discussion is on the increase.

Record of Accidents along Okene-Kabba-IjumuIsanlu-Egbe Roads (2019-2021).

Total road traffic accident	2019	2020	2021	% Increase
Number killed	900	760	1,159	28%
Number injured	700	674	800	12. %
Total casualties	1,754	1261	2789	20%
Total vehicles involved	779	400	980	37%

Source: Federal Road Safety Commission Okene-Kabba-IjumuIsanlu-Egbe: Policy Research and Statistics Department, 2022.

From the table overleaf, the rate of accidents on federal roads between Okene-Kabba-Ijumu-Isanlu-Egbein 2019-2021 increased by 28%, with 20% casualties. This is an indication that accident rates on these federal roads in Kogi state within the period under discussion is on the increase.

Effects of Road Accident

Road accidents have a worrisome effect on our society and global economy; it claims the largest toll of human and tends to be the most serious problem all over the world (Kual, Sinha, Pathak, Singh, Koppor, Sharma, Singh & Sinh, 2015). Mohammed (2014) listed some of these effects of road accidents to include the followings;

- i. The victims are injured, maimed, paralyzed or dead. Sever injury may attract a huge amount of money on medical bills. While total deformity may lead to loss of one's job/income.
- ii. The family of the victims, if married with kids may be left behind in hardship to struggle on their own without their father. Reverse is also the case if the husband also becomes a widower.
- iii. The nation's economy is affected negatively when it involved businessmen and women who are traders/manufactures of finished goods or retailers of goods and services; it brings about the likelihood of inflation and less food stuff in the market as a result of mourning of their lost ones. Industries may also be faced with less input and low productivity.

- iv. When vehicle involved in accidents are damaged, the owner incurs unexpected expenditure for repairs. Those ones that have insurance, causes financial loss to their owners.

Method of Data presentation and Analysis

The quantitative data generated from questionnaires were coded and entry was carried out using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 22). From this, analysis was carried out describing the trends and patterns of the variables in percentages. Frequencies were also presented in tables to show major attributes. Unlike the quantitative data, the transcription of the qualitative data was used to buttress the analysis in the table through a systematic qualitative presentation. This was done descriptively. Thereafter, summary of important information was reported to highlight individual and collective views.

Table 1: Educational Level

Variables	Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Education level	Primary Education	30	15.0
	Secondary Education	53	26.5
	Tertiary Education	74	37.0
	Quranic Education	43	21.5
	Total	200	100

Source: Field survey, 2022

Findings from table 1 revealed that 30 respondents representing 15% had primary education, 53 respondents representing 26% had secondary education, 74 respondents representing 37% had tertiary education, and 43 respondents representing 21.5% had Quranic education. Likewise, those with tertiary education constitute majority 37% followed by those with secondary education 26% and Quranic education 21% and primary education 15%.

Table 2: Distributions of Respondents on Road Management

Variables	Category	Frequency N = 200	Percentage 100
The FRSC Personnel in Kogi state have been able to manage accidents on federal roads.	Strongly Agree	3	1.5
	Agree	6	3
	Undecided	0	0
	Disagree	144	57
	Strongly Disagree	77	38.5

Source: Field survey, 2022

Table 2 above presents findings on road management by FRSC. Findings revealed that majority (144) respondents representing 57% disagree that FRSC has been efficient and effective in managing road accidents in Kogi state. 77 respondents representing 38.5% strongly disagree. A few numbers of respondents (1.5%) agree while 3% also strongly agree that the FRSC in Kogi state have been able to manage accidents on federal roads within the period under review.

Table 3: Accidents on Road

Variables	Category	Frequency N = 200	Percentage 100
Accidents on Federal roads in Kogi state occur frequently	Strongly Agree	73	36.5
	Agree	69	34.5
	Undecided	6	3
	Disagree	40	20
	Strongly Disagree	12	6

Source: Field survey, 2022

Table 3 overleaf shows that majority, 73 respondents representing (36.5%) strongly agree that accidents on federal roads in Kogi state occur frequently, 69 respondents representing 34.5% agree, 6 respondents 3% were undecided, and 40 respondents (20%) disagree.

Table 4: FRSC Personnel on Road Safety Education

Variables	Category	Frequency N = 200	Percentage 100
The FRSC Personnel have not been educating road users on road signs on the high ways in Kogi state	Strongly Agree	36	18
	Agree	14	7
	Undecided	0	0
	Disagree	72	36
	Strongly Disagree	78	39

Source: Field survey, 2022

Table 4 above shows that majority, 78 respondents representing (39%) strongly disagree that the FRSC personnel have not been educating roads users on roads signs on high ways in Kogi State. 72 respondents representing 36% equally disagree, 36 respondents representing 18% strongly agree and 14 respondents representing 7% agree. This implies that FRSC Personnel have been educating road users in Kogi State.

Table 5: FRSC Personnel and training of road users

Variables	Category	Frequency N = 200	Percentage 100
FRSC Personnel have not been training road users on safety practices in Kogi State.	Strongly Agree	8	4
	Agree	20	10
	Undecided	0	0
	Disagree	90	45
	Strongly Disagree	82	41

Source: Field survey, 2022

Table 5 above reveals that majority 90 of the respondents (45%) disagree that FRSC has not been training road users, 82 respondents representing (41%) strongly agreed that FRSC have been proactive in training road users on safety practices in Kogi State. 20 respondents representing 10% agree while 8 respondents representing 4% strongly agree. This shows that FRSC have been training road users on safety measures.

Table 6: FRSC punishment of offenders

Variables	Category	Frequency N = 200	Percentage 100
Road traffic offenders have not been severely punished by the FRSC in Kogi state.	Strongly Agree	46	23
	Agree	50	25
	Undecided	5	2
	Disagree	38	19
	Strongly Disagree	61	31

Source: Field survey, 2022

Table 6 above shows that cumulative response of 96 respondents representing 48% agree and strongly agree that FRSC do not punish defaulters, while cumulative respondents 52% disagree strongly that FRSC do not punish offenders. By this data, it is clear that there is no commensurate punishment of road traffic offenders.

Causes of Road Traffic Accidents in Kogi state

Causes	Frequency	Percentage %
Human Causes	100	50
Road Causes	55	27.5
Vehicle Causes	33	16.7
Environmental Causes	12	5.8
Total	200	100

Source: Field Survey, 2022

The above table shows a further clarification about the attitudinal factors that causes road accidents on federal roads in Kogi State. Most respondents (50%) attested to human factors like dangerous driving, drunkenness, dangerous overtaking, over speeding, making and receiving phone calls, dosing off or sleeping while driving, and consumption of narcotic substances among others. Road worthiness accounts for 27.9% while mechanical conditions such as engine failure, tyre burst, break failure and faulty wheel steering account for (16.7%). This means that accidents occur in spite of training offered by members of the FRSC to road users.

Human factors that contribute to road accidents on federal roads in Kogi state.

Serial Number	Opinion	Frequency	Percentage %
1	Fatigue	25	12
2	Drunkenness	10	5
3	Reckless/dangerous driving and over speeding	30	15
4	Dangerous/wrongful overtaking	22	11
5	Greediness and overloading	7	4
6	Lack of basic driving experience	42	21
7	Dose off	3	1
8	Non-adherent to traffic rules	20	10
9	Wrongful crossing of road	3	2
10	Wrongful parking	6	3
11	Making and receiving phone calls	12	6
12	Lack of concentration	20	10
	Total	200	100

Source: Field Survey, 2022

Discussions

Findings of this paper show that the FRSC in Kogi State within the period under study has not been able to manage the federal roads on its face value. Also, it was revealed that the causes of road accidents on federal roads in Kogi State were not limited to natural factors but also road user's attitude. It has also been revealed that majority of the motorists in Kogi State were reckless in driving and engages in dangerous driving and therefore not complying with road safety rules as enunciated by the FRSC. This paper has also proven that many road users don't follow road signs while driving. Furthermore, the study was able to determine through the Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC) Lokoja that the number of casualties through road

traffic accidents within the period under study was increasingly high, and that these numbers vary with seasons, but normally reaches its peak in December/January.

Also, too that most accidents on the federal roads occur at night and that majority of the victims were strangers. It was further revealed that most vehicles that engaged or involved in the accidents are not road worthy at the time of the accident. The findings equally revealed that FRSC do not effectively sanction defaulters who disobey rules and regulations commensurate to the road traffic offence. But most importantly, this paper has revealed that there is poor management of road accident victims by Personnel of FRSC.

Furthermore, it was discovered that January ranked high second after December in the record of road traffic accidents. The reason is that people are returning back to their places of work after the Christmas and New Year holidays. Hence, the high volume of road traffic and resultant accidents due to a number of reasons such as incompetence among drivers in addition to other factors like pothole, sharp bend mechanical faults among others. Similarly, raining months like June-July, as well as September tend to have a higher rate of accidents.

Conclusion

It is important to note that safety on our roads is needed and very paramount in response to the complexity and the interrelatedness of transportation system. Circumstantial forces ranging from chronic and persistent poverty to ethnic violence, human trafficking, climate change, health pandemics, international terrorism, kid-napping, Boko-Haram, Banditry and sudden economic and financial downturns are enough threats to human life. Such threats tend to acquire transnational dimensions and move beyond traditional notions of security and safety on the roads. Governments, Organizations and individuals need to take responsibility in this regard.

Suffice it to state that, threats to human lives on our roads cannot be tackled through conventional mechanisms alone. Instead, they require a new consensus that acknowledges the linkages and the interdependence between development agencies, human rights activists and national road safety initiatives.

While this paper has also proven that many road users don't observe road signs when driving, those charged with the responsibility of managing our roads should be seen to be doing so indeed. Furthermore, the paper was able to determine through the Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC) Lokoja that the numbers of casualties that are often registered within a particular period are high, and that these numbers vary with seasons, but normally reaches its peak in December/January. Accordingly, more Personnel should be deployed during these seasons.

Recommendations

In view of the aforementioned, it is hereby recommended that;

1. The members of the FRSC on federal high ways in Kogi State should wake up to their statutory mandate and be more proactive in the discharge of their duties by educating road users from time to time.
2. Also, traffic offenders and reckless drivers should be arrested and treated as saboteurs so that other road users can learn.
3. More Nigerians should be employed in this sector especially as research revealed shortage in the personnel of the FRSC.
4. The Federal Road Maintenance Agency (FERMA) should as a matter of urgency fix all the poorly constructed roads and the bad ones mended to avoid continuous carnage on our roads.

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REGIONAL POLICING AND CRIME PREVENTION IN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF AMOTEKUN

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ABSTRACT

Since there is a dearth of research on this topic, especially in emerging economies like Nigeria's, this study empirically evaluated the impact of regional policing on crime reduction by examining the Amotekun regional police in the South West. Thus, the study set out to accomplish three goals: (1) investigate the impact of officer recruitment into Amotekun on crime reduction in South West, Nigeria; (2) assess the results of officer training and development in Amotekun; and (3) evaluate the results of keeping Amotekun as a regional police force in the region. Tribal members from Akure, Okitipupa, and Ikare were selected to participate in the study. Purposeful sampling was used to choose research participants to whom questionnaires were sent. Partial least square structural equation modelling was used using Smart-PLS2 to analyse the study's data. The empirical analysis of the study indicated that keeping Amotekun as the regional police force in South West Nigeria, as well as recruiting new officers to work there, had a substantial impact on crime decrease. Therefore, the study suggests that Amotekun retains Amotekun as regional police in the South West region to continuously combat crime in the region, recruits top talents into the force, and provides ongoing training and development for the officers, all of which would contribute to a sustained reduction in crime in the region.

Keywords: Amotekun, Community Policing, Crime, Akure

Introduction

Alemika and Chukwuma has opined that public has a low impression of police because of their brutality, extortion, and ineptitude (2020). This is due to rampant corruption among law

enforcement officials, as well as their poor track records in upholding the rule of law, the violation of human rights, a lack of accountability, rude conduct, and other related issues. The public's loss of faith and confidence in the police and the state in the face of an unceasing rise in violent crimes in the society has led to the emergence and formation of informal policing practises, often known as vigilantism or neighbourhood watch (Abrahansen and Williams, 2015). As minimal police presence and high crime rates continue to plague low-income neighbourhoods, there has been a rise in interest in the phenomenon of "informal policing" (Adewale, 2017). Despite this progress, it remains challenging for the government to incorporate the informal police sector into Nigeria's formal policing system.

As a result, vigilantism/neighbourhood watch may serve as a complement to the Nigerian police force. Many nations, including the United States, Germany, and India, have adopted the neighbourhood watch model of community policing because of its proven effectiveness and widespread popularity. It was in the United States that decentralised police systems gave rise to the theory and practise now known as "neighbourhood watch," which is often regarded as the single most effective invention in modern policing (Zhoe, 2020).

Regional policing is a crime prevention strategy that utilises citizen participation in the protection of their communities in order to supplement law enforcement's efforts in crime control through the dissemination of relevant data (Eke, 2019). In regional policing, residents are constantly asked to pitch in, whether it's through formal or informal volunteer programmes, the creation of neighbourhood support networks, or the augmentation of police patrol operations.

Consequently, the Amotekun regional police force was established on this basis. On January 9, 2020, the governors of the six Nigerian states in the country's southwestern region—Lagos, Oyo, Ogun, Ondo, Osun, and Ekiti — formed Operation Amotekun (Leopard). Amotekun was formed to combat crimes in the South West region of Nigeria. In fact, criminal actions associated with cults have caused enormous destruction in the South West, resulting in the loss of life and limb as well as the spread of fear and insecurity (Ola,

2021). Based in all six of South Western Nigeria's states, the Western Nigeria Security Network (WNSN), also known as Operation Amotekun (Leopard or Cheetah), is tasked with reducing security threats in the area. First regional security organisation in Nigeria to be started by a geopolitical zone, it was established on January 9, 2020, in Ibadan, Oyo State (Bisi, 2020). To what degree, though, have the police helped the people of South West, Nigeria lessens their anxiety and fight crime in the face of rising concerns about the destabilising impact of rampant armed robbery and other criminalities in the area?

Therefore, the study's primary goal is to investigate the contribution of regional policing to crime reduction in the South Western area of Nigeria by focusing on Amotekun. The particular goals of the research are to analyse the impact of keeping Amotekun as a regional police force on crime reduction in South West Nigeria, as well as to investigate the results of the force's recruiting, training, and development efforts in that regard.

Thus, the following hypotheses were formulated for testing by the study:

- i. Recruitment of officers into Amotekun has no significant effect on crime reduction in South West, Nigeria.
- ii. Training and development of officers in Amotekun has no significant effect on crime reduction in South West, Nigeria.
- iii. Retention of Amotekun as regional police has no significant effect on crime reduction in South West, Nigeria.

Literature Review

Regional policing

Community policing, as defined by John (2020), is a collaborative effort between law enforcement and residents to address safety issues. If the police are no longer the sole guardians of law and order, the argument goes, then the people of a given area must work together to make it a better place to live. For the ideology of community policing to be put into practise, police attention must be directed at problems of criminality and social unrest. This encompasses not just the more typical parts of law enforcement, but also preventative

measures, creative problem-solving, active community participation, and cooperative ventures (U.S Department of Justice, 2018). In order to keep neighbourhood secure, the plan advocates for police and residents to work together in crime prevention efforts.

Traditional security network among the Yorubas

According to Ajayi and Crowder (2017), warfare was not a common occupation in Yorubaland until the nineteenth century. In Yorubaland, potential recruits were sought for through schools and neighbourhoods. The ancient Oyo created a group of elite soldiers called the Eso, and they numbered around seventy. Among the Eso, there was a clear distinction between adults and children. The Aare Ona-Kakanfo led the army as its commander. Typically, the valiant soldier was the one who received this honour. Each soldier was responsible for providing his or her own arsenal as well as logistical backing, all of which were created locally. The Yoruba conflicts of the nineteenth century created an environment where alliances could form and alter with relative ease. To combat Ibadan, the Egba joined forces with the Ijaye. To fight back against Ibadan's imperialism, the Ekiti confederacy created a massive coalition. Cultural organs of security such as the worship of warriors, youth and age grade groupings, combined community action, the cult of masquerades, etc. existed in various contexts. Aremu (2015) claims that Yoruba society would not have functioned without the Egungun cult. When the Egungun masquerade arrives, it has the power to banish any evil that may be lingering in the surrounding areas.

Amotekun

The Yoruba phrase amotekun literally translates to "one who resembles a leopard." This is why the correct meaning of Amotekun is cheetah, while the word is sometimes misread as leopard. Six governors from the states that make up Nigeria's South West (Lagos, Oyo, Ogun, Ondo, Osun, and Ekiti) launched Operation Amotekun (Leopard) on January 9, 2020. At a regional security meeting in Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria in June 2019 via Development Agenda for Western Nigeria, the governors of all six states met and unanimously decided to form the Amotekun security agency (DAWN). On January 9, 2020, Amotekun was established as the

first regional security outfit created by the South West geo-political zone in Nigeria by the governors of Ekiti, Ondo, Oyo, Ogun, Osun, and Lagos states. Amotekun's security force has a "zero tolerance" policy against criminal activity. Putting an end to instability in Nigeria's South West is the driving force behind the formation of these security agencies. The security group was first founded to protect the area in light of the increasing violence, kidnappings, banditry, and damage of farmlands across the country.

Theoretical Framework

Broken Windows Theory (BWT)

In an essay published in the March 1982 issue of "The Atlantic Monthly," James Q. Wilson and George Kelling introduced the world to the concept of "broken windows theory" (BWT) (Inciardi, 2017). According to this hypothesis, there exists an inextricable link between public disruption and genuine criminal activity (Giddens, 2014). According to Haralambos and Holborn (2014), if people of a neighbourhood ignore minor offences like prostitution, intoxication, pick-pocketing, etc., it sends a message to would-be criminals that neither police nor local citizens are devoted to the preservation of the community. More vandalism, chaos, and abandoned cars will follow the shattered windows (the minor crime will graduate to bigger crimes like kidnapping, assassination, rape, burglary, fraud). Social chaos and deterioration will set in, law-abiding residents will flee out of fear, and undesirables like drug dealers, the homeless, and parolees will move in (Giddens, 2014).

For this study, the Broken Windows theory will serve as the theoretical foundation for explaining the notion of community policing in Nigeria (BWT). According to the BWT, crimes of public disorder, such as vandalism and riotous behaviour, can cause a downward spiral of neighbourhood deterioration and fear of crime, which in turn leads to even more deterioration and more serious crimes if not addressed by the community (i.e, minor offences like prostitution, drunkenness, pick-pocketing etc. can degenerate to bigger crimes like kidnapping, assassination, rape, burglary, fraud when over looked by community and police or other law enforcement agencies). That's because petty crimes like graffiti and smashed glass

give the neighbourhood a bad reputation and make it seem like the police and people have lost control.

Empirical Review

Because of the high frequency and fear of crime in Nigeria, many groups and people have taken many methods to lessen their feeling of vulnerability and limit danger of victimisation, as reported by a study performed in August 2004 in Lagos city by Alemika and Chukwuma (2015). The Police Community Relations Committee was one of the new initiatives established (PCRC). The purpose of mandating PCRCs in police precincts was to foster public-police collaboration (community policing) in the war against crime. According to the results, 34% of people said there was a PCRC in their region, and 66% said they were familiar with the function of PCRCs (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2015).

Less than half of Nigerians (48%) believed that the police are doing everything they can to aid people and to be of good service to the people, according to a poll on criminal victimisation, safety, and policing in Nigeria done by Alemika and Chukwuma (2017). Almost a third (29.9%) of respondents disputed that the police are not doing anything to give decent services to the public, and slightly more than a fifth (22.1%) were agnostic. According to Alemika and Chukwuma, cultures in which police serve and engage with people in contexts outside of booking them for the infringement of law have higher levels of respect, cooperation, and trust in the police. Where law enforcement encounters the people most frequently, there is often a high level of animosity against the police. A majority of respondents in other states, including Jigawa, Zamfara, Taraba, Benue, Bauchi, and Adamawa, disagreed, saying that the police actively work to be extremely helpful and of good service to the population (Alemika and Chukwuma, 2017).

Methodology

A cross-sectional design was used for this investigation. Time restrictions meant that a longitudinal study couldn't be done for this topic. The state of Ondo will serve as the study's field site. Location: Southwest Nigeria. On February 3, 1976, it was formed from what had

been Western State. Participants were drawn from three different areas in the state of Ondo. Akure, Okitipupa, and Ikare are the three communities being examined. Hundreds of thousands of people make up the study's population. It has been suggested by researchers that any population numbering in the hundreds of thousands should be seen as infinite (Sa'id and Madugu, 2015) since it is both finite and unfathomable.

Since the population of the study is infinite in nature, according to Rose, Spinks, and Canhoto (2015), the formula for determining the sample size of an infinite population is:

$$n_r = \frac{4pq}{d^2}$$

Where:

n_r = required sample size, p = proportion of the population having the characteristic, $q = 1 - p$ and d = degree of precision (i.e. margin of error acceptable).

p was set at 0.5 as advised by Rose *et al.*, (2015), $q = 1 - q = 1 - 0.5 = 0.5$, $d = 0.05$, (d was set at 5%, as the acceptable margin of error for this study). Substituting these figures into the formula we have:

$$n_r = \frac{4 \times .5 \times .5}{.05^2} = \frac{1}{.0025} = 250$$

Thus, a total of 250 served as the respondents of the study. Respondents were given questionnaires through the purposive sampling method. To get the necessary data from participants, researchers used copies of questionnaires. Questionnaires used to measure variables in the study were adapted from items used by other researchers. It is a measure of scale item internal consistency, much like Cronbach's alpha. Cronbach's Alpha was used to determine the questionnaire's reliability. The study made use of SmartPls2 to do partial least square structural equation modelling (PLS-SEM) on all of the acquired data.

Data Presentation and Analysis

A total of 250 copies of questionnaire were issued, and 201 were returned, accounting for 81 percent of the study's total participants. – For statistical dependability and generalisation, a response rate of this magnitude is acceptable.

For each latent component, the reliability of individual items, the internal consistency reliability, the discriminant and convergent validity of the model are evaluated in this study.

Table 1*Reliability and Validity*

Construct	Items		AVE	CR	CA
Recruitment of Officers	RO1	0.90	0.787	0.936	0.910
	RO2	0.89			
	RO3	0.91			
	RO4	0.83			
Training and Development	TD1	0.80	0.715	0.926	0.900
	TD2	0.86			
	TD3	0.90			
	TD4	0.80			
	TD5	0.84			
Retention of Officers	ROF1	0.76	0.509	0.837	0.767
	ROF2	0.58			
	ROF3	0.70			
	ROF4	0.71			
	ROF5	0.78			
Crime Reduction	CR1	0.87	0.781	0.934	0.906
	CR2	0.87			
	CR3	0.89			
	CR4	0.89			

Note: AVE represents Average Variance Extracted; CR represents Composite Reliability; CA represents Cronbach's

Compound reliability and average variance expectation should be larger than 0.5 for a simple factor structure, which is considered as a rule of thumb. To cite an example: Each variable's loading in table 4.5 is an indication of its data range 0.5 or more factor loadings are present for each of these items. Loadings at 0.5 levels result in a basic factor structure. Indicators have good cross-loadings with other aspects that they are not supposed to assess and are well-loaded on their intended factors. Cronbach's alpha for the variables in the table above runs from 0.7678 to 0.9101, while the composite reliability is in the range of 0.8374 to 0.9366. An appropriate level of internal consistency is depicted by the instrument's overall reliability measurement.

Discriminant Validity

The other sort of reflective construct validity is known as discriminant validity, and it deals with the degree to which a specific concept differs from other constructs in the model in terms of empirical criteria (Hair et al., 2014). The discriminant validity of each latent variable was established using the square root of AVE.

Table 2: *Fornell-Lacker criterion Discriminant Validity*

	1	2	3	4
1. Recruitment of Officers	0.88			
2. Training and Development	0.40	0.84		
3. Retention of Officers	0.45	0.60	0.79	
4. Crime Reduction	0.23	0.22	0.20	0.88

Table 2 displays this evidence of discriminant validity. Discriminant validity in each latent variable has been established using this value; if it is larger than other correlation values among the latent variables, discriminant validity has been successfully established (Fornell and Larcker, 1981). Using a calculator, I brazenly displayed the square root of the AVE along the Table's axis. In contrast to the correlation values in both the columns and rows, the difference between 0 and 1 indicates that discriminant validity has been successfully established.

Structural Model

Bootstrapping using a total of 501 samples (resamples) and 5000 iterations allowed us to test the structural model. The structural routes are constant in both size and importance.

Table 3: R Square

Construct	R Square Value
Crime Reduction	0.63

$R^2 = 0.63$, which is close to the 0.65 cutoff set by the literature as being statistically significant (see Table 3). This indicates that the recruitment of Amotekun Officers, training and development of Amotekun Officers, and retention of Amotekun Officers are responsible for 63% of the change in crime reduction, while the remaining 37% may be attributed to other factors not included in the model.

Test of Hypotheses

Structural equation model analysis was used to test the effect of recruitment of Amotekun Officers, training and development of Amotekun Officers and retention of Amotekun Officers on crime reduction in Oyo state.

Table 4: Path Coefficient

Hypothesis	B Value	Std. Error	T Statistic	P Value	Decision
RO-> CR	0.4426	0.1594	2.7760	0.003	Rejected
TD-> CR	0.1579	0.0709	2.2272	0.013	Rejected
ROF-> CR	0.1578	0.0352	4.40	0.00	Rejected

P value** < 0.01 and P value* < 0.05

The analysis in Table 4 shows that Recruitment of Officers (RO) into Amotekun has a positive and significant effect on crime reduction in Ondo state, Nigeria. Therefore, hypothesis one that states that recruitment of officers into Amotekun has no significant effect on crime reduction in South West, Nigeria is statistically rejected. Similarly, Training and Development (TD) of Amotekun Officers is a significant predictor of crime reduction in Ondo state, Nigeria with P value of $.013 < 0.5$. Therefore, hypothesis two that states that training

and development of officers in Amotekun has no significant effect on crime reduction in South West, Nigeria is also rejected. Finally, Retention of Officers (ROF) in Amotekun has positive and significant effect on crime reduction in Ondo State, Nigeria, with P value of less than 1 percent. Thus, hypothesis three that states that retention of Amotekun as regional police has no significant effect on crime reduction in South West, Nigeria is also empirically rejected.

Discussion of Findings

Even though Amotekun has been recruiting cops, crime rates in South West Nigeria have not decreased. The study's findings suggest that fewer criminal cases would be tried in South West Nigeria if more policemen are added to the Amotekun framework. This study's results agree with those of Kirsten (2013) and Tukunimulongo (2016) but disagree with those of Chetambe and Sakwa (2016). (2013). However, it was also discovered that Amotekun's officer training and development had a major impact on lowering crime rates in South West Nigeria. Educational programmes implemented by a company with the goal of enhancing employee performance on the job are known as training and development initiatives.

Training and development initiatives aim to improve employees' competence and motivation on the job. So, the better the Amotekun cops are prepared for their jobs, the more likely they are to do a good job protecting the community, and eventually bringing crime rates down in the area. In accordance with the results of Ojo (2018) and Michael (2014). Finally, keeping Amotekun on as regional police chief has been shown to significantly contribute to lowering crime rates in Nigeria's South West. As a result, keeping more of the regional police force in place will increase the chances of lowering crime rates in Nigeria's South West. The results of this research back up those of Ojo (2018) and Adebisi (2017).

Conclusions and Recommendations

Based on the empirical analysis of the study, it is concluded that the recruitment of officers into Amotekun has significant effect on crime reduction in South West, Nigeria. The study also concludes that the training and development of officers in Amotekun in South West region has significantly reduce crime in the region. Finally, the study concludes further that the

retention of Amotekun as regional police all have significant effect on crime reduction in South West Nigeria.

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are made:

- i. Since the recruitment of officers into Amotekun has significantly reduce crime in the South West region of the country, it is recommended that there should be increase in the budgetary allocation of resources to Amotekun in the South West region so that more and more officers will be recruited into the regional police to further combat crime, hence, leading to a reduction in crime in the region.
- ii. The study also recommends that there should be continuous training and development of Amotekun officers with regard to identifying and combating crimes since the study findings reveals that the training and development of officers in the region is key to significantly reducing crime in the region.
- iii. Finally, it is recommended by the study that Amotekun be retained as regional police since the finding of the study has established that the regional police has significantly helped in reducing crime in the South West region.

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TRADITIONAL JUSTICE SYSTEM OF MANAGING CONFLICTS IN FIKA EMIRATE COUNCIL OF YOBE STATE, NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

Before the emergence of the nation-state system, each community in the world was governed through centuries-old traditional methods. Even though traditional systems and processes of conflict management predate modern theories and practices of conflict resolution, there are inadequate studies in this area in Yobe State. Accordingly, Fika Emirate Council of Yobe has used their indigenous knowledge for centuries to resolve their intra/inter-community conflicts. The study found that when people are in dispute, they approach various persons and avenues for the resolution of their disputes and these include traditional rulers (TRs), family leaders/heads, community elders and institutions of the formal justice sector, among others. In addition to dispute resolution, these TRs render other justice services like distributing inheritance, providing leadership in terms of advocacy for the needs of the community, serving as custodians of the marriage system, help community members who are with the police or court. It was recommended that stakeholders should strengthening traditional institutions to facilitate proper recognition from formal institutions on justice, peace and reconciliation; facilitate enactment of laws to sanction dispute resolution by traditional rulers; establishing linkages with the formal justice sector.

Keywords: Traditional Justice System, Conflict Management, Alternative Dispute Resolution

Introduction

Traditional institutions in Nigeria predates the nation's colonial era, forming one of the very cores of governance and administration. Traditional institutions, perhaps being the oldest institution in Nigeria, is deeply rooted in the culture, history and traditions of various ethnic and cultural backgrounds. In ordinary parlance, a traditional ruler is the custodian of the traditions, history and customs of an ethnic group of individuals, and who is appointed by such

individuals to rule, govern and administer justice in line with the laid down customs and traditions of the people.

According to Erediauwa, the 39th Oba of Benin, quoted by Afe Babalola in Nigerian Tribune newspaper of March 26, 2020, “a Traditional Ruler means the traditional head of an ethnic community whose Stool is conferred the highest traditional authority on the incumbent since the time before the beginning of British rule. On the other hand, the traditional leader is defined as a person who, by reason of inheritance or lineage has been appointed to a chieftaincy position by those entitled to do so under customary law and whose appointment has been approved by the approving authorities. From these definitions, and in practical terms, the pre-independent traditional ruler stands as the repository of all the executive, legislative and judicial powers of his domain. Blench, Selbut, Umar, and Martin (2006) asserted that in some areas, particularly amongst the Yorubas, a traditional ruler is regarded as a replica of God by virtue of which all their words become law, the infraction of which oftentimes attract corporeal and sometimes, capital punishments.

Consequently, traditional African societies are closely attached to deep-rooted cultural facts and elders play a major role in solving problems, creating strategies and shaping local visions based on skills and wisdom (Tafese, 2016). In order to do this, they use their past experience and knowledge cultivated from the local community and transmitted from generation to generation to develop, plan, and solve social problems (Tafese, 2016). In some cases, the traditional institutions are politicized and have become instruments of propagating state ideology. In other cases, especially where they express dissent with the state, these traditional institutions have often been undermined or usurped by the state (Mutisi, 2012).

Fika Emirate Council of Yobe State has traditionally had a large number of traditional authorities and rulers who have played an important role in community coherence and traditional justice systems. This study is an examination of the indigenous mechanisms and processes for justice, conflict management and reconciliation at community level in Fika Emirate Council of Yobe State; how these may be strengthened, and the norms and values that

govern the processes of justice, conflict management and reconciliation. In the light of the foregoing, this study was designed to respond to key research questions, which bothered on:

Conceptual Analysis

The core concepts in this study include traditional Justice System, traditional justice institutions, conflict management, conflict, and Alternative Dispute resolution (ADR). The concepts are defined below:

Traditional or indigenous Justice System: The term *indigenous* or *traditional justice* is used in this paper to refer to justice, reconciliation and healing approaches which rely on non-formal or non-state based customary institutions such as council of elders, council of District Heads, Village Heads and Ward Heads and local community and religious institutions. Some scholars call this an indigenous or a bottom-up approach because its practices stem from the grassroots in local communities without an influence from external forces. In an attempt to resolve conflicts and maintain peace in their areas, traditional or indigenous institutions employ different techniques, including organizing prolonged consensus and reconciliation meetings, as well as performing peace rituals (Nweke, 2012; Mwakitalu, 2013; Brock-Utne, 2001; Boege et al., 2008).

Traditional Justice Institutions: For the purpose of this paper, indigenous institutions of justice, conflict management and reconciliation are defined as those that have been practiced for an extended period and have evolved within African societies, rather than being the product of external importation (Zartman, 2000). In essence, these institutions are rooted in the culture and history of societies and are ingrained in the socio-political and economic environment of particular communities.

Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR): ADR, which is specially meant to serve as an alternative to the conventional means of settling disputes, mainly through litigation and the court system, basically refers to all the means and modes of disputes resolution outside of the formal judicial process - litigation – or simply put, out-of-court settlement. Preference for non-

violence is its major hallmark (Best, 2016). It is a collective term for the ways in which disputing parties can settle disputes, with (or without) the help of a third party (Eleanya, n.d.).

Conflict Management: this paper sees conflict management as the process of reducing the negative and destructive capacity of conflict through a number of measures and by working with and through the parties involved. Best (2006: 95) asserts that conflict management “covers the entire area of handling conflicts positively at different stages, including those efforts made to prevent conflict by being proactive”. Best further added that “it encompasses conflict limitation, containment and litigation”.

Theoretical Framework

This paper adopted Hybrid Peace building (HPB) approach as its theoretical framework. The approach is known by different but almost synonymous names such as *Hybrid Peace Building* (HPB), *Hybrid Peace Governance* (HPG) or *Hybrid Political Orders* (HPO) (Belloni, 2012; Boege et al., 2008; Dinnen& Kent, 2015; MacGinty, 2010; Anam, 2015). A key proposition of the theory is that, especially in fragile contexts, besides the formal state structures, there are other informal, non-state actors that can provide security and order. Traditional institutions are capable and can exist side-by-side the formal structures in promoting conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

Consequently, the HPB is employed to imply the coexistence and interaction of the traditional and modern institutions, norms and actors in the process of peacebuilding, conflict resolution or governance systems. In its literal sense, the term ‘hybrid’ is used to refer to a product of the process of mixing or combining two or more distinct elements. According to Dinnen and Kent (2015), the use of this term in social sciences and peace studies have been recently coined from the biological science. While the researcher supports the idea of establishing synergy between the traditional and modern approaches, the researcher is sceptical about the use of the term ‘hybrid’ as currently applied in peace studies. As Belloni (2012) has noted, there is a conceptual limitation inherent in the use of the term ‘hybrid’. From its literary and scientific meaning, ‘hybrid’ connotes formulating a quite new product or

approach which carries some *genes* from traditional and modern institutions. In actual sense, this is not done in peace and conflict resolution processes.

The coexistence and interactions between traditional and modern institutions which are spelled out by scholars mentioned above imply that the two approaches shape each other and thus may work together to arrive at a common end. Such coexistence does not imply ignoring either traditional or modern institutions which exist and creating a new distinct approach which accommodates the features of the previous approaches. What is actually done is that the institutions and mechanism used to build peace and resolve conflicts under the traditional and modern approaches are maintained, or sometimes slightly modified to meet the contexts of the conflicts in the respective communities.

Brief History of Fika Emirate Council of Yobe State

Yobe state was created in August 1991 from the former Borno State and the population remains largely Kanuri, although with a significant population of minorities. When the state was created there were just two Emirates, Fika and Bade, both of which have pre-colonial roots. The first Governor, Bukar Abba Ibrahim, created twelve new Emirates in 1991 as part of the process of buying political favours. When the military took over in 1993, the new Emirates were all scrapped. However, in 1999, the same governor was re-elected, and the Emirates summarily restored. The additional emirates created were: Gujba, Ngazargamu, Damaturu, Nguru, Machina, Gudi, Pataskum, Tikau, Fune, Jajere, Yusufari and Ngelzarma (Hogben and Kirk-Greene, 1966).

The Fika Emirate is a traditional council with headquarters in Potiskum, Yobe State. The old Fika Emirate was a multi-ethnic emirate that according to tradition dates back to the 15th century (Blench et al., 2006). Currently, Fika emirate council covers some parts of Fika Local government and Potiskum Local government areas in Yobe State. Fika Emirate is unusual in being a multi-ethnic emirate with roots in the pre-colonial era. It is dominated by the Bole people and claims to have been established in 1805 from a settlement named Daniski. Historical traditions claim that the institution dates back to the 15th century and that the Bole

were Islamised prior to the move to Fika. Fika town itself was abandoned in favour of Potiskum in 1924 (Hogben& Kirk-Greene 1966). The confluence of two other persons laying claim to the land (the Ngizim and Karekare) has developed into a complex history of plot and counterplot over the twentieth century, and this continues to create rivalries into the present.

The hierarchical structure of traditional leadership in Fika Emirate Council is as follows: i. Emir - Paramount Ruler in-charge of the emirate council; ii. Council members – traditional appointees in charge advising the emir and also taking decisions in the emirate; iii. District Head (Hakimi) - a traditional ruler in charge of one or more village areas; iv. Village Head (Lamba) – a traditional ruler in charge of a village unit; v. Ward Head (Bulama or Mai Ungwar) – a traditional ruler in charge of a community unit within a village.

What Local People do when they are in Dispute

When local people are in disputes, they approach various avenues for the resolution of their disputes, depending on individual choices, level of distress or grievances and trusts reposed in those approached for the resolution of disputes, depending on where people have confidence (Mohammed Musa, HoD Crisis Management, NSCDC, Yobe State Command, Damaturu, 20-11-2021). This study reveals that people approach the following:

- i. Traditional Rulers (TRs); ii. Family Leaders/Heads; iii. Community Elders; iv. Youth Organizations; v. Police; vi. Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps; vii. Courts; viii. Religious Leaders/authorities from both Islamic and Christian faiths; ix. Vigilante and x. Hunters

Based on the interest of the paper, only the role of traditional institutions was analyzed from responses of interviewees.

Overwhelmingly, interviewees identified TRs from the grassroots (ward heads -WH) as those who resolve their disputes and if they cannot, the ward head pushes the dispute to the village (VH) who resolves and if he cannot resolve it, he forward it to the district head (DH) who in most cases resolves it.

Where people go to when in dispute or who they approach depends on the type of the dispute, the distress involved or where or who they trust. Generally, persons involved in disputes themselves manage their disputes and try to resolve it without involving others. Fellow neighbours also facilitate reconciliation of domestic, marital or neighbourhood disputes (Alh. Bukar Tela). It has been observed that the best system of dispute resolution where the parties themselves reconcile with each other is Alternative Dispute Resolution.

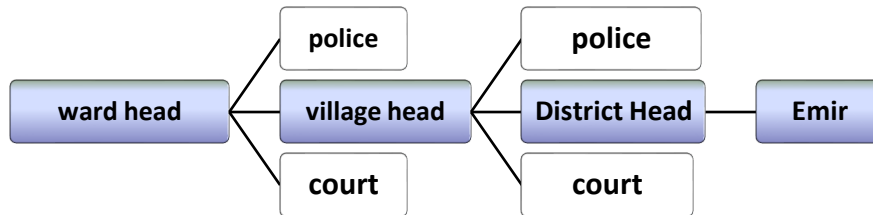
TRs, especially the WHs are resident within communities, at the grassroots, accessible and closer to people, therefore almost everybody is known to them. Their disposition in the society makes them highly respected and people see them with integrity. They are the only institutions known to some rural areas.

“We don’t go to court; if people go to court, maybe it is beyond the elders, Bulama or Lamba” Alh. Mohammed Atiyaye, District Head of Jigawa District, Fika Emirate Council.
Interview at Distict Office on 29-11-2021

They try to hear both sides and encourage parties to sheath swords and show the wrong party his fault; sometimes if disputes cannot be resolved, they refer the disputes to the police or *Lawani*. TRs don’t usually refer matters to courts.

Figure 1: describes the hierarchy of dispute resolution when difficult to resolve or on appeal or when referred to another agency.

Figure 1: Channel of Resolving Disputes with TRs



In isolated cases, the DH also refers cases to courts and the police, but hardly a case will prove difficult to be resolved by the DH. *“Generality of crimes are reported to these people (TRs)”* (HabilaNjidda) *“in criminal cases like injuries, the TR must involve the police who will investigate and take the matter to court”*. (Hassan Kwakwai, District Head of Janga District)

However, Usman Garba from Fika, describes the process/channel of resolving disputes that involve non-TRs as represented in figure 2 below:



“Family disputes are subject to sulhu; therefore, members don’t want the public to know, so they invite Islamic scholars to settle the dispute”.

TRs resolve disputes within their domain. In Fika Emirate Council’s system, *Zanna Sulhu* is a title holder responsible for coordinating dispute resolution within the Emirate referred from various traditional and community leaders. Most DHs resolve disputes effectively especially in pre-insurgency days.

Procedure followed by Traditional Rulers in resolving disputes:

The TR calls the claimant in the presence of the respondent and the claimant states his grievance; respondent is asked whether it is true; the TR reiterates that this is not court but Sulhu is sought; normally respondents admit and sometimes if they do not admit instantly, they send another person later to convey their admission. During the Sulhu process, Islamic scholars are called who offer prayers and the dispute is resolved.

According to some informants, (Usman LukmanNuhu, President of NBA, Yobe branch. Interview at the Chief Magistrates’ Courts Complex, Njiwaji, Damaturu on 08-12-12) the Bulama calls the parties but not necessarily calling both parties at the same time and sometimes he takes a stance before the respondent comes to him and when he comes, the Bulama tells him what to do and does not give him proper audience. Normally, they don’t look for evidence to support claims. Where the respondent refuses to abide by the directive of the

Bulama, the Bulama calls the police and narrates one side of the story (which means that the respondent will be victimized unlawfully). In land disputes however, they call both parties and also invite neighbors to the land in dispute to ascertain ownership.

Bulama resolves some disputes by making the parties involved sign peace deals and agreements, which are made at community level in writing or involving witnesses. TRs sit with Islamic scholars and stakeholders in the family of a deceased to distribute the inheritance and recorded it if there is reason to believe that the heirs dispute or are likely to have dispute over the distribution, otherwise, it is not recorded.

Women prefer not to complain especially in marital problems but remain quiet and patient. Female interviewee said that whenever a woman is economically empowered, there will be no dispute. Women see the wives of TRs as their mothers'; hence they lay complaints through them, and sometimes however, women lay complaints directly to the TRs.

TRs utilize Sulhu to resolve disputes. They do not force solution on people because Sulhu is voluntary (except where malpractice is reported). Overwhelmingly, the word Sulhu keeps coming up during interviews. *Zanna Sulhu* (akin to *JakadanSulhu*/Sulhu Ambassador is usually the point of contact when there is dispute. Emirate Council sends him together with a company to intervene and resolve disputes in the society.

Collaboration with Religious Leaders

The TRs invite Islamic scholars whenever there is an inheritance to be distributed; they also invite the scholars in marital disputes. Participants Gashaka Village in Fika Local Government Area view that Islamic scholars have more knowledge and are more respected than even the TRs and the TRs whenever faced with marital dispute or any inheritance matter, they (TRs) carry along the parties to the Islamic scholar and do not invite or summon the Islamic scholar. This the consultants find is in stark contrast to the position in Hausa land where Islamic scholars are generally answerable to TRs. dispute. They too agreed that Imams and pastors resolve marital disputes.

Legal Backing for Resolution of Dispute by Traditional institutions

There are no direct legislations that sanction dispute resolution by TRs or the Sulhu system in Fika Emirate Council. There are however laws that allow people to generally resolve their disputes amicably and to resort to alternative dispute resolution (ADR) in doing so. These include, High Court Laws, High Court (Civil Procedure) Rules, Area/Sharia Courts (Civil Procedure) Rules and the Magistrates Courts (Civil Procedure) Rules of Yobe State that sanction out of court settlements which may take several forms and TRs can contribute towards that. Parties who settle out of court will report to court and file the memorandum of terms of settlement which can be entered as consent judgment. There are also law in Yobe State that established Emirate Councils. Emirate Councils were created in Yobe State by virtue of the YobeState Emirate Councils Law 2000 (nformation by Usman LukmanNuhu, President, NBA, Damaturu Branch).

Types of Disputes Identified and who resolves them

The types of identified disputes resolved by TRs cover a wide range of issue and they include:

1. Family disputes (parent-child, siblings)- mostly resolved by family heads, elders and TRs
2. Marital disputes- resolved by family heads in most cases, TRs also resolve them but usually involve religious scholars. In Christian communities, the clergy resolve most of marital disputes. If it gets to Sharia courts, the court involves the families in resolving the dispute as dictated by Qur'an 4:35. When the marital dispute involves co-wives, it is usually the husband that resolves the dispute, (Modu Ali (from Ngalda Community) family heads or TRs. *Al-wali* of each spouse helps in resolving marital disputes.
3. Land disputes: TRs but if it proves difficult, the court resolves land disputes to satisfy both parties. "Mostly courts resolve land disputes or the Bulamas and sometimes the police".
4. Disputes involving resources dispute like use of common water (in river and tributaries) which sometimes escalate into communal disputes.

5. Child delinquency and youth disputes or neighbourhood fights- parents, family heads and TRs, if the disputes get to fight with injuries, the police are involved, though compoundable.
6. Inheritance matters- TRs involve religious scholars, sometimes in court where there are disputes. Where however the heirs know inheritance rules, they share the estate among themselves. Ulama' usually sit with heirs, the Imam and family heads to distribute estate, however, when the heirs dispute, usually the courts take over the matter. When inheritance is distributed, it is recorded; however, where there is less likelihood of misunderstanding among the heirs, it is not recorded. It is recommended that nowadays, there is a need to record divorce and inheritance (Maina Ali, Village Head of Jangadole).
7. Business/trade disputes like failure to deliver goods paid for, debts, dispute over space (shops/stalls) or blocking someone's shop- traders associations, TRs, parties/traders by themselves.
8. Social vices like theft, assault, rape and insult (generally, these offences are reported to the TRs who in turn forward the cases to the police)
9. Farmland boundaries and farmer-herdsman disputes: TRs, the government may be involved if serious. Civil Defence also resolves this type of dispute
10. Homicide- only the court handles this, but TRs are involved at the very onset because each TR is duty bound by law to take cognizance of homicide that occurs within his place of authority (Hassan Musa, District Head of Damboa West, Potiskum).
11. Debt/loans parties themselves, TRs or traders' association or market leadership if the amount of the debt is much. This also includes non-payment for services.
12. Domestic violence or Gender-based violence: TRs try to reconcile parties but the police or Civil Defence may be involved.
13. Theft of domestic animals- though an offence and no distinction between theft cases, elders and TRs try to resolve this type of dispute and see the victim compensated. The law does not allow this, but it happens.

14. Personal disagreements- third parties, family members or heads and TRs
15. Animal intrusion into farmland- usually TRs because there may be a valuation of the damage done to the farm for possible compensation.
16. Communal disputes- TRs representing the disputing communities, police may be involved
17. Witchcraft – TRs, but the police or courts are involved.
18. Border/boundary disputes involving communities, wards, villages or districts; the Zanna Sulhu is sent by the Emir with some people to resolve such types of disputes.

In light of the above, it is clear that TRs are involved in activities that border on justice and rights of their subjects as they are a substratum of the government and work directly under Local Governments. The study found that TRs, community elders and religious leaders are involved in campaigning for, championing of, enlightening and protecting social and civil rights and welfare of the communities.

Strengths of Traditional Justice System of Fika Emirate Council

Based on the efficacy of traditional methods of conflict management, the interviewees preferred it to the modern judicial system. A number of strengths of the system have been pointed out. The physical environment or venue of the dispute resolution is the house (living room) of the traditional rulers, or it may be the house of one of the disputants or even the market square. The process does not insist on any formalities such as a definite venue for the mediation to take place, as would be the case in the court system. Such informality and proximity to the community has several advantages. It reduces tension and increases the disputing parties' confidence to talk, as they find themselves in a familiar environment. Then, they need not spend any money on transport. Dispute resolution services are also rendered free of charge. Those who seek access to justice therefore do not pay what they would pay in a court of law, e.g., filing fees.

Traditional conflict management mechanisms are preventive and deterrent measures of conflicts both within and without the community. The penalties, fines and compensation

imposed are severe and prohibitive sometimes making it a perfect mechanism of preventing conflicts and crimes.

Weaknesses of Traditional Justice System of Fika Emirate Council

The role and efficacy of the traditional justice system of Fika Emirate Council has been greatly eroded, marginalized and diminished by modern civilization and development thinking. The system is regarded as archaic and outdated mode of arbitration. The emergence and institutionalization of modern courts system has greatly marginalized traditional conflict management system among community members of Fika Emirate Council. Lack of proper and efficient enforcement institutions has reduced the relevance of the indigenous methods of dispute administration. External factors and opportunist tendencies largely influence customary methods of brokered peace.

The system is patriarchal with low or poor appreciation of human rights standards by the lower cadre of traditional rulers. As a result, they may not adhere to human rights principles. Coupled with the low level of rights awareness within the population, it makes people vulnerable to exploitation. Women or children are not allowed sometimes due to cultural practices to speak in the midst of men; yet there is no separate arrangement available for them where women are involved as complainants or victims.

Then, compliance with decisions of traditional rulers depends on the respect people have for the ruler in question and the traditions of the community. He does not have coercive powers to compel compliance. And finally, due to absence of record-keeping, disputes that have been resolved can be reopened.

Improving the traditional Justice System

The interviewees urged the government to support the traditional conflict resolution mechanisms by linking it to the modern judicial system. Modern institutions like the police and the judiciary should help enforce the rulings and verdicts of the traditional institutions. Traditional peace structures should work hand in hand, and a legal framework be established to legitimize the indigenous justice system.

For reference and clarification purposes, traditional conflict resolution records should be documented, filed and disseminated widely in the community. Documentation can also strengthen the customary laws and norms making arbitration easy and standardized. Future generations would benefit if the processes were documented.

Women should be empowered to actively participate in the tree of men proceedings, as they are the majority of the victims of conflicts. Cultural norms and practices that hinder participation of women in conflict management activities should be discarded.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Before the emergence of the nation-state system, each community in the world was governed through centuries-old traditional methods. Similarly, Fika Emirate Council of Yobe has used their indigenous knowledge for centuries to resolve their intra/inter-community conflicts. The traditional rulers, community elders and religious leaders have been using indigenous values to resolve conflicts through the traditional justice system in their domains. The traditional justice system has been much successful in managing conflicts, reaching a consensus or amicable settlement of disputes. Therefore, it is time for formal justice institutions to utilize the traditional justice system of conflict management into their modern mediation techniques.

Based on the findings and observations in this study and in addition to the recommendations and suggestions made by the interviewees, the researcher recommends that stakeholders should strengthen traditional institutions so as to facilitate proper recognition from formal institutions on justice, peace and reconciliation; facilitate enactment of laws to sanction dispute resolution by TRs; establishing linkages with the formal sector and relevant stakeholders.

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YOUTHS, POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND PEACEFUL DEMOCRATIC 2023 GENERAL ELECTION IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

The youth constitute the highest number of the categories of persons in Nigeria but this notwithstanding, their positive and impactful participation in the country's electoral processes has remained rather insignificant and obnoxious. This menace therefore accounts for the continuous domination of the Nigeria's political scene by unseasoned and charlatan political gangsters. The contemporary Nigeria is thus, in dear need of responsive, resilient and impactful youths who have the vision and ability to cause a positive turnaround in the nation by becoming practically and effectually involved in the nation's electoral processes. This paper examines the pattern and trend of Nigeria's youth participation in the Nations' electoral processes with the aim of projecting a positive redirection of negative postures in that regard. Qualitative research methodology is employed in this research and this research states in conclusion that the responsibility of ensuring the youths participation in the nation's electoral processes lies more with the policies and activities of the government with minimal contribution from the populace.

Keywords: Democracy, Election, Political Participation, Youth, Nigeria

Introduction

In contemporary times like this when we have docile youths' involvement in electioneering processes, there is the need to start changing the narratives for positive development. According to Ibezim (2019), Nigeria as the giant of Africa is experiencing political instability and one-sided policy making body without including the youth. He further stated that youth are significant portion of the global population, such that they need to be included in every

decision-making process. They are also recognized as key agents of socio-economic and political movers of the society.

Similarly, Getachew (2020) was of the opinion that some youths would have been willing to participate in politics of their countries especially in Africa, but the challenges they face in this regard are too enormous that they are easily discouraged and thus become indifferent to the electioneering processes. He further itemizes some of those challenges provoking the irresponsible attitudes of the youths to include but not limited to; poverty, elite conspiracy, unemployment, bad governance, distrust in political institutions, lack of credible candidates, party politics.

Nevertheless, Longley (2020) opined that there seems to have been positive change in the attitudes of some youths towards political engagement and political participation in the world but the point from which he perceived this is not convincing enough because the impact is not so glaring on the face value. Notwithstanding the angle from which he presents his opinion, we will always come to terms with the assertion of Getachew (2020). A justification of the position of Getachew (2020) was seen in an incidence that happened in 2012 at Pakistan when “Yousafza Malala” stood up for the establishment of education right for girls. The crusade was not far reaching as she was violently opposed and restricted and eventually, she was shot by the Taliban (www.wikipedia.com). She was born in July 12, 1997 that means she is a youth who stood for what is right despite all odds and she won a noble prize in 2014 (www.britannia.com), although she paid the supreme price with her life. Another indication in this regard was the Nigerian incidence of the End Sars’s Protest in the year 2020 when responsive innocent Nigerian youth went on protest to advocate for a change in the national polity and the result was disastrous as they were faced with rude, unjust and barbaric opposition as they were shot with life bullets and that occasioned the loss of lives of many of them thus cutting short their destiny in the prime of their age, just because they were trying to be politically responsive.

The core agenda of the ENDSARS protest was the demand to stop police brutality in Nigeria but eventually the response they received in that regard was also brutality of the “men in uniform” carrying out the preposterous order of a monstrous superior in the name of preventing chaos and breakdown of law and order. As 2023 general election approaches in Nigeria, the youth need to be fully involved in all sphere of the electioneering process to ensure they deliver the candidate of their choice. The youth accounted for 71.4% of newly registered voters within the age bracket of 18 to 34 (Akintaro, 2022). Therefore, the power to provoke a change in any direction whatsoever can be easily endeared from the demonstration of their civic right to vote and be voted for. If the youth want corruption, bad governance, insecurity, poverty, unemployment, socio-economic quagmire, among others to be addressed; they should take advantage of their numerical strength and make positive contributions towards the emergence of visionary candidate with better plan for the country (Oduala, 2022).

The Nigerian youths are known for great exploits all over the world whether in sports, ICT, Medicine, Education, Engineering among others, so the story must not be different in politics at home irrespective of the challenges. The Nigerian youths are known for their resilience to conquer obstacles and forge path way for progress and this must be brought into action once again as we approach the 2023 election.

The main objectives of this paper are to clarify key concepts and to examine the roles of the youths in the conduct of peaceful democratic elections in Nigeria. Also, the paper assesses the challenges to the participation of youth in peaceful democratic election in Nigeria and concludes with recommendations.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

For the purpose of clarity and good understanding of the study, it is needful to examine certain germane concepts and these are discussed as follows:

Youth

“Youth” is best understood as a period of transition from the dependence of childhood to adulthood’s independence and awareness of our interdependence as members of a community.

Youth is a more fluid category than a fixed age-group. (Ibezim, 2019). The UN, for statistical consistency across regions, defines ‘youth’, as those persons between the ages of 15 and 24 years, without prejudice to other definitions by Member States. According to the African Youth Charter, “youth” means “every person between the ages of 15 and 32 years. The 2019 Nigeria’s National Youth Policy defined youth as young people within the ages of 18 and 35 years. In the same vein, the African Youth Charter and ECOWAS define youth as those within the ages of 15 and 35 years (Okah, 2022).

Political Participation

Political participation generally refers to actions of citizens to take part in election campaigns, rallies, voting, decision making process, town hall meetings, support activities, participate in concerts and sport events associated with political cause. Also, political participation can mean voluntary activities undertaken by the citizens to influence public policy, either directly or by affecting the selection of persons who make policies (Carole, 2015).

Democracy and Election

Election is a part and parcel of political process in a democratic system and periodic election is one of the cardinal features of democracy. However, if the election process is corrupt, it is clear that the foundation of the democracy is fraud (Longley, 2020). Therefore, to achieve peaceful democracy, it must be free of fraud and violence. What cheating strategies in an election would achieve is the destruction of democratization the citizens want to achieve (Chanchai, 2015). Democracy is the form of government in which supreme power is vested in the people and exercised directly by them or by their elected representatives under a free electoral system (Barrett, 2018). Furthermore, democracy is characterized by formal equality of rights and privileges for the citizens including the rights to be voted for and to vote. Election on the other hand is a formal group decision making process by which a population chooses an individual or multiple individuals to hold public office (Chanchai, 2015). Election has been the mechanism in representative democracy to make choice on candidates contesting for a political office which Nigeria has been practicing since the return of democracy in 1999. Thus,

for democracy to thrive in Nigeria, there must be regular periodic election just as INEC is preparing for 2023 which must be free and fair.

Peaceful Democratic Election and Electoral Violence

We cannot talk about peaceful democratic election without talking about electoral violence because both involve the youth. Electoral violence can be seen as acts or treats or coercion, intimidation or physical harm perpetrated to affect an electoral process or that arise in the context of electoral competition. Electoral violence is employed to affect electoral outcomes i.e. electoral violence is an activity motivated by an attempt to affect the results of elections either by manipulating the electoral procedures and participation (UNDP, 2009).

While peaceful election is the direct opposite of electoral violence. Peaceful election is void of opponents using force to bring about the outcome they desperately desire. A democratic system helps enable different views, policies, ideas, agendas, political candidates' opinion to be debated within the polity which in turn give opportunity to citizens to elect the candidate of their choice without any inducement or force by the candidates (Getachew 2020). Over the years some youths have yielded to be instrument or tool in the hands of politicians to perpetrate violence during elections (Olatunji 2021). It's very rear for the elderly to be involve in the act of violence it has been the youth. Thus, youth can also make a resolution to be an instrument for peaceful electoral process in 2023 and beyond.

Theoretical framework

This paper is hinged on the theory of institutionalism which encompasses a range of methodological approaches in political science that have at their core an emphasis on institutions, understood as the rules, regularities, structures, and the context more generally which influence political outcomes and shape political conduct (Schmidt, 2014).

Among many institutionalisms that have been identified by scholars, the perspective of sociological institutionalism will be adopted for the scientific analysis of the subject matter. Sociological institutionalism concentrates on social agents who act according to a logic of appropriateness within political institutions, defined as socially constituted and culturally

framed rules and norms (Hall and Taylor 1996). Tenuche (2018), stated that institutionalisms are established rules and regulations that guide the conduct of citizens of a country and if violated; there are consequences for it irrespective of the status of the individual in the society. That is, intuitionism emphasis rule creation and change to achieve the desire behaviour from the populace.

This theory aptly explains the germane issues on youths and political participation for peaceful democratic election in Nigeria. There are rules and regulations guiding the conduct of election in Nigeria that must be abide with but desperate people always behave irrationally and illogical to manipulate laid down rules. Many at times political elites break these rules since they believe there would be no consequence. One of the major challenges of developing countries and Nigeria in particular is weaker institutions. The rich believes that that law is main for the poor and the principle of equality before the law is not adhere to. No justice for the common man in the temple of justice because the highest bidder may get justice even though is guilty of the offence.

In a situation where electoral offender are not charged to court to bear the consequences of their action which would serve as a deterrent to others but they would be left off the hook. This negative trend normally discourages descent citizens in participating in election in Nigeria. However, if the rules and regulations guiding the conduct of election in Nigeria is strong to the extent that no matter how highly place you are in Nigeria, once you have been found guilty by a competent court of any electoral fraud, you will serve the punishment. The culture of peaceful conduct of election would be entrenched in Nigeria.

Challenges to the Participation of Youth in Peaceful Democratic Election

More often than not, the electioneering process should have been a thing of concern to the youths except for certain perceived concern creating a limitation in that regard and these are itemized and discussed as follows;

- 1. Lack of Space for Youth participation in the Political Environment in Nigeria** There are no wider political spaces for youth to have a chance to make their voices heard and to

shape their future destinies. When youth are continually excluded from decision making processes, on their own and societal affairs by and large, they will face the psychological trauma of hopelessness and misery in their life. Nigeria is known by its repeated promises for its youth. Better education, good jobs, political room for youth is the common slogans of politicians. Sadly enough, none of them had made them true in actual contexts

2. **Desperation of Politicians:** Bamigboye Olurotimi quoted that “you cannot separate desperate politicians from violence and trouble” (www.quotelyfe.com). The desperate attitude of politicians to win election by all means including the use of violence. Some politicians indulge themselves in political thuggery, ballot snatching, intimidation and harassment, arson, blackmailing, political assassination among others to ensure they win an election at all cost. This attitude is one of the factors that hinders peaceful democratic election in Nigeria. So many youths that do not have temperament to experience violence or afraid of attack by political thugs normally would not be willing to participate in any role in an election. Attempt from a political party to perpetrate illegality on election day is capable of driving other political party to respond with violence.
3. **Unemployment and Poverty:** unemployment and poverty as being instruments of violence in the hands of political elites in Nigeria. The politicians take advantage of poverty to induce youths with peanuts to carry out their beadings during elections. With little money or promise of job to the youth on the ground that they should disrupt the election in targeted poling units that they know their no going to win (Dalhatu, Mohammed and Oyigbenu 2010).
4. **Divide and rule tactics of the elites:** the elite are united in their cause to grab power no matter their political divide but to unknown to average Nigerians. Empirically, there have been cases of violence among youth because of their support to different elites. The common man fights themselves to enable the elite win an election whereas if the youth can have a common front, they can actually dislodge the elite from power. As a result of

this, some youth may not want to participate in an election that would generate conflict among age group because of support for different political parties (Bethke, 2012).

5. **Illiteracy and Uneducated Literate:** illiteracy is the inability to read and write because such a person has not been exposed to the training to acquire such skills. Uneducated literate on the other hand can read and write but has not allow the education acquired to have a positive transformation on his/her behavior or reasoning. A university graduate that is still willing to be use as a political thug is an uneducated literate because before any of the Nigerian universities award a degree; it is first in character before learning. High level of illiterate educated and uneducated youths in Nigeria can be easily brainwashed to perpetrate violence during election is a bone to peaceful democratic election in Nigeria. Such categories of youth even find it difficult to discuss politics constructively without resulting to verbal attack on groups with dissent opinions or views (Dalhatu et. al., 2016).
6. **Religion and Ethnic Dichotomy:** Nigerian politics is deeply rooted in religion and ethnicity. These two factors influence the pattern of votes in Nigeria. Most Nigerian youths and other citizens are sharply divided along these two factors and the elite also capitalize on this to further divide the youths further by their unguided utterances. Candidates usually intend to leverage on religion or ethnicity tool to win election in Nigeria. This is capable of degenerating into violence when the sharp conflict is not properly managed (Bethke, 2012).
7. **Get rich quick syndrome:** the indiscipline among several Nigerian youths not willing to endure the process of becoming rich has served as hindrance to peaceful democratic election in Nigeria. In a situation where some youths prefer to collect dollars now over supporting a just course that would bring socio economic development to the country is worrisome. No more patriotism to the country but selfish interest and greed which as spread among the youths. Politicians can easily hinge on the desperation of some youths to make quick money to influence them to participate in violent act during election by inducing them with cash reward (commons.wikimedia.org).

8. **Politics of non-inclusive:** Nigerian politics is dominated by elite with their wealth and privileges ensuring their unhindered passage into power. This kind of structure strategically exclude less privilege youths who lack resources to achieve their political aspirations. Frustration from such deprivation of marginalised youth may lead to aggression and such group of youth may result into violence during election to vent out their anger against the system; this also can serve as an obstacle to peaceful democratic election in Nigeria ((NIMD 2021).
9. **Lack of trust in the electoral umpires:** the distrust and mutual suspect between officials of electoral bodies and political players enable doubt to arise in the process of conducting elections or when the final result is announced. A political party may be suspecting electoral officials of underground plan to rig election in connivance with their opponent. At times this may be unfounded allegation that may lead to chaos or disruption of the electoral process or after the announcement of such result, party supporters would go on rampage destroying property for such false or true allegation that led to the loss of the election (UNDP, 2009).

Provoking Youth participation in Peaceful Democratic Election

I will start with a quote: “Nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral questions of our time; the need for mankind to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to oppression and violence” (Martin Luther King Jr (1929-1968). The following are the means youth can contribute to peaceful democratic election in Nigeria.

1. **Cultivating Voting Culture:** According to Loung Ung, ‘Voting is not only our right- it is our power’. During election period many youths are normally not willing to sacrifice that period to carry out their civic responsibility by voting for their preferred candidates. At times voting exercise will be going on and you discover that some youth set that time apart for playing football or other activities. Voting culture would enable the youth to vote for candidates with better policies and programmes for them to emerge victoriously (NIMD 2021).

2. **Champion the cause of Change:** Youth should not just talk, they must act. There is a lot of anomalies in Nigerian political space which must not be allowed to continue. Youth as being vanguard of change all over the world. The change that the youths so much desire they must champion the cause and jettisoned the false saying that if you cannot beat them join them.
3. **Support Positive Advocacy Outfit:** speaking out in support of peaceful conduct of election is another area the youth can participate. There are non-profit organizations advocating for peaceful election in Nigeria; youth can lend their support to such organization that organize their activities around advocacy (Longley 2020).
4. **Partisan Politics: Youth should register as members of political parties:** According to Antonio Gramsci *"I hate the indifferent. I believe that living means taking sides. Those who really live cannot help being a citizen and a partisan. Indifference and apathy are parasitism, perversion, not life. That is why I hate the indifferent"*. Nigeria operate multi-party system with various parties with different ideologies and joining the youth wing of any of the political party gives opportunity to be deeply involved in the political arena. Such platform can serve as a tool for to convince others to conduct elections in a peaceful manner (Adejoro 2022).
5. **Serving as electoral administrators:** the youths' participation as polling unit officers with the mind set to ensure that electoral guidelines are complied with is strategic to the conduct of peaceful elections. Any person perpetuating violence can be properly identified and official report can be tendered against such culprits when the need arises.
6. **Teaming up to present a candidate:** The youth can form small groups that can provoke a change. *Margaret Mead* said *"Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world: indeed, it's the only thing that ever has."* The youth working together as one by fronting one credible candidate and conducting themselves in non-violent way. The decorum the youth exhibit to execute the electoral processes to

achieve their aims would entice members of the society to support them and philosophy of peaceful democratic election would be achieved (Olatunji 2021).

7. **Serving as electoral observers:** the youths can also serve as electoral observers by joining accredited civil societies and other non-governmental organisations to monitor elections. This would avail the youth opportunity to serve as eye witness and to give empirical account of events during the conduct of elections. Such factual report can be useful in developing mechanism to curtail electoral violence (NIMD 2021).
8. **Voluntary mechanism:** the youth can participate in peaceful democratic election at any level available to them. The young people's ambition should not be centered on money first. Volunteering activities centered around peaceful election or politics may not necessarily attract money but fulfilment when desired goals are met. Young people can organize a rally to drum home the message of peaceful democratic elections (Longley 2020).
9. **Citizen journalism:** Albarado 2018 sees citizen journalism as the collecting and reporting of information via social media, public platforms, and traditional news outlets, either by non-traditional sources or the public. The youth belong to digital age and digital skills can be leverage on to gather accurate information on any form of aberration as regard the conduct of election and it would go viral at the press of a button. Citizen journalism has helped in whistle blowing of anomies in the society and the issue raised would be addressed appropriate authority. Social media platform as become a veritable tool for citizen journalism. Citizens can secretly cover violent act or any action contrary to electoral rules as an eye witness and such would go viral. This avenue as really checkmate citizens indiscipline behaviour in the public ([www.study .com](http://www.study.com)).
10. **Organizing a political movement or forming a strong political party:** youth can leverage on their population and intellectual prowess to form a political movement that would turn to peaceful political revolution capable of changing political power structure of the country. Also, they can form a political party that revolve around a certain age group

that formed the bulk of population of the country with better agenda for the country a departure from existing statuesque. However, lack of one voice and inability of the youth to be submissive to the authority of their age group as a leader might serve as a bane of such movement. Also, the elders may look for loophole of betrayers among them to disintegrate such movement.

Conclusion

The major challenge to socio economic development of Nigeria is centered around poor leadership and bad governance. Nigeria has produced several leaders in the past with the promise that Nigerian challenges would be resolved but no practical solution at sight. It is important to note that the same political campaign promises of politicians of Nigerian first republic are still the same political campaign promises current politicians are still using e.g. problem of electricity, water supply, free education, insecurity, health sectors among others. That means we have not move past those basic challenges since Nigerian independence in over sixty decades.

Saliently, the youth has been at the receiving end of successive government maladministration and failed promises despite their numerical strength to influence the outcome of election results. Therefore, the youth should not be unconcerned about voting in elections in Nigeria to avoid the emergence of visionless leaders to govern the country. In the history of Nigeria, the kind of leaders that would emerge from 2023 general elections is critical to the survival of the country and the role of youth to change the narrative of emergence of bad leaders can never be overemphasized.

Recommendations

1. Constitutional framework approach: to encourage youth participation in politics or election in Nigeria it should be enshrined in the constitution the political positions that are exclusive reserve for youth in all the elective positions and appointments. Also, the constitution should make it mandatory for various political parties to grant certain quotas

to the youths in the elective positions available in which the parties are presenting candidates in general elections.

2. Empowering Youth Both politically and economically: Nigerian youth are not at in the orbit. They are rather observers of their older generations. So, it indicates that youth should be empowered to actively participate in the economic and political areas. The first step in empowering youth should start from the employment creation and integrating them into entrepreneurial activities whereby they would think then about how they will impact the inclusive political momentum of their country.
3. Establishment of different body to prosecute electoral offenders: a body different from INEC should be established that would be in charge of monitoring electoral irregularities and charged with the responsibility of prosecuting electoral offenders.
4. Legislation of Intercultural and religious laws: laws should be enacted that make it an offence any attitude or utterance that can incite religious violence all in the name of political campaign. Also, laws should be promulgated to enable citizens appreciate and embrace issues of cultural diversities in Nigeria polity.
5. Institutionalization of youth participation in politics: establishment of youth national orientation agency to educate and encourage youth that are willing to be agent of change in the polity would be of a great impact on the psyche of youth. This would give them the sense of belonging and other youth would be interested in the system.

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PEACE EDUCATION: A PANACEA FOR HARMONIOUS LIVING IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

It has become imperative for mankind to learn from the mistakes of the past in the midst of terrorist attacks, kidnapping, arm-robbery, banditry and trans-border Aam conflicts to be able to appreciate the value Peace, non-violence, tolerance, good governance and human right. This study examined peace education and its relevance in ensuring harmonious living within Lagos state Nigeria. This paper attempted to investigate the relevance of Peace Education into Nigeria educational system and its effects on harmonious peaceful coexistence. Using a descriptive survey design, the study focused on a population of teachers in secondary schools in Lagos state. This work adopted the Elise Boulding theory on Peace. A randomly selected on which a self-designed structured questionnaire was purposefully administered. The study found that the teaching of Peace Education in school curriculum will significantly enhance the reduction in violence and crime and give way of respect of human right; integrating Peace Education in the school curriculum will have significant effect on teachers and students; there is need for teaching peace education as a separate course in secondary schools; and finds reviews that teaching of Peace Education can significantly serve as a means of teaching values and traditions of different cultures in Nigeria. The paper concludes that teaching is relevant in ensuring harmonious living within Lagos state Nigeria.

Keywords: Peace education, school curriculum, values and traditions

Introduction

Before independence, colonial powers such as United Kingdom, France, Portugal, and others conquered Africa countries to profit from the slave trade business and its abundance of natural resources within their space. According Afigbo (2006), When the slave trade was abolished, British colonists were concerned about losing Nigeria to the French, who had seized

neighbouring states. At the request of Lord Frederick Lugard, the Northern and Southern protectorates combined to become Nigeria in 1914. Nigerians are classified as belonging to one of three ethnic groups: Hausas, Ibos and Yorubas. There are other additional tribes spread around the country. The CIA world Factbook (2012) states that "Nigeria has around 250 ethnic groups and 200 tribes." A complex language pattern emerges due to nation's ethnic diversity. "Ethnologue (2012) lists 514 active languages, second languages with no n active speakers, and eleven languages with no known speakers."

The differences in language and culture across tribes make mutual understanding difficult. Religious, political, and ethnic strife have long plagued Nigeria. Ethnic stereotyping is a major cause of anxiety. Certain clans are charged with assisting Boko Haram, while others are accused of robbery. Some tribes believe they are culturally superior to others, thus complicating mutual understanding. Sani (2013), Every day, hundreds of individuals are killed in armed and non-violent confrontations, while many died as a result of hunger and starvation, which are either based on ethnicity, political differences, religion, sexual orientation, or gender. Natural resources are routinely depleted without regard for future generations. "Teach peace to achieve peace," a great Catholic Pope once said.

The most challenging situation Nigeria is being faced with is the issue of terrorism in the Northern part of Nigeria, while in the Southern part are the militant group and the Eastern part are the IPOB. These group posed a challenge to the peace of the country, thereby affecting the wellbeing and economic development on Nigerians. On this premise in order to solve these problems that understanding the importance of peace education has emerged.

Peace education is a method as old as war itself. For years, individuals have worked to find ways to reduce violence and damage, and educating people on how to live peacefully just like Buddha, Ballá'u'lláh, Jesus Christ, Mohammed, Moses, and Lao Tse and others, who have influenced some of the world's early notions of peace education" Harris, (2002) & Berme, (2022). Following WWII's conclusion, peace education became explicitly implemented in formal and informal educational environments, maturing and expanding into the distinct field

of research and practice that it is today. Because of recent tumors and consequences on increased violence and war globally, introducing students to peace education on early stage of life is way to confront this dexterous problem. This will give them the knowledge of peace and skills to manage and handle issues which might result to violence. Adeniji (2008).

For sustainable development, infants who are 'tabula rasa' (empty minds) in their early years of growth should also learn to embrace and absorb peace. In support of this, the National Council of Educational Research and Training (2006) argues categorically that primary school is the best time to lay the foundation for a tranquil personality. The stage depicts the formative years in the life of the children. At this time, children are far less stressed. The number of children who may be introduced to peace education is at an all-time high at this moment. As a consequence, the topic of this study is the importance of successfully integrating peace education into the Nigerian Basic Education curriculum in order to develop a permanent culture of peace and social harmony.

The current instability, crises, and situations of insecurity in Nigerian society, which continues to pique the interest of other countries, governments, and individuals from all over the globe, is an important concern. These have underlined the need to include peace education within the Nigeria basic school curriculum. As Sani (2013) expressed to include peace education within the Nigerian basic school curriculum. Nigeria society is now confronted with various difficulties that jeopardize its economy and stability. Such crises promote tribal and religious conflicts while eroding national unity. These crises are the result of Nigeria's education system's incapacity to operate as the glue that binds the different ethnicities into a single cohesive body (Sani, 2013).

Without considering future generations, natural resources are squandered daily. Nigerian basic curriculum designers must respond by taking note of all the problems and issues confronting Nigerian society and including peace education into their curriculum in order to foster a lasting culture of peace and environmental sustainability. Developing peace education in Nigeria must focuses on the early age developmental characters, attitude to life and peaceful

living. To that end, this work views peace education to be a key component at various educational system to be use in addressing the problem of intolerance, violence behaviors and agitation in order for a peaceful coexistence

Research Objective

The purpose of this research is to examine incorporation of peace education into school's curriculum as a panacea for harmonious living among Nigerians. Specifically, the study's objectives are to:

- 1) Examine if the inclusion of Peace Education in school curriculum reduction in violence, crime and give way for respect of human right in Lagos State;
- 2) Determine the effect of integrating Peace Education in the school curriculum on teachers and students in Lagos state;
- 3) Assess if there is any significant difference in Peace Education and Social Studies Education; and
- 4) Examine if the teaching of Peace Education serves as a means of teaching values and traditions of different cultures in Nigeria.

Concepts of Peace and Peace Education

The term "peace" implies mental quiet, tranquillity, amity, concord, completeness, well-being and security, harmony in personal, national, or international relations, and public order. According to Channing (2004) and Agbaje, (2021) "serenity is the harmony of all melodic sounds. It is "more than just quiet after a storm. In a nutshell, "peace is conscious harmony with God and creation, a love alliance with all beings, sympathy with all that is pure and happy, a surrender of every separate will and interest, participation in the spirit and life of the universe, and an entire concord of purpose with the infinitive original". This is real bliss and tranquillity.

Peace Education's nature allows it to encompass children's physical, emotional, intellectual, and social development within a framework profoundly anchored in fundamental human values. "Citizens of the globe will attain a culture of peace when they comprehend global challenges, have the skills to manage conflict constructively, know and live by

international norms of human rights, gender and racial equality, enjoy cultural variety, and protect the earth's integrity. Such learning cannot take place without worldwide, persistent, and systematic peace education (Global Campaign for Peace Education, 1999)." According to Turray et al (2005), "Peace Education empowers participants with information, skills, attitudes, values, and beliefs that foster cultures of peace, nonviolence, and sustainability". He went on to say that good Peace Education helps students to critically understand the core causes of violence, wars, conflict, and social justice, as well as build nonviolent alternatives.

The absence of overt and institutional violence shows the presence of peace. Most conflict situations, according to Akudole (2010), are "the consequence of structural violence caused by poverty, prejudice, a lack of access to opportunity, and an inability to comprehend the other person's point of view". Conflicts are unavoidable when two or more individuals perform anything together owing to individual differences. The ability of group members to handle conflicts is critical to their peaceful coexistence. Peace Education is "a theory as well as a process concerned with the acquisition of information about various expressions of peace and conflict, as well as peacemaking abilities". It is "a process of instilling components of Peace Education in learners in order for these learners to acquire the capacity to exhibit tolerance, nonviolent conflict resolution skills, and a feeling of commitment to the building of a culture of peace" Zimmerman (1990) and Tahiru, (2020)

Essence of Peace Education

It is not ideal to commence sentences by itemizing it. There should be an introduction.

- a) In several of the world's poorest nations, violent conflict is one of the most significant impediments to progress. Education is maybe the most significant weapon for human growth and poverty elimination. It is the process through which succeeding generations gain the values, knowledge, and skills necessary for their own health and safety, as well as their future political, economic, social, and cultural growth. This might be one of the reasons why the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) prioritize universal, free, and

obligatory elementary education via Education for All (EFA). Others are to enhance security, improve quality of life, inner serenity, life expectancy, and career possibilities.

Teachers' Training: The Main Stream of Peace Education

Teachers are central to mainstreaming of peace education and key in the learning process. This requires sufficient numbers of highly qualified teachers, quality teacher training institutions, continuous education and lifelong facilities for all teachers (Education International, 2007). Training of teachers takes two forms, mainly in- service and pre-service programmes. In-service training programs tend to improve a teacher's characteristics, which benefits the mainstreaming of peace education. Harris and Sass (2011) investigated "the impact of teacher training on teacher value added in the United States and found that teacher training was positively linked with productivity".

Furthermore, more experienced instructors seemed to be more successful in both teaching and mainstreaming peace education. In order to achieve peace in the schools in terms of skills and knowledge, the trainees' responsibilities and capabilities may be strengthened via in-service training. Saki (2011), found that "in-service teacher training allows instructors to be more methodical and rational in their teaching approach". Locally, Kangethe (2015) reveals that "master trainers in Peace Education were recruited from the Ministry of Education, the Curriculum Development Institute (Kenya's educational institutions), and the Teachers Service Commission and put at all levels".

Social inclusion

According to Umeji (2020) and Nnama-Okechukwu et. al. (2022), "social inclusion is the process of increasing the opportunities for poor and excluded people and groups to participate in society". Discrimination based on gender, age, race, religion, and class, among other types of identification, has the ability to deprive people of their serenity, dignity, and security. Peace education for social inclusion has been hailed as an innovative educational strategy Uchem et. al, (2014). This is because it gives everybody with equal chances regardless of gender, class, ethnicity, intellectual and physical aptitude, or handicap. Promoting social inclusion via

"peace education is therefore a strategy of achieving long-term peace and sustainable development" in Nigeria. According to Uchem et al. (2014), "socioeconomic and political exclusion and marginalization are major sources of conflict and instability in Africa, social inclusiveness is a promising means of achieving sustainable development in Nigeria, and peace education is the most effective tool for achieving stability".

Despite the fact that scholars have assessed the concepts of peace education, social inclusion, and sustainable development, there exists a major gap in theoretical and practical aspects regarding how the three components depend on one another to live. Thus, this study argues for the necessity to enshrine peace education within the framework of existing social institutions that have withstood the test of time and should be revitalized for Nigeria's long-term viability.

Conceptual framework and Meaning of Peace and Peace Education

Robson (2002) Schulz & Sentama, (2020) and defines "conceptual framework as the system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that support and inform the researcher while carrying out the study". The conceptual framework is based on the input and output processes. The inputs in the figure are the independent variables namely the teacher training, instructional materials, teacher attitude and teaching methodology. All these variables interact with each other during the teaching and learning process and hence, effective mainstreaming of peace education (output).

Theoretical Framework

The basis for this research is Elise Boulding's Peace Education Theory. This is due to "the theory exemplifying 'peace praxis,' or bridging the gap between theory and practice in peace studies". Rather than studying peace, this is an art of practicing peace. It is "the integration of mental and physical acts Stephenson (2012)". Therefore, peace education is accepted to occur "at all levels, spanning cultures, time, borders, and academic fields, and it targets class, age, race, and gender (Boulding, 2000; Danesh, 2006)". Peace education theory, according to Jenkins (2013), "focuses at educational approaches and tactics for personal and societal change

as important domains of knowledge and activity in peace scholar and activist communities". Harris (2004) emphasizes "the relevance of this theory to social reconstruction by stating that peace education is increasingly being utilized by peace educators and professionals to provide early warnings about oncoming hazards and familiarize people with the preservation of peace and balance".

Due to its focus on networking, relationships, and listening, this study adopted the Boulding's (2000) theory on peace education. These are aspects of social inclusion. Peace education idea avoids dichotomies by incorporating "human needs into autonomy and interconnectivity". Therefore, the pervasiveness of the recognized institutions that might be directed toward attaining peace in Nigeria is stated. It does this by relying on the previous research on peace education and social realities in Nigeria to underscore the critical need to begin incorporating age-old peace concepts and practices into school curricula.

3 Methodology

This research was conducted as a survey of opinions of 200 teachers from secondary schools in Lagos, within Agboyi LCDA. Five secondary schools focused are Ajegule Senior High School, Kosofe College, Ketu, Kosofe Junior/Senior College, Akanimade, Ketu, Community Senior High school, Alapere. Data were collected using structured questionnaire drafted on a 5- point Likert scale where 5 = Strongly Agree, 4 = Agree, 3 – Indifference, 2 = Disagree and 1 = Strongly Disagree. Data was analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics.

4 Presentation and Analysis of Results

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The categories of Peace Education in school curriculum ensuring peaceful coexistence occur with equal probabilities.	One-Sample Chi-Square Test	.000	Reject the null hypothesis.
2	The categories of integrating Peace Education in the school curriculum on teachers and students occur with equal probabilities.	One-Sample Chi-Square Test	.000	Reject the null hypothesis.
3	The categories of need for teaching peace education as a separate course in secondary schools occur with equal probabilities.	One-Sample Chi-Square Test	.000	Reject the null hypothesis.
4	The categories of Peace Education serve as a means of teaching values and traditions of different cultures occur with equal probabilities.	One-Sample Chi-Square Test	.000	Reject the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Results of Non-parametric Tests

Source: Authors' Computation (2022)

Table 1: Effect of the inclusion of peace education in the school curriculum on ensuring peaceful coexistence

S/N	Statement	SA	A	I	D	SD	Mean	S.A.
1	"Inclusion of peace education in secondary school curriculum will pave way for respect of human right and children's rights"	107 42.8%	68 27.2%	20 8.0%	24 9.6%	31 12.4%	2.22	1.403
2	"The teaching of peace education in secondary school will reduce crime in Nigeria"	103 41.2%	71 28.4%	18 7.2%	28 11.2%	30 12%	2.224	1.4
3	"Differences in language, culture and government policy curriculum"	110 44%	83 33.2%	22 8.8%	21 8.4%	21 8.4%	2.04	1.268
	"Peace Education in school curriculum"	96 38.4%	88 35.2%	24 9.6%	24 9.6%	18 7.2%	2.120	1.226

	ensuring peaceful coexistence”							
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Source: Authors’ Computation (2022)

According to the findings reported in Table 1, 73.6 percent (38.4+35.2) of respondents agreed and 22 percent (9.6+12.4) disagreed that include Peace Education in school curricula may improve peaceful coexistence. According to the majority of stakeholder responses, including Peace Education in school curricula might improve peaceful coexistence in Lagos state.

In order to determine the level of significance of the findings, the non-parametric test results presented in Figure 1 show that, with a p-value of 0.000, which is less than 0.05, it can be concluded that “teaching Peace Education in school curriculum will significantly enhance reduction in violence, crime, and give way for respect of human rights” in Lagos State.

This finding indicated that majority of secondary school teachers are aware of the challenges that Nigeria is facing, combined with social views among youths and adults, which is sufficient evidence that Nigeria requires Peace Education, which should begin in school, at home, and throughout society. This is consistent with the views of Kester (2008), as well as Ogunyemi and Adetoro (2013).

Table 2: effects of integrating Peace Education in the school curriculum on students and teachers

S/N	Statements	SA	A	I	D	SD	Mean	S,A .
4	“Peace Education should be integrated to the secondary school curriculum in Nigeria”	44 17.6%	65 26.0%	36 14.4%	51 20.4%	53 21.2%	3.06	1.583
5	“The starting point for designing Peace Education curriculum should be teachers and students”	47 18.8%	54 21.6%	22 8.80%	68 27.2%	59 23.6%	3.15	1.473
6	“Peace Education should be a long-term goal at all levels of the curriculum”	97 38.8%	80 32.0%	29 11.6%	19 7.6%	25 10%	2.18	1.297

“Integrating Peace Education in the school curriculum has positive effects on teachers and students”	31 12.4%	84 33.6%	57 22.8%	56 22.4%	22 8.8%	2.816	1.475
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Source: Authors’ Computation (2022)

The analysis presented on Table 1 revealed that 46% (12.4+33.6) of respondents agreed and 31.2% (22.4+8.8) disagreed with the position that the inclusion of Peace Education in school curriculum could enhance peaceful coexistence among teachers and students. This suggests that based on opinion of majority of stakeholder respondents, the inclusion of Peace Education in school curriculum could enhance peaceful coexistence among teachers and students in Lagos state. On average mean value of 2.82, it suggests that respondents generally are of the view that there is agreement on integrating of peace education in the school curriculum should be ensured and that it should start from the teachers and students, as well as be made a long-term goal in Lagos state.

To determine the level of significance of the findings, results of the non-parametric test presented in Figure 1 shows that, with a p-value of 0.000 which less than 0.05 it can be concluded that integrating Peace Education in the school curriculum will have significant effect on teachers and students in Lagos state.

According to these, "the need for a culture of peace in Nigeria necessitates the emergence of Peace Education concepts, which align with the concepts in the 2007 nine-year Basic Education Social Studies curriculum for junior secondary schools (JSS)" as specified by Falade, Adeyemi, and Olowo (2011) and Ogunyemi and Adetoro (2013). As a result, peace education would act as a method of capturing youngsters and reducing the spirit of tolerance that breeds conflicts all over the globe.

Table 3: Teaching peace education as a separate course in secondary schools

S/N	Statements	SA	A	I	D	SD	Mean	S.A
7	“Peace Education should be taught separate from other subjects in our secondary schools”	94 37.6%	98 39.2%	29 11.6%	10 4.0%	19 7.6%	2.05	1.157
8	“There is significant difference between Peace Education and social studies Education”	98 39.2%	89 35.6%	22 8.8%	23 9.2%	18 7.2%	2.10	1.222
9	“Introduction of Peace Education as a separate subject is necessary in secondary schools”	40 16%	56 22.4%	45 18%	56 22.4%	53 21.2%	3.10	1.390
	“Need for teaching peace education as a separate course in secondary schools”	42 16.8%	108 43.2%	67 26.8%	17 6.8%	16 6.4%	2.428	1.051

Source: Authors’ Computation (2022)

On the justification for inclusion of peace education as a separate course Table 4 was used to analyse respondents’ views using items 7, 8 and 9. Responses on the position that Peace Education should be taught separate from other subjects in our secondary schools show that 60% (15.8+43.2) of respondents agreed to the view and 13.2% (6.8+6.4) expressed disagreement. On average, it suggests that respondents generally are of the view that Peace Education should be taught separate from other subjects in our secondary schools in Lagos state, Nigeria. Based on these, Peace Education needs to be introduced as a separate subject in the curriculum of secondary school education. In other to determine the level of significance of the findings, results of the non-parametric test presented in Figure 1 shows that, with a p-value of 0.000 which less than 0.05 it can be concluded that there is need for teaching peace education as a separate course in secondary schools in Lagos state.

According to Mawuaden and Antwi (2007), in the past, "researchers in Social Studies and other social issue solving disciplines stressed ideas such as patriotism and man-environment interrelationships" but not specifically peaceful cohabitation. In response to this outcry, given the complexities of the problems and the nature of Peace as a necessary condition

in man-to-man interactions, the Nigerian government should launch an educational program targeted at introducing Peace themes into curriculum in the form of Peace Education.

Table 4: Relevance of teaching Peace Education and to teaching of values and traditions in Nigeria.

S/N	Statements	SA	A	I	D	SD	Mean	S.A.
10	“Peace Education will be relevant for teaching the values and traditions of different culture in Nigeria”	54 21.6%	72 28.8%	24 9.6%	58 23.2%	42 16.8%	2.85	1.429
11	Peace Education could be taught through games, song and puppet play etc.	85 34%	106 42.4%	21 8.4%	16 6.4%	21 8.4%	2.12	1.197
12	“Separate teaching manual should be developed for Peace Education curriculum”	70 28%	70 28%	42 16.8%	38 15.2%	29 11.6%	2.54	1.350
	Relevance of Teaching Peace Education to teaching of values and traditions in Nigeria	45 18%	91 36.4%	79 31.6%	12 8.4%	21 8.4%	2.488	1.106

Source: Authors’ Computation (2022)

On the argument for teaching Peace Education as a way of teaching values and traditions of diverse cultures in Nigeria, comments were received from the south, utilizing items 11, 11 and 12.

According to Table 4, 54.4 percent (18+31.6) of respondents agreed and 16.8 percent (8.4+8.4) disagreed that Peace Education would be useful for teaching the values and customs of diverse cultures in Nigeria. In conclusion, more respondents believe that teaching Peace Education would be useful for teaching values and customs of other cultures in Lagos state, Nigeria. Based on these findings, it is concluded that teaching Peace Education may be used to educate values and customs of many cultures in Nigeria. The results of the non-parametric test provided in Figure 1 reveal that, with a p-value of 0.000, which is less than 0.05, it can be

inferred that teaching Peace Education may considerably serve as a way of teaching values and traditions of diverse cultures in Nigeria.

This conclusion supported the findings of Falade, Akinola, and Adejube (2009) and Olu-orungbemi and Olowo (2011) that "Yoruba of western Nigeria standards aimed for social cohesiveness and smooth-running to their report utilizes proverbs to teach the qualities of forgiveness, harmony, and peaceful coexistence". In addition, "Olu-Orungbemi and Olowo (2011) discovered that traditional proverbs, folk tales, and songs were commonly utilized to teach principles that foster strong relationships". They did, however, reveal that, "despite its existing in the Nigerian indigenous Education system, the nomenclature of Peace Education" was not adequately established throughout this ancient period.

Conclusion

Given the developments in Nigeria and throughout the globe, Peace Education is unavoidable Anim et ta (2022). Wide disparities between wealthy and poor, ethnic marginalization and religious disputes, environmental degradation, gender equality, and other factors give enough proof that our current generation needs a change in all aspects. That is, shift from a culture of war to a culture of peace through changing attitudes, actions, knowledge, and abilities. As Kester (2008) correctly said, "Peace Education programmes must adopt a comprehensive approach to tackling the root causes of conflict". In order to maintain efficacy, "the integration, implementation, and practice of Peace Education must be carefully and continually reviewed". Because the only goal of Peace Education is not to teach social studies, the existing Social Studies curricula in Nigeria has to be revamped with some pertinent ideas to improve the teaching and learning of Peace Education in our schools. Pertinent that Social Studies should be instructional material for the attainment of Peace Education in Nigeria should be achievable via the school curricula in Lagos State.

Recommendations

Based on the preliminary results of the research, it is suggested that:

1. Teachers' training and retraining should be increased to ensure that they have the skills and knowledge to employ suitable tactics and approaches to successfully teach Peace Education.
2. In order to incorporate knowledge relevant to Peace Education, a thematic approach to rebuilding the Social Studies curriculum contents is unavoidable. This will help to minimize the amount of information in the Social Studies curriculum.
3. The current Social Studies curriculum material in our secondary schools should be evaluated in order to reflect and identify topics related to Peace Education.
4. Inclusion and teaching of peace education will enhance values and traditions of different cultures in Nigeria, to bridge the gaps of distrust and separatism.

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ACADEMEA DISCRIMINATION: A DILEMMA AMONG GRADUATES OF NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

Discrimination against the National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN) graduates is a phenomenon that has eaten deep into the nook and cranny parts of our educational system unnoticed. The idea of establishing NOUN some decades ago was given a tardy reception among the academia due to its nature and methods of teaching which was novel to the Nigerian education terrain. This development has opened up Nigerian academics to a choice of accepting this generational change in the operational dynamics of education in this clime, with measures taken in the past to help academics embrace this change. This has caused a lot of cynicism and lack of confidence in the establishment of NOUN. This study examines the negative impacts of discrimination against NOUN graduates in the open market. Findings show that the cynicism and lack of confidence in the establishment of NOUN was the major cause of why some academia and their institutions discriminate against NOUN graduates, which is prevalent among private universities and is having negative effect on the graduates of NOUN in securing competitive employment in some private universities and other tertiary of learning. It is recommended that the Committee of Vice Chancellors of all Universities in Nigeria should as a matter of urgency discuss the issue and educate their teaching and non-teaching staff about the importance of having NOUN, as only Nigeria ODL institution in Nigeria, and its graduates should not be discriminated but should be given the same opportunities and select the best based on competence and not about segregation.

Keywords: Democracy, Election, Political Participation, Youth, Nigeria

Introduction

Open and Distance Learning is not new to the world, it is a 21st century modern way of learning which allows students to study all over the world within their own pace, space, and time without being physically present in the school. ODL is any learning activities within formal,

and informal, and non-formal domains that are facilitated by information and communication technologies to lessen distance both physical and psychologically, and to increase interactivity and communication among learners, learning sources and facilitators (IGI Global, 2022). Nigeria has not been left behind just as elite countries of the world has joined the train of 21st century in moving from conventional system of learning that give limited chances to the population of world in the acquisition and knowledge of tertiary education.

National Open University of Nigeria has bridged the gap of inconsistencies faced by conventional universities most especially, in the areas of ICT, continuous strikes by the ASUU, and limited admission dilemma that candidates of JAMB face every year. NOUN has become a household name in Nigeria. It was initially rejected when it was first established due to how people see it being alien to the conventional way they are used to. But decades later, it was accepted by Nigerians after seeing that the advantages are more beneficial than the disadvantages. Both undergraduate and post graduate programmes are now runs in this great institution of learning.

Article 1, (a) of the United Nations Human Rights defined discrimination as: Any distinction, exclusion or preference made on the basis of race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin, which as the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation (United Nations, 1958).

Discrimination has become incessant menace that bedevilled the psychosomatic intellectual of some academia who are bent on discouraging the efforts of graduates who has put in their hard-earned resources, time, and everything to better themselves academically, mentally, psychologically, etc. Unfortunately, many employers deny graduates of National Open University of Nigeria which is recognized by the Nigeria University Commission (NUC) job applications and opportunities, except for those that has been working in one organisation or the other who only needs the degree certificates for promotion or elevation.

This is not surprising phenomenon because, the altruism of some Nigeria academia cum plethora caricature of NOUN is exponential and has bastardized the original intent of the

establishment of this great citadel of learning. Many employers within the Nigerian universities most especially private universities discriminate against graduates of NOUN. It's so obvious that graduates of this great institution are in a dilemma as it seemed no one is noticing this abnormality. Employers most time show a bizarre impression the moment they discovered that you are a graduate of NOUN.

Basically, the major requirement that is to be considered by many employers includes skills, knowledge and abilities of the applicants (Oyegoke, 2022). Sadly, many graduates who has been certified in learning and character by the Nigerian Universities such as NOUN, who have met the basic requirements are still not considered for employment all because they are products or graduates of NOUN. In view of the foregoing, it become important to investigate academia discrimination against NOUN graduates.

Theoretical Framework

A sensible explanation of discrimination and prejudice in the society or among academia has always emerged by different opinions or ideas of scholars. One of the ideas is a theory propounded by Theodor Adorno (1950), "Authoritarian Personality Theory." Since the research work is to examine academia discrimination against graduates of NOUN. It is believed that academia are groups of authorities in their communities or environment and are basically concerned with research, scholarly activities, education, etc.

Theodor Adorno who was once faced with discrimination and prejudice blames the authoritarian personality, a personality type that involves rigid thinking, obeying authority, seeing things in black and white, and believing in a hierarchy structure of society. That is, authoritarian personalities believe that some people are just better than others (Boyd, 2022). Prejudice which simply means to form an unfavourable opinion or feelings about a person or a group of people without a full examination, while discrimination, a process of making a distinction against a person or thing based on the group, class or category they belong to, rather than basing any action on individual merit (BBC Bitesize, 2022).

Some people, organization, communities, etc., are rigid and are ethnocentric in nature, they based their ideology of hiring or recruiting on ethnocentrism approach without considering the dehumanization, undermine, and moral exclusion of the best brain that's fit for a job or position. Employment opportunities should be based on assessment test of an individual and not by discriminating against individuals, groups or sections of the society.

Importance and benefits of National Open University of Nigeria to Educational Sector

The quest for an educational framework in Nigeria that can take care of the three vectors of access, quality and cost, indeed prompted the introduction of Open and Distance Learning (ODL) system through the establishment of the National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN) in 1983 (Obierika, 2021).

Besides South Africa that started its own ODL at the incipient stage to a worldwide stage, National Open University of Nigeria also started at incipient stage, and now the most populous and largest ODL in Sub-Sahara Africa. Obierika, (2021) notes that since inception NOUN's approach to learning has been to promote the ODL system of education, thus the establishment of study centres with a view to giving every citizen, the opportunity to acquire education through technology-based learning, and this is what ODL mode provides.

The world is a global village and is changing every day, it has also become a flat world where the effect of what is affecting other nations of the world affect all. The world is changing technologically, and the elite nations are moving with the innovation and dynamism of the global world. Nigeria should not be left behind in the world of ICT, and that was why the government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria deem it fit to establish National Open University of Nigeria to further the advanced methods of teaching from conventional system which has been inadequate to meet the growing demands for higher education before, during and after Covid-19 pandemic.

Obierika, (2021) notes that ODL system is one of the most rapid growing fields of education in the world. Through it, NOUN has recorded substantial impact in the Nigerian education system. She further posits that the benefit of studying at NOUN, among others is

the fact that it offers increased access to quality education and skill development to learners in remote areas as well as those who are medically unfit to attend classes on daily basis with no age barrier. NOUN has made the unthinkable to become reality. It has given hope to the hopeless, strength to the weak and vision to the blind. Majority of the Civil Servant that don't have the time to further their education now enrolled and graduated from the institution.

Both military, police, and other para-military personnel has taken the advantages of NOUN flexibility mode of education to enrol and improve on their academic status (Nkanta, 2021). The incessant strikes by the ASUU have deprived and relegated some bright youth of achieving their goal and desire of finishing their programmes on time like their counterpart in private university. NOUN has given these children hope of starting their various programmes with an uninterrupted strike.

Some of the major benefits of NOUN can also be seen from its vision, mission, and objectives.

Misconception and Causes of Discrimination of NOUN among Academia

Upon the establishment of NOUN in 1983, the unexpected suspension of the operation of the institution by the then Military Government that succeeded the civilian government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari on the 25th April, 1984, sent a wrong signal to the populace and vindicated the calls by academician who sees the establishment of NOUN as an alien that should not be accepted. A decade later, President Olusegun Obasanjo reactivated the suspension of NOUN Act of 1983 (NOUN, 2012).

Smear attempt by academia came up again against the reactivation of the suspension of NOUN, it became a public debate, and so many articles were published citing reasons why NOUN should not be accepted. The National University Commission (NUC) who could also be blamed for the way and manner of which they handled the playing game released a bombshell of not recognizing NOUN as a university without considering the long-time effect which exacerbated the continuous misconception among various intellectuals in Nigeria.

Former Vice Chancellor of NOUN, Prof. Abdallah Uba Adamu in an interview with PREMIUM TIME with Owete, Murnai (2017) confirmed the misconception he and other academia had towards the establishment of NOUN before becoming the Vice Chancellor:

The open distance learning concept was very hard for people to accept throughout the entire spectrum of the Nigerian education learning system. When the Open University system was conceptualized in 1983, nobody wanted to associated with the university and because of this there was crisis of confidence in the university. By 25th April 1984, the government simply decided to suspend it. The open distance learning was revived in 2003. I found the sense of irony when Dr. Aminu Ibrahim one of the facilitators, visited me in Bayero University and recruited me to come revive the University. When we came to Lokoja I discovered that other professors were there and we spent a whole month writing the programmes. After we finished, the coordinator, Dr. Olugbemiro Jegede, who happened to be my teacher in Ahmadu Bello University pulled me aside and said, I want you to become the dean of Faculty of education and I said no. Again, there was that cynicism in me and lack of confidence in the Open University system. So I just switched it off.

With this plethora mundane of a former Vice Chancellor of NOUN, the populace becomes gullible to the resentment towards the institution. Some of the causes of misconception and discrimination then was due to poor perception of academia towards the institution, despite the fact they are intellectual and ought to know better. When the institution was first established, it was totally alien to Nigeria conventional system.

They recorded their lectures in cassettes and then sell the video cassettes, no internet connectivity in Nigeria not until 1991, so the government suspended it in 25th April 1984 (Owete, and Murnai, 2017). Some other misconception of people against NOUN are the notions that everything is online, quick and easy, you do not have to go to study centres regularly, etc., are all fallacy and assumptions by people that are not informed. The Chancellor of National Open University of Nigeria, His Royal Highness, Amb Lawrence Okolio once asked government and general public to stop discrimination against graduates of NOUN (CHANNELS TV, 2016).

Effects of discrimination against NOUN graduates

The Report on the world social situation 2016 argued that discrimination is one of the key drivers of social exclusion (United Nations, 2016).

The effect of discrimination against the graduates of NOUN cannot be overemphasised. These menaces have bedevilled the nook and cranny of our society, and has been left unchecked for a long time. Graduates of NOUN, most especially those that are not working before commencement of their programmes are dying silently due to the incessant discrimination attitude main by both private and some state universities including some private organization on NOUN graduates.

Some prominent private universities in Nigeria categorically states that their institutions cannot employ graduates of NOUN as a lecturer even though they have the prerequisite skills and requirement needed for such offer despite the fact that NOUN was approved by the Nigeria University Commission, and also a member of the Nigeria Committee of Vice Chancellors and Post Graduate Studies. This will definitely have serious negative effects on not just the graduates of NOUN but also on the under graduate and prospective students of the institution.

Discrimination against students of NOUN to participate in the compulsory one-year NYSC is another ongoing debate that required quick response from government, silence on this will continue to demoralized, and make these students to be inferior and have low self-esteem among their peers throughout the country. Awards of 'certificate of Exemption' to graduates of NOUN is brutally an insult of the intellectual sensibilities of these students who are not less gifted than their counterparts in other universities (Ozikpu, 2015).

It was the same cynicism that has been going on for decades among academia that also led to NUC prohibition of NOUN from admitting Law students even after the institution met the minimum requirement to secure accreditation. Many of NOUN Law graduates could not be allowed to proceed to law school from 2014, by the Nigerian Body of Benchers due to what they tag as technical grounds (correspondence) rather than in-person or contact teaching

(Fatunde, 2020). These crises lingered for years to the extent of involving the National Assembly to rectify the technicality error claimed by the Nigeria Body of Benchers.

Chioma (2020) notes that after the approval of NOUN graduates to participate in the Law school, six conditions were imposed by the Body of Benchers to NOUN graduates' admission to the Nigerian Law School:

- Admission Restricted to 1,883 students
- Admission to Bar Part One – NOUN graduates will first be subjected to Bar Part Laws where they will undergo another round of teaching on the core law courses such as Law of Evidence, Introduction to Nigeria Law, Land Law, among other courses. Meanwhile the NOUN students have already undergone all the so-called courses laid out.
- Failure to pass Bar Part 1 will means fail out, but till this research work, none has failed so far.
- Admission is not automatic for NOUN graduates
- Admission to start 2022.
- Graduates must be fit and proper.

These and more are some of the segregation and discrimination NOUN graduates pass through in Nigeria, when other nations like United Kingdom, India, Canada, United State of America, etc., are celebrating their Open University due to its flexibility, innovative faster track to graduation, online learning resources and platforms updated regularly etc.

How to mitigate the effect of discrimination against graduates of NOUN

Professor Abdallah Adamu, former Vice Chancellor of NOUN who was once cynical about the idea of the establishment of NOUN in Nigeria, was also the one who later started championing the course of finding solution to change the cynicism syndrome of other academia to the reality of 21st century about university education.

Owete, and Murnai (2017) In their interview with the former VC, notes:

In 2016 I heard on the radio and NTA that I was the VC of NOUN. Earlier, somebody told me we are thinking of sending your name but I said don't do that, I don't want it. Previously, I was told to be a VC five times. It was twice in Bayero University, in Kano University of Technology and even in NOUN in 2010 when Prof. Jegede's tenures finished. They said that it had already been announced. Somebody who is cynical about the university, someone who initially didn't believe in open distance Learning, who didn't think Open University is a university is now being called upon to become the VC of that same University. Therefore, I saw this as a direct assignment from God. Since I have so much cynicism about the University, now go see things for yourself If you can defeat that cynicism. So, when I came in with a messianic mission. I came in with all guns blazing, pulling out ideas that I know in order to turn the university around so that nobody will look at it with cynicism just like me.

To mitigate the effect of discrimination against graduates of NOUN, all hands must be on deck to achieve this unbearable task that innocent and leaders of tomorrow are passing through silently in the hands of some academia that are bent on relegating the graduates of NOUN into bin. The Vice Chancellor of NOUN Prof. Olufemi Peters should not see his appointment as an enjoyment and relaxation position, rather to start from where his predecessor stopped in changing the cynicism syndrome among the elite academia.

All Deans, Professors, Associate Professors, HOD's, Doctors, teaching staff, should be given a task of how they can start changing the narrative about cynicism syndrome that has been in existence some decades ago, and still showing up among intellectuals which in turn affecting the graduates of NOUN in the open market.

Seminars, Conferences, Publications, like the one department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution are publishing quarterly should be mandated to all department of the institution. The Vice Chancellor should as a matter of urgency table the matter of some private university rejecting the graduates of NOUN for lecturer job with no basis should be discussed and meticulously addressed at the meeting of Committee of Vice Chancellors of all Nigeria Universities. The Nigeria University Commission (NUC) should also try and educate other

universities most especially, private universities about the importance of why all university approved by the commission should not be discriminate at.

Interview among Parents/Academia perception of discrimination against NOUN graduates

This research has been able to investigate public perception of discrimination against NOUN graduates by some academia and members of the public in Nigeria. Discrimination according to Cambridge dictionary, is defined as the treatment of a person or particular group of people differently, in a way that is worse than the way people are usually treated. (Cambridge dictionary, 2022). Persistent exposure to discrimination can lead individuals to internalize the prejudice or stigma that is directed against them, manifesting in shame, low self-esteem, fear and stress, as well as poor health (United Nations, 2018).

A popular social media (Facebook) platform, was used through a private group account (Concerned Parents and Educator Network) that has about (241k) members to seek the opinion of Nigerians all over the world about the topics: “As a teacher and Parents would you allow your children’s school (University) to employ a graduate of the National Open University of Nigeria as a lecturer if you have your way? Yes/No.” Over 100 people comments agreed that NOUN graduates are okay to lecture in Nigeria Universities, while only 4 said no.

The researcher also made use of face-to-face structured interview which is a method of data collection that requires the interviewer to collect information through direct communication with the respondent in line with the research context and already prepared questions (Formplus, 2020). Some prestigious federal, state, and private universities were selected for interview in the South West of Nigeria to ascertain their opinion and perception of discrimination against graduates of NOUN. Two private universities in Ado-odo Ota, and one at Ilishan Remo, Ogun State, one along Lagos Ibadan express way, one in Osun State, One in Ado-Ekiti and one in Owo, Ondo State. Some Federal and State Universities were also interviewed to seek their opinion about employing NOUN graduates as a lecturer in their institutions.

Findings shows that all the private universities visited categorically declined the notions of employing NOUN graduates based on their beliefs that the certificates is gotten from an online institution hence cannot be fit for or cannot fit into their system. The federal universities lecturers contacted believed that since it is Federal Government of Nigeria that approved the university, they can be employed. State universities also agreed with the federal universities, but stated that they don't have any graduates of NOUN as a lecturer in their institutions.

In sum, it was found that discrimination against graduates of NOUN is prevalent among academia of Private universities in the South West of Nigeria, which cannot be used as a generality of the whole country, and is significantly having negative impact of equal magnitude among graduates in Nigeria. It was also found that despite private universities making use of ICT and other 21st century technology to disseminate information and education to their students, they're still not comfortable with ODL institutions like NOUN that based its methodology and ideology of teaching on technology, innovation and other modern ICT tools used all over the world.

Conclusion and Recommendation

The world is now a global and flat place where what is affecting one country affects all. As the world is changes on a daily basis technologically, Nigeria cannot be left be behind, hence the need for all and sundry to start believing in Open distance learning which is not meant to relegate the conventional methods of learning, but to, make education easier for all.

National Open University of Nigeria is that change that is established by government and equipped with the capacity to flow with the dynamism of the 21st century educational system. It should not be seen as an alien created to relegate conventional university, but as supporter assigned to make sure that qualitative education with the use of modern technology and best practice can be accessed by all Nigerians without the issues of strikes and lack of admission.

NOUN graduates should not be discriminated at, but be giving the same opportunities given to other graduates. Committee of Vice Chancellors of all Universities in Nigeria should as a matter of urgency discuss the issue and educate their teaching and non-teaching staff about the importance of having NOUN as only Nigeria ODL institution in Nigeria, and its graduates should not be discriminated but should be given the same opportunities and select the best base on competency and not about segregation.

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TRADITIONAL LEADERS AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION: ZANGON-KATAF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF KADUNA STATE NIGERIA IN PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

This study assesses the impact traditional leaders have on conflict resolution in localities with high intensity conflict such as Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area of Kaduna State from 2015-2020. Major causes of conflicts in the area were found to be include but not limited to religion and socio-political factors. Similarly, traditional rulers face some challenges in the study area such as inadequate constitutional recognition and power to give support and legal backing to efforts concerning conflict resolution in their communities. It was ultimately deduced that in spite of these challenges, traditional rulers play significant impact on peace building and conflict resolution in Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area. It was concluded that these traditional leaders must do more to encourage peaceful co-existence among people of different religious, ethnic and social background in the community. Recommendation include that they must deal with external pressures that are believed to trigger conflicts in the community, aid socio-cultural reconstructions in post-conflict situations, mediate in inter-tribal issues and promoting consensus building among members of different tribes in the community so as to improve the process of conflict resolution in their respective communities of jurisdiction.

Keywords: Zangon –Kataf, Traditional Leaders, Impact Assessment, Conflict Resolution

Introduction

Traditional rulers are custodians of culture and tradition of the nation. This is because these leaders are close to the people at the grassroots level, and they are generally accepted by their people based on the customs and the traditions of their respective domains. Additionally, they also officially recognised by the government of their respective states. Traditional rulers are

in the forefront of efforts to prevent and mediate during conflict in their respective domains. During violent conflicts traditional rulers are often seen over the media calling for their subjects to end violence. Traditional rulers, through multiple peace building initiatives ensure peaceful coexistence among their subjects, due to their continuous direct contact with their subjects, which placed them in advantage position in maintaining law and order, in their respective domains. The contemporary role of traditional leaders is security and peace, at the same time local government use them for the attainment of peace and security in their areas as security and peace officers (Odoh, 2009; 2014).

Most of the violent conflicts that occur in Nigeria start from the localities in which the traditional rulers have a firm base. In many cases, the traditional rulers put a lot of efforts through various channels to help control conflicts, and also find a way of ensuring peaceful coexistence among groups in their respective domains. The traditional rulers have been intervening in conflicts. In the case of the Tiv-Jukun conflict that has been in existence since 1922. Similarly, the Kaduna State Council of Emirs and Chiefs was involved by the government in controlling the 1987 Kafanchan crisis, Zangon-Kataf crisis of February and May 1992 (Ibrahim, 2010). There are mixed perceptions on the role of traditional rulers, though traditional rulers are largely seen as peace builders.

Violent conflicts have become a common feature of inter-group relations in Kaduna State. It is even more in Southern Kaduna and Zangon-Kataf in particular where group identities, especially those constructed around ethnic and religious identities are politicised and manipulated in intergroup relations. Despite the continuous occurrences of the phenomena in Nigeria, there is no clear-headed long-term perspective within which violent conflicts can be contained. In the same vein, one can equally assert that, despite all efforts by the government to bring the conflict in Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area to an end, whenever there is breakdown of conflict, through deployment of security operatives and subsequent establishment of judicial commissions of inquiry to unravel the causes of conflict, yet conflicts continue to suffice in the area. In order to achieve the, our objectives include:

1. To examine the main causes of conflict in Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area from 2015-2020.
2. To determine the impact of traditional rulers on conflict resolution in Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area from 2015-2020.
3. To ascertain the challenges faced by traditional rulers in conflict resolution in Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area.
4. To suggest possible strategies effective for peace building in Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area.

Conceptual Clarification

The Concepts of Conflict and Conflict Resolution

Conflict connotes struggle over scarce values and status among groups in the society. Conflict often manifests in violent form. Violence therefore denotes employment of illegal method of physical coercion for personal or group ends.

Conflict resolution refers to a situation in which individuals or parties (groups) enter into a negotiation process to resolve conflicts, they will bring certain orientations to the table in their effort to settle the conflict. Note that during negotiations for the resolution of conflicts, each party comes to the table ready to sacrifice certain advantages without which a resolution will be difficult. "Conflict resolution" implies that conflict is bad, and is therefore something that should be ended. It also assumes that conflict is a short-term phenomenon that can be "resolved" permanently through mediation or other intervention processes. Conflict resolution is therefore desired as a long-term process that occurs after violent conflict has slowed down or come to a halt. Thus, it is the phase of the peace process that takes place after peacemaking and peace keeping.

Ethnicity

This refers to people who share common ancestry, identity, language and culture. It is simultaneously a process of naming self, naming others, as well as being named by others"

(Oyedele, 2007). In many cases there are physical symbols of the common identity such as facial marks, particular and peculiar clothing items and in some cases diet.

Traditional Rulers

For centuries before the advent of colonialism, governance in different parts of present-day Nigeria was synonymous with traditional institutions and their rules. Local government administration generally cantered on local community and their traditional rulers, who were considered repository of religious, legislative, executive, and judicial functions (Ohiani, 2009). In essence, traditional rulers constitute the core of governance. The geographical sphere of influence and authority of traditional rulers in pre-colonial Nigeria were essentially localised and no traditional ruler ever had jurisdiction over the entire geographical area of modern Nigeria (Tonwe and Osemwota, 2013).

Traditional institutions are in some parts of Nigeria custom, the concept predates colonialism, while in other parts the concept can be tied to colonialism as well as post-colonialism (Federal Government of Nigeria, (1976). Guidelines for Local Government Reforms, Government Press Lagos. Besides, “there is no single definition of traditional systems of authority in Nigeria principally because of the variegated nature of its indigenous political system” (Ohiani, 2009). Webber cited in Ohiani (2009), sees traditional authority as that form of domination that rest upon routine behaviours which have, over the years, come to be regarded as an inviolable norm of conduct upon piety for what actually, allegedly or presumably has always existed. The definition by Webber means that, traditional authority is that form of hegemony which derives its legitimacy based on customs and traditions of the people. This form of authority is no longer applicable in modern state system. Traditional rulers are only regarded as the custodian of culture and tradition of their people. In this regard, the institutions and set of practice of traditional ruler-ship, has been in existence for long period of time, and it is worth preserving. However, traditional institutions can be referred to as indigenous political arrangements, whereby leaders with proven track records are appointed

and installed in line with the provisions of their native laws and customs (Orji and Olali, as cited in Nweke, 2012).

By implication, before a person is appointed to the position of traditional ruler, he must be a man of integrity, sanctioned by native law and custom of that particular community. This definition failed to come to reality with present day Nigeria, whereby people of questionable character that cornered public fund, after retiring from public office are appointed as traditional rulers. Adewumi and Egwurube, as cited in Ohiani (2009), defined traditional rulers as,

Individuals occupying communal political leadership position sanctioned by cultural norms and values, and enjoying the legitimacy of particular communities to direct their affairs. Their basis of legitimacy is therefore tradition, which includes; the whole range of inherited culture and way of life; a people's history; moral and social values and the traditional institutions which survives to serve those values; traditional religious ideas surviving as autonomous religious or influences of Christianity and Islam; the kingship systems and the other social institutions.

The Role of Traditional Rulers in Conflict Resolution in Pre-Colonial Nigeria

Indeed, there is no gainsaying that, traditional rulers have certain elements as the basis of their authorities other than tradition. This makes them different from other leaders in the world. The pre-defined Nigerian communities had them (traditional rulers) as virtually the only people with authority to govern their subjects. In that period, traditional rulers managed affairs, administered justice and resolved tension in their different localities with certain unwritten laws.

However, the unwritten laws found their root in first-hand experience passed on through stories, myths and legend, folklore, rituals, or songs from generation to generation and formed part of the general social structure which in turn bred order, development, peace and stability in these localities. This does not presuppose that these communities were out rightly peaceful and orderly, as every community, at that time, had witnessed one form of conflicts or the other as a result of divergent interests arising from the difference in languages and traditions. More so, these (conflicts) were put under control by traditional rulers who were

seen as the living representatives of their ancestors and believed to possess their authority from the spirits of the Supreme Being or God

In Northern Nigeria, among the farming communities, there is a hierarchy of village elders, ward heads, Village Heads and District Heads who can be called on to resolve their disputes. If the damage is serious, then a most senior leader is called upon to settle the problem. The main problem with traditional authorities in his view is that their interest in these matters varies from one village to another. Some take action to set up court-like procedures, with witnesses, site inspection and independent assessment of costs. Others make arbitrary judgments, and people commonly accuse them of taking bribes. In some areas, the pastoralists are said to win all cases because they are wealthier than farmers and can pay more. Elsewhere, judgments are said always to go in favour of farmers. The Emirs, he further explained, could also help in forming professional and tribal associations. Each association could freely elect its own chairperson. The different chairs elected one representative as member to the Emirate Council. A conflict resolution mechanism can be set up at three levels:

- Low level committee, comprising of village head, Fulani and farmer leaders. They can resolve the issue at their level, mostly by mediation and payment of compensation.
- Middle level committee, comprising District Head, Sarkin Fulani and branch chair of the Farmers Association. Very few issues pass this level without being resolved.
- High level committee, comprising the Emir, the Galadima (who also represents the Chairs of Associations) and other members of the Emirate Council. The verdict here is final and the conflicting parties must adhere to it. Since the establishment of these mechanisms, both in the Eastern and Northern Nigeria, individuals and communities in these regions have been living peacefully with one another (Nwazie, 1991). However, the arrival of the colonialists who created a nation, named Nigeria, led to the change in status and roles of these traditional rulers. These colonialists thereby brought the different Nigerian political systems under centralised states and used traditional rulers as intermediaries between

the colonial state and the local people. As intermediaries between the colonial State and local peoples, chiefs were expected to maintain peace and order within their communities. Consequently, these chiefs (traditional rulers) were assigned roles.

The Role of Traditional Rulers in Conflict Resolution in Kaduna State

The place of traditional rulers in modern Nigeria cannot be overemphasised as regard the issue of conflict resolution as Dunmoye (2009) opines that, traditional rulers can play the role of fostering harmony in their communities either as individuals or as group. Traditional rulers bring to bear in various ways the issue of peace building such as peace and security, information and intelligence gathering as part of early warning, conflict mediation and resolution, reconciliation dialogue, trust and confidence building initiative, encouraging coexistence through peace education and poverty eradication and so on.

Odoh (2009), Ohiani (2009), and Abdullahi (2013) pointed out that, right from colonial period to the present-day Nigeria, traditional rulers and political institutions have demonstrated and proved to have a long-life span and resilience, as well as relevance. The persistent struggle by communities to get their chiefs recognised by the state government, and also the competition and clamour among elite from such communities to occupy vacant chieftaincy stool, seems to confirm the argument that, traditional rulership in Nigeria has not become an outdated system, in spite of the stands of both the radicals and the liberals who regard the systems a mere institutional relic.

In Kaduna state, which has a high incidence of violent complex ethno-religious conflicts. The Emir of Zazzau has been in the forefront, in an effort to prevent and mediate conflict. The Emir of Zazzau had appeared in the media calling his subjects to end violence. Emergency meetings have been held between the Emir and the council, district heads, government functionaries, elders in the communities and security agents (Blench et al, 2006).

The Emir of Zazzau maintains that, traditional rulers should not be relegated in field of maintenance of law and order, whatever the kind of government in power. Traditional rulers have better acquaintance with the general public in their domains, they are preservers and

custodian of law and order. They have been skilful in solving the problem of their subjects and in controlling any kind of human disturbance and disputes (Idris, 1995). Blench et al (2006) affirms that “the role of traditional rulers with or without constitutional provision is the maintenance of peace at all levels whenever peace is threatened and they are able to do this because they are custodians of their people. In confirmation of this, the Emir of Zazzau stated that, through their district heads the traditional rulers perform among many roles, law and order, disturbances, boundary disputes, subversive activities bearing on law and order and local dispute (Blench et al, 2006).

The Emir of Zazzau Alhaji Shehu Idris plays his role in the maintenance of peace and harmony among Muslims and Christians in the Emirate which is composed of a multitude of tribes with different religious beliefs. The Emir had appointed Christians as district heads in areas where majority of the inhabitants are Christians (Dalhatu and Hassan 2000 cited in Blench et al, 2006). In the 1992 Zangon-Kataf ethno religious crises, which resulted in killing hundreds of people and destruction of properties, the intervention of the Emir arrested the widespread of the conflict. A call for reprisal attack by the people in Zaria was calmed by the address of the Emir. He pleaded with the people to be calm and tolerant, and that without peace and understanding in the society there would be no mutual confidence and the life of people would become insecure (Dalhatu and Hassan 2000 as cited in Blench et al. 2006).

As part of the effort to ensure mutual and peaceful coexistence between farmers and Fulani pastoralists, the District Head of Rahama of Zaria Emirate appointed Sarkin Fulani of Rahama district, and also assigned him as a member of the district’s security committee chaired by the district head. He reports all cases of insecurity to the committee or directly to the district head if the matter requires urgent attention (Blench et al, 2006). This initiative was replicated by upgrading Sarkin Fulani (Haruna Jangidi) to the position of district head of Ladduga district in Kachia Grazing Reserve. He reports to the Chief of Ikulu, a non-Muslim leader in southern Kaduna. The district head is a member of the Ikulu Chiefdom and this has

facilitated mutual understanding and the development of trust between different ethnic groups (Blench et al., 2006).

In its peace building activity, the Ikulu Traditional Council brought Ikulu and Fulani districts together who share common boundary in its course to ascertain the circumstance surrounding the assassination of a clergy man. The chiefdom subsequently involved security agency in the investigation process, and it was found out that, there had been a serious disagreement between a pastor and a Fulani man over a piece of land (Ikulu Traditional Council, 2012). In the same vein, in an effort to ensure peace and security and an atmosphere devoid of tension, between sedentary Ikulu farmers and Fulani herdsmen. In 2013, the Ikulu traditional council provided a situation report to the Kaduna state government. This was as a result of rumour over tension between two Fulani and Ikulu districts, who share a common boundary, over the discovery of dead body of an Ikulu man. The traditional council in its security situation report provides that, the two communities were living peacefully without molestation on either side (Ikulu Traditional Council, 2013).

Qualitative Data Analysis (Content Analysis)

A total of four (4) Traditional Leaders in Zangon Kataf LGA were purposively selected and oral interview conducted with them in order to collect qualitative data for validating the quantitative data collected in the study. The qualitative data were coded, transcribed, and analysed manually using the content analysis method and the results are summarised in Table below:

Results of Qualitative Data Analysis

Question	Transcribed Answers to Question	Consistency of Transcribed Answer
How long have you lived in this community?	For more than 50 years.	100.0%

What is your status/position in the community?	Traditional leader.	100.0%
In your opinion, do you think the role of Traditional rulers in peace building and conflict resolution has positive impact on the community?	Yes, it has positive impact.	75.0%
In your opinion, what do you think are the major causes of conflict in your community?	When people in the community neglect their roles or duties; when people struggle to achieve things, other people have achieved; when one tribe feels threatened or overwhelmed economically and socially by another tribe; when followers of one religion feel overwhelmed by another religion, and when one political/social group feel overwhelmed by another political/social group.	100.0%
In your opinion, what are the main challenges faced by Traditional rulers in peace building and conflict resolution in your community?	No constitutional backing to the roles of traditional leaders on conflict resolution; traditional leaders themselves do not have adequate capacities for conflict resolution; most members of the community are not educated and enlightened, making conflict resolution difficult for the traditional leaders, and the religious beliefs and political ideologies of some members of the community making them not to adhere to some rules and regulations poses challenge for traditional leaders to effectively carry out conflict resolution.	100.0%
What are some possible strategies that Traditional rulers should employ in order to carry out effective peace building and conflict resolution in your community?	Encouraging peaceful co-existence among people of different religions, ethnic group and social background in the community; proper handling of external pressures that are believed to stir conflicts in the community; helping to reconstruct socio-cultural bridges after situations of conflicts; intervening	100.0%

	in inter-tribal issues and promoting consensus building among members of different tribes in the community, and resolving biases that some tribes have against other tribes in the community.	
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Source: Researcher's Qualitative Data Analysis (Content Analysis) Results, 2022.

Findings

- i.) Traditional rulers have significant impact on peace building and conflict resolution in Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area.
- ii.) The main causes of conflicts in Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area are; neglect of roles or duties by people in the community, struggles by persons in the community to achieve what other persons in the community have achieved; feelings of threat by a tribe that another tribe has economically and socially overpowered or overwhelmed them; adherents of a religious group having feeling of being overwhelmed by adherents of another religious group, and a political/social group having feelings of being overpowered by another political/social group.
- iii.) The major challenges faced by traditional rulers in peace and conflict resolution in Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area are; lack of constitutional recognition to give support and legal backing to efforts of traditional leaders concerning conflict resolution in their communities; lack of capacity building on conflict resolutions on the side of the traditional leaders; lack of adequate education and enlightenment on the side of community members making the roles of traditional leaders in conflict resolution difficult; lack of adherence to some public rules and regulations by community members due to religious beliefs, making the roles of traditional leaders in conflict resolution difficult, and lack of adherence to some public rules and regulations by community members due to their political ideologies, making the roles of traditional leaders in conflict resolution difficult.

iv.) The strategies to be employed by traditional leaders for effective peace building and conflict resolution in Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area are; stimulating peaceful co-existence among people of different religious, ethnic and social background in the community; dealing with external pressures that are believed to trigger conflicts in the community; aiding socio-cultural bridge reconstructions in post-conflict situations; mediating in inter-tribal issues and promoting consensus building among members of different tribes in the community, and settling biases that some tribes have against other tribes in the community.

Conclusion

Conflict is a fundamental part of every society inhabited by humans, thereby, making its occurrence unavoidable as long as there are scarce resources and the quest for conflicting objectives. Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area has experienced violent ethno-religious conflicts in past regimes and the fourth democratic dispensation. Hence, traditional leaders in the Local Government Area are expected to play roles that lead to peace building and conflict resolution. It is without doubt that traditional leaders play important roles in peace building and conflict resolution globally. Based on the findings, the study concludes that traditional rulers have significant impact on peace building and conflict resolution in Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area in the fourth democratic dispensation.

Peace and security of lives and property have been seriously undermined in Zangon-Kataf Local Government over the years due to incessant conflicts and crises the Local Government Area has been bedevilled with, arising from factors such as neglect of roles or duties by people in the community, struggles by persons in the community to achieve what other persons in the community have achieved; feelings of threat by a tribe that another tribe has economically and socially overpowered or overwhelmed them; adherents of a religious group having feeling of being overwhelmed by adherents of another religious group, This has so frequently threatened to tear Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area apart.

Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusion of this study, the following recommendations were made:

1. Traditional rulers in Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area should be encouraged to involve themselves significantly in the process of conflict resolution in their respective communities of jurisdiction so as to sustain and improve the peace building efforts, mediation, and conflict resolution efforts in the Local Government Area.
2. Government should endeavour to be fair and just in the distribution/allocation of resources and infrastructures in Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area so that people of different tribes, religious groups, and political groups in the communities of the Local Government Area can fairly benefit from the distributed resources and infrastructures. This will to a very large extent reduce ethno-religious conflicts in the Local Government Area.
3. Government should give constitutional backings to the role of traditional leaders in peace building and conflict resolution in communities in Nigeria. This will to a large extent boost the morale of traditional leaders in Zangon-Kataf Local Government Area and by extension Nigeria in general to involve themselves remarkably in the peace building and conflict resolution processes in their respective domains of jurisdiction.

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PEACE EDUCATION AS STRATEGY FOR MANAGING GENDER DISCRIMINATION IN ONITSHA, ANAMBRA STATE (2015 - 2020)

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ABSTRACT

The patriarchal nature of African societies exacerbates gender conflict situation in the continent with huge consequences for the entire society. This study therefore examines the impact peace education has as strategy for managing gender discrimination against women in Onitsha, Anambra State. This was carried out using descriptive techniques and secondary data. In Onitsha like elsewhere, there still exists gender discrimination. This is due largely to the socio-cultural nature of the Igbo society which basically patriarchal in nature. The study also finds that gender inequality has a ripple effect on the development of a nation because it puts women who are potential development prospects in a disadvantaged position. Thus, peace education for both genders is no doubt a great way to achieve peace for national security. Also, governments' efforts to combat discrimination include the previous administration's decision in Anambra state to give 38% of its quota in political offices to women and to promote more women into its administration. Women were also empowered through financial assistance. It was concluded that peace education can be effectively used to manage conflict for national development. Recommendations include that parents should be sensitized on the need for girls'/women's education. Additionally, certain cultural beliefs and traditional practices that disenfranchise women should be abolished.

Keywords: Peace Education, Gender Discrimination, Patriarchy, Igbo, Socio-cultural

Introduction

It is universally asserted that education is a major catalyst for individual and national peace because it is the process of transmitting knowledge, skills and attitude of value that engender positive transformation. Education is also regarded as the most important instrument for

preparing individuals for life as well as reforming society for relevance, adequacy and competition in the world. Enaigbe and Igbinoghene (2016) noted that education is the prerequisite for a successfully engineered national system and is the answer to ignorance and servitude; the gateway to the future and the key to national development.

Opinions of the woman's purpose, expectations and aptitude are deeply rooted, clearly demarcating what they expect of themselves and what society expects of them (Liena, 2011). In a country such as Nigeria, women and their aspirations are seen as subordinate to that of men and they are thus, marginalized (Ikuomola and Okunola, 2017). This can also lead to social exclusion, according to the World Bank (2020).

According to Amobi (2015), gender inequality has a ripple effect on the development of a nation because it puts women who are potential development prospects in a disadvantaged position. The division of work into women's jobs and men's jobs, low pay for women's jobs, and restricted entry into top positions among many others contribute to the limitation of most women to visible active service to the nation (Lober, 2018). The foregoing argument can relate to the relationship between a country's development and their level of gender sensitivity. Most developing nations are those descending the curve of global gender sensitivity. For example, according to World Economic Forum (2020), in the year 2018, Nigeria ranked 128 out of 153 countries in the global gender gap index rankings (Nuhu, 2019).

Peace education for women is no doubt one means towards achieving peace and conflict resolution for national security. According to Igbuzor (2011), no doubt that many people are angry about the situation of conflict, insecurity and underdevelopment in Africa. Peace education for women should help to build in learners that level of consciousness which enables them to be prepared to take action within an organizational context. The values of peace which include among other things respect for life, sharing with others, rejection of violence, a sense of justice, listening ability and solidarity must be inculcated into stages of the educational process to enable learners to imbibe the right values that will guide them to throughout time lifetime (Igbuzor, 2011). Peace education is necessary among women because

every citizen should be so educated in order that he/she can understand society and the dynamics of social harmony without discrimination.

Notwithstanding, in Eastern Nigeria (including Anambra State today), the issue of women's discrimination and political representation has been a bone of contention. Cultural factors among others, have been a serious source of problems against the development of women at various levels and have continued to militate against the development and prominence of Anambra State women in their roles in societal development. It thus becomes necessary to study the impact of peace education as a strategy for managing gender discrimination against women in Onitsha in Anambra state, so as to ascertain the current situation and situate adequate solutions to the problem.

Conceptual review of gender equality

Gender equality "refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys". It is important to note that gender equality is not about women and men becoming the same but from the definitions, it is about rights, responsibilities and opportunities available to all of them in society. Gender equality is not women affair alone but rather seeks to involve both men and women in striving for equality. While there have been sustained calls for fairness among both men and women, there have equally been attempts to side-line women in the majority of the issues within society. It has been recognized elsewhere that women's empowerment and the improvement of women's social, economic and political status are essential for the achievement of sustainable development in all areas of life (United Nations, 1995).

In an article published in the Europe World online, Former President of Mozambique, Joaquim Chissano, opined that "Women and girls are Africa's greatest untapped resource, and it is they, not diamonds or oil and minerals, that will be the foundation for solid, sustainable and equitable progress". Moreover, Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in 1995 recognized that the failure to eliminate the gender-based stereotypes present in most media

organizations has been attributed to the lack of gender sensitivity in the media sector (United Nations, 1995).

By reinforcing traditional gender stereotypes held by the public, the media can influence the way society views women or their urge to rise in employment or as news actors. Unique issues such as bullying and harassment, and antisocial working hours put pressure on women to take up part-time jobs, become freelancers or even resign. Sexual harassment although it is evident remains unacknowledged in the media. Traditional and contemporary feminists have long been arguing that women's lives and experiences have value in society. They have challenged the patriarchal values that dominate systems and research has and continues to examine the role of women in our societies and the ways in which the social order advantages and disadvantages them (Hemmings, 2005).

Theoretical framework

Social philosopher George Herbert Mead, anthropologist Ralph Linton and psychologist Jacob Moreno are considered the founders of the role theory. As Connell (2005) explained, role theory is to be understood as the degree to which human social behaviour should be prescribed. To Janebova (2008), this theory is an incentive for exploring gender and basic role stereotypes that is reinforced and reproduced precisely in terms of roles of women, males, breadwinners, mothers, fathers, and so on.

Gender relations can be analyzed from four theoretical perspectives namely, structural-functionalism, biological determinism, conflict school of thought and feminism (Nwosu, 2017). This study is hinged on structural-functionalism and biological determinism. According to Talcott (cited in Ekong, 2010), gender differences help to integrate society. This is achieved through the complementarity of roles between the females and males as culturally determined by society. Igbo (2003) explains that the structural-functional theory views society as comprising inter-related and inter-dependent parts which function in a coordinated way to ensure the survival of the society. Igbo (2003) states that the theory holds the view that human

society has certain basic needs called functional prerequisites as represented by the structural units or parts.

According to a UNDP Report, (2005), patriarchy is a very strong determinant of male dominance over females in Nigeria, as a result, men will sit back in the family to keep the family name and lineage growing while women will be married out. Thus, men are being trained for leadership activities while women are confined to domestic activities; roles ascribed to them by the culture which affect them later in life, thereby making them lose self-confidence/worth and have low self-esteem in their career in adult life, politics, social and economic life in Nigeria inclusive. Despite the pronounced commitment of the international community to gender equality and to bridging the gender gap in the formal political arena, reinforced by the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform of Action, women are highly marginalized and are poorly represented in political activities. (UNDP Report, 2005).

Gender discrimination against the female gender in Onitsha and Nigeria

Over time, men were considered to be noble, decisive, independent, dignified, generous, and able to protect others; able to face difficulties, ready to take risks and conquer, thirsty for freedom and willing to sacrifice. According to Irukwu, (2001) men have broader knowledge and understanding than women that they are often successful and hold important positions in society and that men represent all that is beautiful and strong. Contrary to men, women are defined by their role in the household. Men are expected to persist in the face of failure, but the idea that men cannot acknowledge failure would suggest the importance of involving women in decision-making. After all, strength is only part of what is needed in making good decisions, and women's ability to compromise and reflect on their errors would presumably balance well with men's assertiveness.

Men are considered generous in behaviour and social relations, and even in wasting money and time. When a man does not have a generous character, he is considered not only a narrow-minded person but also a dangerous one. While it is good for a woman to be frugal, it

is considered unacceptable in men; men have the right to waste money partly because they have the ability to earn it. Naturally, the very different expectations of men and women in this regard, and women's concerns about maintaining the family on the husband's income, cause much conflict (Nwosu, 2001).

Nwankwo, (2006) has observed that many men think of freedom as a male prerogative. Men are considered to be clumsy, to not know how to care for others, and to have no knowledge of cooking. For these reasons therefore, they are usually excused from domestic duties. Surprisingly, women are given little or no credit for making these task look easy. Nwankwo (2006). He further maintained that gender training and stereotyping starts from early, as boys learn how to be independent, generous/extravagant, while girls are taught to be caring, family-oriented, frugal, selfless, and careful with money. Boys at this age are usually given more freedom than their sisters. Onitsha is one of the ancient traditional societies in South East, Nigeria. It is thus a society that has strong cultural ties, leading to the adherence to many customs. Some of these practices cause natural discrimination against women.

Social-cultural factors as challenges to the female gender in society and the need for gender equality in Nigeria

From the pre-colonial times to the early 21st century, the roles of women in Nigeria have continuously evolved. However, the image of an oppressed and marginalized group has undermined their dignity, and little recognition has been granted to the various integral functions that Nigerian women have performed throughout history. Women are mostly victimized by these conflicts yet they are not allowed to get involved in the peace-making process. Women face many challenges in decision-making and peace-building processes. This is due to various social-cultural factors affecting women in leadership.

They are also vulnerable to rape and other forms of sexual abuse, including forced marriage, sexual slavery, forced prostitution and trafficking all based on customs and traditions (Rehn and Sirleaf, 2002). Women usually do not hold high positions of authority; such positions are held by men and even the traditional elders are mostly men. In Nigeria, it is observed that womanhood is reduced to a mere infidel and a second-class citizen; hence,

there is the commonality of the general belief system that the best place for women is in the 'Kitchen'. This trend has brought about tremendous misrepresentation of women right at the level of the family down to the circular society. As Olurode (2001) pointed out, the Nigerian society is deeply patriarchal in nature and Onitsha, being a locality within the country is not left out. This basically enshrines a system where men dominate women. Beyond being discriminated against, women are systematically marginalised from educational to work opportunities. Additionally, women and the female gender are looked down on, viewed as object of demeaning jobs such as street hawking, prostitution, cleaners, and cooks.

Women's leadership position in traditional African societies

The mainstream Western male narratives usually ignored or downplayed the role of women in African cultures. For example, these writers portrayed African women as "almost a slave, she has no rights, she is overburdened by her heavy tasks, she is exploited by man and bought by him" (Paul, 2002). However, in some Nigerian ethnic societies, women were in most cases reserved inferior positions as compared to those men. However, due to a lack of understanding of African cultural practices, the coming of colonization, Christianity and western education was often responsible for extending this degrading status (Fedders, 2009). As a result, much of the information about African women's role in society was gathered from male informers.

Thus, the role and participation of women in peace and conflict resolutions are increasingly coming the focus of academic investigations. In this respect, the participation of women in conflict resolutions and decision-making in the political life of their communities is becoming an important area of study. However, culture and religious practices have for a long time influenced the level of women's participation in decision-making and conflict resolution in society. It is necessary to view the role of women in African society in relation to that of women in traditional societies generally (Mercier, 1962). Adelaide Hill, at the 1961 UNESCO Conference, contradicts and reproves those who have made superficial observations of traditional African Society in describing the African women 'as dominated and inarticulate (Hill, 1966).

Today's women and men behave according to culturally transmitted ideologies from many centuries ago, which were transferred through generations via social institutions, such as mythology, and narratives. A gender role, which defines women as perpetual children and property of men, has its basis in the earliest civilizations. This ranking of human beings on the basis of male superiority, and female inferiority, designates greater status and power for males than females, regardless of other attributes, skills, knowledge or accomplishments. (Orodho, 2003). Traditional ideology is defined to encompass a broad range of internalized beliefs in acceptance of the rightness of the patriarchal hierarchical order of the social structures.

Managing Gender Discrimination against Women Through Peace Education for Peace, and National Security

Generally, effective utilization of peace education in education in women in Anambra State for promoting peace, conflict resolution and national security played a significant role in promoting peace, conflict resolution and national security. According to a study carried out during capacity building for executive members of *umuada*, women's wing and student union on quality participation and representation in Town Union meetings on 22nd March 2016 in Ogidi, Anambra state at the voice to the People (V2P) project of Justice Development and Peace Commission (JDPC) Onitsha that these roles have not highly been recognized in the Nigerian Adult and Non-Formal Education sector, because the extent to which effective utilization of peace education in adult literacy programmes in Anambra State for promoting peace, conflict resolution and national security was relevant and important.

The relevance includes that peace education enables individuals to abhor violence; develops in people the skills, values and attitudes that assist them to become useful members of the society; inculcates the spirit of patriotism and nationalism that leads to unity, progress and national security; enables individuals to understand the dynamics of social harmony and develop the culture of peace and unity; enables individuals to acquire the right competences that promote an atmosphere of tolerance, equality, justice, harmony and fairness for peace and national security; and exposes individuals to problem-solving approaches that will enable them to apply peaceful negotiations, meditations and dialogue strategies that will promote

peace and national security in the society. Peace education also enables women to understand the root causes of gender discrimination, women's rights and individual differences that aid effective communication in society.

Data from a recent public opinion poll conducted by NOI Polls Limited in partnership with Project Alert on domestic violence (August 2020) revealed an increasing prevalence of domestic violence across Nigeria in recent times, as reported by about 78% of respondents. This prevalence was indicated to be at the highest increase in the South West geo-political zone (86%) and lowest in the South-East zone (70%). Furthermore, this poll revealed that 54 % of women have to reduce some form of domestic violence as a result of peace education. A CLEEN Foundation's 2017 National Crime and Safety Survey found that in Anambra state there is the reduction in domestic violence from 30% in 2015 to 21% in 2018. Among the forms of violence are rape, abuse, acid attacks, corporal punishment and, in severe cases, even death. Domestic violence remains largely underreported for several reasons. These include the fact that there is a culture of silence, resulting in cases of violence (sexual and physical abuse) not being reported to the police for fear of being victimized and stigmatized.

These include the issues of violence, unresolved conflicts, hostility, and injustices, individual differences that threaten the comfort of peace and national security and crimes in the society. More so, the need for individuals to be taught how to think and be critical about issues; including the need to promote peaceful coexistence and mutual development in society and also ameliorate individuals' ignorance on issues relating to peace, conflict resolution and national security has likewise necessitated the integration of peace education programmes among women. According to Nwafor (2013), the present Nigerian situation is constantly threatened by security challenges in different parts of the country, it is therefore, germane that peace education be introduced into the adult and non-formal literacy education in women to avoid discrimination. Francis (2009) also opined that discrimination against women in society has led to abuse of the rights of women in the country and possible outflow of migrants into neighbouring countries. Umar (2013) further highlighted that peace education needs to be

incorporated into women because all happenings in society also affect their daily life. The benefits of this can be seen from the highlights of USAID (2020) Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment Policy (Draft), which underscore the following:

- i. Reduce disparities between women and men in access to, control over, and benefit from economic, social, political, educational and cultural resources, wealth, opportunities, and services;
- ii. Strive to eliminate gender-based violence, which affects women's ability to thrive and succeed, and mitigate its harmful effects on individuals and communities, so all people can live healthy and productive lives;
- iii. Increase the capability of women and girls to exercise their basic and legal rights fully, help determine their life outcomes, assume leadership roles, and influence decision-making in households, communities, and societies;
- iv. Support strategies and activities that secure private property rights and land tenure for women; and
- v. Improve the access of women and girls to education, including higher-education opportunities (USAID, 2020: 3).

In Anambra East, Anambra West, Idemili South, Ihiala, Nnewi South, Awka North and Orumba North, a large proportion of women in the areas still complained that they are barred from owning land by customary laws of inheritance. This is in spite of the fact that Section 43 of the 1999 Constitution permits male and female Nigerians to own and acquire movable and immovable property. For example, women in the South-East are denied the right to inherit from their husband's/late father's estates. A decision by Supreme Court on the case *MOJEKWU V MOJEKWU* (2004), involving five children who were disinherited from their late father's estate because they were all female children, criticized a Court of Appeal's decision condemning a custom that prohibits females from inheriting property. In some communities in Idemili North, women are only allowed to work and earn money with their husband's permission and revert such generated income back to their husbands.

This agrees with the statements of Okolie- Osemene (2012) and Nwafor (2013) who pointed out the factors listed above in the findings of the study as challenges towards effective utilization of peace education not only in women but likewise in the entire education system. Therefore, there is no doubt that adequate utilization of peace education against the discrimination of women will assist in boosting peace, conflict resolution and national security in Anambra State. This calls for adequate programme planning and funding of more awareness programmes that will promote the rights of women in Anambra State by the government and all non-formal education agencies and stakeholders.

Conclusion

Generally, indications from the discussions in the study revealed that effective utilization of peace education in managing gender discrimination for peace, conflict resolution and national security had great relevance/importance not only in Anambra State but throughout the federation. Its relevance/importance in both rural and urban centres as highlighted in the study, in the sense that, it will lead to the promotion of the rights of women, maintenance of peace, unity and progress in the society; highlight means of resolving conflicts amicably and promotion of national security for environmental sustainability. Therefore, the need arises for effective management of gender discrimination programmes in Anambra State through proper utilization of peace education for peace, conflict resolution and national security is imperative to promote the rights of women.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations have been proffered:

1. Parents should be sensitized to the need for girls'/women's education. This is to enable them to understand that girlchild education is as good as boychild education and to avoid discrimination against female children.
2. Society should abolish the cultural beliefs and traditional practices that militate against women. This will accord women equal opportunity with their male counterparts in developmental issues.

3. Campaign should be mounted on the negative effects of early marriage. This will help to reduce the rate and interest of parents in giving their female children out for marriage;
4. Government should implement rural development programs that identify the constraints to the full participation of women in economic and public life at all levels, such as in decision-making in rural development programs and develop specific initiatives in their favor;
5. Concrete measures should be taken to guarantee equal access to ownership and inheritance by women, through land reforms and improvement of inheritance laws to provide equal access to rural women;

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INDIGENOUS PEACE EDUCATION APPROACH IN NIGERIA: CULTURE OF PEACE IN PERSPECTIVES

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ABSTRACT

Peace education is becoming more acceptable by many nations, states, organizations, and governmental agencies because of its pivotal role in acculturation. The Nigerian state has been besieged with the challenges of peaceful co-existence, national cohesion of its various ethnic nationalities, self-determination, and Security issues amongst others. Thus, future generation need to be educated with the practical skills, attitudes, values, and behavioural patterns that would allow them to construct and preserve peace in the contemporary society. The concept of peace, some of the approaches to peace education, the relevancy of integrating indigenous peace education with the western approaches for a comprehensive curriculum is part of the paper discussion. Moreso, the paper extensively analyzed the colonial heritage of education in Nigeria and the need to decolonize peace education process for clear perspectives. Again, the paper implores primary and secondary data sources as part of its methodology. It was concluded that there is need for an indigenous peace approach which relatively attached to culture and traditions of Nigerian society to be adopted. It is therefore recommended that the stakeholders of both formal and informal education sector provide enabling environment where national policy for education would be reviewed to capture the proposed approach into the Nations educational curriculum for a holistic education for peace.

Keywords: Culture, Indigenous Education, Peace, Peace Education

Introduction

The Nigerian state has faced obstacles such as peaceful coexistence, ethnic cohesiveness, and security. A few of the many violent conflicts witnessed are the Tiv-Jukun dispute in

Taraba/Benue State, Plateau State's ethno-religious crisis, the lengthy Ife-Modakeke issue, Umuleri-Aguleri conflict and Kano's ethno-religious confrontations. IPOB, banditry, and the Boko Haram insurgency have increased instability and complicated national life. Constant security threats have hampered peace and development, while successive governments have failed to create a calm atmosphere. National security and development are intertwined.

Violence kills democracy, decent government, and progress. That our current situation has weakened our economic independence, discouraged foreign investment, and increased unemployment has hampered development is undeniable. Thus, future generations need to be educated with the practical skills, attitudes, values, and behavioural patterns that will allow them to construct and preserve peace in the contemporary society. People must be taught a pedagogy of peace with critical awareness of cultural diversity, which encompasses the nonviolence techniques, equity as well as social justice in all ramifications.

To achieve a comprehensive and holistic approach to peace education that is adaptable and accessible to all Nigerians, educated and uneducated, this paper explores the concept of peace and indigenous culture, some approaches to peace education, and the need to integrate indigenous approaches to peace education with formal/borrowed approaches. Decolonizing peace education in Nigeria is also covered thoroughly in this study. The report suggested that indigenous peace approaches rooted in Nigerian culture and traditions is required. To achieve a holistic education for peace, the paper urges all stakeholders in the official and informal education sectors to revise the National Policy for Education for inclusion of indigenous peace approaches.

The Concept of Peace

The term peace has been used to denote the absence of conflict or war. Peace benefits both the individual and society as a whole. It is a mental condition free of stress, trauma, and emotional disaster. Sovereignty, war and disintegration are all signs of peace in the community. In reality, peace requires mutual understanding, tolerance, brotherhood, and a codified process for addressing life-threatening conflicts. Ogunsanya (2014: 2) describes peace from the spiritual

point of view to mean, “A state of mind in which there is the presence of inner calm, harmony, tranquility, accord, serenity and understanding”. To Ikediegwu (2014: 8), “peace is an occurrence of harmony characterized by lack of violence, conflict behaviors and freedom from fear of violence”. A common factor in all the definitions is that peace is a state of harmonious existence devoid of misunderstanding, injustice and mistrust.

Defining Peace Education

Peace Scholars have attempted some classifications on the concepts. Ikechukwu (2014) identified peace education as a process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behavioral changes that would enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural to resolve conflict peacefully and to create the conditions conducive for peace. Asamonye, et al (2014), citing Gamut (2004) also defined peace education as a deliberate attempt to educate children and adults in the dynamics of conflict and the promotion of peacemaking skills in homes, school and communities throughout the world, using all the channels and instrument of socialization.

Peace Education in the African context is aimed to achieve a set of goals among which are emotional intelligence, peaceful and non-violent coexistence, conflict resolution mechanisms, human rights, gender equity and equality, human security, environmental safety, effective communication practices, tolerance of diversity and healthy national and international relationships (Enaigbe and Igbinoghene, 2016). It also fosters freedom, trust, and respect for basic human rights, communalism, and justice. It also aims to shift the long-held culture of war and violent struggle to one of peace. Peace education usually comprises trans disciplinary and interdisciplinary education programs. They usually target schools, NGOs, traditional authorities, religious bodies, and the media.

Background to Nigeria’s Cultural and Indigenous formation

The Nigerian state is a product of colonialism. It is the result of a historical accident that began with European adventurism and ended with the colonization of Africa. Nigeria is made up of diverse ethnic groups. These ethnic groups differ greatly in their historical, social, and cultural

makeups, resulting in difficulties that arise and continue as a result of misunderstanding of others' cultural values, religious views, and political inclinations. To attain the desired cultural unity in diversity, collective history and diverse cultures must be valued and tolerated.

Culture refers to a group's own manner of doing things. This definition encompasses a people's belief system, justice system, behavioural patterns, feelings and emotions; morals; possessions; and institutions. This corroborates the premise that culture is a social legacy that shapes lives. The culturally defined and manufactured patterns of behaviour, thought, and belief are taught. Cultural socialization is the process of learning or adapting to a culture. Cultural identity is expressed through dress, totems, tattoos, and other aesthetic identifiers. Language, graphic arts, sculpture, theatre, dance, music, rites, etc. Group cultural expression is the core of cultural identity. Culture is fluid, changing with a people's changing social, political, and economic conditions. Cultural dynamics include cultural socialization, adaptation, cross-cultural interactions, and cultural imperialism. The super-imposition of a 'superior' culture on an 'inferior' culture is what cultural imperialism is all about. In the Nigerian experience, the forms of cultural synchronization in the global system with its concomitant Euro-Americanization of the country's indigenous cultures profoundly illustrate forced cultural dynamism (Chris, 2016).

Approaches to peace education and the need for decolonization

Peace education is a novel concept aimed at promoting global peace. Programs on peace education use a variety of methods, philosophies, and purposes. Originating from indigenous peacemaking traditions around the world, it was later broadened by religious experts from other faiths to manage disputes.

The history of peace education as a formal subject in the 19th and 20th centuries, with two global wars as a methodical focus. For peace education, the first nucleolus bomb used on Japan and the danger of nuclear weapons were pivotal. This is why peace education originated as a peace movement and anti-war campaign in the USA, Canada, Europe, and Japan. Initially, it focused on international issues like conflict avoidance, nuclear proliferation, and

disarmament. In later years, other domestic topics including democracy education and ecology were addressed. Maria Montessori and John Dewey were early proponents of peace education following WWI. After WWII, international organizations like the UN and UNESCO aided the discipline.

Many formal approaches to peace education are emerging, but they all share two things: a desire for global peace and the use of education as a primary way to achieve it. Different approaches of peace education exist. They are: i - By Betty Reardon (1999) In her review of peace education, Reardon (1999) organized various approaches by educational and social outcomes on which they focus, such as: Conflict Resolution Training, Disarmament Education, Human Rights Education, and Multicultural Education; ii - Snauwaert (2011) Snauwaert (2011, pp. 328–329) believes that historically, there have been at least three basic approaches to peace education and categorized the approaches as follows: the reform, reconstruction, and critical transformational approaches; iii - Philosophical Approach, The three main philosophical approaches to peace education are the integrative approach, developed by H. B. Danesh, the critical approach, which is based on the educational theories of Paulo Freire and has been further developed as an approach to peace education by Monisha Bajaj and Edward Brantmeier and comprehensive peace education, which was introduced by Betty Reardon with additional development from Dale Snauwaert; IV - The Gender Approach to Peace Education; The gender approach to peace education critically analyses the male-dominated hierarchy common in many cultures around the world, which is called patriarchy as a social constructs and not a natural phenomenon (Reardon and Snauwaert, 2014). And how the systems are unjust to men and women alike. They refer to patriarchy as “an ‘equal opportunity’ destroyer of both women and men”. The system prevents peace and promotes violence; thus, need be deconstructed in order to achieve peace; v - The teaching – learning Approaches and Strategies in Peace Education -

Indigenous peace education

Although no written records exist, humans have used community-based peace education to retain their knowledge of conflict resolution practices that promote security. Peace education is the process of teaching individuals about the hazards of violence and measures for peace that might provide maximum benefit to a group. It can be used informally by generations of humans who seek to resolve issues peacefully without employing lethal force.

Peace Education programs based on indigenous approaches are desperately required in Nigeria as a method of teaching people and reducing the spirit of intolerance that fuels war throughout the world (Ogunyemi & Adetoro 2013). This would also provide people, particularly the youth, with the required peace knowledge and abilities to resolve difficulties without resorting to violence. Peace Education, taught utilizing an indigenous method and people's culture, would empower adolescents to become decent citizens who contribute constructively to the nation (Adeniji, 2008)

Indigenous education is increasingly being recognized as a viable and acceptable kind of peace education. According to Okoro (2010), traditional education occurred inside the family through the sharing of stories and proverbs and the learning of useful life skills. Children were taught the principles of harmonious cohabitation under one roof. Community living is based on the principles of moderation, solidarity, respect for truth and willingness to work and suffer for one's own and community advancement, respect for authority, a sense of honesty, modesty, tolerance, a sense of goodness and kindness, love of one's neighbor, and respect for life, among others (Ntahobari and Ndayiziga, 2005, Okoro, 2010, Falade, Adeyemi and Olowo, 2011). Beyond the typical established ways, many postmodern scholars believe that indigenous approaches to learning, educating, teaching, and training are vital for guaranteeing that persons, indigenous and non-indigenous, can benefit from peace education in a culturally sensitive manner.

Proverbs as an Approach to Indigenous Peace Education

Indigenous proverbs in Nigeria have been discovered to possess socializing and enduring values for peaceful co-existence (Fasiku, 2006, Adeboye, 2010, Owomoyela, 2012, Adeyemi, 2012 and Salawudeen, 2012). Proverbs are deeply rooted in African culture and almost everybody who understands his/her indigenous language is a living carrier of proverbs. Mbiti (1995) has contended that the language of proverbs has a rich vocabulary of words, phrases, and combination of words, symbols, pictures, allusions, association and comparison. He argues further that proverbs are drawn from the whole society and that every part of the society is captured in the proverbs.

Proverbs serve as a mechanism for the transmission of sociocultural and philosophical ideas underpinning societal norms, concerns, ethnicity, and religion between generations. Thus, Owomoyela (2012) asserts that proverbs are used to facilitate language development and socialization among the Yoruba people of South-Western Nigeria. He asserts that the Yoruba people "approach with cautious caution, taking great care to prevent sloppy or thoughtless statements, the consequences of which may endure a lifetime." Additionally, in his first book, *Things Fall Apart*, Achebe (1958) emphasizes the centrality of proverbs to the Igbo word-view and culture by stating that "proverbs are the oil with which words are consumed." Babatunde and Mujidat (2014) noted that proverbs are a veritable instrument for educating Hausa and other ethnic groups in Nigeria about values, culture, and social attitudes, particularly in indigenous educational practices.

Akinmade (2012) emphasizes the relevance of proverbs in traditional civilizations by stating that proverbs have been and would continue to be of immense use to man in African societies. He thinks that "it (proverb) is the most powerful and effective vehicle for transmitting culture from generation to generation." Proverbs exemplify the nature of African wisdom by performing a variety of purposes in human relationships and interactions, including bringing peace where there is conflict and misunderstanding, providing hope where there is despair, and bringing light where there is darkness (Akinmade, 2012).

Indigenous proverbs might serve as the foundation for a Nigerian indigenous style of peace education. All ethnic groups in Nigeria are endowed with a wealth of culture, language, and enduring values. Proverbs from three main ethnic groups in Nigeria are recognized in order to convey all their principles of moderation, humility, tolerance, patience, compassion, good neighborliness, and respect for life that have been identified as vital for peace education and peace building (Ndayiziga, 2005; Okoro, 2010). The Hausa proverbs in this section were chosen from Marrick's collection (1905), who also offered translations for the proverbs. "*Babba juji ne, kowa ya zo da shara sai ya zuba*" refers to the qualities of excellent leadership and tolerance. Meaning: "A leader (or head of the household) is comparable to a rubbish heap; everyone brings his sweepings and places them there."

This proverb highlights the importance of strong leadership, tolerance, and neighborliness as requisites for peaceful coexistence. From a Hausa perspective, a leader is someone who is willing to serve and tolerate his people in order to accomplish the goals of his leadership. Other Hausa proverbs are picked here about humility, tolerance, and recognition of cultural diversity regardless of ethnicity or color and the need for peace;

"*Hakuri maganin zaman duniya*" (a) Meaning "patience is vehicle for world peace" This proverb emphasizes the value of patience as well as tolerance and understanding of others. These provide for an understanding of the nation's variety in terms of race, religion, and politics, as well as the need for peaceful coexistence.

"*Zaman lafiya yafi zama dan sarki*"(b) meaning "peace and harmony is more important than all riches." This emphasis the need for peace in Nigeria regardless to ethno-religious and political differences, in addition to shunning even economic advantages in as much as it will threaten the peaceful co-existence of the country. Thus, the adage might be altered to refer to the idea of unification within variety.

The Igbo are another significant ethnic group in Nigeria. The Igbo proverbs included in this article were compiled by Ogbalu (1965) and translated by Pritchett (<http://www.columbiaeduc./itc/mealac/pritchett/oofwp/igbo/proverbs/007-016>). On the site,

just the translations are provided. A translated Igbo adage about modesty and moderation states: "*When a powerful guy is continuously praised, he battles empty handed and is taken away in a worn-out basket.*" the adage emphasizes the importance of moderation and modesty encapsulating the fundamental core of traditional peace teaching among the Igbo. A person who is self-centered; who refuses to listen to others' advice and extols his own superiority, not only harms himself but also the community. Perhaps Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* exemplifies these themes well, as Okonkwo symbolizes the vices of pride; overconfidence and self-praise, which ultimately lead to his demise.

Perhaps the most significant Igbo adage on the subject of caution is "*The chicken instructs her young to gaze up since there is where the death that kills them comes from.*" This adage emphasizes the importance of exercising prudence in order to prevent harm. Precautions are important in light of Nigeria's post-independence experience on problems of politics, religion, inter-ethnic relations, border conflicts, and resource sharing.

Yoruba proverbs included for this part were modified from Babatunde and Mojibat by Owomoyela (2012) and Adeboye (2010). (2014). In the Yoruba worldview, cooperation at the family and social levels is a necessary prerequisite for peace. No wonder the proverb: "*Bi ede o dun, bii igbe ni ilu ri,*" which translates as "If the home is not established, the town is like a wilderness (devoid of attraction). This adage underlines the family's role in traditional Yoruba education as the foundation for socialization and peace education.

Similarly, "*Owo omode ko to pepe, ti agbalagba ko wo akengbe*" reflects the concept of cooperation (Adeboye, 2010), "Just as a child's hand does not reach the top of the mantelpiece, an elder's hand does not enter the gourd's neck," the meaning is. Thus, when a youngster requests a favor from an adult, the request should not be denied, since both young and old have obligations to one another and we exist to complement one another. Another Yoruba proverb is "*A kii gbo 'lu u' lenu agba,*" which translates as "One never hears "Beat him up" in the lips of an elder," since elders handle disagreements and do not encourage disputants. Nigerian people revere elders and feel their words are holy and knowledgeable. At

all times, an elder must issue a cautionary warning. It is no longer surprising that elders have lost their status as repository of excellent cultural practices in indigenous education.

Perhaps this is due to societal deterioration; corruption; greed; and the adoption of harmful habits from other civilizations.

"A kii fi ori we orii Mokusire, bi Mokusire ku l'aaro, a ji l'ale," a Yoruba proverb speaks about self-control ideals. (If Mokusire dies in the morning, he resurrects at night.) (2005) (Owomoyela). The adage makes it quite obvious that you should never mimic someone who knows a technique that you do not. Today, crude replication of foreign ideals and modes of operation has had a detrimental effect on the nation's political ideology and governance. Consumption patterns and child socialization are based on imported models that disregard our cultural heritage.

Religious Approach to indigenous peace education

According to De Juan and Hasenclever (2015), religious actors may play a significant role in deescalating disputes and promoting peace, but they frequently lack motivation or access to instructional techniques. In Nigeria, there are many religious practices among which are Christianity, Islam and a broad group that can be classified (for ease of understanding) as African Traditional Religion. On the latter, scholars have drawn linkages between ritual representations and the revitalization of power while the teleology of rituals has been described as symbolic renewal and affirmation of kingship, mediated through medium of authority (Apter, 1991). Undoubtedly, religious crisis is a regular phenomenon in Nigeria. Violent conflicts stemming from religious contradictions have claimed thousands of lives in recent times. In addition, the use of religious books to justify incessant killings, hate-speech, unhealthy rivalry and instigation is a common occurrence in Nigeria (Pearson, 2018).

It is to be noted that scholars have focused more on how religion has contributed to conflicts in the world with less attention paid to how religion can foster peace especially through inter-religious harmony (Barter and ZatzkinOsburn, 2016; Basedau, Pfeiffer and Vüllers, 2016). Because religious beliefs and ideologies have greatly contributed to violent

conflicts in Nigeria, religious leaders and organizations must promote peace through positive orientation and indoctrination. For decades, polarizing, anti-harmonious ideologies and dogmatic extremisms have divided the population. In summary, by focusing more on empathy, tolerance, and compassion in their content, beliefs, practices, organizations, and experiences, religious institutions can help promote peace and sustainable development.

Family-based Approaches

Scholars (Murdock, 1949; cited in Steel et al., 2012) have described family as a social arrangement based on marriage including recognition of rights and duties of parenthood, common residence for husband, wife and children. The family is thus characterized by cohabiting couple, common residency, sexual relationship, reproduction (children owned or adopted), and generational connection and also, entails a sense of shared economic responsibilities. In other words (Day, 2014: 14), Family members provide close intimate contact usually characterized by deeply held commitment, trust, respect, and a sense of longer-term obligation.

Family structure in Nigeria is predominantly patriarchal in nature with more respect attributed to male members of the family, be it the father, son, brother and uncle than their female counterparts (Oyewumi, 1997). However, the roles of women in the family especially in caregiving, nurturing and training of the entire family, cannot be over-emphasized. There are also significant bonds between living members of a family and their ancestors. Ancestorship is conferred on deceased members of the family who, during their existence on earth, were considered to be upright and responsible (Kopytoff, 2006; Olaoba, 2002) which in turn, earned them a supernatural form of status, whereby they can be part of whatever the living family members are doing.

That is, even if they are not physically present, they are thought to have jurisdiction over their family members. Family is a recognized institution among the many ethnic groups in Nigeria and has tremendous influence over its members. If applied properly, this influence will develop a generation of peace-loving citizens. The family is a child's first interaction and

where they learn the basics of life. A youngster raised in an angry and unloving home is more likely to be violent than a child raised in a pleasant family context. Given the importance of peace in any given society, parents should be the key agents in promoting peace. The elders of a family must guarantee that their children get along nicely. Dignity must be maintained by seniors to preserve moral authority. Storytelling, proverbs, maxims, and songs have long been used in families to teach children important values and preserve culture and social peace. This is because the concept of peace education is designed to be formed through a process, with the sole purpose of influencing the young ones' behaviour and personality. This is in line with some of the postulates of peace education theory which emphasise teaching peace as alternatives to violence (Ahearn, 1994; Harris, 2004). There is a strong link between family inadequacies and societal unrest. This is because the ability to live with oneself and immediate companions, results in voluntary willingness to pursue peace with all and at all times (Negiobi and Opara, 2007). To institutionalized peace, the Nigeria family must give refuge and strict discipline. Keeping this educational framework allows family members to enhance the function of teachers, trainers, media, and policymakers in peace education.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Peace Education aims to educate people about peace regardless of age, gender, origin, or philosophy. This necessitates proper utilization of age-old institutions that, despite changes and continuity, remain relevant among Nigerians (indigenous peace approaches). Peace education in Nigeria will be strengthened if the three institutions suggested in this study are adopted as beginning places. This will lead to a more peaceful society free of constant animosity and violence that destroys lives and property. Religion, proverbs, traditional authorities, and family hierarchies could be used to pass on peaceful virtues from generation to generation. This is a short-term and long-term mechanism that has the capacity to change people's mental, physical, and spiritual state of mind. Recognizing the need of reviving ancient values for peace education in Nigeria, it is difficult to know where to begin and how to proceed. Thus, it is vital to re-establish healthy cultural values and prestigious classical peace

education to contribute to a balanced and harmonious community today. While restoring traditional kinship and community may be impossible, mixing the two (traditional and western) may help create peace and tranquility among Nigerian peoples and communities.

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POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA: ISLAMIC PANACEA

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ABSTRACT

Political violence had long time been existing in the Nigeria's political system, right from colonial period till present. The hope that the civilian rule that sustains the military government will bring an end to such violence was dashed, as the situation continues to repeat itself. This paper aims at discussing the political violence in the country with its causes and proffer solutions to them from Islamic political perspective. The study adopts the qualitative research design depending largely on the secondary source of data collection. It reveals that political violence in Nigeria is caused by a number of reasons like, lack of democratic system in the party politics, corruption, godfatherism, unemployment and insecurity. It further reveals the political system in Islam; describing it to be the divinely guided politics where sovereignty belongs to only Allah. The study recommends that the Federal government should ensure the implementation of election rules and punish any electoral offenders. The EFCC should carry out the electoral tasks effectively and the citizens should law abiding. It concludes that the political violence in the country usually happens during the election and imbibing the Islamic political style may be the solution.

Keywords: Political Violence, Nigeria, Islamic Politics

Introduction

Political violence is a common phenomenon in the world political system and the case is not different in the Nigerian system. The menace of political violence in Nigeria has become detrimental to democratic sustainability leading to victimizing, terrorizing, intimidating and injuring innocent individuals and politicians, thereby disturbing the peace of the country (Umar, 2018). The violence in the Nigerian political system has been traced back to the colonial time before the independence and has been said to be persistent after the attainment of the independence posing a serious impediment to national development. With the return of

civilian government in May, 1999, hopes were high that the new democratic order would tackle the incidence of political violence in the country and which could facilitate economic and social progress. It is sad that since the return of civil rule, political violence has reached a dangerous position (Anweting, Kevin and Ogar, 2018). Up to the last general election held, there had been reports of violence in every election period in the country. The aftermath of the violence has been so hazardous; leading to regression in the country's political affairs.

However, the system of politics in Islam is based upon enjoining what is good and forbidding what is bad through the monotheistic belief. It is a kind of system that allows the full participation of all members in the society. It condemns anarchy and disorder and stress the need for organization and authority (Abdul Rashid, 1993). In Islamic political system, the government and the people are like the tent, the pole, the ropes and the pegs. The tent is Islam; the pole is the government; the ropes and pegs are the people. None will do without the others (Ibn Qutaybah, 1976). Therefore, politics in Islam is not decided by the people who are known to be fallible but designed by Allah in the domain of Islamic Law (*Sharī'ah*). It is on this basis that the researcher aims at discussing the political system of Islam as solutions to the Nigerian political challenges.

Meaning of Political Violence

Conventionally, political violence depicts the use of physical act by an individual or individuals within a political system against other individuals or groups and property, with the intent to cause injury or death to persons, damage or destruction to property, and whose objective, choice of targets or victims, surrounding circumstances, implementation, and effects of political significances, that tend to modify or change the behaviour of others in the existing arrangement for the political system (Ikyase and Egberi, 2015).

Political violence could erupt when leadership of an organization is denied by fraud, that is, by rigging and manipulation of figures by electoral body. It can also result in situation where the economic, social and other important needs of human wants are scarce or scantily available and the leadership fails to come up with a solution (Ahmed, 2019). Hence, political

violence is a kind of violence that occurs in relation to electoral struggle, denial of human rights in the political administration as well as maladministration of governance by the political leaders which usually lead to injuries, loss of lives and properties.

In Islam, there is no room for terrorism or illegitimate violence. Actually, the early Qur'anic verses did affirm the right to respond to aggression, and to counter persecution and attack by Makkan rivals (Esposito, 2015). Allah says:

Permission (to fight) has been given to those (Muslims) who are being fought, because they were wronged (treated unjustly). And indeed, Allah is competent to give them victory. (They are) those who have been evicted from their homes without right-only because they say, "Our Lord is Allah" (Q22: 39-40).

This verse and some others best explain the concept of *Jihād* itself which is misunderstood by many. *Jihād* therefore refers to obligation incumbent on all Muslims to struggle or exert oneself, to follow and realize Allah's will; to live a virtuous life, to work against injustice and oppression, reform and create a just society and, if necessary, engage in armed struggle to defend one's community and religion (Esposito, 2015). Hence, Islam does not allow waging war against people or attacking them unjustly. The '*Jihād*' when applied to mean 'to fight' only depicts self-defence. So, the concept of political violence as understood conventionally is disallowed in Islam as it causes injury to people and destruction of properties unjustly which at the same time affect the country's status.

Overview of Political Violence in Nigeria

Historically, political violence in Nigeria dates back to colonial era. From the 1950s, elections in the country approximated a war wage to determine 'who get what, when and how' (Ikyase and Egberi, 2015). It is imperative to note that political violence associated with elections and electoral processes in Nigeria commenced with the 1959 Federal elections designed by British to facilitate the transition from colonial rule to independence. This problem worsened in the elections held immediately after independence in 1960s (Anweting and Ogar, 2018). Understandably, the elections immediately held after the independence were regional elections, and the regions are: Northern, Western and Eastern Regions.

In the 1960s, there were no political parties that were not regionally biased. The Northern People's Congress (NPC), Action Group (AG) and National Council of Nigeria Citizens (NCNC) were based in the North, West and East respectively. After independence, the first major national election by the political parties degenerated into conflict. More importantly, the crisis within the AG which spread to other areas of the Western region and the whole country, affected in no small way the election in its conception, execution and outcome. One of the earliest crises recorded in post-colonial era was the political tussle between Akintola and Awolowo during the first republic which witnesses an unprecedented violence. Both parties were said to employ the services of thugs to bring about confusion, practical violence, assassinations, threats, assaults, public intimidations and a total breakdown of law and order in Yoruba land (Ikyase and Egberi, 2015). The fight was so eventful that it continues to be narrated to later Nigerians.

Barely six months after military take-over, in May 1966, the new Head of State, Major-General J.T.U Aguiyi Ironsi abolished the regions by decree. The Federal structure of government was replaced by a unitary system of government. The Northerners interpreted this as an attempt to bring the Northern region under Southern control and Igbo domination. As a result, Southerners, mostly Igbos, who were living in the North, were massacred. This eventually resulted in the death of Aguiyi Ironsi and numerous other officers of Southern origin, including Lieutenant Colonel Fajuyi, a Yoruba. Lieutenant-Colonel Yakubu Gowon, a Christian from a Northern minority group, the Plateau area, became the new Head of State and Commander of the Nigerian Armed Forces. When he assumed office, he restored the Federal form of government. The move did not seem to have reassured the Northerners sufficiently, so a second outbreak of massacres of Igbos in the North occurred (Eluwa, et. al., 1988).

At this point, Lieutenant-Colonel Odemegwo Ojukwu, Governor of the Eastern region, felt compelled to summon all Igbo back home, and to ask all non-easterners, with the exception of the Igbo from the Mid-West, to leave the Eastern region. Ojukwu with the

backing of the people's Assembly, proclaimed the independent Republic of Biafra and gained a great deal of sympathy from those France, Britain the United States and elsewhere who believed the Biafran propaganda and also the conflict as a war between the Northern Muslims and Biafran Christians. These sympathisers supplied arms and money, food and clothing. Ojukwu had never recognized Gowon position as Head of State and he refused to associate himself with the Federal government. In opposing the secessionists, a massive recruitment was undertaken by the Federal government to increase the Federal Army from 10,000 to nearly 250,000 at the height of the war. For the next 27 months, Federal and secessionists forces were locked in a bitter struggle, and at the end the Federal armies which were much more than Biafran forces won the day (Eluwa et. al, 1988).

In post-civil war, there was evidence of political violence largely attributed to military coups and counter coups. This includes the assassination of General Murtala Muhammed in a bloody coup led by Lt. Col. Buka Suka Dimka in 1976, repeated aborted coups such as the Maman Vasta coup attempt of 1986 and the Major Gideon Okar coup of 1990 both against General Ibrahim Babangida's administration (Prince and Luke, 2021).

It is also on record that the 1979 election witnessed cases of violence. The election was characterized by violence at three stages, pre-election, during the election and post-election. In almost all the states, the results were disputed. The major contending issue was that of 2/3 of 19 States which was resolved in favour of Alhaji Shehu Shagari, National Party of Nigeria (NPN) Presidential candidate by the Supreme Court. In 1983, elections were not devoid of violence. The election was rigged in favour of ruling party, NPN. This led to violent demonstrations in some parts of the country. For example, the landslide victory of NPN in Oyo and Ondo States considered to be the stronghold of the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) witnessed massive post-election violence. Several persons lost their lives and large-scale destruction of property was recorded (Anweting and Ogar, 2018).

The violent political activities in the country contributed to the overthrow of Shagari's regime on 31st December, 1983. In what could have ushered in the third republic by Babangida

designed in 1993, was however aborted by the June 12 1993 annulled Presidential election which created chaotic situation in the country. The cancellation of the election led to massive ethno-religious conflicts in the country. Babangida stepped down in August 1993 which led to the formation of an interim government headed by Chief Shonekan. The interim government was dismissed following 'the palace coup' led by General Sani Abacha. Abacha's regime was beset with oppressive policies and assassination of his political enemies. Chief among this was the murder of Mrs Kudirat Abiola, wife of the acclaimed winner of the June 1993, presidential poll annulled by Babangida. Later, Abacha died mysteriously in the process of trying to transform himself into a civilian President. General Abubakar who replaced Abacha supervised elections that ushered in the fourth republic on May 29th 1999. There were high expectations that the nascent democracy would help to reduce the menace of political violence in the country. It is worrisome that since the return of civil rule, Nigeria has witnessed unprecedented level of political violence which militates against economic and social transformation of the country (Anweting and Ogar 2018). So, it is seen clearly that there is no difference between the military period of government and the civilian as regards to political violence in the country.

The 2003 elections were marred by serious allegations of electoral malpractice and election violence. The violence occurred in pre-election period and during the elections. In pre-election time, there was rise in the kidnapping of opponents, assassination of aspiring and other political figures and violent disruption of political meetings and campaigns of rivals. In addition to this, were many physical attacks against the opponents. In Niger State, Progressive Redemption Party (PRP) supporters attempted an attack on Governor's convoy. Muhammadu Buhari, the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) Presidential candidate was attacked in Adamawa State. In Ondo State, the campaign convoy of Chief Gani Fawehimi, Presidential candidate for the National Conscience Party (NCP) was attacked. In Oyo State, seven people were injured in a gunshot and machete attack on the State Governor, Alhaji Lam Adesina. During the election, there were irregularities and malpractices. Some of the most starring

irregularities are predominated vote allocation, result swapping, forceful hijacking and diversion of election materials which eventually led to assassination and killing (Bitrus, 2012).

Political Violence was massive in 2007. There were violent political activities in different parts of the country. In River State, a police station was attacked and burnt by unknown assailants a night before the election date. In Anambra and River States, voters were faced with intimidation and violence. In Ekiti State, there was confrontation between PDP and Action Congress (AC) supporters and election results were blatantly falsified in many areas. Violence was equally reported in Northern State of Katsina where opposition supporters burnt down government building in protest as the announcement that PDP had swept the State's gubernatorial polls. Soldiers clashed with angry voters in Nasarawa State. In Oyo, PDP thugs beat up opposition party officials and hijacked ballot boxes (Adeleke, 2012).

In 2011, the announcement of the presidential election results sparked up violent demonstrations in some Northern states of the country. Following the declaration of the former President Goodluck Jonathan as the winner of the election, people believed to be supporters of opposition Congress for Progress Change (CPC), burst into violent uprising unleashing terror, destroying properties worth millions of naira. The house of the former Vice President was looted and raised and palaces of prominent traditional rulers in the North were attacked. A number of members of National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) were killed in Bauchi, Gombe among others (Ikyase and Egberi, 2015).

The 2015 general elections which were seen by many as being free and fair was not devoid of violence. Prior to the elections, the campaign train of the President Jonathan of the PDP was stoned with sachet water in Bauchi State. This was in addition to the burning of campaign buses and a case of bomb blast near a campaign ground in Potiskum, Gombe State. Sporadic gun shots at APC members were also reported in Rivers State allegedly by PDP thugs. The records of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) also reveal 66 records of violent incidents targeted at polling units, the Commission's officials, voters and election materials. These were in the States like, Rivers, Ondo, Cross River, Ebinyi, Akwa

Ibom, Bayelsa, Lagos, Kaduna, Jigawa, Enugu, Ekiti, Osun, Katsina, Plateau, Kogi, Abia, Imo, Kano and Ogun (Ibraheem, 2022).

In the 2019 general elections, all the election observer group acknowledged widespread violence before, during and after the elections. Of serious concern was the high incidence of deaths record during this period which to many observers surpassed the number of deaths recorded in previous elections. Approximately, 227 people were killed in election related violence, 84 of which were in the South-South zone, 64 during campaign up to the 23 February election, 21 of the deaths was during the week following the postponement, and 35 people were killed on 23 and 24 February. There was also the cases of snatching of ballot boxes and destruction of electoral materials. There were also reports of attack on INEC offices and officials and many ballot boxes were snatched and electoral materials destroyed (Uche, Okeke and Mbah, 2022). All these were common to reports of violence in the previous elections as presented above.

From the forgone, it is clear that no general elections conducted in the country from the independence till present was free from political violence. This menace continues from period to period and no possible effort to make elections in the country free from chaos seems achievable. There is always high level of fear whenever the elections are to be conducted, either at Local, State or Federal level.

Reasons for Political Violence in Nigeria

Even though, a number of reasons may be attributed to political violence in Nigeria, the following are the most common according to available research records:

1. **Lack of Internal Democratic Structures and Processes:** This is seen as one of the immediate causes of political violence in the country. Lack of internal democratic structure within a political party means that a powerful clique within the party may hijack the party's leadership and structure, and arbitrarily takes party decisions and actions in its favour (Abdulmajeed 2013).

2. **Sit-tight Syndrome:** This has become common in Nigerian politic. Individuals will try by all means to stick to power for personal gain or popularity. In an attempt to achieve the aim, such leaders often create a regime of violence, repression and bloodshed. They organize political thugs, hooligans and scavengers to sing their praises, intimidate opponents and kill them if they become intransigent (Umar, 2018).

3. **The Problem of Godfatherism:** It is becoming a practice that no contestant of political office in Nigeria could achieve his ambition without the influence of godfather. Many godfathers maintain army of thugs who intimidate political opponents, snatch ballot boxes during elections and play other roles in manipulation of election results in order to fulfill the mission of godfathers (Umar, 2018).

4. **Corruption:** Corruption is a menace that has eaten deep in virtually all strata of the Nigerian society. The electoral system is not free from this menace as monies constantly change hands during electioneering period to induce, silence or influence the process as the case may be.

5. **Inadequate Security:** The Nigerian security agencies are most times overwhelmed by the spate of political violence that has been witnessed in the society over time. Several media reports have detailed how security personnel were on ground when those acts were perpetrated; but look the other way because of their limitations in number or tools they need to perform their duty effectively (Shehu and Patricia 2018).

6. **Unemployment:** This has been identified as a major social, economic and political problems in the country. The majority of youth are jobless, they are impoverished, and mercenary politics becomes the way out. The politicians capitalize on this and recruit the youth who only constitute the pillar of society but also the most vulnerable to the self-inflicted poverty, as their thugs and touts to perpetrate violence (Umar, 2018).

7. **Poverty:** Lack of certain material possession to meet the basic needs by many Nigerians become an advantage to some political aspirants. They offer them with unreasonable amount of money to engage them in an illegal political act (Prince and Luke, 2021). There are cases

where people sell their voters card in return for money and those cards are used by politicians to secure more votes for their party.

All the reasons explained above are directly connected to the government.

Understanding Islamic Political System

Islam is a religious way of life which contains diverse elements all bound together in a certain unity of out-look by the common belief in Allah and His Prophet (SAW) who had received revelations which culminated into the Qur'an. Islam is known to be *Addin wa Ad-Dawlah* (Religion and State). This expresses the view that religion and politics in Islam are inseparable (Amit and Ellen 2009). The Prophet (SAW) was both the religious and political leader of the state of Madinah which he created and nursed and which was taken over after his demise by his successors who took the title *khalifatur-Rasulillah*, the Successor of the Messenger of Allah (Abdul 1988).

The political administration of Prophet's successors was followed by Umayyad and Abbasid government respectively. They transformed the Republic of Islam into a *mulk* (king) by establishing dynasties. Intellectually, both the Umayyads and Abbasids showed their superiority in politics to all other people of the empire. Their period was recognized to be the period of civilization, especially the Abbasids. They devoted themselves to the peace, prosperity and progress of the empire (Rahim 1981).

It has to be noted here that in Islamic political system, the government, its authorities and possessions are a trust of Allah and the Muslims, and ought to be entrusted to the God-fearing, the honest and the just; and no one has a right to exploit them in ways not sanctioned by or abhorrent by *Shari'ah* (Islamic Law).

Therefore, the Head of State, Caliph, Imam or *Amir* should be appointed with the mutual consultation of the Muslims and their concurrence. He should run the administration and undertake legislative work within the limits prescribed by the *Shari'ah*. However, Islamic political system can be well discussed through the following Islamic moral values:

1. **Unity:** The innermost purpose of Islamic politics is to provide a political framework for Muslim unity and cooperation. The Qur'an reads:

And hold firmly to the rope of Allah all together and do not become divided
(Q3: 103).

Thus, an Islamic state is not a goal or an end itself but only a means: the goal being the growth of a community of people who stand up for equity and justice, for right against wrong. A community of people who work for the creation and maintenance of such social conditions as would enable the greatest possible number of human beings to live, morally as well as physically, in accordance with the natural Law of Allah (Muhammad (1980)). The unity referred to must be on righteousness that will pave way for the progress of the community. Neither Muslim political leaders, nor the followers must unite on any act that may lead to chaos or disunity in the society. Allah says:

Cooperate in righteousness and piety, but do not cooperate in sin and aggression... (Q5: 2).

All efforts must therefore be geared towards actualizing the righteousness, and any act that may bring about misconduct, disorderliness, injustice, lack of trust must be eschewed to have a peaceful society.

2. **Mutual Consultation:** Mutual consultation known as *Shura* in an Islamic term is what Islam teaches and encourages as a principle of leading the people with openness, fairness, transparency and accountability. Allah instructs His Prophet in the Qur'an:

So, by mercy from Allah, (O Muhammad), you were lenient with them.
And if you had been rude and harsh in heart, they would have disbanded
from about you. So, pardon them and ask forgiveness for them and consult
them in the matter. And when you have decided, then rely upon Allah.
Indeed, Allah loves those who rely (upon Him) (Q3: 159).

This is truly democracy and not a democracy that is elite oriented or permissive democracy where public liberties are stifled and human rights are usurped (Abdullahi 2009). As a matter of fact, public participation is an essential attribute of the Islamic political system. There is no place in Islam for such a political order where only a single person or a specific set of people have authoritarian or totalitarian rule. That is why the Prophet (SAW) was

commanded by Allah to have consultation with the community of believers and extract their opinion in public matters as seen in the Qur'anic verse above (Tanveer 2013). Having consultation with the concerned individuals or groups in political system will make the government's plans realizable. It is an Islamic culture that people seek advice on matters; so establishing a consultative government will not make a leader an autocratic but one with diverse missions and foresights.

3. **Justice:** In the Islamic worldview, justice denotes placing things in their rightful place. It also means giving others equal treatment. Therefore, justice in Islamic political affair is seen as a moral virtue and attribute of human personality. Allah commands His servants to stand up for justice and fairness and not to deviate from it (Umar, 2013). He says in the Qur'an:

4. **Transparency and Accountability:** These are two of the most fundamental principles of good governance in Islam. Both are related concepts. Without transparency, there is no accountability and without accountability transparency becomes meaningless. In Islamic political system, leaders and followers are accountable for their deeds (Taufiq, 2015). Allah says in the Qur'an:

So, whoever does an atom's weight of good will see it. And whoever does an atom's weight of evil will see it (Q99: 7-8).

The verse establishes the fact that every action of human will be accounted for. The righteous action will be rewarded and the evil action will not be forsaken. Doing good is therefore not limited only to private dealing, it involves public engagement.

Public accountability demands that public bureaucracy can be explained with transparency and openness to the public on what actions and policies have been done. The implementation of the principle of transparency will open information about the determination of public policy to all stakeholders (Taufiq, 2015). In the same vein, transparency and accountability express the area of achievement and lapses and recommend motivation or reward for future enhancement (Badirudeen 2019). The two improve the quality of leadership, make the government attractive to people and lead to absolute trust between the leaders and the led.

Islamic Solutions to Nigerian Political Violence

Undoubtedly, Islam provides remedy to every problem of man on earth; since it has answers to any question of political system. The Islamic solutions to Nigerian political violence are discussed as follows:

1. Sovereignty Belongs to Allah: The Islamic political system is based on divine sovereignty or Will of the Almighty, wherein the Almighty Allah is the ultimate source of legislative power and authority. The will of the majority is to be subservient to the will of Allah (Tanveer, 2013). In Islamic politics, no one has any inherent, personal, intrinsic or independent claim of sovereignty. All powers belong to Allah alone. He says in the Qur'an:

And to Allah belongs the dominion of the heavens and earth, and Allah has power over all things (Q3: 189).

In another verse, Allah says:

Say, O Allah, owner of sovereignty, You give sovereignty to whom You will and You take sovereignty from whom You will. You honour whom You will and You humble whom You will. In Your hand is (all) good. Verily, You have power over all things (Q3: 26).

2. Encouraging what is Good and Discouraging what is Bad: This is an obligatory act upon every Muslim, male or female. One needs not to have all knowledge in order to undertake missionary work for Islam. He could do that through whichever lawful way possible. The Qur'an reads:

You are the best nation produced for mankind. You enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong and believe in Allah... (Q3: 110).

The ruler are in better position to encourage what is good and forbid what is bad for they enjoy the authority (Abubakar and Abubakar 2019). In fact, the verse points out the main duty of every government. The basic responsibility is to ensure good performance and work against illegal actions. Corruption of all type in the Nigerian political system is thus an evil act that needs serious attention as all hands must be on deck to fight it. To discourage what is bad, the government must ensure that all the designed punishments for corrupt practices in politics are always meted out against the perpetrators.

3. Security Building: Security or safety is considered as the most important element which without having a happy life will be impossible. Islam attached great importance to security, either of life or of property (Muhammad, Sayyedtaghi and Muhammad, 2013). Prophet Ibrahim could not forget the importance of security in the life of humans. He prays:

And when Abraham said: “My Lord, make this secure city and provide its people with fruits-whoever of them believes in Allah and the Last Day (Q2: 126).

There is a clear indication in the above verses that Islam prioritizes security of life and property. It is therefore understood that the cornerstone of Islamic politics and Islam encourages Muslims to be involved in peace-building mechanism rather than anarchy, violence and acts of terrorism (Abubakar, Hussain and Uthman, 2018).

The government of the country must ensure both internal and external security as to promote mutual comfort and welfare and protect the citizens and their properties. It is equally important that the government provide adequate number of security personnel with better equipment before, during and after elections for good defence.

4. Maintaining Good Leadership: Islam recognizes that leadership can be exercised at variety of levels upon oneself, family, neighbourhood or state. This is stated in the Hadith of the Prophet (SAW):

Everyone of you is a shepherd, and anyone of you is answerable with regard to his flock. A caliph is a shepherd over his people and shall be questioned about his subjects. A man is a guardian over the members of his family and shall be questioned about them (Al-Bukhari Vol. 1, No. 419).

An Ideal Muslim leader who is ready to set an example in the mode and style of his leadership needs to possess the characteristics like, belief in Allah and doing good, upholding the value of humanity, fostering brotherhood and unity of humanity, establishing the cooperation of mankind towards a prosperous community physically and spiritually, to foster the spirit of tolerance, respect for freedom of other people and upholding kindness, justice, keeping promises, avoid wasting and extravagance, instilling compassion promote prudent spending, avoid discord and enmity, prevent damage, forming a virtuous society, doing right

and avoiding what is wrong, respecting and loving the old and the young, avoiding prejudice, caring for the poor and persons with disabilities, single mothers and orphans, avoiding taking the rights of others, striving to do good, and managing time and keeping promises (Lawal, 2017).

5. Obedience to Constituted Authority: In Islam, all ultimate authority rests in Allah. The Prophets of Allah undoubtedly derive their authority from Allah and without any sharp division between sacred and secular affairs, government and those who are charged with authority and decision making are the next in the process as far as the larger constitution is concerned. Obedience to constituted authority cannot be overemphasized in Islamic political style, for it ramifies the basis for orderliness and peaceful co-existence in the society as well as project self-righteousness and obedience to Allah (Ishola, 2011). Allah says in His Book:

O you who believe! Obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those charged with authority among you... (Q4: 59).

This leaves us with the task of understanding “those with authority among you” as in the verse above. It however covers a wide variety of people. From parents, to employers and the rulers, the courts, the police, government and its agencies. Disobedience to constituted authority will translate to the absence of peace for it brings about anarchy and chaotic environment (Ishola 2011).

6. Moderation: Islam enjoins people not to be extravagant; leaders and the led in handling public treasury. Accepting bribes by Muslim leaders, followers or any other public official is totally condemned in Islam because reasonably the person giving in the present time may expect in favour of him in the near future as compensation from the leader (Lawal, 2018). The Prophet (SAW) state in the Hadith: Allah cursed the briber and the bribed person (At-Tirmidhi Vol. 1, No. 793).

As the Hadith indicates, asking for bribe or accepting it leads to anger of Allah. And a good Muslim must avoid whatever can cause Allah’s wrath that may lead to losing the rewards of his good actions. It is undisputedly known to every Nigeria that bribery is an evil act which is one of the corrupt practices in the country’s politics as presented above. If the

country intends to sustain good electoral processes, all acts leading to bribery must be avoided. The analyzed Islamic solutions above, if employed, will go a long way in proffering lasting solutions to the problem of political violence in Nigeria. It is of no doubt that Islam is not practiced by all Nigerians, but there is a provision for Islamic practices in the country's constitution which is enough to make political leaders look into the suggestions and habituate them.

Conclusion

Political violence in the Nigerian political system is traced back to colonial period close to independence. From the independence till present, there had been violence in every election held in the country which are caused by various reasons, mostly corruption, unemployment, poverty, undemocratic political parties as well as challenges of godfatherism and insecurity. It could therefore be concluded that Nigerian political violence largely occurs during the election periods.

However, the kind of political system adopted by Islam is the one that fosters unity among the community members, gives room for mutual consultation on matters, prioritizes justice, accountability and transparency, enjoins obedience to constituted authority and puts it that utmost power belongs to Allah. Imbibing such system may bring about the solutions to the country's political violence.

Recommendations

Based on the data presented and analyzed above, the researcher recommends the following:

1. The Federal government should ensure the implementation of election rules in the country and punish any political offender accordingly.
2. The EFCC should ensure that all its officials carry out their task effectively without being influenced by politicians.
4. The Federal government should see it a responsibility to supply sufficient armed forces, especially policemen, to help in the monitoring of election processes and conduction.

3. The leaders and members of political parties should always work for unity among themselves and also for the progress of the country.
4. The Federal government should, through any way possible, abolish the system of godfatherism in the Nigerian political system.
6. Every Nigerian should deem it necessary to be law abiding, before, during and after elections.

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THE ECONOMIC IMPLICATION OF RUSSIA-UKRAINE ARMED CONFLICT ON NIGERIAN NATURAL GAS PRODUCTION (2014-2022)

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ABSTRACT

Russia-Ukraine armed conflict has pushed global gas supply from surplus in 2014 to all-time low in 2022. The study aims to look at the economic implication of the Russia-Ukraine armed conflict on the natural gas production of Nigeria since 2014 to 2022. The study adopted mixed qualitative-descriptive and quantitative methodological design to collect data. The findings of this study shows that there is a global rise in the demand for natural gas production in which Nigeria is one of the major OPEC members, which of course, presently, the industry capacity to meet the allotted OPEC quota from 1.735mbpd to 1.799mbpd is poor. Interdependence and Ripple Effect Theories were adopted as theoretical framework. It is however recommended that Nigeria should diversify its economic production beyond the present fossil fuel oil and gas industry to enhance its industrialization question.

Keywords: Armed Conflict, Natural Gas, Russia-Ukraine

Introduction

Natural gas is estimated to be the fastest growing fossil fuel in the world, and is projected to overtake coal by 2030, as the second largest source of energy after oil (Inayeh, Schwarzer & Forbrig, 2019). Globally, 64% of the top 10 global petroleum discoveries in 2018 was natural gas. According to the International Energy Agency (IEA, 2019), global demand for natural gas grew by 4.6% in 2018, driven by strong economic growth and the transition from coal fired electric power due to climate change strategies, among others. Gas accounted for nearly half of the world's growth in energy demand, with China and the United States leading the consumption trend. In 2020, slowdown in global industrial activities due to COVID19, coupled with the mandated lockdown and restrictions across the world and Russia-Ukraine

armed conflict, have dampened the outlook for the gas sector in the medium term. Prior to the pandemic, a global gas supply glut amid fears of weakening demand was already pushing gas prices downward toward the end of 2019 and this continues even with the Russia-Ukraine armed conflict.

Russia's invasion of Ukraine is causing an intense humanitarian crisis. More than 12 million people are estimated to have been displaced and more than 13 million require urgent humanitarian assistance (Füle, 2013). Ukraine's economy is being devastated and the acute trauma suffered by the population will have enduring consequences. The armed conflict in Ukraine has set back the global response to and the recovery of the global economy from the COVID-19 pandemic. Prior to the invasion, the world was focused on the health and economic challenges caused by the pandemic: reversing the severe loss of human capital and supporting the global economy amid an uneven recovery characterized by lingering supply bottlenecks; the withdrawal of policy support; and rising inflation, including for food and energy before the armed conflict commenced (Füle, 2013).

A protracted armed conflict could heighten global policy uncertainty and lead to lasting fragmentation of global financial, trade, and investment networks. Human capital would also be further affected, including in neighboring countries, like those in Central Asia and others such as Nigeria being impacted by spikes in food insecurity, especially for vulnerable households. Severe education losses would also have long-run implications for human capital formation in Ukraine. The materialization of any of these risks could further degrade the fundamental drivers of growth, weighing on long-run growth prospects, and increasing poverty and inequality (Havlik, 2020).

Conceptual Definitions

Armed Conflict

Armed conflict according to the Geneva Conventions of 1949, common article 2 states that “all cases of declared war or of any armed conflict that may arise between two or more high contracting parties, even if the state of war is not recognized, the convention shall also apply

to all cases of partial or total occupation of the territory of a high contracting party even if the said occupation meets with no armed resistance” (Geneva Convention, 1949, common art 2). It is a situation where there is resort to armed force between two or more states, regardless of the reason or the intensity of the conflict, (Gertrude, 2011).

Natural Gas

Natural gas is a hydrocarbon mixture consisting primarily of saturated light paraffin such as methane and ethane. Both of which are gaseous under atmospheric conditions (Riva, 2022). Natural gas is estimated to be the fastest growing fossil fuel in the world, and is projected to overtake coal by 2030, as the second largest source of energy after oil. The pandemic coupled with the oil price shocks could prolong the recent supply demand imbalance in gas exporting markets, thereby resulting in the continued downward trend in gas prices (Nelson, 2020). In Africa, gas reserves and production were increasing with several LNG projects being developed across the continent. Nigeria, a major contributor to Africa's oil and gas potential, accounted for 29% and 21% of total oil and gas reserves respectively in 2018. Although, the country has the ninth (9th) largest proven reserves globally, the sector is largely underdeveloped as production to reserves is approximately 1%. According to NNPC, Nigeria has 202 trillion cubic feet (tcf) of untapped proven gas reserves (Nelson, 2020).

Russian-Ukraine Armed Conflict

Russia's invasion on Ukraine has caused a not only short-term spike in prices of oil and gas all among their major partners, but could prompt a long-term shift towards sustainability. The armed conflict in Ukraine could have a devastating effect on some African states, threatening their economies and seeing governments come under diplomatic pressure to take sides in the escalating feud between Russia and Western powers. As an article in South Africa's Daily Maverick news site noted, war in far-away Europe will "be felt in every village and town of South Africa and the world" (Maverick, 2022). "Even before the first missiles have been fired this war has taken a dreadful toll: diverting billions of dollars into rearmament and away from

tackling poverty, pandemics, education, inequality and the burgeoning climate crisis in a critical year" (Mearsheimer, 2019).

Nigeria has called for the immediate withdrawal of Russian troops from Ukraine, saying the dispute should be resolved peacefully. "Armed conflict will no doubt result in human suffering and destruction, the effects of which will not only affect Ukraine but also reverberate across the world. No country is immune to the effects of this conflict," (Whistler, 2022). In 2014 was annexation of Crimea by Russia and 2022, Russia invaded Ukraine. Both invasions have caused serious impact to the global economy. Energy dependence on Russia by EU; the effect of sanctions; search for other sources especially Nigeria.

Energy crunch

The biggest question facing world leaders is how to sever their energy dependence on Russia. The United States and the United Kingdom were the first major countries to ban Russian oil, but neither depends heavily on these imports. Moreover, the impact of such actions is minimal because Russia can simply redirect that oil elsewhere on the global market. An embargo would only work if the EU took part, because it would be difficult for Russia to quickly find new customers for the oil and gas it sends to Europe, (Nature, 2022).

The power sector in Nigeria is seen by many analysts as the key constraint on economic development especially during this situation. Assessing the ease of getting electricity, the World Bank ranked Nigeria 187 of 189 countries in the 2015, and 171 out of 190 countries in the 2020 edition of its Doing Business report. For a business in Lagos and some other commercial areas in Nigeria, to obtain permanent electricity connection takes 260 days (World Bank, 2021).

The EU imported around 40% of its natural gas, more than one-quarter of its oil and about half of its coal from Russia in 2019. And despite bold promises about cutting ties with Russia, European nations have thus far opted for easy energy: the amount of Russian oil and gas entering Europe has actually increased since the armed conflict in Ukraine began. Europe sent Russia around €22 billion (US\$24 billion) for oil and gas in March alone, according to

Bruegel, (Kholodilin, 2014). But that could change in the coming months, as countries implement plans to diversify their energy sources and reduce the flow of Russian oil and gas. Poland, for example, has announced it will ban all imports of Russian oil, gas and coal by the end of this year, and Germany and Austria are laying the groundwork for rationing natural gas.

The energy crisis is particularly acute in Germany, which relies on Russia for roughly half of its natural gas and coal and for more than one-third of its oil. Germany's immediate challenge is to reduce reliance on natural gas in the power-generation sector, which is further complicated by the country's exit from nuclear power: its last three nuclear stations are scheduled to close down this year (McFaul, 2022).

The conflict provided a greater opportunity for Nigeria but Nigeria is not meeting up with local consumption demands and external supply to Europe and America – Reasons: lack of capacity for example, extractive capacity and corruption in the industry.

Theoretical Framework

Interdependence Theory

Interdependence theory analyzes the relations between people in terms of situation structure, describing structure using variables such as dependence, covariation of interests, and information certainty. The theory proposes a taxonomy of interdependence situations and outlines the implications of situation structure for intrapersonal and interpersonal processes. In short, situation structure is the interpersonal reality within which cognition, affect, and motivation transpire, and for which such processes are functionally adapted. Interdependence theory uses two formal tools to represent the outcomes of interaction – matrices and transition lists (Kelley & Thibaut, 2012).

The purpose of these formal representations is to precisely specify the character of situation structure – to describe the ways in which people can affect one another's outcomes during the course of interaction in this context, the theory is linked with the outcome of Russia invasion of Ukraine on gas production in Nigeria. Interaction describes two people's (A and

B) needs, thoughts, and motives in relation to one another in the context of the specific interdependence situation(s) in which their interaction transpires (Kelley et. al., 2003). The precise outcomes of an interaction – the degree to which Russia and European Union on behalf of Ukraine experience it as satisfying depend on whether the interaction gratifies (vs. frustrates) important needs, such as security, belongingness, and exploration which enable Russia to invade Ukraine as a result of this action, several lives dead, displaced and inflected with pains (cf. Baumeister and Leary, 1995; Fraley and Shaver, 2000; Kenrick and Trost, 2004). The Russia-Ukraine armed conflict have really affected Nigeria so much due to the country's dependence on goods from refined petroleum products to fertilizers and food, especially wheat, has seen Nigerians paying for a conflict they are not a part of, (Ojewale, 2022).

Ripple Effect Theory

A ripple effect can be defined as a gradually spreading influence or series of consequences caused by a single action or event, for example Russia invasion on Ukraine. Direct effects are the effects spurring from increased activity in the industry in question. In an instance of the petroleum industry, the direct ripple effects would include increased employment and output from the exploration and production part of the industry. Examples of direct ripple effects in this case could be increases in drilling, extraction, support and refining activities. Definition of direct ripple effects from the classification by Cooper and Smith (2010) could be related to parts of the Oterhals and Hervik (2006) application of the MODAG model and more precisely to the section of the model that does not have an assigned definition, i.e. does not belong to the supplier, tax, consumption and investment definitions.

As observed in the theory, it sums up the types of employment as a result of increased petroleum activity in the region which is Russia. Oterhals and Hervik (2006) did not separate the employment effects in exploration and production part of the petroleum industry from other industries, therefore direct impacts do not appear as a separate section in their classification, yet there is a partial connection to Cooper and Smith 's (2005) definition of

direct ripple effects. Economic catalytic effects are also called spill over effects by Cooper and Smith (2010).

Economic Impact of the Conflict

- a. According to the EU, sanctions are one of the EU's tools to promote the objectives of the Common Foreign and Security Policy. EU sanctions are not punitive. Beyond purely economic effects, the effectiveness of Western sanctions in terms of the targeted change in Russia's policies towards Ukraine – including a stop of intervention in eastern Ukraine and the return of Crimea – the results have so far been rather disappointing. The sanctions have undoubtedly augmented the negative economic developments in Russia resulting from the combined effect of the deteriorating investment climate, ruble depreciation, capital flight and reform setbacks – the country was 'stuck in transition and stagnation' already before the Ukraine crisis. Growth prospects were scaled down accordingly, by about 1 percentage point for the period 2014-2022, (EU, 2021).
- b. Due to decline in the supply of natural gas production in Nigeria, income level of the country has been grossly affected with Russia as a major player enduring turbulent time as a result of sanctions received over Ukraine invasion.
- c. The armed conflict impacted the price of crude oil, thereby causing price to rise to an all-time high.
- d. The distance between Nigeria and Ukraine is an estimated 8,287 kilometers but the conflict has led to higher petrol subsidy bill and a surge in the prices of diesel, aviation fuel, cooking gas and some food items, (Ojewale, 2022).

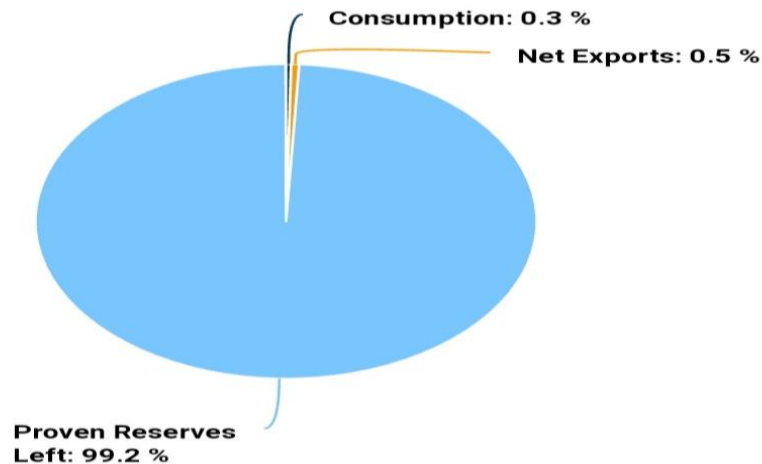
Lastly, a rough estimate of economic effects owing to lower GDP growth yields a

Russian GDP loss of close to EUR 20 billion in 2014 and 2022 respectively, and more than EUR 30 billion in 2015 and 2022. The economies of individual EU countries are affected to very differing degrees by the conflict, depending on their trade (and otherwise) exposure to the Russian (and Ukrainian) market. The differentiation in the economic impact and other (historical) factors also explains in part certain features of the comparatively heterogeneous

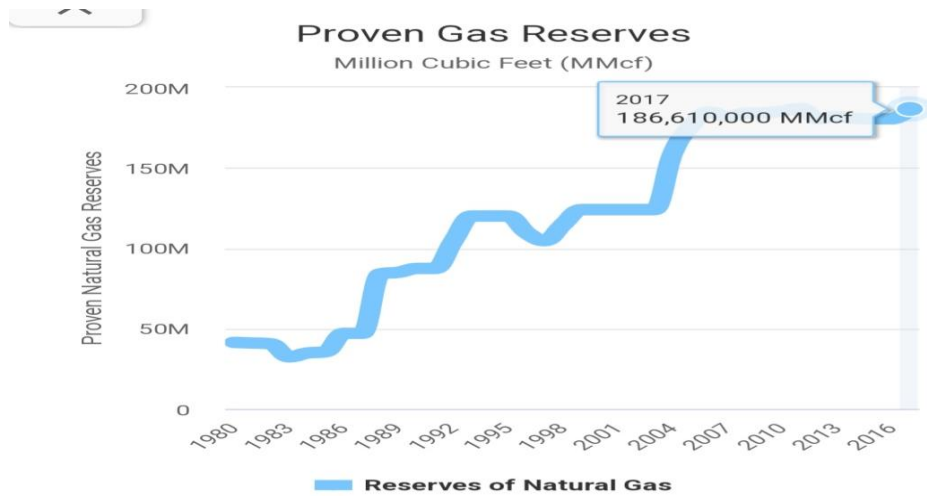
stance of the individual EU countries with respect to sanctions and other EU policies towards Russia, Ukraine and the Eastern Neighbourhood.

This scenario would most likely be associated with the interruption of Russian gas supplies to the EU, confiscation of Western assets in Russia, wholesale travel bans and similar measures. Contrary to other studies (Moody's, 2014; EBRD, 2014; Deutsche Bank Research, 2014; Kholodilin et al., 2014), we take into account trade in both goods and services, but do not consider all sector-specific effects (e.g. financial flows) owing to major uncertainty and/or the lack of data. Moreover, in the case of exports, we distinguish between gross exports and the domestic value added in exports.

Yearly Gas Production (Consumption + Net Exports) as share of Total Proven Reserves

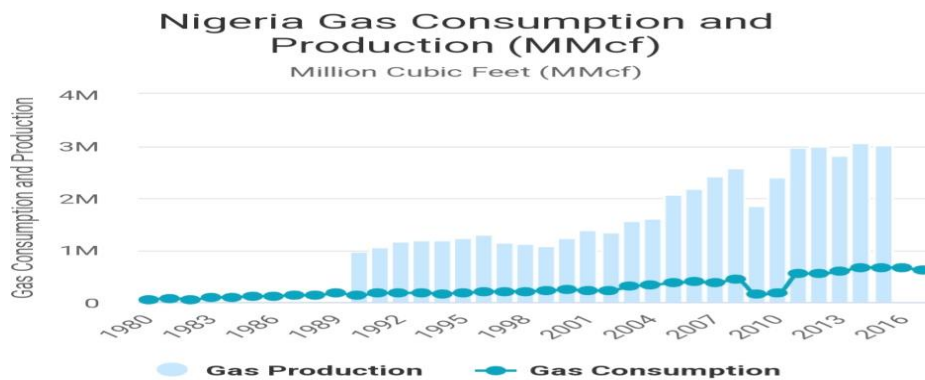


Source: *National Bureau of Statistics, 2021.*



Source: National Bureau of Statistics, 2021.

History of Gas Consumption and Production



Source: National Bureau of Statistics, 2021.

Nigeria Natural Gas, Summary Table

	Million Cubic Ft (MMcf)	Global Rank
<u>Gas Reserves</u>	180,490,000	<u>9th in the world</u>
<u>Gas Production</u>	3,009,650	<u>12th in the world</u>
<u>Gas Consumption</u>	664,628	<u>38th in the world</u>
Yearly Surplus	+ 2,345,022	
Gas Imports	0	
Gas Exports	929,844	
<u>Net Exports</u>	929,844	

Source: International Energy Agency (IEA), 2022.

Additionally, there are yet other economic impacts of the Russia-Ukraine armed conflict to Nigeria. These include:

1. Sharp rise in global demand for Nigerian gas;
2. Decline in the supply of natural gas production in Nigeria which lost its status as Africa's biggest oil producer to Angola. OPEC monthly report for May 2022, showed that Nigeria's oil production reduced by 195,000 barrels per day (bpd) that is 1.02 million bpd in May from 1.22 mbpd in April, (OPEC, 2022).
3. Restart of trans-Saharan gas pipeline – the recent approval for NNPC to enter into MOU with ECOWAS for the construction of the Nigeria – Morocco gas pipeline. It will transverse 15 West African countries to Morocco – Spain – other EU countries.
4. Projected rise in earnings from gas;
5. Price of oil was affected causing price to rise to an all-time-high, a surge in the prices of diesel, aviation fuel, cooking gas and food items.
6. Infrastructural growth in the oil and gas industry; and

7. Non – oil gas economic activities – the recent Non-Oil Export Summit 2022 held in Lagos.

Conclusion

The economic implication of Russia-Ukraine armed conflict on Nigerian natural gas production between 2014-2022 have been unstable. Using our dual interdependence and ripple theories, our work was able to answer positively the research questions regarding the current level of natural gas production in Nigeria which is put at 3,009,650 million cubic feet (mmcf). The armed conflict impacted the domestic gas production due largely to lack of extractive capacity in the industry, effect of corruption and environment challenges. Nevertheless, the recent policy measures put in place since the enactment of Petroleum Industry Act, that is, PIA 2021 including the proposed Trans-Sahara Nigeria –Morocco-Spain gas pipeline are designed to increase domestic production and utilization as increase foreign exchange earnings to boost the GDP, (Yusuf, 2021). The pipeline would traverse fifteen (15) West African countries to Morocco and Spain, (Premium Times, 2022). Nigeria needs to fix its infrastructure deficit to enable the country maximize the increase in both prices and production quotas, especially, the recent increase on Nigeria's July Crude Oil Quota from 1,735mbpd to 1,799mbpd by OPEC.

There is a global rise in the demand for natural gas production in which Nigeria is a major OPEC producer. Presently, the industry capacity to meet the allotted OPEC quota from 1,735mbpd to 1,799mbpd is poor. There is a global demand for Nigerian natural gas can be met with improvement in infrastructure for maximizing prices and productions.

Recommendations

- i. The Russia-Ukraine armed conflict should be resolved for humanitarian benefits. However, Nigeria should take maximum advantage to advance its productive capacity from the positive effect of the conflict;
- ii. Nigeria should diversify its economic production beyond the present fossil fuel oil and gas industry to enhance its industrialization question;

- iii. Improved data analytics on the oil and gas industry stakeholders especially, the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), Nigeria Bureau of Statistics (NBS), and Organized Private Sector (OPS).

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PEACE-BUILDING, NOT PEACE-KEEPING: A CRITIQUE OF THE CURRENT EFFORTS TO RESTORE ENDURING PEACE IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

The Nigerian citizens have suffered for too long waiting for when lasting peace will be restored; but it appears like the approach used in the effort to restore lasting peace is a misfit approach. This paper has argued that the Nigerian Government has failed in restoring lasting peace for its citizens because it has failed to choose the most effective approach of addressing the causes of violence at the grassroots. From the existing literature on peace studies, it can be deduced that peace-keeping, as being used by the government of Nigeria, is not the most effective strategy for restoring lasting peace. "Peace-building" is thus the most effective strategy because it addresses the issues that feed violence. The current "Peace-keeping" only exacerbates breakdown of peace because it fails to engender justice, fairness and equity. A lot of researches have been done about the need for restoring peace, but very little on the appropriate strategy. Therefore, the question is, what peace strategy has the government used for all these years of fruitless efforts? Dietrich Bonhoeffer' "life together" issued as a theory to critique the peace-keeping being used by the Nigerian Government. In sum, there is the lack of social justice and fairness to all are the root cause of breakdown of peace in Nigeria; hence, the need for the most relevant strategy, which is peace-building, to radically address the causes at that level.

Keywords: Peace-building, Peace-making, Peace-keeping, Government

Introduction

The common saying that "Nigeria is the Giant of Africa" ordinarily sends a message of hope; but is this submission translated into anything palatable to the Nigerian citizens? How can a nation be "a giant" of a continent, yet everywhere is bloodshed? What has the government been doing to rescue the millions of innocent citizens from the life-taking violence that has sent most of them out to the margins of society? What could be the cause(s) of such violence and bloodshed? How is the situation being handled? Why has restoration of peace eluded the authorities concerned all these years?

This article critiques the approach with which the Nigerian Government has been handling the prevailing breakdown of peace in the country. The paper argues that for every important project that needs to be done effectively, it needs relevant strategy for positive results to be achieved. The Nigerian Government has been using the wrong method of restoring lasting peace. Peacekeeping or peace enforcement, as being used by the government through the use of the gun, will never yield the desired result of restoring lasting peace in the country. The article argues for peace-building for urgent restoration of peace in the Nigerian Society because it is the strategy that addresses the causes of violence at the grassroots. The authorities concerned have chosen the wrong strategy (peace-making), that is why restoration of peace has eluded them.

It is obvious to Nigerian citizens that from the menace of Boko Haram down to the present rampant kidnapping of citizens for ransom, the Nigerian Government has been made frantic efforts to deal with the culprits and restore lasting peace; but because the right approach (peacebuilding) has not been used, breakdown of peace has only been exacerbated as if nothing is being done. This article, therefore, argues for peace-building as the most effective strategy rather than peace-enforcement or peacekeeping that has yielded little or no positive results for all these years. The author's argument is that a situation where social justice and fairness to all is compromised, restoration of peace will elude every effort. No number of weapons can truly restore peace when social justice a fairness is denied.

Clarification of Terms

For better clarity of the argument and key terms used in this study, clarification of such terms for better comprehension becomes pertinent:

Peace

The term “peace” has been defined in various ways by the specialists in the field. Michelle Gawerc (2011: 438) notes that: “Peace as a term is contested. Colloquially, by government and the academia itself, peace is often defined negatively as the absence of war and physical violence. This is problematic, not least of which is that peace is often defined differently by

different groups in a conflict”. The obvious problem with the definition of peace as absence of war and physical violence is its omission of structural injustice, which is also a form of violence. Objectively, peace is more of a situation where justice and fairness occupy the centre of relationship whether there is conflict or not.

In order to define peace in a broader and more positive way, Johan Galtung (1975, 282-304) differentiated between negative and positive peace by positing that: “Whereas negative peace is the absence of direct violence (people being killed), positive peace also includes absence of structural violence (people dying as a result of poverty) and cultural violence (factors that blind people to injustice or allow them to rationalize it)”. Thus, while “the negative peace of order and the cessation of direct violence” may not be compatible with justice, “the positive peace of reconciliation and psycho/social healing” for the most part presupposes it” (Gawerc, 2011: 439). How can positive peace be realized in the society? What does it take to achieve absence of direct violence and war inter-personally and in the structures of the society? Could positive peace be achieved within a short time? What are the processes involved in working for positive peace? Such peace as positive must involve a long-term planning; (Ciboh, 2017: 23), hence; peace-building.

That positive peace is based on justice and equity is an important aspect of peace-building. This is because justice may even demand that there is conflict so that justice may be restored. In view of this, it may not even be proper to stop direct or structural conflict if it is at the expense of justice, and the best way to guarantee the durability of any agreement is to be pro-active and allow for higher participation by the conflict groups (Gawerc, 2011: 439).

Peace-making

The process of peace-making is a negotiation that takes place between policy-makers when there is break down of peace (Galtung, 1975: 286). This negotiation is directed towards reaching an official settlement or agreement to cease fire. Peace-making takes place at the administrative level without involving the direct participants in conflict. The process does not necessarily address the root cause (s) of the conflict. Sometimes the agreement terms may not

even be in line with what the warring factions want for peace to return. Because the participants are not involved in peace-making, sometimes the agreement fails and violence or war relapses intermittently. Peace-making is not normally based on social justice since the root causes of violence are not addressed (Galtung, 1975: 286). Peace-making is not grounded at the grassroots where peace usually begins to break; hence, it fails to address the issues at that level. When those directly involved in the process of peace restoration, the better; but where they are neglected, every strategy becomes null and void (Maiangwa, 2021: 24).

Peace-keeping

Peace-keeping or peace-enforcement is an immediate strategy to stop violence or war by the intervention of a third party. The third party helps in keeping apart the warring factions but it does not address the issues causing war. For instance, what some nations and even the United Nations does when violence breaks out is to send troops to bring calmness and restore peace as a first aid measure (Uduji, 2021: 10). This action is peace-keeping or enforcement because it does nothing to address the real issues that feed the violence. Peace-keeping activities have been known to create more havoc when troops end up killing more people than the violence itself. Peace-keeping does not guarantee or restore just and lasting peace either because it is only reactive and not pro-active in addressing the unmet needs that motivate violence (Galtung, 1975: 287). Lasting peace and its restoration cannot be externally imposed because issues that feed violence usually build up gradually at the grassroots; therefore, once such issues are left unaddressed, peace-making and enforcement serve as mere first-aid measures (Nweke, 2018: 39).

Peace-building

Peace-building is a different approach which is a long-term approach involving a wide range of activities at the grassroots to address the causes of grievances between the warring factions (Tobias & Klein, 2002, p. 34). Peace-building is pro-active because it does not wait for violence to happen before taking action. The grassroots activities that are addressed for peace-building focus on social, psychological, cultural, political, and economic environments at the

grass roots involving the participants for long term and lasting peace (Olaifa, 2017: 17). The intention of peace-building is to create a structure of peace that is based on justice, equity, and cooperation thereby addressing the underlying causes of violence so that they become less likely to repeat themselves in the future. Peace-building strategies also address issues of unemployment, unequal distribution of resources, lack of basic necessities of life, access to economic opportunities, political inclusion, and all policies that tend to reduce unfairness and promote living together among people in the society (Galtung, 1975: 288-289).

Theoretical Consideration

Theory of "Life Together" as propounded by Dietrich Bonhoeffer is a relevant theoretical framework for this study because it focuses on things that bind people together rooted in social justice and fairness, which serve as social glue for peace and restoration of peaceful co-existence within the society (Bonhoeffer, 1951: 29-34). As cited by Koopman Nico (2014, 1985), Bonhoeffer offers various directives for public and peaceful co-existence in the society. Bonhoeffer's contribution to the restoration of peace in the Apartheid-ravaged-society of South African society is quoted by Allan Boesak as follows:

I learned from Bonhoeffer that we must not recoil from doing what has to be done and what should be done for others so that we can live together. I learned from him that we should not excuse ourselves by saying nothing can be done without doing our analysis first... I learned from him that we are called to do precisely proper and right analysis of so that we will not be dreaming and romanticize about realities of this world, or the ethical relevance of success, or failure. From him we learned that we should know not to deny our broken past, but to accept in and, in so doing, to respond to the demands of the present... We have learned from him that we should take the risk of doing and that we should not wait until we have the certainties of complete analysis, which may never come. We must make the decision and we must take upon ourselves the consequences of that decision (Boesak, 1984: 21-29).

Life together demands pro-active decisions full of accommodation and compromises.

The above theory is relevant for peace restoration because until the authorities concerned provide structures of give and take between warring parties, peace will not return even at the instance of weapons. Bonhoeffer further propounded that: "We have access to one another,

joy in one another, community with one another through the creator alone" (Bonheoffer, 1996: 47). For life together to thrive, the authorities concerned ought to lead the citizens in the way of exemplary give and take. They must ensure that human needs are met and that no one is excluded from common participation. Jim Wallis advocates for the promotion of life together in the society as follows:

When it comes to the contribution of religious organizations in Nigeria, most of their contribution can only be in the negative because of the havoc religion is causing the citizens (Lenshie & Abel, 2012: 278). Ordinarily religion is meant to foster peaceful co-existence, but the havoc in the above context is the bloodshed experienced in the country in the name of religion (Igboin, 2012: 234). For the project of life together to thrive, every sector of society has a role to play. No single sector is able to restore peace within the society no matter how intelligent it becomes. The political Realist (Reinhold Niehbuhr) cited in Douglas (2006, 419) is quoted as follows:

The social intelligence and moral goodness... may serve to mitigate the brutalities of social conflict but they cannot abolish the conflict itself. That could be accomplished only if groups, whether racial, national, or economic, could achieve a degree of reason and sympathy which would permit them to see and to understand the interest of others as vividly as they understand their own, and the moral goodwill which would prompt them to affirm the rights of others as vigorously as they affirm their own. Given the inevitable limitations of human imagination and intelligence, this is an ideal which individuals may approximate but which is beyond the capacities of human societies... thus. societies, who dream of socializing man and woman, and religious idealists who strive to increase the sense of moral responsibility... are not conscious of the limitations of human nature which finally frustrates their efforts.

Life together calls for sharing and treating each other fairly so that marginalization, discrimination, domination, exclusion and every behaviour that pushes the majority out to the margins of society. These are the only things that need to be encouraged for peace to return to Nigeria instead of the use of guns. Violence cannot beget violence; Nigerians have lost respect

and dignity for the Nigerian army because they have left the barracks and become beggars on the streets in the name of peace-keeping.

The Current Situation in Nigerian

One does not need a re-sounding prophet to hear that things are not right in Nigeria at the moment. Even if one is to pretend that things are right, the daily disappearance of loved ones to the hands of kidnappers and payment of ransom are enough proofs that things are not right. Life together has since given way to life-denying selfishness in our society because of sheer greed. Living together demands that citizens recognize and uphold the humanity of one another, which is our common denominator regardless of what we have constructed socially to divide us. Lovemore Mbigi rightly describes what has caused the nightmare of Nigerians:

Africans have a thing called UBUNTU; it is about the essence of being human, it is part of the gift that Africans give to the world. It embraces hospitality, caring about others, being willing to go extra mile for the sake of another. We believe that a person is a person through other persons; that my humanity is caught up and bound up in yours. When I dehumanize you, I dehumanize myself. The solitary human being is a contradiction in terms and therefore, you seek to work for the common good because your humanity comes into its own in community, in belonging (Mbigi, 2005: 20-21).

It is obvious that the current Nigerian situation in terms of breakdown of peace needs a more radical peace-building strategy than peace keeping strategy if peace must be restored. Because the authorities concerned have chosen to use peace-keeping, instead of restoring peace in the society, more guns have found themselves in the hands of hungry and angry citizens, who have found kidnapping and banditry as options for survival (Adam, 2022: 12). One is forced to ask: Where did we miss it? Why have the authorities failed to restore peace in Nigeria even when the entire military and all the law-enforcement agents flood our streets to keep peace? Of course, the hunger and anger fed by the selfishness of few individuals in control of our national resources cannot be dealt with by the use of the gun. The radical and lasting return of peace in Nigeria depends on radical return to justice and fairness to all because nothing promotes peace than the promotion of the common good (Wallis, 2014: 89).

Wallis cites from Mahatma Gandhi what could be used to describe the woes of Nigeria: “The seven social sins”: “politics without principles, wealth without work, commerce without morality, pleasure without conscience, education without character, science without humanity, and worship without sacrifice (1994: xv). To call for individual self-improvement and a return to family values while ignoring the pernicious effects of poverty, racism, and sexism is to continue to blame the victim (1994: xvi). To Wallis, we face a kind of violence not only of poverty but also of perverse values, a disintegration caused not only by the lack of good jobs but also of lack of spiritual formation, a crime rooted not only in economic disparity but also in the nihilism of a society whose materialism is its only real god (1994: xvii).

Peace-Building as the most Effective Strategy

As stated above, the study argues for peace-building to replace the current peace-keeping that the Nigerian authorities are using. This strategy is recommended because it is the only strategy that is able to address real issues that motivate violence and breakdown of peace in Nigeria. Here the approach is pro-active and radical because the people at the grassroots are involved in finding local solutions to their grievances, thereby working to find reconciliatory measures that restore and sustain lasting peace.

In view of the above, peace-building is used in this research to describe a deliberate effort by the authorities (state) to strengthen the prospects of internal peace by decreasing the likelihood of violent conflict (Tobias and Kleing, 2002: 35-36). Peace-build is geared towards enhancing indigenous capacities of a society to manage conflict without violence. It focuses on a wide range of activities which have bearing on the social, psychological, and economic environment at the grassroots (Raiser, 2013: 439). Without intensive involvement of ordinary people at the base of their society to build strong foundation for civil society, even if negotiation between conflicting parties takes place at the official level it may not result in positive peace restoration at the base (Galtung, 2006: 446). Activities for peace-building are grounded at the grassroots where grievances leading to violence are based.

Peace-building, from what the scholars are saying, ought to be pro-active and patiently pursued. It is not reactive to violence but it is something that ought to be planned for in the budget of every year by church and state. Peace-building is different from peace-making and peace-keeping because it centres on addressing political, economic, social, and psychological or cultural causes of conflict and violence (Gawerc, 2011: 440). Peace-building focuses on the transformation of unjust social relationships and addressing the root causes of conflicts (Lederach, 1997: 1-30). Peace-building envisions a world that does not know what exclusion, discrimination, violence, intolerance or dehumanizing poverty are, but rather a place where the goods of the earth are shared by all and creation is cherished for future generations...a place where people, especially the poorest, marginalized, and oppressed, find hope and are empowered to come to the fullness of their humanity as part of the global community (Igboin, 2012: 224).

The difference that peace-building brings is an emphasis on relationships—two central themes: Peace-building is relationship-centred and is a participatory process. Rather than just looking at the specific ways of improved food production or build new houses, peace-building emphasizes a focus on relationships with partners and programme recipients as an integral part of establishing lasting peace in violence-prone areas (Lederach, 1997: 2001).

Peace demands that the people themselves be involved in the search for solution to conflict, rather than being a division of the spoils between factions...where conflict is essentially over governance by, and respect for, a diversity of people and peoples, those people of peoples must be heard in the process of constitution making. Power is not solely an inter-elite matter, and limited to purely geo-ethnic and institutional aspects. For sustainable peace, the governance framework will have to be more inclusive and built-up broader stakes of participation in the peace-building process (Gawerc, 2006: 33). When things are fine, all the citizens ought to be part of them; when they are bad and a solution is being sought, all citizens ought to be part of them.

Conclusion

This article has critiqued the current peace-keeping of the Nigerian authorities and argued that peace-building is the best option for permanent peace in the Nigerian Community. This is because it focuses on the transformation of the human conditions between man and man, and man and the environment. Peace-building takes a radical approach of addressing the root causes of violence or disagreements between warring factions and forestalls future occurrences. Any peace approach that fails to address the real issues that fuel violence only results into what constitutes negative peace.

In peace-building, the top, the middle, and the grass roots all need to be involved in building peace. Negative peace usually leaves the oppressed groaning in silence because they have no choice for resistance; but positive peace focuses on justice where there is justice both in interpersonal relationships and in the social structures. Peace is measured by the improved condition of the oppressed and not by the pleasure and celebration of the oppressors.

Recommendations

Having argued for replacement of peace-keeping with peace-building strategies for a more enduring peace in Nigeria, the following are recommended for the Nigerian Government.

First, the government should re-assess to find out that the root cause(s) of the breakdown of peace in the country cannot be mitigated through the use of force. Issues like the prevailing life-denying socio-economic and political injustice, entrenched and breath-taking unemployment in a country where majority of its population fall within the range of 25-30 years old being idle and religious-driven politics and governance leading to lopsided appointments cannot be corrected through the use of force.

Second, those in authority need to come down to the grassroots and launch pro-active approach with relevant strategies for peace-building instead of making irrelevant policies on top.

Third, the common cry about Fulani/farmers unrest in the country calls for justice in striking a balance in the treatment of either group as bonafide citizens of the same country.

Fourth, the idle pool of the youth who are usually used by political opportunists to cause breakdown of peace should be made to feel that they are important in the project of nation building.

Finally, the Nigerian Government should urgently order the removal of military officers from the streets of the country back to the barracks because peace is never imposed through violence. At the root of every violence is unmet human needs. Nigerians are hungry and angry people because some few individuals are taking the national cake more than their share, while the majority are left out in the cold. Justice, fairness and integrity remain the watch-words in peace-building approach, which government should promote, otherwise, no amount of peace-enforcement can restore lasting peace in Nigeria. Unless the life-denying unemployment, denial of human rights, lopsided political appointments, marginalization and discrimination against the minorities are addressed radically, no amount of spendings and presence of military officers in our streets can restore peace; this is because peace is more than absence of war.

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APPRAISAL OF POST- VIOLENT CONFLICT SITUATIONS IN EBIRALAND OF KOGI STATE

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ABSTRACT

Ebiraland in Kogi State has been part of history, a great evolver of civilization and contributor to socio-political development for over three centuries. Ironically this same land was on the boil for over four years, thereby making the land to now enjoy uneasy calm. The study was anchored on frustration, aggression and innate theories of conflict. It x-rays the effects of such conflicts on the people and the land such as image battering, depopulation and cultural bastardization. It was either youth restiveness occasioned by gangsterism, traditional festivals, political or clannish banditry. The image of Ebiraland was dented; an average Ebira man was despised, looked at as a potential vandal or violent entity. Some strangers unfortunately torched by the conflicts took their exist for good, thereby posing danger to economic investment to the land. Development in such situation became a dream away. It is against this backdrop that the paper appraises the genesis of violent conflicts in Ebiraland, the causes and course of such violent conflicts. A number of recommendations were given including, reorientation of the youths, and reforms in Ebira traditional festivals.

Keywords: Peace building, violence, conflict, Ebiraland

Introduction

While some may see violent conflicts as a relatively recent phenomenon in Ebiraland, some others on reflection may recall Ebira antecedents as a people who were known in history as

the leading frontline foot soldiers of the ancient Kwaranrafa Kingdom (Abdulsalam 2004). It was said that the departure of Ebira warriors from their main stream army that led to the fall of that Kingdom. Nigerian history also records that Ebira people in their present abode rebuffed the Jihadist invasion, and unmistakably asserted their political independence and cultural integrity. This was before Ebira integration into the socio-political entity called Nigeria (Okene, 2008).

The dawn of party politics of 1940s and 1950s brought about bitter rivalry between Igbira Tribal Union (ITU) and Northern People's Congress (NPC). The violence that characterized this bitter rivalry spilled over to the Second Republic where National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) became bitter enemies. The same scenario played out during the ill-fated third republic of the Babangida era where Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republican Convention (NRC) squared it with one another. Of course, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP) pitched against each other before the decline of ANPP in 2003 with its loss of the gubernatorial election and in its place came the emergence of Action Congress (and later Action Congress of Nigeria). Thuggery, maiming, killing and burning of houses of political opponents became the striking features of these periods.

Clans in Ebiraland at the pre-colonial to the first republic periods have been living peacefully even though independent of one another. They cooperated with one another in the area of defence, cultural festivals, allocation of land and they intermarried. But this life of cooperation and peaceful co-existence became altered as a result of the activities of politicians using clans as platforms to ride to the pinnacle of political power. Today some of the clans are very suspicious of one another.

Currently, religious fanaticism that usually spark-off violence is on the decline. Unlike in the late 1980s to the early 1990s when Muslim youths and traditionalists were usually on bitter confrontation or some Islamic sects known as Brothers, Shiites, Albani or Izala were always at each other's throat. Violent conflicts cannot be divorced from activities of gangsters

occasioned by mass unemployment of the able-bodied youth. It is more or less a replay of gangsterism often witnessed in the Western world, courtesy of advancement in Information and Communication Technology (ICT). Ebiraland was noted to be flash point in Kogi State before measures were taken to arrest the situation (Japa, 2011).

In a pluralistic and heterogeneous society like Nigeria, it is often characterized by religious fragmentation and ethnic clearages. In such a society, the crisis of identity is an important source of conflict and insecurity (Alenika, 2012). This however is not applicable to the situation in Ebiraland. Anebira who peopled the Kogi Central Senatorial District, otherwise known as Ebiraland have common descent and history. They are bound by strong cords of homogeneity. The linguistic ties, the divinely fared nuclear arrangement of the geography, the homogenous culture, the common character traits, the common ancestry and the intermarriage weave then into what should have been an inseparable twain (Suleiman, 2006).

Conflicts that snowballed into perpetual orgy of violence, bloodletting and terror took root from the dawn of party politics in 1999 and became accentuated in mid-December 2007 when rival PDP and AC began frontal confrontation, Ebiraland was to say the least, sacked several people were cold bloodily hacked down, some number of people were maimed and deformed; properties particularly houses, vehicles, shops and other valuables that have centuries given the uniqueness and infrastructural and civilizational leadership to Ebiraland in the Niger-Benue confluence area were burnt down and wasted as they were casted into atavistic nonsense (Okene, 2008). It is against this backdrop that this study seeks to contribute to knowledge by appraising peace building as the post violent conflicts in Ebiraland.

Conceptual Analysis

Peacebuilding

Peace is often seen as the absence of war, or war is the absence of peace. There is peace because there is no war, and there is war because there is no peace. (Ibrahim, 2022). This conceptualization has been found wanting, it has not gone far in defining peace because there could be peace in war time situation. Peace according to Ibrahim (2022) is a process involving

activities that directly or indirectly linked to increasing development and reducing conflict, both within and without. Peace has been categorized into positive and negative peace. Negative peace is the absence of violence and war while positive peace is the integration of human society (Ibrahim, 2022).

The concept of peace building like any other concept in social sciences, defied any universally acceptable definition, and does not enjoy common practice as well as terminology. Peace building means different things to different scholars, actors and agencies in both conceptualization, terminology, practice and approach. Originally John Galtung (1976) coined the concept in contrast to the terms such as “Peacekeeping” and “peacemaking: Galtung defines it in relation to structure of peace, he limits his scope to inter-state relationships (Ibrahim, 2022).

The concept of peace building was popularized by the former United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali in 1992 in *An Agenda for Peace* as Post-Conflict action to identify and support structures which tend to strengthen and solidify peace to avoid relapse into conflict. Since then, peace building has become catch all concept, encompassing multiple actions and at times contradictory perspectives and agenda (Barnett et al, 2007). Olewuezi (2022) believes that, post conflict peacebuilding geared towards addressing the proximate cause of conflict, through policies and programmes, like conflict resolution, prevention, stabilization, and consolidation of peace after a violent and distractive conflict, with the aim to avoiding relapse to conflict. Peacebuilding entrails those activities and processes that focus on the root causes of the conflict, rather than just the effect.

Violence

As a result of violence being such a complex phenomenon, there is no clear definition for it. Therefore, it is often understood differently by different people in different context – such as those from different countries, cultures, or belief system. While no standard definition of violence has been established, it is important, when developing effective prevention strategies,

to have a clear understanding of violence and the context in which it occurs. In its 2002, World Report on violence that has since become a working term for many international.

Violence is seen as the international use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, underdevelopment or deprivation (WHO, 2002). Violence can be divided into two forms – random violence, which includes unpremeditated or small-scale violence and coordinated violence which includes actions carried out by sanctioned or unsanctioned violent groups.

Conflict

Conflict constitutes an inevitable aspect of human interaction, and cannot be avoided. Social and political interactions involve two opposing forces that are relentless tendencies which are conflict and cooperation. Therefore, an inherent difference of people who live and interact with one another and pursuing conflict interests make conflict inevitable (Ibrahim, 2022). Ibrahim (2022) opines that as human beings interact with each other in social setting, and seek to promote their material well-being and survival in the midst of scarce resources, they either cooperate for the purpose of mutual benefits, or disagree over the usage of factors of production and the process of production.

However, when incompatible goals are pursued simultaneously by individuals, groups, communities, conflict is said to exist (Ibrahim, 2022). Sadiq, (2022) citing Stagner (1967) defines conflict as a situation in which two or more human persons desire goals to which they perceive as being obtainable by one or the other, but not both. Conflicts can be explained through a three-dimensional lens. These include conflict as a form of perception, conflict as a feeling and conflict as an action. In his own view, Herbert (2017) says disagreement and conflicts are inevitable everyday occurrences, their resolution can result in constructive change. He says conflicts are often analysed at different levels – Interpersonal, group/community and national – an in terms of how the levels interact with each other. They can turn into violent conflict when there are inadequate channels for dialogue and

disagreement, when dissenting voices and deeply held grievances cannot be heard and addressed; an environments of instability injustice and fear (Herbert, 2014).

Theoretical Framework

A theory can be regarded as an analytical construct which explains a social phenomenon. The study is therefore anchored on two theories, frustration – Aggression theory and innate theory of conflict – which help to put in proper context the violent conflicts in Ebiraland.

Frustration and Aggression Theory

The theory is also known as frustration and aggression displacement theory, a criminological perspective developed in 1939 by a group of Yale University Psychologists led by John Dollard. The theory attempts to explain why people scapegoat – that is the cause of violence. The theory has since been expanded and modified by other scholars such as Seonard Berkowitz (1962) and Aubrey Yates (1962) in Best (2006).

According to Dollard and Colleagues, frustration is the condition which exists when a goal-response suffers interference, while aggression is defined as an act whose goal-response is injury to an organism. The theory attempts to explain violence behavior that (a) frustration always produces an aggressive urge and (b) aggression is always the result of prior frustration.

Theorists that rely on this explanation use the psychological theories of behaviour and motivation as well as frustration and aggression (Ebimiebo, 2022). It argues that the occurrence of aggressive behaviour always presupposes the existence of frustration which always leads to some of aggression. According to Dollard, frustration arises whenever something interferes with an individual's attempt to reach some goal or end.

When first formulated, the theory posited that frustration always preceded aggression; an aggression is the consequence of frustration. Ebimiebo (2022) suggested that the strongest aggressive reactions are those directed toward the perceived sources of the frustration. Aggression toward the source is one type of retaliatory behavior (Ebimiebo citing Breuer and Elson, 2017). However, the theory further opinion that frustration causes aggression, but when

the source of the frustration cannot be challenged, the aggression gets displaced onto the innocent target.

Causes and course of the violent conflicts in Ebiraland

Violent conflicts can be grouped into political, clannish, cultural, gangsterism and religious. It is groupings like this that one can properly situate the conflicts in proper context and time perspective. Violent conflicts are common features of a state of high unemployment, high level of poverty and idleness. This of course, provides a fertile recruitment ground for thugs and other miscreants used by politicians to intimidate, harass and physically assault political opponents.

Poor family upbringing has also been fingered to be responsible for the army of irresponsible youths we have all over the place. Some of these children had the misfortune of not been given proper training to uphold Ebira value system of being hardworking, honest, respect for constituted authority and being one's brother's keeper. The high rate of separation or divorce among couples makes the offspring of such couples to grow into miscreants often linked to this state of violence.

Ebira traditional festivals, hitherto peaceful and entertaining have been taken over by hoodlums. The celebration of the festival now serves as avenue to settle scores between one gang or club and another. In spite of government's clamp down on the celebrations these hoodlums defy the orders and go ahead to "celebrate" the festivals that would always end up in bloody clash. That was the level of decadence now wrought on Ebira cultural festivals celebrated with all sorts of deadly weapons.

Ebira chieftaincy institutions have also come under scrutiny. Unfortunately, our recent history hardly gives any hope that we can learn to live peacefully together. If it is not clash over Ohinoyi stool, it is Ohi stool. If one clan is not accusing the other of trying to establish its hegemony over it, it is in disagreement over nomenclature. In many communities both political leaders and traditional rulers work in harmony for a common goal. In Ebiraland both do not enjoy such synergy, they are always suspicious of one another.

The violent conflicts between 2007 – 2010 assumed embarrassing proportion. Once it was Idoji quarters versus Idozumi, Ebiya village versus Adogo, Inorere versus Idanuha, Adavi Eba versus Ihima, Adavi-Eba versus Okengwe, Obehira versus Obehira, Idare versus Inike quarters, Iruuvucheba versus Ozuwaya, Ahache versus Agassa, Iruvochinomi versus Ege and the most devastating of all, Ihima district versus Ihima district and Obehira quarters versus Obehira quarters. The situation was so bad that if it was not one gang versus another, it would be one masquerade group versus another or clan “A” versus clan “B” as it was the case of Ihima, Obehira and Okene. To vividly capture the scenario of the crisis-ridden areas, let Suleiman (2006) be our guide

In all these, it was full-scale war, war with its horrendous features, it’s frightening effects, which enveloped the concerned groups. the rattle of the gun; the blitz on hard-earned magnificent building of opponent, the palls of smoke in staccatos spots; in designated areas, the cremation of precious lives who were shot dead; the ricocheting bullets that slew the innocent; the weeping, the gnashing of teeth and fleeing of people from their homes have continued to be the sight in each of these wars. Others who have nowhere to flee to make mountains and hilltops their abode, those who had guts to remain in-doors did so under fears. Ebiras become refuges and hostages in their home.

Impacts of the violent conflicts in Ebiraland

The frequent violent conflicts in Ebiraland cannot be a heart-cheering development for an average Ebira man due to its draw backs on the polity. The image of Ebiraland and its people have been battered seriously. A non-Ebira is weary of an average Ebira man whom he sees as vandalistic and violent. This has accounted for the denial of job placement for Ebira indigenes; Obajana Cement Company is a case in point (Tenuche, 2009).

Ebira highly prized cultural festivals are not only debased, adulterated but bastardized. This is what Suleiman (2017) refers to as cultural nuisance. No same person would encourage tourists to visit the area during the celebration of festivals (Abdullahi, 2007). The aesthetic value of Ebiraland, which caused former Governor Audu of Kogi State to refer to it as “Small

London” (Graphics 1999) is almost gone. Magnificent buildings have been lost to inferno ignited by the miscreants. At the slightest misunderstanding for which dialogue would have resolved, the beautiful building which makes the site of Ebiraland to behold were usually the first target.

There is no denying the fact that the areas affected are depopulated. By implication, Ebiraland is depopulated. Apart from the loss of lives, some have migrated to neighbouring towns and vowed not to return again (Badamasuyu, 2007). Some have temporarily relocated from troubled spots, while some have become refugees and hostages in their own home (Suleiman, 2006). No one in right frame of mind goes to a place where there is no peace to have business investment there. The violent conflicts in Ebiraland had scare away potential investors. Some who were already there are now having a rethink.

Conclusion

Arms racketeering (made possible by political godfathers and black smith) have largely been responsible for the spate of bloodletting and arson in Ebiraland through violent attacks on individuals and communities; or the endemic fratricidal clannish, cultural and political classes.

The image of Ebira people has nose-dived badly and investors may not be favourably disposed to investing in the land. At the end of it all, development will be a pipe dream if something urgent is not done to stem the tide as Shaibu (1999: 105) postulates that “If we refuse to pay the price of peace and stability for our polity, we may unwittingly curdle for a higher price in civil strife and disorder where development will be a far cry”.

Recommendations

Sociologists have proffered that people do not change easily and effectively through sermons. Rather people will change effectively if you reconstruct totally and voluntarily their social environment (Shaibu, 1999).

1. Ebira leaders and the government should pursue vigorously establishment of industries aside from our educational system.

2. Ebira societal values system of good character, hard work, honesty, respect for constituted authority being one's brother's keeper etc had nose-dived so badly that painstaking efforts to reverse the situation is needed.
3. Ebira traditional rulers need to put their acts together first before the onerous task of re-engineering our cultural festivals.
4. The government especially the state government must be proactive in arresting any threat to peace instead of waiting until full scale violence was on course.
5. Violence can be truly minimized if our politicians and clan champions agree to stop supplying arms to the miscreants on their pay roll.
6. Lastly, the orientation of our youths must be changed from unprofitable violence to positive thinking and positive actions.

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INGENUITY IN GENDER STUDIES: A PERSPECTIVE ON MARITICIDE FROM THE ARTS AND SOCIOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

Academic discourse and scholars for decades, have shifted attention to gender issues. The area of gender discourse that most received this attention, is maltreatment and subjugation of women or the girl-child. But little or no attention has been given to the area of women battering men or wife battering husband. It is so disheartening to note that men are also subjects of maltreatment in the hands of women and cannot talk about it. Thus, many of them are dying in silence. The study aims at examining the space at which this menace has eaten deep into the 'flesh' of men. The paper achieves this through the study of some play texts that silently house the issues of women battering men and how this can be read or seen through digitalized means, especially now that the world has become a global village. In order to attain this feat, the researchers adopt the qualitative research methodology through content analysis and merging it through digital means for wider coverage of their contents. The research therefore, concludes that if playtexts are studied beyond ordinary reading, more messages and information would be found through them. The study thus, recommends that once such messages are discovered, they should be presented to the world (audience) via digital means for wider and broader viewing.

Keywords: Gender Studies, matricide, Violence, Women, Men.

Introduction

In recent years, empirical studies focusing on spousal homicides have proliferated the society, especially the western societies. But in the recent time, this menace has found its way into African societies which include Nigeria. Clearly, this body of research has made significant contributions to the comprehension of spousal homicide. Nevertheless, some limitations of the extant literature subsist. For example, most studies have focused on uxoricides, or husband-to-wife homicides. Attention has never been given to mariticide-wife-to-husband homicides. Wife-to-husband homicides has been one of the major menaces in spousal homicides, but much attention has not been given to it.

In the time past, the trend and norm in Africa tradition had most times subjugated, subjected and projected the woman as second fiddle to the man. To the African man, the woman, no matter what she passes through should remain loyal to her husband, even if battering and violence of any form is involved. This has made researchers to beam their searchlights on the man-to-woman homicides, as if nothing happens to the man, in terms of the woman subjugating and subjecting the man to violence and battering of all kinds. Because much attention has not been given to the aforementioned attitude.

It is a good thing the United Nations declared every 25th of November as the day for the campaign geared towards the elimination of violence against women. This is part of the injustice done against men, as if nothing happens to men from their wives like violence. Though it is noted that men have the ability to conceal the violence meted to them by their wives than the women. They do this sometimes to hide their heads in shame and cover certain secrets best known to them. This implies that men too face homicides of different forms from their wives and that makes this study very relevant.

For an explicit and implicit comprehension of the issues under discourse, there is need for us to look at these issues of gender and women in Nigeria. It is conspicuous that when we talk of gender issues what rightly comes to mind is the issue of gender inequality that has dominated the political realm of the Nigerian society. Our women under the disguise

of feminism, seem to have lost focus in the fight against gender inequality. That is the main reason why most scholars and critics have openly and clearly criticized Zulu Sofolá of not taking a stand in the fight for the emancipation of women in Nigeria. This is because she has blatantly refused to be an exponent of the movement called feminism. She took her stand with womanism. To enable us have an in-depth understanding of this sub-heading we have to jointly look at this scholarly definition of Angya (2010) opines that, feminism is: ... a struggle to articulate women's vision of what desirable society would mean for them ranging in practical terms from issue relating to unequal access of women to resources, harmful traditional practices, and gender inequality etc".

This implies that feminism has grown wings that it is no longer the issue of gender inequality alone but relatively to all issues affecting women both traditionally and socially. The issue of gender is a justice issue and women are seen as the minority whose interests should be protected for equality, justice and equity. On this, Akoh (2008) criticizes and gives a dialectical stance to the western feminism and what feminism should be doing on the African sore: ...the recurrent motif is the feminist vision built in the tradition of western culture, and their very execution the chemical and hypothetical nature of feminism within a culture that places high premium on the family system and its values.

Theoretical Framework

This study is leaned on Sandra Ball-Rokeach and Melvin Defleur's Media Theory. Media Dependency Theory (MSD) emphasizes that the more a person depends on media to meet needs, the more important media will have on the person's life and therefore, the more effects media will have on the person. According to this theory, three media needs determine how important media is to a person at any given moment.

- The need to understand one's social world (surveillance).
- The need to act meaningfully and effectively in that world (social utility).
- The need to escape from that world when tensions are high (fantasy escape)

Ball-Rokeach and Defleur (1996) suggest that the cognitive, behavioral and affective

consequences of media use are premised upon characteristics of both individuals and their social environment.

Cognitive effects

There are five types of cognitive effects that will be exerted on the audience.

Creation and resolution of ambiguity

Ambiguity occurs when audiences receive inadequate or incomplete information about their social world. When there is high ambiguity, stress is created and audiences are more likely to turn to mass media to resolve ambiguity.

Agenda setting

This is another reason why we might call dependency a “comprehensive” theory of media effects. It incorporates the entire theory of agenda setting within its theoretical framework. Like any other effect, media agenda setting effects should be heightened during times when the audiences’ needs and therefore dependency on media are high. So, for instance, if our information needs and dependency on media was high during the invasion of Iraq in 2003, we would have been more susceptible to agenda setting effects, and would have therefore perceived the Iraq war as the most important problem (M.P) facing the United States of America.

Attitude formation

Media exposes the audiences to satisfy mechanism that can be used to form attitudes e.g. anti-cultism shows, anti-prostitution information, anti-abortion programs etcetera. Dependency does not suggest media as monolithic but the theory suggests that media play a role in selecting objects and people for which people form attitude about it.

Potential effect of expanding people’s belief system

Media have the potential effect of expanding people’s belief system. Media can create a kind of “enlargement” of citizens’ belief by disseminating information about people, places and things thus expanding their horizon and make them acquainted with the world around them.

Value clarification and conflict

Media help citizens clarify values (equality, freedom, honesty, forgiveness) often by precipitating information about value conflict. When such conflict plays out in the mass media, the value conflicts are identified.

Affective effects

Ball-Rokeach and Defleur (1996) mentioned several positive affective media effects that are more likely to occur during times of heightened dependency first in desensitization, which states that prolonged exposure to violent content can have a “numbing” effect on audiences promoting insensitivity or lack of desire toward helping others when violent encounters happen in real life. Second, exposure to news messages or TV drama portray crime ridden cities can increase people’s fear or anxiety about living in or even travelling to a city. A typical existence of this can be likened to the case of Ebola. When Ebola was at its peak in Liberia, C.A.F. banned the country from hosting Nation’s cup for fear of their countries becoming casualties of the disease.

Media can also have effects on the morale and feeling of alienation. The degree of positive and negative mass media depictions of social groups can cause fluctuations in people’s sense of morale in belonging to that group or in their sense of alienation from that group.

Behavioral effects

There are two broad categories of behavioral effects that Ball-Rokeach and Defleur (1996) identified. The first broad category is called “activation” effects which refer to instances in which media audiences do something they would not otherwise have done as a consequence of receiving media messages. The second broad of behavioral effects is called “deactivation” and refers to instances to which audience would have done something, but don’t as a result of media messages.

From the above theory, one could deduce that media dependency has a great positive impact on the development of the youths both in the cognitive, affective and behavioral

aspect. The educational system in a society relies greatly on media for value inculcation and reinforcement, waging successful conflicts or struggles for scarce resources, and knowledge transmission such as in educational media programming. The media being an agent of socialization helps to carve the youths through many of its programming. Radio being one of the outlets of the media and also the scope of this research study, suffers the fate of abandonment. There is no gainsaying the fact that this nonchalant attitude portrayed by the youths will spell doom to our world if not corrected, premised on the above positions of the theorists Sandra Ball-Rokeach and Melvin Defleur.

Conceptualising Mariticide

Mariticide literally means killing of one's husband or boyfriend. It can refer to the act itself or the person who carries it out. Used in current common law terminology as gender-neutral for either spouse or significant other of either sex. According to Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "mariticide made up 30% of the total spouse murders in the United States. Data not including proxy-murders conducted on behalf of the wife". Mariticide is a phrase that has existed right from the mid 1970's to mid-1980's. In the recent times, cases of mariticides have been seen and witnessed in and around Africa, especially Nigeria with avalanche of the perpetrators and the victims with evidences of the cases filed against them. Prior studies have found that women are typically the sole perpetrators in mariticide cases. For example, according to Goetting, 98.2% of the marital homicides perpetrated by women in her study involved one victim and one offender.

According to Adinkrah (2000), there is a dearth of empirical research examining mariticides, or wife-to-husband murder or battering. Another limitation of the literature on female-perpetrated spousal homicides is the nearly exclusive focus on industrialized societies". Adinkrah goes further and submit that, relatively few studies have examined the phenomenon in non-western nations although both scholarly and journalistic accounts suggest that lethal assaults by wives against husbands does occur in such societies. To buttress his point, Adinkrah (2000) however, posits that:

To illustrate, to the best of this author's knowledge, no known empirical study currently exists on mariticides in Africa. The paucity of empirical research and published material on female-perpetrated spousal homicides is lamentable because it hinders efforts to achieve a fuller understanding of spousal murders.

It implies to this researcher that, it is apparently correct to take side with Adinkrah that in Africa much have not been done on the woman killing her husband, but a lot have been done on the Husband killing his wife. Attention wholesomely, has been given to the latter, as if the former does not exist at all. This may be seen as one of the motivational impetuses for the current research, to investigate into the homicide of wife-to-husband.

However, the above does not imply that the number of men who are murdered by their spouses is small in comparison with the number of women who are fatally assaulted by their husbands. But that is not to say that women in the other way round are not also killing their husbands, committing obnoxious mariticides in the home.

Previous researches have also shown that in some cases, wives enlist the aid of male accomplices in the perpetration of the crime. For example, females who committed homicides against husbands tended to conspire with other persons, usually their male paramours. This implies that they tend to connive with other person outside their homes to perpetrate the act. But the researcher deviates from this opinion that most of the women who have tried this in Africa especially Nigeria, attempted it alone without any form of support from anybody outside their homes.

Extant research on mariticide has attempted to elucidate the circumstances under which the crime occurs. The research shows that women who slay their husbands sometimes do so in self-defense or to end intense domestic battering. From the foregoing, it is then, obvious that other husband-slayers may be doing for other selfish reasons; for instrumental gain, and occasionally to facilitate an ongoing amorous relationship with a current lover. Still, some wives killed their husbands to avenge philandering or other transgressive behaviors of their husbands.

Creativity and Gender Issue in a Digital Era

Drama and theatre have been seen as critical tools in reshaping the society. Theatre mirrors the society with the soul aim of ameliorating the society. Accordingly, Asigbo (2013) argues that the job of the playwrights in Nigeria has thus been, “mainly to give direction and warn of perceived dangers threatening our corporate existence”. In the same vein, Federico Garcia Lorce cited in Asigbo (2013) opines that:

...a nation which does not help and does not encourage its theatre is if not dead, dying, just as the theatre which does not feel the social pulse, the historical pulse, the drama of its people, and catch the genuine colour of its landscape and its spirit, which laughter or with tears, has no right to call itself theatre but an amusement hall, or a place for doing that dreadful thing known as “killing time.”

Asigbo adds that: “the importance of the Arts and Humanities to the proper understanding of the complexity and enigma we call humanity is not contestable. By extension, the place of Theatre as mirror and chronicler of life cannot be overemphasized”. But it is very important at this contemporary time for drama and theatre to begin to look beyond the life performance to a more widely acceptable means of reaching a wider audience. These ways of reaching a wider audience are, Youtube, Zoom, Live Streaming on Facebook, WhatsApp and many other social media platforms.

As observed by these researchers, it is glaring that Nigerian playwrights through their creative ingenuities have mirrored or covered array of issues through their dramatic pieces. Because Gowon Doki opines that: “Central to theatre and drama is the desire to communicate an intended message to a designated audience”. They have covered issues ranging from culture and tradition, leadership problems, politics democracy, other issues relating to human dimensions. These are issues bothering human existence. Issues like nepotism, selective welfarism, favouritism, hedonism and many others. But of concern to this study is the area of gender related issues. These gender related issues have been covered by many playwrights in their creative has concentrated on feminism. Unknowingly, many of these creative writers do not understand that beyond feminism, their plays cover issue of

mariticide. This aspect of gender related menace may have not received the required attention. Mariticide is the case of wife battering husband. Roland Greene contends that a text must necessarily be thought of as incomplete, indeed as missing something crucial that provides the mechanics of understanding. He posits that: “The text is always partially hidden, one word for the hidden part in literary theory is the subtext” (Greene, 2012). Textual therefore covers all other aspect of the play that the playwright left hidden for its readers and critics to identify them for the message he the playwright wants to pass across to be seemingly clear.

The case of mariticide and divorce abound in contemporary Nigerian drama, whether consciously or unconsciously. In *Our Wives have Gone Mad Again*, Utoh-Ezeajugh (2005) transfers grossly exaggerated forms of patriarchal attitudes to her female characters. This graciously espoused on the tenets of mariticide which is the spine of this study. Ene is married to Inyang Mpang, a much younger man and treats him worse than most people would treat their hired help. Inyang is solely in charge of cooking and house work, yet Ene abuses him at will. For example, Ene and her friends enter their house to find Inyang sweeping and dusting:

Ene: (waves her hand expansively.) Inyang! What is the meaning of this? Inyang:

(straightens up.) What? Madam Ene, you have come.

Welcome. Madam Funmi and Madam Mairo, welcome.

Ene: (standoffish.) Welcome yourself, foolish man. (pointing) look at the clock, is this the time your mates clean the house? Lazy Idiot!

To Ene, her husband is a “lazy idiot.” Funmi in support of Ene’s opinion and treatment of her husband generalizes: Ene my sister, we all have different grades and degrees of imbeciles in our homes but what shall we do? Men are necessary evils or so they say. To explicitly talk about why some women maltreat their husbands, Ene gives us reasons why her husband is worthless.

Ene: What have I not done for this useless Inyang? I took him to the village and gave him money to pay my dowry. I sponsored the traditional marriage and the church wedding. I feed

this man, I clothe him and I put comfortable shelter over his head. Now what do I get in return? Ingratitude! He is lazy, insubordinate and good for nothing. He cannot even impregnate me. Three years since our wedding and nothing has happened. What am I supposed to do with a eunuch?

Inyang is “useless” because he is economically dependent on his wife and is unable to perform the much-valued function of giving her a child.

Ene’s attitude to Inyang’s economic dependence is extreme enough to be objectionable and goes beyond the realms of feminism. The reader realizes that the playwright presents a grotesque parody of patriarchal attitudes to her audience, and enabling them to view and evaluate the harm caused by the woman’s economic dependence on the man, a major reason why men have been able to subjugate women in patriarchal social structures.

The study’s interest is to establish that men beaten by their wives exists in Nigeria and Africa at large, but it is being covered up. No one wants to talk about it, especially men that are victims. It thus seeks to discover an opposite model for addressing gender violence that we can use in order to bring about a cohesive and egalitarian society for all.

In *The Rebellion of the Bumpy-Chested*, Oyedepo (2002) places the premium for liberation on self-assertion, physical strength to rival the man and the abolition of fear and efforts to please the man irrespective of the consequences. Members of B. C.M. remind themselves. Haven’t we resolved that the word ‘weak’ will henceforth be pulled out of our vocabulary? We’ve said this for the umpteenth time. Haven’t we? The women are determined to suffer physical discomfort, go through rigorous physical exercises so as to have as much physical strength as men do, thereby debunking the claim that men have more physical stamina. They resolve to entertain no impediments or excuses in the course of the struggle. Sharp declares: ... have vowed to myself, if it is my breasts that will be an impediment in the course of this struggle, I shall not think twice about slashing them off. No sacrifice is too much. No sacrifice is too little. Learn to suppress those things for which the rival sex has stamped you ‘the weaker’.

Sharp educates the women that the idea of feminine weakness is only psychological, so the women go to extreme lengths to deny physical weakness, such that a pregnant woman forces herself to jump up three times just to prove that she is not weak.

Ashake refuses to cook for her husband and brothers in-law. She is preoccupied with applying makeup from a collection in a quantity that suggests she sells make up. She also dresses in hot pants, halt-neck blouses, large sunglasses as is befitting of a woman of sophistication, irrespective of her husband's wishes and at the risk of creating wrong impressions of herself. Oyedepo (2002) provides a contrast between the feminist Ashake and her conduct before she joined

B.C.M. Her brother-in-law inform us:

Clem: Here was a woman who earned herself very high commendations as a good housewife in the village. She fetched firewood for my mother. She helped the elderly housewives to fetch water from the brook.

James: ... she was the ideal housewife and my mother loved her for it.

In patriarchal structures, the woman is ideal as a wife if she is subservient, useful and serviceable to her husband and his relatives. It is remarkable that Clem and James, who are still teenagers, have already acquired deeply rooted patriarchal attitudes. They feel that their brother's wife should be available to fetch them food and water at their command.

The boys demand food and water but feel that it is condescension to say please ma to my brother's wife for a glass of icy cold water. Clem would rather die than say please to Ashake. Clem and James are used to confirm the woman's subjugation in Nigerian patriarchal society. Their attitudes illustrate the male attitudes that feminists seek to dismantle.

Also implied in Ashake's earlier compliance highlighted here, is the lack of awareness of alternatives visible in *The Corpse's Comedy* and in the early part of *Our Husband Has Gone Mad Again*. Awareness and options come through the Bumpy-chested Movement. Thus Ashake is resolute: This is my own domain and I am the despot here! I am no more the Ashake who used to placate you at the expense of my self-esteem. In a slight

argument, Ashake does not hesitate to use her artificial finger nails to rake tribal marks into her husband's face. Her attitude is now such that Saka, her husband looks like he had an encounter with a tigress in the zoo and he corrects the impression, I didn't go to the zoo... My house is the zoo and Ashake my wife is the tigress.

The conversation between Falilat and her husband, Jolomi, confirms both the need for feminism and that the members of B.C.M. in their bid for emancipation have indeed turned into tigresses.

Jolomi: A helper, a subordinate, because you were created from the spare rib of Adam...

Falilat: (*suddenly looking thunders*) Now, I am not ready to listen to that trash....Who wrote the Holy Book? Weren't they men? It should be expected that the stories and injunctions there would be pro-male and anti-female.

Jolomi: This is pure heresy! ...Women are better seen than heard. Just like a rope does not befit a fowl's neck, a position of authority does not befit a woman. It mars her femininity. No way! You are mere helpers.

Falilat: Look, I am not ready to listen to any more filthy talks. You can go and sing your encomium of the man's unique place in the universe to your great, great grandmother. ...But I think your story has become stale and absolutely obsolete for this century and age...(springing to her feet) Now, don't delay me. I am set for a crucial meeting! ...A meeting in which strategies and logistics to puncture the over-blown male ego will be thought and decided upon...

Ezenwanebe summarizes the conduct of the women in *The Rebellion*: Fiercely arrogant and stubborn, the women use not only physical violence but also verbal abuse and name calling to champion their cause as they declare 'bed and kitchen strike' in order to force men to yield to their demand of equality in all things.

Oyedepo (2002) provide ample examples to show that the emancipation of the woman from patriarchal attitudes is essential, they also let us see that the methods the women in the plays apply to achieve equality is objectionable and do not provide solutions.

For instance, Oye in *The Rebellion* dominates his wife and expects her to be at his beck and call:

Oye: (*In an imperious tone*) Isn't the food ready? Sarah:

It is my Lord.

Oye: What are you waiting for? Bring it. (*with a rather sarcastic look*) Or have you joined the association of belligerent wives?

Oye accuses members of the B.C.M of coming to disrupt the blissful peace of our happy home

and the women give him a picture of the woman's life, and request him to step into it to see if he will like it. Their conversation between Oye and the women is illuminating. The women ask if Mr Oye would still have the same definition of a happy home if he did all the house chores, the cooking, the laundering and let his wife go out when and where she likes. They request him to try out his wife's role to see how it feels. The reader does not doubt that Ashake, Falilat, Sarah and the other women need to be liberated from certain male attitudes such as Jolomi, Oye, Clem and James exhibit, thus it does not come as a surprise that as soon as awareness comes, the women revolt against subservience and patriarchal attitudes. They, therefore, demand equality. Thus, the women in Utoh and Oyedepo's plays rebelliously insist that men too must participate in all domestic work for equality to prevail, as they venture into male domains such as taxi driving and politics, but their extreme methods of liberating themselves from patriarchal structures cause havoc to their homes and society. Underneath the parodies of attitudes, Utoh and Oyedepo imply that feminism is about gaining equality and advantages for women, not destruction as women embark on in *Our Wives* and *The Rebellion*.

The plays show that while feminism is more commonly applicable to women, it is, in some circumstances, also applicable to men. Haseman opines that, such as reflective practice, action research, grounded theory and participant-observation have informed practice-led research, this he argues further that "He has termed this paradigm 'performative

research'. A performative paradigm potentially offers the creative arts a radical new vision. From the action of the performative above, the researchers couldn't have formed the action and it is apparent from the action of the play, that woman in the picture with the interpretative acumen of the researchers has in a way presented the women specie as being seen bulling or battering her husband in the play which is the concern of mariticide.

The effect of mariticide was explicit in the plays selected for the study. The excerpts from such plays may be lifted or acted and posted on the digital forum and the messages from such plays would go a long way in taming this menace. This is because they all touch on the challenges of broken homes. They look at the psychological imbalance on the side of both the man and the women, whether married or unmarried. In as much as there has been relationship and it wentsoar, then psychologically, both parents will feel the pains of separation.

Conclusion

It is evident that men too are victims of domestic violence (mariticide). This should be presented through digital means to create more awareness about the experience of men in the hands of women. Though, their plight is not made clearer compare to that of women victims. But through the digital platforms like Twitter, facebook, Zoom, WhatsApp, Youtube and others awareness would be created about the challenge. The research reveals that women who are perpetrators are usually susceptible to play the victim when a case of domestic abuse is reported against them. Most women who are knotted in the trap of domestic violence as perpetrators tend to apply for protection orders to camouflage their action and to look defenseless within the justice system. In this instance, there has to be a thorough investigation through digital means by the police and some concerned parties, to make sure that the perpetrator is brought to book.

It is therefore glaring from this study that many men who experience domestic abuse from a current or former partner find it difficult to get support; not least because it can be hard for mento acknowledge and discuss their experiences. This can be due to any number

of reasons, including love for a partner, embarrassment or shame and concern for any children, or simply not knowing where to go.

Recommendations

The data from this study suggests that legal provisions through digital platforms must be introduced to protect men from violence or threats of violence directed against them by their abusive partners. Guidelines must be adopted and digital means by the police in the process of pursuing domestic violence wherever it occurs.

The criminal justice system should be fully implemented through digital platforms, irrespective of gender, when a case of domestic violence is reported or handled. Appropriate sentencing policies must be developed, including compulsory attendance at programs designed for abusive partners in this digital era and through digital means like Facebook, WhatsApp, Zoom and many others.

Law enforcement personnel should be trained in digital means and platforms, and in procedures and enforcement of the Prevention of Family Violence Act and about the social and psychological context in which domestic violence against men occurs. Police are indebted to ensure protection and equal enforcement of the law in domestic abuse cases. Police must be trained in digital knowledge to eliminate gender, class and race bias in their responses to such abuse and to realize that domestic violence is not to be excused, tolerated or condoned in this digital era. Police must provide prompt protection to women and men by diligently enforcing court orders that prohibit abuse and reduce the abuser's access to the victim. Police stations must make it a priority to respond speedily to both men and women's urgent calls in cases of domestic violence. The government should create a self-governing apparatus to monitor and mastermind police treatment of both men and women victims of violence without any bias in this digital era.

In the academia, aggressive attention should be given to mariticide (homicide) of wives-to-husbands or woman-to-man killing which is increasingly impacting the male gender silently because of the shame or socio-cultural stigma associated with it in this digital

era. In the cause of the study, the researcher discovered that there is a dearth of playtext on domestic violence against men which makes it a bit difficult for the research to do performance since the work is based on practice-led research. Most of the playtexts the researcher came across are all women-based violence.

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BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND GOD: A LEGAL EXPOSITION OF FREEDOM OF RELIGION AS A PEACE BUILDING BLOCK IN A DEMOCRATIC STATE

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ABSTRACT

Religion is a peace building block in any democratic state. However, the role of religion as an essential peace building block demands a deliberate and delicate balance between individual or group respect for the rule of law and obedience to God's injunctions or commandments. The paper, using doctrinal approach, examines the rights to freedom of religion with a view of finding, whether or not, the right to freedom of religion is absolute or subject to legal limitations. The paper finds out that all known national and international legal instruments that provide for freedom of religion also provide for its limitation. This is because; freedom of religion is not an absolute right. It can be abrogated in the interest of defence, public safety, public order, public morality, or public health; or for the purpose of protecting the rights and freedom of other persons.

Keywords: Freedom, Limitation, Religion, Right, Democratic Society

Introduction

Peace building involves the protection of the populace by actively preventing, reducing violence, strengthening security and empowering national authorities to assume the responsibility of maintaining or keeping peace in the society. The right of an individual or group to freedom of religion, conscience and thought, which includes freedom to change one's religion or belief and freedom; either alone or in community with others, either in public or private; to manifest one's religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance is a peace building block in any democratic state. (Article 18: Universal Declaration of Human Right, 1945)

However, the right to freedom of religion, conscience and thought need a delicate and deliberate balance between obligation to government and obedience to God. This is the only way; freedom of religion can achieve a meaningful purpose as a peace building block in a democratic state. Religion is not called the opium of people for nothing. This is because; in the exercise of individual or group right to freedom of religion, there is a possibility that an individual or group - in the practice of a chosen religion either alone or in a community with others - can feel something unpleasant or violence towards another person or persons or group. A recent classical example of such possibility is the Charlie Hebdo attack carried out by Islamic extremists against some journalists in Paris, France, on 7th January, 2015.

Similarly, on 5th June 2022, a mass shooting and bomb attack occurred at a Catholic Church in the city of Owo in Ondo state, Nigeria. At least, 40 people were killed with the estimate being around 80. According to the Federal Government of Nigeria, the Islamic State-West Africa Province was responsible for the massacre. The Owo attack is the latest, in the series of religiously inspired attacks carried out by religious extremists in Nigeria.

Undisputedly, religion tops the leading causes of social conflict in human society and Nigeria is not an exception. Therefore, there is certainty that there will be religious conflict in any human society if the right to freedom of religion is not carefully managed. Oral account exists to confirm that the regulation of freedom of religion in Nigeria by a constituted government started with the attempt by the then King of Gobir, in the present day Sokoto state, when the reigning king, Bawa Jan Gwarzo attempted to control the Islamic religious practice of Usman Dan Fodio before he later launched or declared his famous Islamic Jihad in 1804.

The second attempt to regulate the practice of religion in Nigeria i.e preaching was during colonial administration in 1926 when the British colonial administration - as a result of the incessant disagreements between the dominant Islamic religious groups in the Northern Region of Nigeria – place a ban on certain Islamic religious practice. This effort continued up to 1960 when Nigeria became independent with a new constitution to govern its corporate entity. Section 38 (1) of the 1960 Independence constitution, also known as Richardson

Constitution provided - for the first time under a law in Nigeria - the right of citizens to freedom of religion, conscience and thought. The reference section of the above constitution provided for the right of a citizen to change one's religion or belief and freedom; either alone or in communion with others, and in public or private; to manifest and propagate one's religion or belief in worshiping and teaching. Since then, subsequent constitutions of Nigeria are always couched or written in similar wordings or tenor of language.

In the Canadian case of *R v. Big M Drug Mart Ltd*, (1985) 18D.L.R. (4th) 321) The court held that:

The essence of the concept of freedom of religion is the right to entertain such religious beliefs as a person chooses. The right to declare religious belief, openly and without fear of hindrance or reprisal and the right to manifest belief by worship and practice or by teaching and determination. But the concept means more than that. Freedom primarily is characterized by the absence of coercion and constraint. If a person is compelled by the will of the state or the will of another to take a course of action or inaction which he would not otherwise have chosen, he will not be acting with his own volition and he cannot be said to truly free.

Similarly, the Supreme Court of Nigeria in *Medical and Dental Practitioner Disciplinary Tribunal v. Okonkwo* (2001) F.W.L.R. (pt. 44) 542) was called upon to pronounce the constitutionality of a patient's refusal to undergo blood transfusion on the ground that being a member of Jehovah's Witness, such was against his religion. The Nigerian apex court while affirming the patient's right to freedom of religion held inter alia that:

The right to freedom of thought, conscience or religion implies a right not to be prevented without lawful justification from choosing the cause of one's life; fashioned on what one believes in and the right not to be prevented without lawful justification... The sum total of the right to privacy and freedom of thought, conscience or religion implies that an individual should be left alone to choose a course for his life, unless a clear and compelling overriding state interest justifies the contrary. The law's rule is to ensure the fullness of liberty when there is no danger to public interest. Ensuring liberty of conscience and freedom of religion is an important component of that fullness. The courts are the institutions society has agreed to invest with the responsibility of balancing conflicting interests in a way to ensure the fullness of liberty without destroying the conscience and stability of the society itself. It will be asking too much of a

medical practitioner to expect him to assume this awesome responsibility in the privacy of his clinic or surgery unaided by materials that is available to the court or, even by his training. This is why if a decision to override the decision of an adult competent patient not to submit to blood transfusion or medical treatment on religious ground is to be taken on the ground of public interest or recognised interest of others such as dependent minor children; it is to be taken by the court.

The Vatican Council on Declaration of Religious Freedom states in its *Dignitatis Humanae* that:

The right to religious freedom has its foundation in the very dignity of the human person as known through the revered word of God and the reason itself... It is in accordance with their dignity as persons, that is, beings endowed with reason and free will and therefore privileged to bear personal responsibility; that all men should be at once impaled by nature and also bound by a moral obligation to seek the truth, especially religious truth. (Vatican Council II: *Dignitatis Humanae*)

Freedom of religion also implicitly encompasses a situation where individual pursues his/her own religion rules and objectives, subject, of course to the rule of law or legal limitations. In other words, obedience to God must be countered or checkmated with respect to legal rules.

Freedom of Religion under the Law

There are several national and international legal instruments that codify or enshrine the right to freedom of religion. For example, the First Amendment to the United States Constitution of 1791 provides for freedom of religion in the following flowing words: “Everyone in the United States has right to practice his or her religion and no religion at all.”

Similarly, section 38(1) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended, provides for freedom of religion in Nigeria in the following words:

Every person shall be entitled to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, including freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom (either alone or in community with others, and in public or in private) to manifest and propagate his religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance.

Article 18(1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights⁹, Article 18(1) of the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights¹⁰, and Article 8 of the African Charter on People's and Human Rights¹¹ - to mention but a few - provides for freedom of religion, conscience and thought in the same wordings or tenor.

Freedom of religion, as enshrined in the afore stated legal instrument gives an individual protection in his spiritual and transcendental relationship with others. Freedom of religion as provided for in law consists of negative and positive aspects. The components of the negative aspects of freedom of religion protects individual against being forced into joining a particular religious community or a particular belief; or carrying out a particular ritual or other religious acts; or changing one's belief. (Anat Scolnicov: 2011)

On the other hands, the positive aspect of freedom of religion provides an individual with the freedom to profess or manifest one's religion or belief in worship, practice, observance and teaching in community with others either individually and in private or public. The two aspects of freedom of religion give an individual or group the option of adopting a religion or belief of one or a group choice. And that is essential for Peace building in any given state. (Heiner Bielefeldt: 2011)

A critical examination of the negative and positive aspects of freedom of religion shows that certainty exists and that certainty is the fact that freedom of religion is among the essential peace building blocks in any human society. This is because; freedom of religion blends social or cultural differences and ensures unity in diversity.

No doubt, freedom of religion, as a peace building tool or block legally justify respect for the religion of others, assist individuals or groups to hold and cultivate spiritual identity. However, freedom of religion is a unique double- sided fundamental right which consist of the freedom to criticize, respect others religion and generate ideas that are necessary for social development, peace building and its sustainability.

It is important to note that any state that claims to guarantee freedom of religion must ensure that religion is not define by a person or persons. Such a state must also note that freedom of religion imposes on it an obligation not to tolerate individual or group that antagonizes the belief or the religious right of others. That is not to say that freedom of religion does not create religious distrust and social disharmony that challenges peace Building and its sustainability in human Society.

Hence, government enacts legislations that curtail the right to freedom of religion. Such curtailment limits the ability of individuals or groups to antagonize the religion or belief of others, thereby, minimising religious conflict in human society. Thus, states or government under the afore-stated obligation must ensure the accommodation of religious beliefs of all persons and groups within its territorial limitation.

In the United States case of *Sherbert v Verner*, (374 US 398 (1963)) a Seventh - day Adventist was denied setting benefit for the reason that she could not work on Saturday. The court held that doing so was tantamount to a denial of her right to freedom of religion, nay, belief. The court by that decision did not only directly resolve the right to freedom of religion of the concern individual; It also indirectly oil the harmonious cohabitation of people of different beliefs and in that process, help to build peace by accommodating the interest of different shades of colours within the domain of the United State.

The right to Freedom of religion positively suggests that the legislative branch or arm of government provides protections for religious freedom of individuals and group. Freedom of religion also demands that the government cannot legally interfere with individual or group rights to religious freedom, neither can the state impose religious beliefs on her citizens for doing so can cause social disharmony and disrupt peaceful co-existence in a democratic state.

In *Onyinka M. Enoch v. Mary D. Okopi*, (1994) 4 ANSLR 338) the claimant sued by her next friend - being 13 years of age - for an order to enforce her fundamental right to freedom of religion and discrimination. She gained admission into the Federal Girls College Onitsha but she was refused registration until she cut her hair as the school rules and regulation demanded. She refused to comply with this regulation on the ground that she belongs to a religious sect which teaches that women should wear their hair in its natural growth without cutting or shaving it. The Trial Court considered whether compelling her to cut her hair violated her right to freedom of religion. The court answered that question in the negative. In the opinion of the learned trial judge requiring that the applicant to cut their hair does not constitute religious instructions and thus, it could not be held as inculcating in the student any

religious observance relating to a religion other than her own; or an action tantamount to an act requiring her to believe in a different religious instruction; or take part in or attend a religious ceremony or observance or participating in a religion not approved by her parents.

The Court of Appeal reaffirmed the judgement of the trial high court when it held that the regulations of the school - as it relates to the applicant - was reasonable and that they were in accordance with proper and civic discipline in a model institution. While one may not want to join issue with the judicial opinions of the trial high court judge and justices of the Court of Appeal, as enunciated above, it can be reasonably asserted that one's hair or dressing code can be considered as having intrinsic religious connotation or symbolism. So also, the Cassock of a Christian priest. This was exactly the judicial opinion of the European Court of Human Rights in *Dahlab v. Switzerland*. (ECHR Application No. 423/98 of 15/1/2001). The dispute in that case was whether the wearing of Muslim hijab by the applicant could be restricted in public institutions. That court Per Lord Hale held ipsima verba that:

If a woman freely chooses to adopt a way of life for herself, it is not for others including other women who have chosen differently to criticize or prevent her. The sight of a woman in a full purdah may offend some people, especially; those western feminists who believe that it is a symbol of oppression but that could not be so. (*Dalhab v. Switzerland*)

Similarly, in *R (SB) Denbigh High School*, (2006) UKHL 15) the English House of Lords held that the applicant's right to freedom of religion has been denied or interfered by the fact that the school had prevented her from wearing her garments. However, the court opined that the denial was justified by the reason that the applicant had other chances of school to attend that were near to her home.

In *Adamu v. A. G. Borno State & Ors*, (1996) 8NWLR (pt465) 203) the appellants filed this application contending that Gwoza local Government Area in Borno State refused to pay teachers that teach Christian religion but continue to pay teachers that teach Islamic religion leaving the parents of Christian students to pay teachers that teach Christian religion. The appellants further avowed that Christian children were compelled to learn Islamic religion and language lessons. They canvassed that these actions constituted a violation of the

fundamental rights to freedom of religion and discrimination enshrined in the unsuspended provisions of the then operating 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

The defendants on their parts countered that the case is not justiciable because; the issue in dispute falls under chapter 2 of the constitution. The trial high court agreed with the defendants and ruled that since the provisions under chapter 2 of the 1979 constitution are not justiciable, the grievances of the applicants cannot be heard. Aggrieved by that ruling, the defendant approached an appellate Court of Appeal by way of appeal. The Court of Appeal held that Gwoza Local Government Area cannot violate the rights to freedom of religion and freedom from discrimination of citizens by purporting to implement the educational objectives under chapter 2 of the constitution which deals with fundamental objectives and directive principles of state policies.

In *Amnesty International & Ors v. Sudan*, (Communication 196, 40/91, 52/91, 89/93, 13th Activity) the complainant known as Association of Members of the Episcopal Conference of East Africa alleged oppression of Sudanese Christians and religious leaders, expulsion of all missionaries from Juba, arbitrary arrests and detention of priests, the closure and destruction of church buildings, the constant harassment of religious figures and prevention of non-Muslim from receiving aid. The African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights in its Ordinary Session of November 1991 held among others that those actions oppress Sudanese Christians and their religious leaders: that expulsion of Christian missionaries from food distribution and accessing food aids is tantamount to a violation of the applicants' rights to freedom of religion and freedom from discrimination.

In *Anigboro v. Sea Trucks (Nig) Lt*, (1995) 6NWLR (pt34) 35) the Nigerian Court of Appeal held that parents cannot disown or disinherit their children because; they subscribe to a religious belief that is different from that of their parents. In the words of Akpabio JCA - as it then was in that case - such action is tantamount to a violation of the constitutionally guaranteed fundamental rights to freedom of religion and association as provided in the constitution of Nigeria. In *Agbai v Okagbue*, (1991) 7 NWLR (pt204) 39) a Nigerian court

held that forcing a person to join an association which is against the religious belief of the individual is tantamount to a violation of the individual's right to freedom of religion.

In *Onjonye v. Adegbudu*, (1983) 1NCLR492) the respondents sued the applicants in Grade 2 Area Court Adoka, Benue state claiming 40 Naira which he alleged was a refund of the expenses he incurred by purchasing the goat that was used to perform the burial sacrifice of the appellant late husband as required by Adoka native law and custom. According to the respondent, he had to sue for the refund because; the appellant refused to purchase the goat claiming that doing so was against her Christian religion. The trial area court judge held in favour of the respondents that buying the required sacrificial goat by the appellant would not have offended her Christian belief because; "she is not yet a Christian having not being baptized". Aggrieved by that decision, the appellant appealed to the high court. The high court rightly reasoned that the right to freedom of religion is a fundamental one which the constitution of Nigeria guarantees in clear term as possible.

The fundamental nature of freedom of religion was judicially examined from another perspective by a Nigerian court in *Dorowa v. Dauda*. (1975) NMLR87 at 89) The court, in that case, held that it is unconstitutional and tantamount to a breach of the right to freedom of religion, thought and conscience for a court not to attach credibility to a witness testimony simply because of the religion the witness believes. The fundamental nature of the right to freedom of religion also means that the right to freedom of religion cannot be waived. In *Okogie (Arch. Bishop) v. A.G Lagos State*, (1981) 2NCLR 337 and *Adewale v. Jakande*, (1981) 1NCLR 262) the Supreme Court of Nigeria held that section 36(1) of the 1979 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, which is similar to section 39 of the current constitution of Nigeria, vests on any individual the fundamental right to establish any educational institution as a medium to disseminate knowledge and that the freedom of expression enshrined in the 1979 constitution covers information and instructions taught and received even in a faith based institution.

In Re: South Place Ethical Society Berralet v. A.G, (1980) 3 all E.R 918) Dillion J opined that: Religion does not have to be theist or dependent on a God. Any sincere belief in ethical qualities like truth, love, beauty and sacred advancement of any such religion is a belief which freedom of religion guarantees.

The Legal Limitation of Freedom of Religion

All known national and international legal instruments that provides for right to freedom of Religion also provides for the limitation of that right. For example, section 45 of the extant constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria provides for the limitation of the right to freedom of religion in the following words:

Nothing in sections 37, 38, 40 and 41 of this constitution shall- invalidate any law that is reasonably justifiable in a democratic society:

- i. In the interest of defence, public safety, public order, public morality or public health; or
- ii. For the purpose of protecting the rights and freedom of other persons.

Similarly, Article 18(3) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Article 18(2) of the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, and Article 8 of the African charter on Human and People's Rights, provides for.

- i. Freedom of religion, conscience provides for the limitation of freedom of religion.
- ii. Basically, the right to practice any or no religion is limited by the following factors:

Defence

The need to defend society from a religiously inspired attack, which can ultimately breach societal peace is one of the factors that necessitated the legal limitation of the right to freedom of religion of an individual or group. Allowing individual or group to antagonize the religious believe of another person or group breeds extremism and that is dangerous for social peace.

The Charlie Hebdo terror attack, which occurred in Paris, France, on 7th January, 2015 was as a result of an alleged defaming of Prophet Mohammad. The attacks were carried out by two French Muslim terrorist brothers who felt that the satanic depiction of Prophet

Mohammad by Charlie Hebdo Weekly Newspaper was blasphemous of their Islamic belief. In the words of Mark Twain:

Man is a religious animal. He is the only religious animal that loves his neighbour and himself and cuts his throat if his theology isn't straight. He has made a graveyard of the globe in trying his honest best to smooth his brother's path to happiness and heavens. (Twin, 2022).

Though, the problem of freedom of religion is that of competing realms i.e obligation to God and the exercise of authority of government, the later authority must prevail over individual or group's obligations to religion if the lives and properties of citizens are threaten. After all, the security and welfare of the people is the primary duty of the government. Therefore, it is the interest of defence that the right to freedom of religion should not be an absolute right.

Interest of the Public: The interest of public safety, public order, public morality and public health also demands that the right to freedom of religion should not be an absolute right. In *Medical and Dental Practitioner's Disciplinary tribunal v Okonkwo* (2001) FWLR (pt44) 542) the court held that "the law's role is to ensure the fullness of liberty when there is danger to public interest."

Rights and Freedom of Others: The Right to freedom of religion of an individual or group can be legally limited for the purpose of protecting the rights and freedom of other person's. In *medical and Dental Practitioners Disciplinary Tribunal v. Okonkwo*, (2001) FWLR (pt44) 542) the court held that:

...If a decision to override the decision of an adult competent patient not to submit to blood transfusion or medical treatment on religious grounds, is to be taken on the ground of public interest or recognised interest of others such as a dependent minor child, it is to be taken by the court.

Thus, the court rejected the exercise of freedom of religion of a father made in respect of his minor child wherein he refused to give his consent for his minor child to undergo a medically required blood transfusion on the ground that being a member of Jehovah's Witness such medical treatment was against his religion. The court viewed the action of the father as

injurious to another person; hence, it rejected the father's refusal to grant the required medical consent. According to the court, even though, he is the father, the father is not the owner of the life of his child.

The court in the reference case remark that any code of ethics or professional conduct which does not take into consideration the need to balance all interest relating to a patient's right to reject medical treatment without respect to individual circumstances will be out of touch with reality and would lead to an unjust outcome. (Esabunor & Anor v. Fawehinmi & Ors. 12 NWLR (pt. 1102) 794)

Conclusion

From the foregoing, it can be seen that the problem associated with the right to freedom of religion cannot be resolved by human law alone. This is because there is a problem of competing powers i.e obligation to God and the exercise of governmental authority. (Pope Gelasius Letter to Emperor Anastatius).

However, there is a constant need for a deliberate and delicate balance of power between the two identified realms in order to effectively ensure the realization of the right to freedom of religion of an individual or group as provided under the law. This is how the right of freedom of religion can be an effective peace building block in a democratic state.

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PEACE BUILDING AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISM IN TRADITIONAL AFRICAN SOCIETY: A STUDY OF AKURELAND FROM PRECOLONIAL TIMES TO 1960

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ABSTRACT

This study, in a bid to contribute to efforts aimed at finding lasting peace in the contemporary world, studied the peace building and conflict resolution mechanism of traditional African societies. This study is with particular reference to Akureland. It is noted in this paper that peace building and conflict resolution in traditional African societies provides opportunity to interact with the parties concerned, promotes consensus-building, social bridge reconstructions and enactment of order in the society. Using basically Case Study approach, this paper further submitted that unlike the western world where emphasis is placed more on the elaborate judicial system, traditional peace building mechanism is based on techniques such as mediation, adjudication, reconciliation, negotiation and cross-examination. African societies have been observed to possess home-grown traditions for peace building which are revealing for curative and unifying the people these identified techniques are observed to have been deployable not just in a well-structured judiciary setting as obtained in western culture but also at almost all strata of the society. The modification or possibly integration of some of the identified traditional peace building mechanisms into contemporary peace process will go a long way in entrenching peace into our societies

Keywords: Government, Peace, Conflict, Mediation, Traditional

Introduction

Peace, being the absence of conflict is a general phenomenon. However, conflict or to put in a milder tone - disagreement, especially among human beings is absolutely unavoidable. Conflict according to Ajayi and Buhari (2014:1) is the condition in which identifiable group of human beings in their different categories - tribal, ethnic, linguistic, religious, socio-political, economic, cultural or otherwise are in conscious opposition to one or more other

identifiable human groups because these groups are pursuing what to be incompatible goals. Depending on the circumstances surrounding a conflict situation, conflict, could be either violent or recessive (Omotosho 2004: 2).

As related to conflict in a traditional African society Ajayi and Buhari, (2014: 2) stated thus posited that conflict may generally exist whenever or wherever possible especially when incompatible events occurred and may result in — win-lose character. The resolution, transformation and management of conflict may however produce win-win situation too. Truth is a covenant logo that disputants or parties in conflict must not miss. In contemporary African society, nobody cares about the truth. If Africans have to put the falling apart together, her original values must be revisited.

Akureland, particularly during the period under review – pre-colonial times up to 1960, was a community can be referred to as a typical traditional African society. The pre-colonial times is referred to as the period before the establishment of the British political hegemony over Nigeria as a colony. The termination of this research in 1960 is justifiable as that was the year the British colonial rule came to an end in Nigeria. During the period under review, Ige (1991), explained that Akureland was known for its relative peace in the pre-colonial times but not without experiencing two indigenous wars at two different times – each during the pre-colonial and the colonial times. The wars were named the Akure Benin- War and the Stone War. Akureland was able to come out of the war stronger. This feat was historically achieved by the deployment of customary mechanisms.

This paper is poised to contribute to existing knowledge on fashioning ways of promoting peaceful co-existence and finding amicable ways of resolving conflict. The study of the template for peace building built over the years by traditional African societies is worth the while. For clarity, the methods for peace building and conflict resolution as it shall be used in this work are not peculiar to Akureland only but Yorubaland and by extension traditional African societies.

The Concept of Peace and Conflict

There have been varying conceptualisations of the terms ‘peace’, ‘conflict’ and ‘conflict resolution’ among scholars. There is no single definition of Peace, there are only perspectives. The philosophical conception, the sociological conception, and political definition of peace are some angles to which attempts to define peace have been made. According to Plato, “justice is the basis of peaceful social existence.” (Plato, 1968 in Best, 2014). In social terms, peace is a situation in which there is no societal conflict and individuals and groups are able to meet their needs and expectations. From a Political stand point, University of Peace described peace as a political condition that makes justice possible. In order words, politically, peace entails political order that is, political structures with value and stability. (Ibeanu in Best Shedrach, 2006: 5).

However, Olaoba (2005:22-37) stressed that, conflict is a fraction of thrill for systemic bond, be it harmful or helpful. Therefore, disagreements are in the extent of anger, split, misinterpretation, relatives and marketplace clashes, fights and hostilities, communal uprisings and physical attacks. It also involves chieftaincy and border clashes. Of real significance is Albert’s position that explained that, conflict is good, it is a vital instrument through which aims and desires of persons and factions are expressed; it is an outlet for an explanation of ingenious answers to individual troubles, and way innovative resolutions to problems of creatures and a way to the advancement of a communal uniqueness. (Albert, 2001:3).

Conflict Resolution in the context of this paper is explained from the perspective of Otite, and Albert (2001). They advanced that conflict resolution consists of acknowledgment by the conflicting sides of one another’s welfare, wants, perceptions, and continual survival. There is the need to successfully recognize the primary reasons of the conflict and tackle them through answers that are equally acceptable, self-maintaining, and satisfying. It is not restricted to collaboration, non-altercation, non-rivalry, and positive-sum path.

Traditional Mechanisms for Peace Building and Conflict Resolution in Akureland

As obtainable in most Yoruba traditional African societies, there are mechanisms put in place to enhance peace building and foster peaceful conflict resolution within their territories. These mechanisms serve as guide for inter and intra group relationships. In the case of Akureland, most of the peace building and conflict resolution mechanisms are embedded in the roles played by various groups that are in the kingdom. For this study, the groups we shall be examining their roles in promoting peaceful coexistence in Akureland include the family, the kinship, Home Town Associations (HTAs), and the *Deji*-in-council. The roles of these groups are interwoven and they have no rigidly structured mechanism for promoting peace in the society. In other words, each plays important roles that are interrelated and cannot be wished away.

Akure indigenous law was derived essentially from customs and traditions. Literacy was not associated only with the written word, but also very essentially, with verbal art and remembrance. Although, the legal traditions of the Akure were largely unwritten, their preservation and survival were done through performance to make them lively and easily understood. Because the traditional society presented an atmosphere conducive for enduring performance, in short, the Yoruba people derived their sources of adjudication from wisdom and traditional knowledge of the forebears which were always dramatized. As confirmed by Olaoba (2001) in I.O Albert, the elders sat under a tree, and talked until they agree, the elders (old age or seniority) as the force behind order or decorum in traditional society. This indicated that elders, within the culture of the Yorubas, were the power house of wisdom and knowledge.

As pointed out earlier, Akureland like any other Yoruba traditional African society had her own mechanism of conflict resolution. Hence, as usual Akure and Yoruba will be used interchangeably. It should be noted that for any of the conflicting party to have decided to explore the various conflict resolution mechanism, it means that party is ready or agreed to settle or resolve dispute. Although this not always the case.

Traditional Akure practised monarchical system of government. The paramount ruler is the *Deji*. As the head of government, the *Deji* was regarded as a divine king and in theory he had absolute powers. His attribute was *oba alase ekeji orisa* (king, the ruler and the second in authority to the gods). The *Deji* was addressed as *kabiyesi*, an expression which is said to be a shortened form of a whole sentence *ki a bi yin ko si* (there is no one who can question your authority/supremacy). In short, the *Deji* of Akure, just like every other Oba in the pre-colonial traditional African societies, in theory, had the power of life and death over his subjects. The Oba, as aptly put by J.A. Atanda 1980:20, “was a divine king, not accountable to anyone for any of his acts”.

The *Deji-in-Council*, with the *Deji* as the head, was the highest organ in conflict resolution. History had it that in the pre-colonial era, the council had the power to pass a death sentence on any offender brought before it. An accused was usually invited to the king’s palace by palace police (*omode owa*) using *iru okun* – one of the King’s insignia. The *Deji-in-Council* was also the last court to which appeal could be made. Whatever judgment was given was accepted. Apart from performing judicial functions, the *Deji* and his council members made laws for the town as a whole and took decisions on other important matters affecting the welfare of the town (Atandare 1972:87). The execution of these laws and the implementation of the decisions taken were the responsibility of the king. The king often developed an elaborate palace administration, making use of chiefs and officials of various grades.

In practice, the *Deji* was not an absolute ruler. He, without mincing words, has considerable authority over his subjects. He could arrest, punish or even sentence to death without trial. But these were powers that he had to exercise sparingly and more with justification than without it. In any case, the powers of the *Deji* were checked in many ways. He did not rule Akure alone. He ruled with a group of people referred to as the *Deji-in-council*. The *Deji-in-council* consisted of the most senior chiefs, who were themselves usually representatives of certain lineages, that is, descent groups in the town bound together by strong family or kinship ties. The council was a body which the *Deji* had to consult. He could not

make any laws or take any decisions on matters fundamentally affecting the town without the concurrence of the council. If he did, or if he became an oppressive ruler in any other way, the consequences were usually grave.

Criminal cases like insurrection were referred to the office of the *Deji*. The junior titled group under the direction of the *Ogbe* or *Ikomo* was expected to carry out the preliminary investigation of the case while the offenders were under arrest. (See Table for tabulated schedule of handling some criminal cases in the pre-colonial Akure kingdom). It was also the duty of the *Ogbe* or *Ikomo* to arrest and prosecute lawbreakers at the quarter levels and hand them over to the quarter chiefs. Age group, which was made up of youths, among others, also constituted themselves into formidable security units through which they maintained law and order. In pre-colonial Akure, there were prison yards called *Igbon* (the house of wisdom). There were three types: the first one, *Igbon* Akure was under the supervision of Ologbosere; the second, also known as *Igbon* Akure, was under the supervision of Olusogan, while the third, *Igbon* Deji was under the watch of Chief Saraku. Accused persons were to be remanded until their cases were heard or decided upon.

Also, for the purpose of security of lives and property, Akure had some groups of people that performed the role of security agents and their main duty was apprehension of criminals. One of these groups was *Erinse*, headed by Chief Ologbosere. This group of people acted as policemen, soldiers and prison officers. The head of the police wing was Chief Omolaare. If anybody erred in the village, his case must be reported to the *Deji*, who would then order the *Erinse* to go and arrest the culprit. The *Erinse* only had to present the *Deji*'s staff of office as the arrest warrant. On being detained, the offender would face a preliminary investigation by the *Ikomo*, who would treat the matter summarily or refer the decision to the village heads and *Iare*. The people also executed the judgment of the *Deji*. Akure also had an army that was also responsible for maintaining and enforcing law and order. *Odoo* was the commander-in-chief of the Akure army before *Sao* supplanted him during the reign of *Deji* Gbogi (1648 and 1674).

TABLE: Showing Punishment given to each Offence

	OFFENCE	HEARD BY	COURT VENUE	STIPULATED PUNISHMENT
1	Rape	Oba and Council	Market	Compensation of money payable to the victim and the council for sacrifice
2.	Adultery	Quarter council	Quarter palace	Payment of fine
3.	Witchcraft	Quarter council	Quarter council	Ordeal of Obo tree bark administered by the Ikomo
4.	Murder	Oba in council	In <i>Erekesan</i> market	Death by hanging either at the market place or at the outskirt of the town
5.	Kidnapping	Oba in council	Market	The guilty losses an ear and put at the gate of the town as tolls collector
6.	Theft of royal emblems	Oba in council	Market	Sold as slave
7.	Adultery with an Oba's wife	Town council	Market	Death

Source: Field Survey, (2011)

Cases of fighting among adolescents or young people were in the past accorded an impromptu settlement by the passers-by who normally ensured restoration of peace and harmony. There, existed various community associations and guilds saddled with the responsibility of maintenance of peace and order in marketing operations include, stealing, debt and fraud. (Olusanya, 2011: 22). In certain circumstances, gods and ancestors (the living dead) are called upon, their spirit invoked and every one especially the disputants were reminded of the aftermath of their wrath if they refuse to say the truth.

Cases resolved by *Bale* included conflicts among co-wives, brothers and sisters, truants, and street fights involving his children and his foster children or dependants. Conflict solved immediately included traditional society presented an atmosphere conducive for enduring performance, in short, the people of Akure derived their sources of adjudication from wisdom and traditional knowledge of the forebears which were always dramatized. Conflict

solved immediately included minor conflicts by scolding the trouble makers and appeasing whoever was offended. The *Bale* was required to visit the offended person, even to thank him/her for accepting a peaceful resolution of the conflict. It was the duty of *Bale* to call together his household and warn them to desist from making any more trouble. The court imposed no fine. However, appeals could be made from court to the second court which is the court of the ward-chief (*Ile-ejo ijoye Adugbo*). This court tried civil cases. It could not try criminal case but it had the authority to conduct preliminary investigation into criminal cases before transferring them to the court of the king (*Ile-ejo Oba*) (Oguntomisin 2004:10).

Baale (Head of the family) also controlled the relationship between members of his family and outsiders. Such cases could threaten the survival of the entire lineage or ward. Once the matter is resolved, emphasis is put on how good neighbourliness can be achieved and preserved. Land dispute, lack of good care for women and children by the husband, infidelity by the women, dispute over inheritance are the commonest in this category.

Home Town Associations

The contact of Akure with people from other places especially migrant settlers had its toll on her peace and conflict control mechanism. The migrant workers introduced another level of conflict resolution system which was totally different from what was obtainable in Akure. On the part of migrant labourers, the level of Hometown Associations conflict resolution was introduced while the White settlers brought Western judiciary system. (Olusanya, 2021)

As much as the settlers were not directly in charge of the administration of their communities, they contributed to the political administration of such areas by ensuring that cordiality was maintained amongst the dwellers. This they do by swift conflict resolution among themselves and in (minor) cases involving their group members and host community member or that of another migrant group. The groups which were basically socio-cultural in composition had traces of political undertones. As much as the settlers were not involved in the overall administration of Akureland, the hometown associations (of migrants with Nigerian descent) played numerous roles in the political administration of their Diasporas'

settlements. (Okafor and Honey, 1998). For instance, the Hausa dwelling in *Sabo* and *Shasha* had their full fledged political machinery. Interactions with various migrants' groups in different communities revealed that their hometown associations were structured in such a way that they were involved in the political administration of their communities. At their level, they had their own tribal rulers, though not in any way as strong as that of the host communities' indigenous rulers. Rather, migrant settlers' rulers were subservient to the indigenous rulers.

For smooth running of the Akure community, the HTAs were often consulted in taking decisions that could affect the overall interest of the community. To the migrant settlers, their ruler was equivalent to their king in diaspora. Titles such as *Baale Ebira*, *Seriki Hausawa*, *Eze Ndigbo* were found among the settlers in Akureland as a result of the political activities of the migrants in Akureland.

One of the major functions of the home town association in their land of sojourn was settlement of disputes among their members. As pointed out earlier, most of the settlers in Akure had king-like leaders whom they regarded as their heads. These heads ensured that the members lived peacefully among themselves and also with their hosts. Cases such as theft, adultery, restiveness and infraction on agreements between the farmer and their labourers were usually handled by the hometown associations. It should be noted however that the Hometown associations only had firm grip over their members. They did not usually have the authority to punish the host. When peaceful negotiation failed, especially if the host was at fault, the head of the migrant settlers association could only report to the *Baale* who could also take the matter up to the level of the Deji-in-council if need be.

With the advent of colonial administration, traditional peace and conflict mechanism gave way largely to the western system of judgment. The colonialists created identity crises by having separate legal regime adopted to govern the colonizers and the colonized. According to Animashaun, (2012), the British created two legal orders –civil and customary –which had implications for enjoyment of rights and privileges. The colonialists who settled in Akure were

governed under the civil law which conferred rights on them because the civil law was rooted in respect for the rule of law and rights. Under the civil law regime marked by separation of governmental powers, the settlers were regarded as citizens who were entitled to all the rights that company citizenship. On the other hand, the natives were governed by the customary law under the charge of native authority. Under the customary law, in the words of Animashaun, *the natives were treated as subjects who were not entitled to rights*. This exposed the natives to highhandedness of the rulers.

Another dimension introduced was the establishment of security agencies especially the police. The functions of the police were advancement on the functions of the palace guards. They arrest, detain and prosecute offenders in the court of law. Other security and peace keeping agencies include the Nigerian Security and Civil Defense Corp, the Nigerian Customs, the Directorate of Security Service, etc. These agencies in one way or the other ensured that orderliness and peace were maintained by all.

For the purpose of clarity, the Akure indigenous multi-level conflict resolution mechanism was not totally eroded by the migrants' adjudication system; they only introduced some levels of modification. The *Baale*, *Olori-ebi*, *Baale*, *Deji*-in-council still maintained considerable level of authority over their jurisdictions. For instance, a father (*bale*) is considered as the final arbiter in cases involving the members of his household. His judgment was expected to be taken as final. But with the coming of migrants, especially the Whites, this changed. Members of a household were at liberty to sue themselves to court mindless of whatever intervention had been done by the *Bale*. The same was applicable to all other levels.

Conclusion and Recommendation

For the purpose of clarity, the Akure indigenous multi-level conflict resolution mechanism is obviously unique. having gone through various stages of civilization, the mechanisms have not been totally eroded. Some levels of modification have only been introduced. The *Baale*,

Olori-ebi, Baale, Deji-in-council still maintained considerable level of authority over their jurisdictions. For instance, a father (baale) is considered as the final arbiter in cases involving the members of his household. His judgment was expected to be taken as final. This has considerably changed with the coming of migrants, especially the Whites. Members of a household were at liberty to sue themselves to court mindless of whatever intervention had been done by the Bale. The same was applicable to all other levels. The Oba was also under the law. The term *Kabiyesi* (The unquestionable) attributed to the Oba over every matter was just in title. The king's authority or judgment could be challenged in a court of law.

Inarguably traditional peace and conflict resolution mechanism using Akureland as a microcosm of larger African societies is dynamic. As the study had demonstrated, there were many largely positive peace and conflict mechanisms that could be adopted in the contemporary times. The place of traditional leaders in ensuring peaceful co-existence in the local communities should be strengthened. To guide against abuse of power by the traditional leaders, measures should be put in place using local check and balance method and court adjudication process.

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FOOD INSECURITY: CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES AND PROSPECTS FOR NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

Globally, food insecurity has become an issue of grave concern in recent times. In Nigeria like many other food insecure countries, food insecurity has become one of the biggest national issues. Indeed, there has been a high level of food insecurity for the past four decades as a result of neglect in food production when oil became the major export product as well as adoption of neo-liberal economic policies such as devaluation of naira, trade liberalization and withdrawal of government from economic activities. All these policies coupled with natural disasters such as flooding and drought and conflict have contributed to food insecurity in Nigeria. Unfortunately, most of the food need in Nigeria is produced by peasant farmers who lack capital, skills, energy to produce large quantity that will meet the need of the growing population. Consequently, Nigeria grew rapidly into a major food importing nation as the government has become neglectful of the agricultural sector. The paper argues that, with the ongoing conflict in the northern part of the country, coupled with of a lack good government policies to drive food production in the country, there is the likelihood that Nigeria food insecurity could worsen if various levels of government do not act promptly. It concluded that food security would remain elusive if conscientious efforts are not put in place to address the increasing surge of hunger, poverty, and poor policies of government. The study recommends massive investment in agricultural activities as well as appropriate policies to tackle food insecurity in Nigeria.

Keywords: Food, Peace, Security, Insecurity, Nigeria

Introduction

Global food security has steadily worsened over the past several years. According to the 2022 Global Report on Food Crises, nearly 193 million people experienced crisis level or worse food insecurity in 2021, an increase of almost 40 million over the previous record in 2020

(IFAD, 2022) This negative food security situation is projected to continue or worsen, due to the impact of the crisis in Ukraine. There is therefore, a mounting concern in the international community that the ongoing conflict between Ukraine and Russia will escalate global hunger and poverty. As the war continues to rage in Ukraine, impacts of rising food prices and shortages of staple crops are already being felt in the East and North Africa region and spreading to the world's most vulnerable countries, including in the Horn of Africa, with poorest people at greatest risk (IFAD, 2022).

Nigeria has now become heavily dependent on importation of food. The rural areas have become even more vulnerable to malnutrition, erratic supply of food items, unaffordable food costs, low quality foods and sometimes complete lack of food. In January 2021, United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) estimated that 12.8 million Nigerians will go into famine between June and August 2021 (FAO 2021). The recent data by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) revealed that, the inflation rate stood at 15.92 percent in March 2022, representing 0.22 percent increase from 15.7 per cent recorded in February 2022 (NBS, 2022). Similarly, the composite food index rose by 0.09 percent to 17.20 percent in March 2022 from 17.11 per cent in February 2022. In its Consumer Price index (CPI), the NBS showed a rise in the food index due to increases in prices of bread and cereals, food product, potatoes, yam and other tubers, fish, meat, oils, and fats (NBS, 2022). The NBS statistics are manifestations of the current state of livelihood in Nigeria, which gives a glimpse into the level of poverty ravaging the nation with respect to food security. Staple foods such as garri, corn, rice, yam, beans, millet, potatoes, and others have all witnessed astronomical increase in prices.

Equally, recent report by the FAO in collaboration with the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (FMARD) disclosed that about 18 million people will face food insecurity across Nigeria between June and August 2022 (Ayodeji, 2022). The stakeholders' report laid emphasis on acute food and nutrition, insecurity in the Sahel and West African region. The report also stated that the food crisis will affect Nigerians in 21

states and FCT including, 416,000 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). It noted that about 14.4 million people including 385,000 IDPs in 21 States and FCT of Nigeria are already in the food crisis as at May 2022. The analysis for the month of March covered states such as Abia, Adamawa, Benue, Borno, Cross-River, Edo, Enugu, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Lagos, Niger, Plateau, Sokoto, Taraba, Yobe, Zamfara, and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) (Ayodeji, 2022). As at the time of writing, Nigeria is facing a worst food crisis than what the report predicted. In the same vein, the 2021 Global Hunger Index, ranked Nigeria 103rd out of the 116 countries with sufficient data to calculate 2021 GHI scores. With a score of 28.3, Nigeria has a level of hunger that is alarming.

There are various challenges along the food value chain of production, distribution, processing and storage. These include climate change, insurgency and conflict in many parts of the country, natural disasters and pandemic-related shocks, which all affect food production and push food prices up. However, frequent policy changes and poor performance of monitoring and implementation agencies has had its toll on Nigerian food crisis. The call by the Federal Government in recent times for individuals and corporates to invest in agriculture and drive towards attaining food sufficiency and reducing imports attest to the seriousness of the situation. The time has come for Nigeria to put right policies in place to boost productivity and achieve greater crop yield. The corollary is that food price stabilization measures and safety nets are critical instruments for preventing food insecurity. The paper therefore, attempts to examine the causes, consequences and prospects for food insecurity in Nigeria.

Conceptual Discourse

Food Insecurity

Food insecurity is described as limited or uncertain availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods or limited or uncertain ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways". (American Dietetic Association 1998). Those individuals whose food intake decreases below their minimum calorie requirements are coming under the food insecure category, as well as the person who is physically not fit, or have some disease due to the lack of food and

hunger or unbalance diet (FAO. 2009). Food insecurity exists when people are undernourished as a result of the physical unavailability of food, their lack of social or economic access to adequate food. According to Thomas (2006) food insecurity exists when people do not have adequate physical, social or economic access to the sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. Similarly, FAO defined food as “a situation that exists when people lack secure access to sufficient amounts of safe and nutritious food for normal growth and development and active and healthy life (FAO, IFAD. 2013).

Ensuring food security therefore, presupposes the elimination of the vulnerability. Food insecurity has been seen from the angle of limited access to nutritionally adequate and safe foods due to lack of resources (Eme, et al, 2014). Chronic insecurity is similar to undernourishment and is related to poverty existing mainly in poor countries. Food insecurity is a multi-dimensional concept, and it affects every section of the population in different ways: children and mothers are also prone to food insecurity with various factors as overpopulation, gender inequality, lack of education and poverty. Overpopulated areas have the problem of food and can lead to malnutrition among children, especially in rural areas. The female child suffers more than the male child because they eat food after the male child due to male superiority. Lack of knowledge in women regarding nutrition, breastfeeding is also a concerning problem (Upadhyay and Palanivel, 2011).

According to the UN report, about 805 million people are undernourished as of 2014 in the world around one in eight people. A major section of these population lives in developing countries in which more than 14 percent are deficient in meeting their dietary energy requirements. (Agriculture Organization Ed., 2014). The leading cause of food insecurity in developing countries is the lack of purchasing power for food due to poverty. Africa has the highest proportion of food insecurity which worsened since 1970 and the malnourished population remained in the 33-35 per cent range in Sub-Saharan Africa. Malnutrition is highest in central Africa with 40 per cent while the lowest in northern Africa

with 4 per cent. (Mwaniki, 2006). In a nutshell, a country experiences food insecurity when no measures are taken to cushion the effects of production and price variations as well as consumption (Obiozor, 1994).

Causes of Food Insecurity in Nigeria

The cause of food insecurity is complex and multinational, and no problem can be solved unless its causes are known. Notwithstanding, the causes of food insecurity in Nigeria will be discussed under the following:

Inconsistent Government policies

The government in pursuit of its stated food policy objectives adopted a wide range of policy instruments and measures since the early 1970s. However, the frequent policy changes and poor performance of agencies assigned to implement food and agriculture policies have had serious setback on food production and distribution. For instance, in the bid to cushion the effect of the Nigerian civil war on the country's food security, the then Head of state, Yakubu Gowon, established the National Accelerated Food Production Programme (NAFPP) in 1972 (Udegbumam and Mojeed, 2020).

In April 1980, the Shagari administration introduced the Green Revolution Programme to ensure self-sufficiency in food production and to introduce modern technology into the Nigerian agricultural sector. This was to be achieved largely through the introduction of modern inputs such as high yielding varieties of seeds, fertilisers and tractors (Smith, and Subandero, 2017). In 1986, Ibrahim Babangida regime established the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI), with the aim to identify, involve and support viable local community organisations so as to ensure effective mobilisation of the rural populace for sustainable rural development.

The coming to power of President Obasanjo as a democratic president witnessed yet another agricultural policy change. In 2003, he established the National Special Programme for Food Security (NSPFS) to ensure food security as well alleviate rural poverty in the country. The main aim of the policy was to help farmers to increase output and income,

strengthen extension service delivery, promote simple farm technologies, utilise land, water and other resources for food production (Etim, etal. 2017).

Umaru Yar'Adua adopted a new policy when he was elected as President in 2007. Under Yar'Adua's seven-point agenda, the National Food Sector Plan (NFSP) was launched to ensure food security. The programme included counterpart funding for FADAMA III; IFAD and ADB projects, as well as rehabilitation and construction of dams. Others were rehabilitation and expansion of irrigation infrastructure, and the irrigation of 12,000 hectares of arable land and optimisation of 220,000 ha of irrigated land (Akamere, et. al. 2018). In 2011, the Agriculture Transformation Agenda (ATA) was launched by his successor, Goodluck Jonathan. It was created with the goal of boosting the income of smallholder farmers' and rural entrepreneurs, who are engaged in the production, processing, storage and marketing of selected commodity value chains on a sustainable basis (Udegbonam and Mojeed, 2020).

About 45,300 economically active smallholder farmers' living in the rural areas, who were already partaking in commercial agriculture are said to have benefitted from this scheme. When the incumbent President, Muhammadu Buhari came in 2015, he launched the Agricultural Promotion Policy (APP) to consolidate on the already established ATA policy. The goal of the new policy was the provision of an agricultural framework, macro policies, security enhancing physical infrastructure and institutional mechanisms, so as to enhance access to essential inputs, finances, information on innovation, agricultural services and markets (Otaha 2013). However, the policy has not made any positive impact on food security as envisaged.

Food insecurity has persisted in Nigeria because of inefficient and inconsistent policies, especially with respect to agriculture sectors. Each time a new government comes to power, the previous agricultural policies and programmes are abandoned and new ones are put in place, without any review of the old ones with the intention of building on them to ensure sustainability. Unfortunately, there are no guarantees that the new ones are better-off, in fact

often times they are worse-off. When successive administrations failed to continue the implementation of policies made by their predecessors, it does not create room for stability and progress in food production.

Non -Implementation of the Food and Nutrition Policy

The non -implementation of Food and Nutrition Policy by the Nigerian Government is also responsible for food insecurity in Nigeria. Food security at the aggregate and household levels, and access to adequate basic health services are essential prerequisites for good nutrition. In turn, good nutrition is necessary to achieve a healthy and active life and enhance productivity. The generally poor economic situation in Nigeria has aggravated the poor nutrition status of the citizenry. In realization of food security and access to adequate basic health services as prerequisites for good nutrition, the Federal Government of Nigeria formulated the National Policy on Food and Nutrition (NPFN) in 2001, to deal with the multi-faceted problem of food and nutrition, using a multi-sectoral and multi-disciplinary programme approach.

The programme aimed at addressing the problems of food and nutrition across different sectors and different levels of the Nigerian society, from the individual, household and communities to and including the national level (NPFN,2001). However, the problems of hunger and malnutrition in Nigeria are more severe now than ever before. Nigeria is still characterised by high reliance on imports. Food insecurity and malnutrition is widespread in the whole country, especially the vulnerable are worst hit by chronic food shortages, unbalanced nutrition, poor quality food, high food costs and even total lack of food. This phenomenon cut across all age groups and categories of individuals and is no longer restricted to the rural areas.

There is high level of malnutrition and food insecurity in Nigeria, although the figures differ in geopolitical zones with 56 percent in Southwest and 84.3 in the northern part of Nigeria. However, the problem of food insecurity has not been adequately addressed despite various policies to address the challenge. The enormous amount spent to ensure food security of Nigerians without success by successive governments calls for a review of the various

policies of government on food security and nutrition, to address the current food crisis in Nigeria

Lack of adequate protection for farmers and farming communities

Since 2011 violence between herders and farming communities, rooted in competition over scarce resources, has escalated in central and north-west Nigeria. Alongside this persistent violence, armed banditry has expanded in north-west Nigeria, displacing hundreds of thousands of people. In addition, violence perpetrated by armed extremist groups, namely Boko Haram and the Islamic State in West Africa (ISWA) against civilian and military targets, has resulted in mass atrocities in northern Nigeria, particularly the northeast. More than 35,000 people have been killed in northern Nigeria since the insurgency started in 2009. The most affected people in the conflict are the rural farming communities.

Since the escalation of violence in 2012, the conflict has led to food insecurity due to livelihood disruption that has kept many farmers away from their mainly farming activities. The resulting instability especially in the three northeast states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states present a challenge to the livelihood for millions of farmers, fishermen, and pastoralists. The conflict has also affected the availability of staple food such as maize, millet, guinea corn, rice, beans etc. due to the inability of farmers to go to their farms (Otovwe, and Maina, 2022).

The insurgents often prevent farmers from having access to their farms, while many of them have been killed by the insurgents on their farms. Boko Haram is increasingly targeting farmers, accusing them of spying and passing information to the Nigerian military. On November 29, 2020, 45 farmers were killed by armed insurgents while working on their farms (Haruna, 2020). Similarly, on May 24, 2022, members of Boko Haram terrorists invaded farmlands in Borno state and massacred over 50 farmers (Marama, 2022).

In the north central zone, thousands of farmers, are unable to work in their farms because of fear of attack by herdsmen. In Benue, Nasarawa and Taraba and other neighbouring states, there was a reduction in food production from 65 per cent to 33 per cent in 2018, mainly

due to attacks on the farmers and population displacement in farming communities (Brenner, 2021). This situation in states that make up much of Nigeria's food-basket has affected food production nationwide, driving up an already high food prices in the country. As evident in the high cost of food items, Nigeria is deficient in major grains, such as maize, wheat and rice, which constitute major sources of staple food in the country.

While the Boko Haram insurgency remains Nigeria's biggest security threat, banditry attacks in the northwest has been rated more deadly than the Boko Haram insurgency (Campell, 2020). Many of these attacks have taken place in other remote villages, and most of the people killed by the bandits are either farmers or cattle herders. On July 6, 2020, 15 famers were killed by bandits and several others injured, whilst working on their farms in Katsina state (Mustapha, 2020). Kidnapping of farmers by bandits when they go to work to their farms has equally impacted negatively on food security. Many farmers have also sold their farmlands and relocate to the urban centers to escape being kidnapped (Brenner, 2021). Armed bandits also engage in the burning of local grains silos. These silos contain foodstuffs that are normally stored by the farmers, which could last for many months, thus creating a food scarcity for the people. At times, the bandits seize the farmlands and use them as grazing fields for the large number of cattle acquired illegally through cattle rustling (Ladan and Matawalli, 2020).

Consequences of Food Insecurity for Nigeria

Food insecurity in the country has adverse consequences for the millions of people, especially in the most vulnerable communities. This negative impact is more pronounced in the conflict affected zones of the country where poverty, malnutrition and death from hunger are on the increase on the daily basis. The combined effect of rising food prices and lack of health care could be catastrophic for the poor Nigerians. Some of the consequences of food insecurity are malnutrition, and poor health status, poverty and hunger and depression.

Malnutrition

Poor access to food, especially healthy food contributes to malnutrition as well as undernutrition. Malnutrition increases the risk of low birth weight, childhood stunting, and

anaemia in women of reproductive age. Malnutrition can lead to the child stunting, wasting and micronutrient deficiencies by negatively affecting the sufficiency of food consumption. A diet considered as insufficient intake of vitamins, protein, calories, and minerals will also obstruct foetal, infant and child growth and development (World Health Organization 2018). Moreover, persistent malnutrition leaves children weak, vulnerable, and less able to fight such common childhood illnesses as diarrhoea, acute respiratory infections, malaria, and measles.

Poverty and Hunger

Another consequence of food insecurity is poverty and hunger. The quality of food that people can access is important, particularly for the poorest people. When food prices rise, or the real incomes of poor people fall for other reasons, there is a risk of hidden hunger, where people are forced to move to lower-priced foods that fail to adequately meet their nutritional needs. Thus, food insecurity makes the poor people vulnerable to high food prices, as they have to spend a large share of their incomes on food, thereby reinforcing their poor status. Poverty and mental health problems have a great linkage, basically emotional and psychological disorders (Griffin et al., 2002).

Depression

Food insecurity also has long standing effect on people. Food insecurity increases the risk of depression. Depression can lead to anti-social behaviour and increase in crime rate, such as armed robbery which is common where there is food insecurity. Similarly, food-insecure individuals may manifest feelings of alienation, powerlessness, stress, and anxiety, and they may experience reduced productivity, reduced work and school performance, and reduced income earnings. It effects on the social as well as economic well-being such as education, health, living of standard, behavioural challenges, etc. in the society.

Food insecurity therefore affects the physiological and mental capacity of individuals, which in turn hampers the productivity levels, making Nigeria more susceptible to poverty. Under such conditions, food insecurity will on the long run have negative effects on the nation.

Ahmad et. al., (2021) stated that lack of food security will slow down a nation's development and disrupt national development programme.

Mitigating Food Insecurity in Nigeria

Nigeria is a country richly blessed with abundant natural and human resources that if properly harnessed can feed its people and export the surpluses to other countries, yet it is experiencing persistent food crisis both in terms of quantity and quality. Cases of malnutrition and under nutrition are growing by the day. Besides, the Food intake requirements of majority of Nigerians have fallen far below the international standard. Past effort at improving food supply through agricultural production has not yielded successful results. In order to mitigate the effects of food insecurity in Nigeria, the Nigerian government should take proactive actions that will take Nigerians out of hunger.

Consistent Policy Framework

The government must adhere strictly to good agricultural policy that will be subjected to periodic review by experts concerned instead of the current policy somersault as we are currently witnessing. Once this is achieved, the successive governments will be able to pursue the food security with the desired vigour. Government policies on agricultural sector should therefore, be consistent and prioritized to ensure sustainability in order to boost local production.

Implementation of the Food and Nutrition Policy

The non -implementation of Food and Nutrition Policy by the Nigerian Government is partly responsible for food insecurity in Nigeria. The aim of the policy is to address the problems of food and nutrition across different sectors and different levels of the Nigerian society, from the individual, household and communities to and including the national level. Currently, the problems of hunger and malnutrition in Nigeria are more severe now than ever before, and Nigeria is still characterised by high reliance on imports. The enormous amount spent to ensure food security without success by successive governments, calls for the implementation of the

various policies of government on food and nutrition, to address the current food crisis in Nigeria.

Provision of Infrastructures

Provision of social amenities such as roads, portable water, electricity, etc. should be provided in the rural communities to prevent or reduce rural-urban migration as this will ensure there is adequate labour for agricultural activities in the rural areas thereby increasing food productivities that will not only guarantee food security but will equally provide employment opportunities to the growing population in a way that it will reduce the pressure in the urban centers. Most importantly, government should encourage mechanized farming as a way of reducing the incidence of food insecurity. With modern technologies and the deployment of the right tools in place, farmers can boost productivity and achieve greater crop.

Protection for farmers and farming communities

Insecurity in Nigeria and the resulting instability especially in the northern and middle belt regions present a challenge to the livelihood for millions of farmers, fishermen, and pastoralists. The conflict has also affected the availability of staple food such as maize, millet, guinea corn, rice, beans etc. due to the inability of farmers to go to their farms. To ensure the safety of farmers and farming communities, security agencies should liaise with community leaders to map out security strategies to protect farming activities in zones of conflict. As agricultural production has become tied to safety, government intervention efforts must have a security component to promote safe farming for community members.

Conclusion

Nigeria is currently confronted with a high level of poverty ravaging the nation as a result of food security. However, food insecurity in Nigeria is largely a function of government failure to address the growing realities that impinge on the well-being of the populace. The various policies adopted by successive government to boost food production have not yielded the

desired result. For instance, more than 70 percent of Nigeria's population suffered hunger during the pandemic, although prior to this period, the country has faced chronic food shortage as a result of limited domestic production, neglect of agricultural sector, dependence on oil revenue since in 1970 and reliance on food importations. Most importantly, government heavy reliance on the military option and failure to balance it with non- military option in its fight against insecurity in the northern region has compounded the problem of food insecurity in Nigeria.

The impacts of the conflicts have reflected in the astronomical rise in the prices of food and scarcity of some food items, as areas where food items are produced are no longer producing and farmers have abandoned their farms for safety reasons, or are displaced by these conflicts. Perhaps, an even bigger threat is Nigeria's overall food security, as these conflicts increase in frequency, intensity and geographical scope. Nigeria's food insecurity portends serious security threat, and without urgent and comprehensive actions, the entire nation will soon be confronted with the consequences of full-blown food insecurity.

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CULTURAL WIDOWHOOD PRACTICES AND ITS IMPACT ON WOMEN IN ABIA STATE NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

In Igbo land, women usually are at the receiving end as soon as they become widowed. This is in spite of the fact that they may have lived in harmony with their spouses. This happens because culturally, questions are asked and rituals performed in order to establish their innocence from the death of their husbands. Such rituals include forcing the woman concerned to drink the corpse water before her husband's burial. After the burial, there are some other activities lined up for the widow to perform which include cooping-up of the widow on sackcloth for a period of three months, hair scraping, widow inheritance, dispossession of inheritance and ostracising of the widow. These practises, as abusive as they are, are found to be unhealthy to individuals, families as well as the society. The study however tends to highlight these unhealthy cultural practices as well as the biases involved. While encouraging women to speak out, it also proffers 'know your right' sensitization for every woman/girl-child beginning from the school as well as local and government authorities to implement and enforce the general recommendations of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) for a better society. Secondary as well as primary data collections were employed in the study. The theory of feminism was employed in this work.

Keywords: Culture, Society, Gender violence, Peace

Introduction

Naturally, death of an important personality in a family, group or society can bring about conflict. It is, among others referred as a "trigger" of conflict (Enwere, 2015). It is a tragedy no one prays for. It can happen any time anywhere and could be caused by reasons such as, ill health, accident or natural death. It is an inevitable phenomenon which everybody will partake

in. However, in Africa, the belief is that each death has a causative factor, especially the death of a man in the family.

In many African societies, the death of any married man in the society is always questioned by culture and the person to answer the questions must be the wife. This is worse when the man's siblings and relatives do not like their brother's wife. A whole lot of activities in the name of culture are mapped out for the wife to perform in order to declare her innocence in the death of her husband. The woman is subjected to inhumane treatments such as drinking the water of the husband's corpse, restricting her movement from the society for some months (cooping-up of widow), scraping her hair, wearing her sackcloth, wife inheritance and the worst of it all is dispossessing her of all the spouse's inheritance without recourse to the children. This leaves her and children to abject poverty and penury.

Over the years, African society, the Ibo inclusive, upholds the traditional teachings of togetherness, love, respect and caring for one another however, on issues pertaining to widows, these principles are not applied (Manala, 2015). According to Manala, there is an obvious deliberate, uncaring, disrespectful, discriminatory, impolite and unjust treatment of widows in African communities. In his review, Idialu stated that widows have always faced traumatic experiences at the instance of losing their husbands through death. The treatments meted out on them are dehumanising, usually painful and affect the victims psychologically (Idialu, 2012).

When they undergo some arduous tasks outlined by culture such as drinking the water of the husband's corpse, restriction of movement (cooping-up of widow), forceful scraping of hair, wearing of sackcloth, wife inheritance and the dispossession of all the spouse's inheritance, they find it difficult to forget the death of their spouses.

The growing rate of conflict today in the world, Africa and Nigeria in particular has become a thing of concern and culture which is meant to forestall peace in any society has ended up creating more problems to Igbo society. This study therefore intends streamlining these heinous Igbo cultural practises that are discriminatory, dehumanising, derogatory against

women at the instance of their husbands' demise which tend to aggravate conflicts in individuals, families and societies; their attendant health implications on the victim vis-a-vis families and societies. It also seeks to examine the inequalities and cultural biases created by these practises and possible solutions towards their elimination for a peaceful coexistence.

Conceptual Analysis

In the study, the following concepts will be analysed namely; culture, society, gender-based violence and peace.

Culture

Culture is a totality of knowledge, belief, art, ethics, law, tradition, and any other competencies and behaviours acquired by man as a member of society (Tyler 1870: 1; cited by Avruch 1998: 6). Hofstede in his view sees Culture as the collective programming of the mind which differentiates the members of one group of people from another (Hofstede 1994: 5). Another view sees culture as a set of attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviours shared by a group of people, but different for each individual, communicated from one generation to the next (Matsumoto 1996: 16). Yet Spencer sees Culture as an ambiguous set of basic assumptions, values, orientations to life, beliefs, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member's behaviour and his/her interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behaviour (Spencer-Oatey 2008:3). Groeschl and Doherty (2000) point out that culture is a set of beliefs and assumptions that holds a group of people together.

According to Obialor (2018), culture reflects people's way of conceiving reality and that reality includes their attitude, change, and development. Since culture encapsulates a people's way of life, creativity becomes pertinent in such people's understanding and interpretation of their existence (Obialo, 2018). For the purpose of this study, Igbo people are people guided by culture and traditions which everyone seems to respect. The respect to the cultural norms and values as stipulated has helped in moulding people's lives to peaceful co-existence, unity and love.

However, with a group or set of same people being oppressed by the same culture that protects all under one umbrella, it raises more questions than answers. There is distortion in the value system and unrest in the society. Traditional attitudes about the status and roles of women and girls have been identified by the UNESCO as obstacles that stand the way of women in fully exercising their rights to participate in, complete and benefit in education (UNESCO doc)

Gender-based Violence

Gender-based violence (CEDAW No. 35, 2017) is an upgrade to violence against women (CEDAW No. 19, 1992). It is one of the social injustices that girls and women world over face. This consists of a whole lot of things that inhibit women from reaching their full potentials and making informed choices about their lives. The 1992 document, describes gender-based violence as violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately. It includes acts that inflicts physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivations of liberty (McQuigg R, 2017). Gender-violence also include all aspects of inequality, lack of peace, safety and freedom among the women folk. (Education Achieves -Plan International, Canada Retrieved 21/12/21).

Gender-based violence constitutes a major public health risk and is a serious violation of basic human rights throughout the world (Critelli, 2010). It is a global health and development issue (Russo and Pirlott, 2006) while Heise says it is a known cause of female morbidity and mortality as it represents economic and social development (Heise, 1993). Accordingly, by sapping women's energy and confidence, gender violence can deprive women of their full potential which automatically affects the society. Gender violence is part of cultural conflict which starts from the family levels being the basic unit of African Political culture (Enwere, 2015). Disagreements over marital issues, interpersonal relations and property inheritance originate from families. It is rooted in deep cultural and religious beliefs (Merry, 2009).

Despite the international pressure on the need to curtail and eliminate discrimination against women, with the CEDAW No.19 assigning states to prevent violations of rights or to investigate and punish acts of violence and provide compensation, yet gender-based violence is still treated as a private affair in various societies. Igbo Societies are no exception as the patrilineal nature of Igbo culture presents women as inferior beings, failures, subjects and worthless to their counterparts. This is so vivid at torturous activities occasioned by the death of a spouse such as drinking the water of the husband's corpse, restriction from free association with the society (wife cooping) for some months, scraping hair and wife inheritance others.

Peace

Peace, in the modern world, means a state of competition short of open hostilities (Hadzic, 2018). For him, the world needs to see conflict as a continuum, which is of various degrees from mild to open hostilities. Once hostilities are within the mild region, there's no problem. Peace is a non-physical concept, which can be used to pin down the notion of societal friendship and harmony in the absence of hostility and violence (Malasowe & Shotunde, 2021). Peace is not a mere absence of violence or disturbance; it is when there is a possibility of conflict but you deliberately avoid violence and adopt methods to solve the problems through peaceful means (Lama)

According to the founder of Peace Studies, Johan Galtung, who has a binary definition for Peace—Negative and positive Peace. He defined peace as the absence of direct violence between states, engaged in by military and others in general, and massive killing of categories of Humans in particular. Peace would be a strange concept if it does not include relations between genders, races, classes and families and does not also include absence of structural violence, non-intended slow massive suffering caused by economic and political structures in the form of massive exploitation and repression. (Galtung, 2013).

The dehumanising cultures practised on widows in Igbo land has created disunity and mistrust in society. The victims lost their inner peace, the families watching their mothers go through such dastardly acts withhold their love for family members and many detest their

villages due to this. Children grow up with no love for their environment hence nothing to give back to the society that they feel “hates” them. Violence against women has harmful effects on their children’s mental and physical health. Furthermore, growing up in a household with violence may lead to violence in later life (WHO, 2017 manual retrieved 23/12/21)

Theoretical Framework

Obnoxious cultural practises are cultures of marginalisation, culture of oppression, culture of intimidation and culture of injustice. Onyekuru (2011), Okoji (2015), Chuka & Umejiaku (2014) and Chukwu (2014) have highlighted incarceration, poor hygiene, deprivation to husband’s property and maltreatment from relatives as some of the practises against the widows.

Feminism theory is concerned with every issue about women. It has the basic assumption that women concerns have been excluded and as such targets at the eradication of all forms of gender-based violence so that women can regain their rights and freedom to operate as their male counterparts. Every woman world over is afflicted with one type of violence or the other (Jeong, 2000). According to him, due to various sources of oppression against women, the realization of freedom for women is always impeded.

Social exclusion is practised on the identity of gender, cast ethnicity, color and others. According to Kadun & Gadkar, (2014) it involves the denial of rights, opportunities and privileges that enhance access to resources and their utilisation. In African cultures, Igbo’s inclusive, women do not have control over anything as long as they are married. They do not have legal and political rights as men. They are under the control of their fathers or husbands. Once married, a woman and all her possessions in Igbo land becomes property of the husband. If for any unfortunate incident of death of her husband, all her husband’s property will be taken over by the husband’s siblings excluding the widow.

Violence affects women adversely, particularly the widows. Many widows find it difficult to get out of poverty due to unlawful denial of rights to husbands’ inheritance. Ho-Won Jeong, 2000 posits that though men and women are victims of sexism, racism, human

rights abuses and poverty, there are particular types of violence that afflicts women more than men. Some gender-based violence associated with widowhood burial rites like drinking the water of the husband's corpse, restriction of movement (cooping-up of widow), forceful scraping of hair, wearing of sackcloth, wife inheritance and the dispossession of all the spouse's inheritance are some of the practises infringing the rights of widows.

Oppression of women can take many forms including shaming and ridiculing women to reinforce their supposed inferior nature or physical abuse as well as the more commonly acknowledged means of oppression including fewer political, social and economic rights. An integrative approach on the other hand sees peace as psychological, social, political, ethical and spiritual with its expressions in intrapersonal, interpersonal, inter-group, international and global areas of human life (Danesh, 2006). Peace affects every aspect of human existence. It is an integral part of our being. It affects individual self, relationship with one another and relationship with the immediate environment

Implications of Cultural Widowhood Practices

The culture under review is such that frowns more at the death of a man than that of a woman. In this case, a woman dies and the husband gets sympathy for losing his wife and if the reverse is the case the wife receives maltreatments in the name of punishment. It is always acceptable for boys to bend rules whereas girls are expected to follow the rules (Andrews, 2020). The role of culture on social cohesion and peace in every society cannot be underestimated. It helps resolve disputes in a friendly manner and strengthens bonds (Oladejo, 2018). As a whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material and intellectual features that signify a society or social group, culture directs the roles of male and female in patriarchal societies and promotes gender inequality and marginalisation of women in such societies (Fayomi, 2015).

Apart from societies with few matrilineal cultures, human society mainly is patriarchal in nature with little or no human rights for women. It also alleges that even with international presence on the matter of equality status of both genders yet, male dominance still persists in various areas of societal lives such as families, workplaces, on development issues, differences

in roles, job assignments and differences in economic status (Fayomi, 2015, adapted). These harmful cultural practises have psychological, financial and social impacts on widows (Okoji, 2015).

Despite the fact that not all women go through these wicked humiliating acts, men on the other hand are never questioned when it comes to the death of their wives talk less of punishing them. Where lies the justice and morality that culture seems to project and uphold? Investigations from randomly sampled opinions on three victims, shows the need for women to know their rights and also to be economically strong as no one dares put them to such humiliation. Another said when the time to bury her husband was getting close, she mobilised soldiers and none of the husband's brothers said a word than to perform the normal lying in state and the burial. Another widow interviewed said that because she could not overpower them she lobbied the powerful men of the kindred to avoid the drinking of the corpse water, as soon as the husband was buried she planned for her children to be taken out of the village. The next day she took her leave out of the village without notifying anybody.

Health Impact on Igbo women

According to WHO, health is defined as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease and infirmity (WHO, 1948). The health of women in this context is not only jeopardised physically by drinking of corpse water, but also mentally and socially through various activities carried out at the post burial such as the practice of cooping up the widows, scrapping of hair, victim blaming, wife inheritance, property inheritance, ostracising and others.

Wife inheritance, hair scraping and victim blaming are detrimental to widows health as these practices have lots of mental and psychological torture. Property inheritance and ostracising lead the widow to poverty and penury which automatically affects her health due to poor feeding, frustration and much thinking. Maluleke argues that despite the national and international right laws on harmful nature of cultural practises, such practises persist because they are not challenged and therefore take on an impression of morality in the eyes of those

practising them (Maluleke, 2012). Attributing culture as an umbrella under which most persons like to hide from rain as well as shade from the sun, Maluleke posits that sometimes one needs to 'fold' the umbrella. Culture is meant for the society and not society for culture so, when it becomes an obstacle or danger to people's existence, something actually needs to be done.

Women's health and the importance placed on it has been cause for concern for the global community. Women have found themselves in a very vulnerable and unhealthy state which is against the basic human rights laws. Quiet and whole state of mind has beneficial effects on the health and physical wellbeing of individuals as against the feeling of fear and anger which are destructive to health (Lama, 2001). This is directly caused by certain societal standards, cultural practises, and religious beliefs (Bedard, 2016).

Inequality and Widowhood Cultural Biases

Once a widow, status is drastically reduced in contrast to the widower's status which remains unchanged, especially the administration of the estate. As the man lives, the wife is rest assured that all they are suffering together are theirs, however when the unforeseen circumstance occurs, the husband's relatives share the property and most times sends the widow away to suffer in the wild world without even considering the children of their deceased brother. This decrease in social status not only has implications for women's livelihood, economic status and quality of life, but also increases their vulnerability to discrimination, abuse and harassment, as well as their ability to assert their rights. Both women and men experience increased social pressure during widow(er)hood, but in opposite directions. While the widows are pressured to remain 'loyal' and 'faithful' to their late husbands, and honour their memory, the men are often pressured into a quick remarriage, regardless of their readiness or wish to remarry. It is hard to see a widow remarry on her own freewill. They are mostly forced into new conjugal relations with a male relative or be forbidden to remarry.

The injustice becomes more apprehensive when it comes to the fact that the same culture favours some prominent women more than the less opportune. This puts the integrity

of such cultures to question. Okin,1994 raises salient questions on the possibility of harmonious living when there are many differences among persons and social groups; when a large number of persons are actually excluded from considerations and scheme of things. This, Okin says, negates the sound principles of the theories of justice when he alludes that justice theories are undergoing something of an “identity crisis”. It further suggests the formulation of a theory of justice entirely by listening to every individual’s or group’s point of view and expression of needs, especially cultural differences which normally leads to a slide toward relativism. Creating rooms for voices to be heard would yield a coherent and workable theory of justice (Okin, 1994)

Conclusion

Generally, widowhood cultural practices and rites can cause disharmony in societies. These cultures are indeed harmful and should be eradicated through ‘victims’ knowledge of their rights. When women try to avoid these barbaric practices, the backlash is often huge as they may be denied access to their children, inheritance and freedom. This leads to conflict in the society as not only the widows but also their children and other dependents suffer.

In order to mitigate this, the following are recommended.

- i. the abolition of widowhood rites in Igbo cultures and around Nigeria for peaceful coexistence
- ii. Education of girl-child on knowing their rights and holding on to them for total emancipation
- iii. Government’s demonstration of sincerity in leadership; obeying the laws of the land, implementing them and prosecuting offenders, which will serve as deterrent to others.

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THE RIGHT TO DEMOCRACY EDUCATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CONDUCT OF GENERAL ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

Democracy is a core value of the United Nations system. To this end, it carries out activities in support of this governance concept such as the establishment of the United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF) and the adoption of a global resolution on education for democracy. The substantive Nigerian legal framework for elections, the Electoral Act 2022 has re-enacted democracy education as a statutory right of the citizens and further mandated the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to undertake its implementation. Using the democratic theory supported by the UN Education for Democracy and the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IIDEA) Global State of Democracy (GSoD) as conceptual frameworks, the study collected unstructured questionnaire primary data from purposely selected research participants with deep knowledge of the subject matter. Data was categorically coded for patterns and themes, and thereafter integrated with our thematically analysed secondary data from texts, literature, and audio-visuals to ground answers to our research questions. Findings established among others things that there is presently no framework for a comprehensive democracy education to support the conduct of the 2023 General Election in Nigeria. The paper concludes that notwithstanding the lack of institutional capacity for effectively undertaking the programme of democracy education, the identified elements of democracy are recommended for further thematic studies to evaluate and improve on their measurement indices for the conduct of future national elections in Nigeria

Keywords: Democracy, Election, Political Participation, Youth, Nigeria

Introduction

The United Nations (UN) Charter, 1945 did not mention the word democracy nor was it endorsed as a system of government. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) 1948 projects the concept of democracy when it stated in Art. 21(3) that “the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures” (UN, 1948). The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) 1966 develops them even further and lays down the legal basis for the principles of democracy in International Law when it provided in Article 25 that: every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in Article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions:

(a) To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives; (b) To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors; (c) To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country (UN, 1966).

The African Union (AU) Charter on Democracy, Elections, and Governance (ACDEG) 2007 is the continental treaty law instrument designed to promote the principles and practice of democracy through the conduct of free, fair and credible elections, the building of democratic institutions and the rule of law, as well as deepening democratic ideals and values on the continent (AU, 2019; Kioko, 2019). The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) (2001) Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance affirmed the Rule of Law, Human Rights, and Good Governance as the cornerstone of democracy. The 1999 Nigerian Constitution (as amended) declared in S. 14 (1) that the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a state based on the principles of democracy and social justice, and provides further

in Section 14 (2) (c) that, “the participation by the people in their government shall be ensured in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution”.

In addition to the electoral human rights recognized by the International Human Rights Law (IHRL) and further entrenched in the Nigerian Constitution as Fundamental Rights, the substantive operative electoral law regulating the conduct of elections, the Electoral Act 2022 has retained the right to democracy education first created by the repealed Electoral Act 2010 when it re-established the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and conferred on it in S. 2 (a) and (b) with additional functions of the power to conduct voter and civic education, and promote knowledge of sound democratic election processes. These novel statutory rights of citizens to receive voter and civic education and promotion of knowledge of sound democratic election processes are fully embedded in democracy education.

Democracy education or education for democracy is a tool for promoting and sustaining a culture of peace through shared democratic values in Nigeria and beyond. INEC (2022) has not defined what democracy education means nor what it entails in its preparation for the conduct of 2023 General Election (INEC Strategic Plan 2022-2026) in accordance with its statutory mandate. Whereas INEC (2019) maintains programmes for voter education, public enlightenment and media relations, INEC (2022) however has as a strategic objective to improve voter and civic education and promote knowledge of sound democratic election processes for electoral governance which we note do not meet the requirements for democracy education.

Available literature from past studies has not fully explored how the right to democracy education is being promoted by the electoral management body and other strategic stakeholders in the context of preparations for the conduct of 2023 elections. Such an understanding of the content, context and significance of the right in the preparations for the conduct of 2023 national elections in Nigeria merits research attention.

Conceptual Definitions

Democracy

According to Dahl (2022), democracy is a system of government in which laws, policies, leadership, and major undertakings of a state or other polity are directly or indirectly decided by the people. This definition approximates to the one by former United States President Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) who called democracy “government of the people, by the people and for the people” (Sullivan, 2019). Dewey (1985) conceived of democracy as an open society, characterized by the ideals of self-improvement, creativity and most importantly, communication within and between groups.

International IDEA (2021) defines democracy as popular control over public decision-making, and equality in the exercise of that control. For this work, democracy is conceptually defined as the rule by the people through their freely chosen representatives in a polity. Nigeria is a constitutional democracy so declared in S.14(1) of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution (as amended) and the reference to democracy education in this work is a reference to Western liberal democracy or more particularly to constitutional democracy.

Meaning of Democracy education or education for democracy

The Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) has stated that every democracy needs transparent and accountable political actors. Together, they influence how a democracy operates and transform formal institutions and laws into actions and attitudes. Building the foundations of a functioning democracy and ensuring democratic traditions are transmitted and survive in the future requires the development of a nation's political leaders, civil officials, democratic influencers, and other civic actors. The UN Resolution A/75/199 of 2020 on education for democracy recognizes that, while democracies share common features, there is no single model of democracy, and that democracy does not belong to any country or region.

The UN urges the Member States and national, regional, and local education authorities to integrate education for democracy along with civic education, human rights education, and education for sustainable development into their educational standards and to

develop and strengthen programmes, curricula, and extracurricular educational activities aimed at promoting and consolidating democratic values and democratic governance.

Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

The study examines a few relevant theories for their connection with the research objectives of the study, methodology, and literature for answering the research questions.

The Democratic Theory

Democratic theory (DT). To understand democracy, we need a democratic theory. According to Dean et al. (2019) democratic theory is applicable in the policy sciences as well as in relation to workplace management, and the family, and indeed any place that humans relate to one another. Dean et. al. (2019) repudiates the argument that there is no democratic theory and submits that only democratic theories which show the diversity of approaches to answering the question of “why democracy” and its “essential rights” feature. Contemporary democratic theorists according to Dean et al. (2019) focus beyond legislative politics, elections, political parties, and encompass other sites of social relations, from human rights, family, workplace, public administration, and social media.

Laurence (2019) further states that the democratic theory also answers the questions as to what values are most important for a democracy; which ones make it desirable or undesirable as a form of government; how democratic rule is to be organized and exercised, and what institutions should be used and how. The theory explains the development of institutions of a variety of democratic designs that serve as justice maker, the rules keeper, the rights protector, the quality-of-life raiser, the peacemaker, the redistributor, the responsive one, or all of these ideals (Dean et al., 2019). Its broad application to the study of democracy recommends it as the suitable theoretical framework for this study.

Education for Democracy Conceptual Framework

The UN Resolution A/RES//75/199 of 2020 on education for democracy affirms democracy as a core value of the world body which has done more to support it around the world than any other global organization. UN activities in support of democracy are carried out through

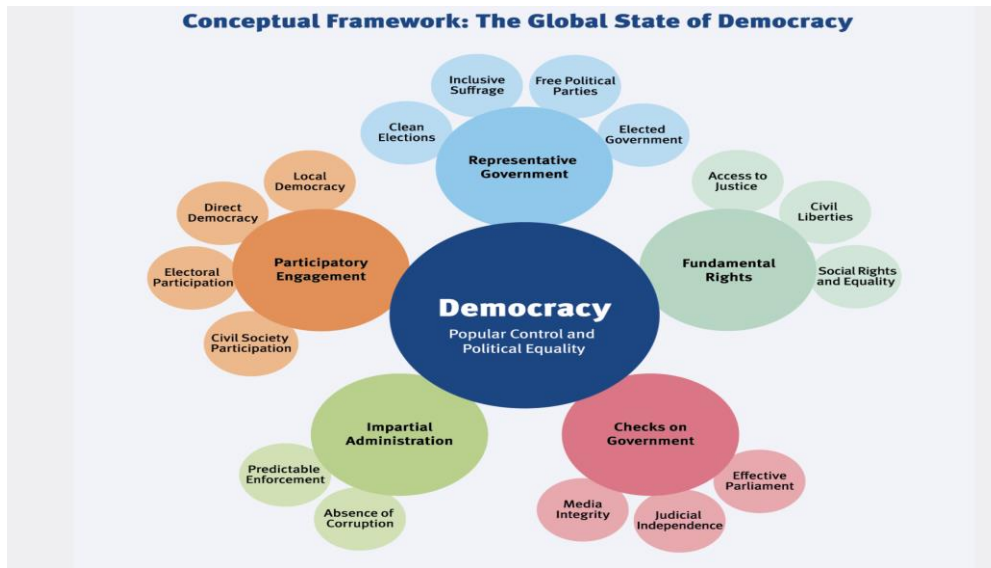
the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF) with the declaration of September 15 every year first observed and celebrated in 2008 as the International Day of Democracy or World Democracy Day with the theme for 2022 being- Strengthening democratic resilience in the face of future crises (UN, 2020).

The UN framework holds that the values of freedom, respect for human rights and the principle of holding periodic and genuine elections by universal suffrage are essential elements of democracy which in turn, provides an environment for the protection and effective realization of human rights. The UN Human Rights Council (formerly UN Commission on Human Rights) has adopted resolution E/CN.4/RES/1999/57 on the promotion of the right to democracy among other international instruments for promoting and consolidating democracy.

The Global State of Democracy (GSoD) Conceptual Framework

Explanatory, analytical, prescriptive, and predictive; aligns with our theoretical framework. IIDEA (2021) has provided qualitative-quantitative indicators for the assessment of the democratic performance of countries known as the Global State of Democracy (GSoD) indices which depict democratic trends at the country, regional and global levels across a broad range of different attributes of democracy in the period 1975–2021. International IDEA's new Global State of Democracy indices measure 29 aspects of democracy for the period 1975 to 2021 in 174 countries across the world. The indices are divided into five main attributes of democracy, which contain a total of sixteen sub-attributes and eight sub-components, for a total of 29 aspects of democracy, of which 28 have a score from 0 to 1, with 0 representing the lowest achievement in the whole sample and 1 the highest. Fig. 1 is the pictorial representation of the attributes and sub-attributes of the GSoD framework used to measure the democratic performance of a country.

Fig. 1: International IDEA, The GSoD Conceptual framework.



Source: <https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/the-global-state-of-democracy-2019-summary.pdf>

Key Elements that Underpin Democracy Education

The 1999 Nigerian Constitution declares in S. 14 (1) & (2) that the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a State based on the principles of democracy and social justice in which sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom government through the Constitution derives its powers and authority with the security and welfare of the people being the primary purpose of government. The Constitution further declares that the participation by the people in their government shall be ensured in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. This participatory right grounds right to democracy education.

According to the United Nations (1945), The values of freedom, respect for human rights and the principle of holding periodic and genuine elections by universal suffrage are essential elements of democracy. In turn, democracy provides an environment for the protection and effective realization of human rights. For several years, the UN General Assembly and the former Commission on Human Rights endeavoured to draw on international

human rights instruments to promote a common understanding of the principles and values of democracy. As a result, in 2000, the Commission recommended a series of legislative, institutional and practical measures to consolidate democracy. Subsequent to the adoption of the UN Commission on Human Rights resolution E/CN.4/RES/1999/57 on promotion of the right to democracy, the Commission declared in 2002 the following 10 essential elements of democracy:

- i. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; ii. Freedom of association; iii. Freedom of expression and opinion; iv. Access to power and its exercise in accordance with the rule of law; v. The holding of periodic free and fair elections by universal suffrage and by secret ballot as the expression of the will of the people; vi. A pluralistic system of political parties and organisations; vii. The separation of powers; viii. The independence of the judiciary; ix. Transparency and accountability in public administration; and x. Free, independent and pluralistic media.

According to Meyer-Resender (2011) there are seven essential elements of democracy. They are:

- i. The separation and balance of power; ii. Independence of the judiciary; iii. A pluralistic system of political parties and organisations; iv. The rule of law; v. Accountability and transparency; vi. Freedom of the media; vii. Respect for political rights.

The foregoing essential elements of democracy are markedly similar. International IDEA (2019) has provided five key attributes of democracy with sub-attributes in its GSoD conceptual framework for measuring democratic governance as follows:

Attribute 1: Representative Government which covers the extent to which access to political power is free and equal as demonstrated by competitive, inclusive and regular elections. It includes four sub-attributes: Clean Elections, Inclusive Suffrage, Free Political Parties and Elected Government.

Attribute 2: Fundamental Rights which capture the degree to which civil liberties are respected, and whether people have access to basic resources that enable their active participation in the political process. Freedom of Expression, Freedom of Association and Assembly, Freedom of Movement, Freedom of Religion Personal Integrity and Security, Social Group Equality, Gender Equality, and Basic Welfare.

Attribute 3: Checks on Government that measure effective control of executive power. It includes three sub-attributes: Effective Parliament, Judicial Independence, and Media Integrity.

Attribute 4: Impartial Administration which concerns how fairly and predictably political decisions are implemented, and therefore reflects key aspects of the rule of law. It includes two sub-attributes: Absence of Corruption and Predictable Enforcement.

Framework for Democracy Education in Nigeria.

The Nigerian programme for promoting the right to democracy education is vested in INEC by law and it is necessary for democratic citizenship that this should encompass the essential elements of democracy identified by scholars and institutions which can only be effectively imparted through a deliberate programme of education of the citizens. A key informant respondent from the electoral management body submitted that INEC set up The Electoral Institute (TEI) as a semi-autonomous unit that will be responsible for training, research and documentation with a view to undertaking the development of an effective and comprehensive curriculum for democracy education soon. This has not fully materialised and could therefore imperil the smooth conduct of the 2023 General Election.

What is required of INEC is the development of a comprehensive handbook, manual or appropriate literature specific to democracy education for Nigerians. According to Weinberg and Flinders (2018) learning for democracy must clearly demonstrate that citizenship education can have a significant impact where pupils receive both “declarative knowledge (i.e. facts, concepts and relationships between these) and procedural knowledge (i.e. how to carry out actions)” (Weinberg & Flinders, 2018: 578). Nigeria is a constitutional

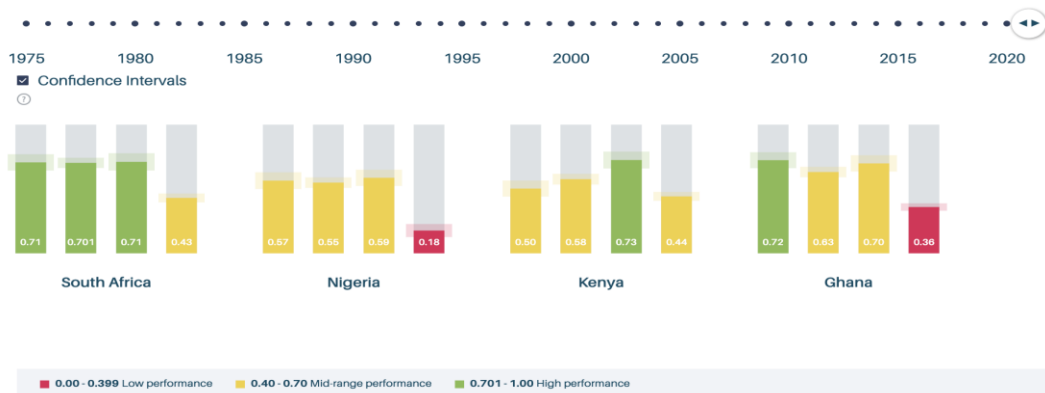
democracy and according to Sullivan (2019) many of the concepts and conditions for democracy are directly derived from the Constitution. This is the starting point for achieving democracy literacy of the population. This framework will be in full accord with Art. 3(c) of UN Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace A/53/243 of 1999 for promoting democracy.

Sayles (2005) submits that civic engagement is a condition precedent for any effective education for democracy programme or project. Straume (2016) maintains that there is an interrelationship between education and democratic politics which makes political mobilisation of the democratic citizenry less problematic. Fig. 2 is a comparison of the summary of GSoD scores from four African countries including Nigeria.

The detailed Nigerian democracy visual report based on the GSoD conceptual framework of study by the International IDEA (2022) as presented in Fig. 3 is instructive and illuminative of what must be done. It shows that the country has done relatively well over the years in sections coloured in green in the pie-chart, poorly in the areas verged yellow and very poor in the indices with red colour.

Fig. 2: GSoD Summary comparison of selected African Democracies

Country comparisons



Source: IIDEA (2021). <https://www.idea.int/gsod-indices/compare-countries-regions>

Challenges to Implementing an Effective Democracy Education in Nigeria

One of the key challenges to effective democracy education to achieve the desired democracy literacy in Nigeria is the country's poor literacy rate which according to the World Bank was 62% as at 2018 its most recent data (The World Bank, retrieved August 23, 2022, from https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ADT.LITR.ZS?locations=NG&most_recent_value_desc=false).

Weak political institutions which according to a research respondent is not connected with the fact that Nigerian democratic experience since independence in 1960 has been interrupted by military interventions with undemocratic regimes in place. Some of the weak institutions include political parties and civil society organisations that grow best under democratic settings. Part of the institutional weakness extends to lack of capacity of INEC, the lead agency in democracy education effort to undertake this statutory mandate. In addition, elected political office holders are not required as part of eligibility to show any proof of knowledge of sound democratic election processes.

Socio-economic challenges with unemployment, insecurity and poverty being top of the factors that affect democracy education was addressed by the focus group discussion. The unemployment figure for Nigeria for Q4 of 2020 is put at 33.3% with youth unemployment being 42% (National Bureau of Statistics, <https://www.nigerianstat.gov.ng/>).

Adverse political developments in both established and newer democracies, especially the abdication by the United States of its traditional leadership role, have cast international democracy support into doubt (Carothers, 2020).

Conclusion

Democracy support must adapt to its changed circumstances by doing more to take new geopolitical realities into account; effacing the boundary between support for democracy in new and in established democracies; strengthening the economic dimension of democracy assistance; and moving technological issues to the forefront (Carothers, 2020). Nevertheless, international action on behalf of democracy globally remains necessary and possible.

Moreover, some important elements of continuity remain, including overall Western spending on democracy assistance.

These elements jointly and severally substantially reflect, comply with, and promote the knowledge and practice of democracy, its growth, development, and sustenance of the democratic system of government globally and in Nigeria as Africa's largest democracy.

Recommendations

The study recommends as follows:

1. A distinct programme of democracy education is necessary to promote knowledge of sound democratic election processes and conduct of voter and civic education which are statutory mandates of INEC. The programme should be incorporated into the formal curriculum of educational studies from primary to tertiary levels and in formal, informal, and semi-formal civic engagements in Nigeria.
2. Further thematic research studies should be undertaken to evaluate the impact of each of the essential elements of democracy and improve on their measurement indices for the conduct of national elections in Nigeria.
3. Leaders aspiring to elective public political offices should show evidence of knowledge, learning, skills, training and possession of attributes of democracy.
4. Implementing a practical knowledge-based democracy education will undoubtedly promote a culture of peace as observed by the UN resolution and agencies.
6. Nigeria needs to develop its curriculum of democracy education that is fit-for-purpose for Nigerian social environment. Nigeria's 2023 General Election will be conducted without the benefit of a programme of democracy education in place.

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AN ASSESSMENT OF STATISTICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POVERTY AND INSECURITY IN NORTHERN PART OF NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the linkages between poverty and insecurity in Northern Nigeria, using descriptive and correlative research design, in combination with purposive sampling of data. Secondary sources of data on 2019 poverty and insecurity in northern Nigeria were obtained from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and Nigeria Security Tracker (NST) respectively. Analysis of data was done using descriptive statistics (by computing summary measures of insecurity cases) and inferential statistics (by computing the Pearson correlation coefficient to test for association between poverty and insecurity). All levels of significance were set at 0.05 alpha level. Findings show that poverty and insecurity were very prevalent in Northern Nigeria with concomitantly high human fatalities, loss of resources and environmental degradation across the region. However, the study found no significance association between poverty and insecurity in the region in general ($P > 0.05$) in spite of weak relationship between the two variables ($r = .029$). In conclusion, poverty is the major factor that fuels insecurity in Northern Nigeria. The findings of the study informed the need for Government to commit more resources to socio-economic development of the country in general.

Keywords: Poverty, Insecurity, burden, Relationship, Northern Nigeria

Introduction

Poverty and insecurity are said to be mutually reinforcing and recurring decimal on the continent. Some of the poorest African countries are in violent conflict (Anyanwu, 2020). Some of them are: Southern Sudan, Ethiopia, Mali, Niger Republic, Chad, Somalia, and above all Nigeria, which is the epicenter of global poverty despite artificially rebasing its economy. Traditionally, the Gross Domestic Products (GDP) is used to measure economic performance, but this has been grossly misleading owing to the ability of a country like Nigeria to rebase its economy.

Meanwhile, the death toll from the twelve years old Boko Haram insurgency given by the UN Development Programme (UNDP) in a new study on the war and its effect on livelihoods is 10 times higher than previous estimates of about 35,000 based only on those killed in fighting in Nigeria since violence broke out (Aljazeera, June 24, 2021). Nigeria has assumed the epicenter of violent conflict in Africa. According to the Governor of Borno State Babagana Umara Zulum, the Boko Haram insurgency has led to the death of about a hundred thousand people. Beyond the Boko Haram terrorist group, which has been co-opted into the Islamic State in West African Province (ISWAP), pockets of other insurrections that pose existential threats to Nigeria have emerged in the North and elsewhere since 2015. From Niger Delta in the South-South, and the drumbeat of self-determination in the South East, to the rampaging banditry in the North West and North Central, to the call for secession by the Yoruba warlords in the South West, it is safe to say that the world's most populous black nation and the continent 'largest economy' is slowly but surely relapsing into a failed state.

Nigeria is ranked 14th on the global failed (Fragile) state index for the year 2020. Other countries that share the same characteristics, according to FSI are Yemen, Somalia, South Sudan, Syria, DR Congo, Central Africa Republic, Chad, Sudan, Afghanistan, Zimbabwe, Burundi, Cameroon, and Haiti. Meanwhile, despite repressive counterterrorism and kinetic approach by the Nigerian government, the insurgent groups have become more adamant, radicalized, and continue to swell, much to the concern of the Nigerian state and its foreign sympathizers (Agbiboa, 2014; Alao, 2014).

As a corollary to the above, the 2.4 million farmers in the country are said to have been strangled by the insurgency in the northwest (Guardian, Oct 15, 2021). Of the 12 out of 15 African countries facing food insecurity presently, Nigeria comes third with a projected

12.8 million people experiencing an acute food shortage, coming after DRC and Ethiopia. Not only does conflict cause death and destruction, it also leads to mass displacement, further exacerbating food insecurity. The country cannot produce enough due to the impacts of climate change, Boko Haram insurgency, banditry, escalating farmer/herder crisis, compounded by low investments in the agricultural sector, and the COVID-19 pandemic, the report says. Chief Executive Officer and co-founder of Livestock 247.com, Ibrahim Maigari Ahmadu, said: "About 70 percent of states in the Northeast had experienced terrorists' attacks, and in the Northwest, it has been consistent rural banditry. Farmers no longer go to farms and the remaining few have relocated for safety. We may suffer food scarcity because farming activities have not been going on and we have been depending on a few states for some particular produce, especially in the North Central." a leader of All Farmers' Association of Nigeria (AFAN), Ibrahim Kabir, said: "The resilience of smallholder farmers would be put to test if insecurity persisted.

This is not far-fetched from heightened and persistent of insecurity in the country. Also, economic recession impact was at high rate with Nigeria's especially in Northern Nigeria. While the government had played down the scandalous report earlier, it has now admitted through its data arm, the National Bureau of Statistics, that the country indeed seats on a keg of gunpowder, and that it is home to extreme poverty. In its poverty and inequality report from September 2018 to October 2019 released in May 2020, the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) said 40 percent of Nigerians live below the poverty line. This represents 82.9 million people out of a population of about 200 million. "In Nigeria, 40.1 percent of the total population was classified as poor," According to it: "In other words, on average four out of 10 individuals in Nigeria has real per capita expenditures below N137,430 (\$352) per year."

The statistics office reported 52 percent of people in rural areas live in extreme poverty, compared with 18 percent in urban parts of the country, also noting that the highest poverty levels were in the northwest state of Sokoto, where 87.7 percent of people live under the poverty line compared with 4.5 percent in a commercial hub like Lagos State, which had the lowest rate. It is against this background that the study aims to determine the burden of poverty and insecurity in Northern Nigeria and the relationship between them with a focus on the Northern Nigeria region.

Objectives

The specific objectives of the study include:

1. To examine state of Insecurity in Northern Nigeria
2. To access influence of poverty rate on Insecurity in Northern Nigeria
3. To make appropriate recommendations based on the findings of the study

Hypothesis

H₀: There is no linkage between poverty and insecurity in Northern Nigeria

H₁: There is a linkage between poverty and insecurity in Northern Nigeria

Poverty and Insecurity: A Review

Poverty is the deprivation of those things that determines the quality of life, including food, clothing, shelter and safe drinking water, but also such intangible things as opportunity to learn and to enjoy the respect of fellow citizens. What constitute poverty is when the citizens lacked the basic necessities of life. Poverty produces a vicious cycle of lack from food, clothing, shelter, drinking water and illiteracy. World Bank Group (2017) conceived poverty from the economic perspective to mean living below \$1.90 daily. The psychological perspective of the concept entails one's inability to think through issues before taking action, accept dangerous assignment, and commit violence through mind control; resulting from lack of capacity brought about by illiteracy.

In the face of increasing growth of youths' population in the world, Africa and Nigeria inclusive; with nearly have of the global population under 25 years of age: without the corresponding economic growth and development matching the youth bulge phenomenon, the world would continually establish the productive environment where conflict could strive easily (Brainard & Chollet, 2006). While many factors such as arms proliferations had worsened insecurity in third world countries, poverty had generated some factors that constituted a prelude to the exacerbation of insecurity. These factors include illiteracy, hunger and starvation. According to Brainard & Chollet (2006) young people suffered the most from the viewpoints of poverty, illiteracy, joblessness, disease, criminality and armed violence.

Security is an encompassing term which comprises, health, education, economic, cultural, food and others. Global efforts had been made to eliminate poverty in all nations of the world resulting from the devastating nature it had on living standard and threats to global security. Resolution, management and transformation poverty is not just a function of doing

things right; but doing the smart thing to ensure security at home and abroad (Brainard and Chollet). Security entails measures put in place to safeguard people. Security is conceptualized within the context of securing people from poverty, disease, illiteracy, unemployment, and hunger amongst others.

World Bank Group (2020) posited that, Global extreme poverty rose in 2020 for the first time in 20 years due COVID-19 public emergency that compounded the forces of conflict and climate change, which were already slowing poverty reduction progress; and in the process, added roughly 100 million living in poverty. WBG (2020) stated that 4 out of 5 from rural communities lived below the international poverty line. The act of violence like kidnappings, banditry and gunmen attacks had been mostly conducted in rural communities. This is resulting from the less security coverage of the rural areas, the presence of vast lands termed ungoverned spaces. The criminal gangs took advantage of these opportunities to strike at will, and thereafter, vanished to thin air. A combination of other factors such as lack of educational access to about 70 percent of the global poor aged 15 and above would more constituted the fuel global insecurity from the poor nations' fronts. Almost half of poor people in Sub-Saharan Africa live in just five countries: Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Tanzania, Ethiopia, and Madagascar.

UNDP stated that, simple economic growth will not reduce or alleviate poverty, improve equality or produce jobs, unless said growth is inclusive of all individuals in the economy. A study by African Economic Outlook disclosed that economic growth in Nigeria had not eradicate or eliminate, or created jobs for the army of jobseekers. The reason was that, there was a 3 percent increase in unemployment between 2010 and 2011. The current dwindling economic situation, the fallen naira value, increase cost of items, decrease purchasing power resulting from jobs losses due to COVID-19 had made life difficult and worsen poverty, thereby increase the vulnerabilities of the poor to become easily manipulated. Economic development pursued the ideals of generating wealth through program that enhanced the chances of the people to benefit. It is not geared toward uplifting the economic capacity of the few but the general population.

In the face of increasing growth of youths' population in the world, Africa and Nigeria inclusive; with nearly have of the global population under 25 years of age: without the corresponding economic growth and development matching the youth bulge phenomenon, the

world would continually establish the productive environment where conflict could strive easily (Brainard & Chollet, 2006). while many factors such as arms proliferations had worsened insecurity in third world countries, poverty had generated some factors that constituted a prelude to the exacerbation of insecurity. These factors include illiteracy, hunger and starvation. Brainard & Chollet (2006) young people suffered the most from the viewpoints of poverty, illiteracy, joblessness, disease, criminality and armed violence. The made up the population with the energy needed for executing violent conduct. The old people faced difficulty perpetrating violence due to lack of strength. The youths driven by ambitions and desires could be lured into criminality and violent conduct resulting from their vulnerabilities. They added that, about 17 million of the world youths are refugees and internally displaced persons; 130 million of them are illiterates, and child soldiers amounting to 300,000. These statistics paint a dark picture of what poverty portend to security.

Theoretical Discourse

The nexus between poverty and insecurity in Nigeria can be explained by the Relative Deprivation Theory.

Relative Deprivation Theory

Relative Deprivation Theory hinges on the assumption that people who feel they are being deprived of something considered essential in their society (e.g. money, rights, political voice, status) will organize or join social movements like banditry and kidnapping dedicated to obtaining the things of which they feel belongs to them in the society. This set of people, like the Fulani bandits and even the Niger Delta agitators have said that the society does not care about their welfare and wellbeing. Relative Deprivation Theory stems from sociology and was developed in the 1930s. Both Garry Runciman and Ted Gurr are credited with developing the theory. The theory aptly fits into the conflict narrative of the area of study. Relative deprivation could be caused by economic or other social inequalities among various social groups. It is believed that group members who were earlier dispersed may find common ground in a cause that leads them to ignore their individual interests and unite under a single cause. Deprivation theory claims that social movements are started by people who feel they lack something. When people compare themselves to others, they may feel that they are at a disadvantage. This sense of having less than other people leads to a sense of injustice. As explored by Runciman and Webber, relative deprivation is a subjective concept that transcends purely economic

measures. One's aspirations as a result of their social class and or status have the potential to create feelings of resentment which may cause one to retaliate via delinquency (Brush, 1996). The feeling of exclusion and deprivation by most non conformists and bandits have been fingered to be responsible for the crises in most parts of the country, especially in the North West, where this study is located.

Methodology

Descriptive and Correlative design was adopted with use of purposive sampling of data. Secondary sources of data were explored in accessing major electronic databases to locate all relevant published works that addresses one or more of the key concepts examined in the paper. Descriptive and inferential statistics were therefore adopted for the analysis. A systematic review method was employed, this involves a comprehensive and systematic search of the major electronic databases (including PubMed and Web of Science), as well as African Journals Online repository and Google Scholar to locate all relevant published works that addresses one or more of the key concepts examined in the paper.

Data were extracted from the articles with relevant information for systematic integration and presentation of the findings. Also, secondary data on poverty and insecurity in northern Nigeria were obtained from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and Nigeria Security Tracker (NST) respectively. The scope of this research work will therefore be limited to the burden of poverty and insecurity in Northern Nigeria in 2019, and the relationship between them with data from Nigeria Bureau of Statistics (2019) and Nigeria Security Tracker (2019) covering states in Northern Nigeria and their poverty index Data were not obtained in Borno state due to insecurity. Data on insecurity were limited to 2019 while data on poverty was also limited to 2019. Nevertheless, analysis of secondary data was done using descriptive statistics (by computing summary measures of location) and inferential statistics (by computing the Pearson correlation coefficient to test for association between poverty and insecurity). All levels of significance were set at 0.05 alpha level.

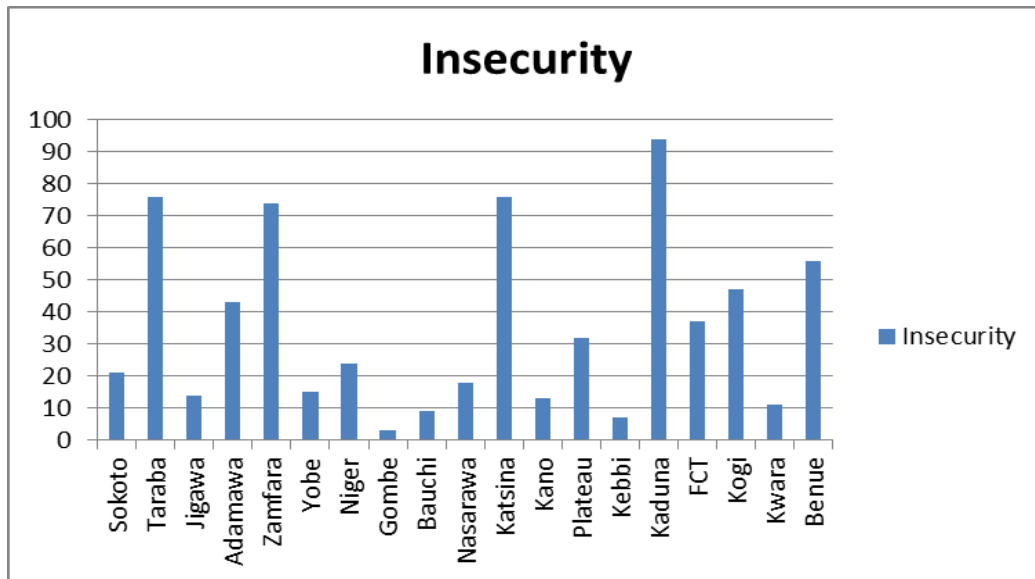
Findings

Assessments of insecurity in Northern Nigeria (2019)

The table below provides information in explaining the burden of poverty and insecurity in Northern Nigeria

Table 1: Poverty headcount rate and number of insecurity related cases in Northern Nigeria (2019).

State	*Poverty headcount rate (percentage of population)	**Number of insecurity related cases
Sokoto	87.73	21
Taraba	87.72	76
Jigawa	87.02	14
Adamawa	75.41	43
Zamfara	78.98	74
Yobe	72.34	15
Niger	66.11	24
Gombe	62.31	3
Bauchi	61.53	9
Nasarawa	57.3	18
Katsina	56.42	76
Kano	55.1	13
Plateau	55.1	32
Kebbi	50.2	7
Kaduna	43.5	94
FCT	48.7	37
Benue	32.9	56
Kogi	28.5	47
Kwara	20.4	11
Borno	--	--



Sources:

*Nigeria Bureau of Statistics (2019)

**Nigeria Security Tracker (2019)

NB: Data were not obtained in Borno state due to insecurity

The “Banditry and Fatality analysis (2019)” provides ample evidence to show that the nefarious activities of insecurity cases in the northwest and elsewhere have led to a very high fatality in the country.

Similarly, the number of insecurity related cases was high in many of the Northern Nigeria states with Kaduna State recording the highest number of cases (94) followed by Taraba and Katsina (76 each), followed by Zamfara State (74), followed by Benue State (56), while the least number of cases was recorded in Gombe State (3) as shown in Table 1.

Analysis of recent data on the poverty headcount rate, and the number of insecurity related cases in Northern Nigeria from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2019) and the Nigeria Security Tracker (NST, 2019) respectively showed that the percentage of population that live below the poverty level ranged from a minimum of 20.4% in Kwara State to a maximum of 87.73% in Sokoto State.

Paradoxically, the number of cases of insecurity in the Northern Nigerian states was not in concordance with the poverty headcount rate. It ranged from a minimum of 3 cases in Gombe state to a maximum of 94 cases in Kaduna State (Table 1, Figure 1).

Relationship between poverty and insecurity in Northern Nigeria

The table below provides information in explaining the burden of poverty and insecurity in Northern Nigeria.

Figure 2: Results of Pearson Correlation analysis between poverty rate and insecurity in Northern Nigeria

Correlations		Insecurity Cases	Share of People in Poverty (%)
Pearson Correlation	Insecurity Cases	1.000	.029
	Share of People in Poverty (%)	.029	1.000
Sig. (1-tailed)	Insecurity Cases	.	.453
	Share of People in Poverty (%)	.453	.
N	Insecurity Cases	19	19
	Share of People in Poverty (%)	19	19

P>0.05

Further analysis of recent data on the poverty headcount rate, and the number of insecurity related cases in Northern Nigeria from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2019) and the Nigeria Security Tracker (NST, 2022) respectively showed a weak positive correlation between poverty headcount rate and number of insecurity related cases in Northern Nigeria (Pearson Moment correlation coefficient = 0.029; Sig. (1-tailed) = 0.453) at a preset alpha level of 0.05 as shown in Figure 2. Since the level of statistical significance value at 1-tailed (0.453) is greater than the pre-set alpha value of 0.05; and the p-value for this analysis is .453(P> 0.05), Null hypothesis is therefore Accepted, and it is hereby concluded that there is

no statistical association between poverty and insecurity in Northern Nigeria however, there is a weak relationship. This suggests the need to for further studies to examine other factors (such as politics, religion, etc) that could be drivers of the rising wave of insecurity in northern Nigeria.

Meanwhile, response of governments at all levels have not been satisfactory, (Olapeju and Peter, 2021). In 2014 concerted effort began to be seen. One such attempt involved the Nigerian Police Force, under Inspector-General Suleiman Abba, launching the Task Force on Cattle Rustling and Associated Crime. The task force was to be responsible for patrolling and operating in the context of intelligence gathering on anti-rustling and related crimes, in addition to investigating and possibly prosecuting reported cases of such crimes (Yusuf 2015); however, the task force has been relatively inactive since its creation.

In 2015, some governors of northern states also began showing interest in the anti-rustling fight. Between July and October of that year, they held two meetings in which they agreed to pool their resources to fund a joint operation involving the military, the police, the state security service, and the Civil Defence Corps in order to comb the forests that are believed to be havens for cow thieves in the affected states (Binniyat, 2015). Yet, the agreement resulted in more talk than action. In spite of the palpable failure of the attempts in the foregoing explication, the initiative was effectively put into practice by the Niger State government when it established its own joint patrol, codenamed: Operation Sharan Daji. The operation which brings together the military, police, security service, civil defence corps, and local vigilante groups works by proactively engaging with the bandits in the forests. Within a week of its establishment, a total of 118 cows and 23 sheep had been recovered from bandits (Channels TV, 2016).

The same method of joint patrol operation was also put in place by the Katsina State government in late 2015. However, the most innovative response came from the Kaduna State government. The steps include embedding security agents amongst herders to protect them against bandits; tightening state borders to prevent trans-border influx of bandits; and, most importantly, implanting computer microchips in the animals to monitor their movements and prevent armed bandits from stealing them (Jimoh, 2015). The Kaduna initiative, termed the “El-Rufai Model,” represents a proactive and pre-emptive approach by the use of information and communication technology (ICT) (Leadership, 2015). However, it remains a proposal,

and nobody knows when it will be implemented. In addition, in order to alternatively manage the crisis situation, the idea of peace deal and amnesty was initiated between Zamfara State government and the Leadership of these bandits in 2016. The State government, having reviewed the impacts of the cohesive measures especially the use of Military and Mobile Police, came to the conclusion that, the operation has not yielded the much-desired result in spite of huge amount of funds expended. Hence, the State government opted for negotiations with the armed bandits with a view to surrendering their weapons to the State government as the best option for ensuring sustainable peace (Tangaza, 2014).

The government concurred to their demands that for the amnesty deal to be perfected; the bandits must surrender their arms and should promise not to invade any community while the peace deal lasted. The government also proposed some strategic measures of integrating the bandits back to their communities by providing soft grant for them to commence business as well as bringing some of them closer to the government (Anka, 2017; Mustapha, 2019). Nonetheless, several state actions have reduced the incidence of bandit attacks and cattle rustling for some times. On several occasions, thousands of cattle have been recovered and returned to owners. For example, as of 7 March, 2016 the joint patrol team put in place by the Katsina government had recovered 12,000 cattle within a few days of operation (Elazeh 2016). In addition, a number of bandits have been arrested and prosecuted. The security forces have also been able to invade some of the rustlers' hideouts, with the aid of the military forces (Godwin 2016; Olaniyan & Yahaya, 2016).

Conclusion and Recommendation

Poverty is major factor fuelling insecurity in Northern Nigeria. Likewise, the study also shows that there are other factors that may also cause unrest. The study concluded that poverty and insecurity are very prevalent in Northern Nigeria with competition for natural resources and proliferation of firearms and ammunitions being major catalysts for the rising wave of insecurity in the area. The high rates of insecurity in Northern Nigeria over the years have caused high fatalities, loss of resources and environmental degradation, thus resulting to escalation of poverty across the region. All these have adversely affected the health and wellbeing of the populace and the socio-economic development of the region. The findings of the study showed that there is no association between poverty and insecurity in the region.

Government should commit more resources towards the socio-economic development of Northern Nigeria to drastically reduce the high poverty rates across the region. Government should recruit sufficient number of security operative and equip them adequately to be able to maintain law and order in the area (including protecting the international borders against invasion by terrorists; securing the forest reserves and farm settlement against invasion by terrorists; and preventing illegal proliferation of fire arms and ammunitions in the region). Finally, the absence of association between poverty and insecurity in the region suggests the need for further studies to identify the factors that are responsible for the rising wave of insecurity in the region.

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TRADITIONAL LEADERS AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT: A STUDY OF BEKWARRA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, CROSS RIVER STATE, NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the role of Traditional Leaders in conflict management and peacebuilding in Bekwarra Local Government Area of Cross River State, Nigeria. The primary role of traditional leaders in Bekwarra pertains to their function as custodians of ‘traditional’ customs and values, their impact on maintaining and building peace in their domain, during the pre-modern and modern era using the mechanism of mediation, negotiation, arbitration and reconciliation as conflict management and peacebuilding processes. The methods used in this study is descriptive research design with qualitative analysis in its quest to get answers to the questions raised. Also, in-depth – Interview and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) of data sourcing were also utilized in this study. The secondary data was obtained from books, journals, articles and internet materials etc. all were qualitatively analyzed. The discuss established the existence and functionality of the institution of traditional leadership in Bekwarra and the relevant roles played by them in conflict management and peace building. It was also observed that although colonialism and modernity undermined the powers and authorities of traditional leaders, the institution of chieftaincy in Bekwarra and indeed some African societies still remain very useful and relevant to managing conflict and building peace.

Keywords: African, Conflict Management, Peacebuilding, Traditional Leaders

Introduction

Before the advent of colonial rule, the traditional leader performed numerous functions which revolved around the cardinal theme of guiding, protecting, defending and providing for the needs of the society they served. (Omagu, 2012). In present day Africa, the institution of traditional leadership has evolved drastically due to introduction of western education, government, legal systems etc. However, in some part of Africa especially Nigeria, traditional leaders are still consulted in matters pertaining to customary laws, which often concerns marriages or land matters. In Bekwarra, most problems and disputes are taken to the traditional leaders before taken to the police or other legal bodies. Many political leaders recognize the importance of the role of traditional leaders as they realize that the current political system must borrow from the old ones.

In Bekwarra society, the Paramount Ruler, who is the traditional head and custodian of their custom, culture and tradition together with the council of Elders, clan heads, village Heads, age grades do not only play an influential role to maintain and sustain its survival but also takes collective decision that brings about peace amongst members of the community.

In many occasions various Western conflict management Strategies are adopted in the contemporary challenges of African conflict resolutions without meaningful outcome to address the conflict holistically. But several researches on African conflict resolutions like that of Bakwu of Ghana, Umuleri of Igbo society and Gacaca of Rwanda among other indicated that African mechanisms of settling conflict are productive and remains the last option in addressing persistent conflict bedevilling African society. Most of African conflicts were motivated by traditional and social milieu, therefore, require traditional modeling of resolving them amicably. In view of that, this study seeks to find out the role of traditional leaders in conflict management and peace building among the Bekwarra people of northern Cross River State in order to bridge the existing gap between western methods of conflict management and African style of conflict management through traditional means. This study has the following Objectives to guide the paper; to examine traditional institution in existence and functional in

Bekwarra, to identify the role of traditional leaders plays in conflict management and peacebuilding in Bekwarra Local Government Area as well as examining mechanism adopted by traditional leaders in Bekwarra in managing conflict and building peace (Abua, 2009; Abua,2008; Robert and Gboko,2020; Zartman,2000).

Conceptual Analysis

African Traditional Conflict Management

This involves the management of conflicts by which parties to a conflict come together to solve their conflict or differences. The African purpose for conflict management is usually aimed at reducing the negative and destructive angle of conflict through a number of ways, and also by working with parties in conflict not only in the resolution of conflict, but in building very good relationships. Africa society is diversified both in culture and religious activities, thus this diversity affects the way dispute and conflict is being managed.

Best, (2006) identified two categories of social formation on traditional leadership respectively. The first is characterized by a centralized authority and State systems presided by the Paramount Ruler who in the Bekwarra society is regarded as (*Ushie be 'Eshie'ka akpa*) and his Council of Elders otherwise known as (*Ukum' Udiara*) In this formation, headed by the paramount Ruler takes the form of a Judicial Arbitration, there is little negotiation or mediation. The second category of state system is known as the segmented or egalitarian political system where the setting for dispute resolution is a neutral ground such as the village square, open hut etc. Usually, in African Traditional Conflict Management settings, Women are kept out of shrines and participation in the entire process as the exclusive rights to resolve or manage conflicts completely resides in the adult males. but decisions taken are meant to be binding on both women and children.

Jeong (2007) is of the opinion that, Conflict Management in a traditional setting helps to reinforce coercive policy by conforming to dominant social norms. Traditional conflict management as a group of process in which members of the community are involved in promoting peace, the process of peacebuilding therefore put extraordinary pressure on the

wrong-doer to comply with the process and embrace peace (Abua, 2009; Abua, 2008; Robert & Gboko, 2020; Zartman, 2000),

Peacebuilding

This is synonymous with creating a new social environment that advances a sense of confidence and improvement in the condition of life. Peacebuilding is actually a process that require proper action and coordination among the various actors involved because it aims to resolve injustice in nonviolent ways and eventually transform the structural conditions that generate deadly conflict. Peacebuilding can include conflict prevention, conflict management, conflict resolution and transformation, eventually, post- conflict reconciliation. (Jeong, 2007). Also sees Peacebuilding as a process that creates opportunity to mend relationships, revive constitutional institutions and traditional authority, social facilities through putting in place schemes that can guide parties in conflict to be in unity and prosperous. From interviews conducted and information gathered revealed that traditional leaders in Bekwarra make conscious effort through peaceful and positive transformation of conflicts all geared towards Building peace (Robert and Gboko,2020).

Traditional leaders

In the traditional conflict resolution system, Chiefs and the Council of Elders are involved in peacemaking and peacebuilding, they have always sought to create a balance between parties in the resolution process, Chief Dominic Ogakwu, explained in an interview conducted that; Reconciling the conflicting parties and restoring peace and harmony to the Bekwarra society is always the goal of every chief. As the people have the Trust and confidence that they will act impartially.

Traditional leaders were regarded as old people with wisdom, which have the capacity to take decisions, mediate and reconcile parties in dispute with the sole purpose of building peace. (Omagu, 2013) But in the contemporary era, they are regarded as people with economic power and social status. The Council of Elders also known as *Ikum udiara* in the Bekwarra society, serves as the local governing body in the socio-political and religious history of the

people. It is an equivalent of modern-day cabinet. It comprises of Chiefs, clan heads, Village heads, Chiefdom Elders, male heads of different family units. They serve as advisers and meet periodically to deliberate and formulate policies, take decisions on village matters. (Omagu, 2013).

The Overview of Institution of Traditional Leadership in Bekwarra

From historical antecedents, before the advent of colonial rule, traditional leaders' roles in Bekwarra are numerous and revolved protecting, guiding, defending and providing for the needs of the society they served as well as acting as intermediary between the departed ancestors, the living and the unborn. It also noted that their holistic approaches involved legislative, executive, judicial, religious, social and cultural contents. Their multifarious functions were carried out with specific functionaries whose roles was hallowed by ancient tradition though each entity carry out its assigned role in accordance with customary law. Omagu (2012) identified three categories of Bekwarra traditional leadership thus; those whose titles are conferred on them by superior traditional rulers in appreciation for their contribution in community development.

The second category are holders of titles as a result of recent recognition of such positions. They could perform some executive functions which are defined and restricted by the same laws that created or gave them recognition. The third category consist of full time executive traditional title holders who exercise executive roles even before colonialism. They derive their executive functions from traditions and are simply referred to as traditional rulers. Despite these categories all three plays complimentary roles and have the welfare and interest of their subject as their primary responsibility. Chief Dom Ogakwu during an oral interview reiterated that 'among the Bekwarra people, Chiefs are icons of honor and as such their position are guided by traditions with particular reference to ascension to office and performance of their roles'. It should however be stated that, once a man is installed as chief, he occupies that position and carry out the roles for life (Abua,2009a; Abua,2008; Robert and Gboko,2020).

Conflict Management and Peacebuilding in Bekwarra.

In Bekwarra, the Chiefs council known as (*Ikim Udiara*) like most African societies was mostly comprised of the Paramount Ruler, Chiefs, Elders male heads of different family units etc. prominent among the elders is the *Idengeli* who is the spokesman and mouth piece of the village council, who is chosen on the account of his personal qualities such as imposing and commanding personality, oratory, knowledge of the community law and custom. At trials he voiced the judgement of the council and any one desiring to see the traditional leaders must go through the *Idengeli* this process is admirable, democratic and transparent as it involves the holistic process of negotiations, mediations, adjudication and reconciliation in its simplest form.

The concept of Justice has a highly mythical meaning originating from a supreme God and transcending down to the people through the intercession of the ancestors. It is because of this belief that customary laws were obeyed by the people because they felt that any deviation from that would evoke the wrath of the ancestors against them. The following strategies are adopted by the *Ikim Udiara* (Chief council) in managing conflict and building peace in Bekwarra Abua,2009a; Abua,2008; Robert &Gboko,2020).

Negotiation

In the Bekwarra custom in as much as some traditional structures crumbled under the weight of the conflict, negotiation still remains an effective tool in managing dispute and building peace in the community. The focus of the negotiator is not to determine who is right or wrong rather they are particularly concerned with the restoration of relationships that has already being severed or broken as a result of dispute. Chief Adie Idiege, a Chief at Uduo Gakem Village threw more light on the roles Chiefs play in the negotiation process Thus;

The predominant clashes that happen in Gakem is land dispute, often times marital disputes and other family related disputes are also brought up for deliberations and possible resolutions. the stable economic activity is farming therefore due to the large number of wives and household the farmland is always not enough and in contention, he went on to explain that sometimes if the head of the house dies untimely

without sharing the land it may bring dispute and, in that case, the elders intervene by negotiating terms with the conflicting parties. Though he also said that age grade/group also helps in negotiating or resolving parties in conflict.

Momoh, (2021) observed that, the preservation of ties, relationships and stability of the community are the core of traditional negotiation processes. He went on to state that the paramount chief and his council in negotiation do not act as leaders but as ‘wise counsels and the eyes of the gods’. Because elders’ function as the centerpieces not only to reestablish peace among the people but also with the environment and community. therefore, conflict management and peacebuilding through negotiating with parties in dispute is one of the roles of traditional leaders in Bekwarra.

Mediation

Customary mediation still plays an important role in conflict prevention, management and peace building in the Bekwarra society especially where western judicial institutions are not effective or even available. It remains within the purview of the Council of Elders also known as *Ikim Udiara* who is the third party to determine the outcome of the process. They are seen as neutral, impartial and honest broker that functions as ombudsman intervening between individuals, groups and the community, tempering mercy with justice and sentencing with integration. Zartman (2000). Once a case is reported to the Paramount ruler or Village head, he consults with the *Ikim Udiara*, and sets a day for the hearing of the case both parties in dispute are asked to appear on a given date, often times their age grades are also present in the meeting. Most cases brought before the council revolves around land dispute, petty crimes, debts, chieftaincy crises, disputes over inheritance etc.

In Bekwarra, Chiefs and Elders are seen as icons of tradition and identity, therefore are perceived as authentic and legitimate mediators in healing community dispute and building peace, for instance, land disputes are based on historic titles to land and the elders and chiefs are well suited to know about owners, so they mediate to broker lasting peace between parties in dispute. (Best, 2006) stated that in more structured societies, the Chief presides over

problem solving and facilitates the mediation process along with others that supports him, but it is basically a group responsibility to intervene and resolve community dispute before they escalate into large scale violence or even prevent the resumption of previous violence. This is done with the intention of quickly restoring broken relationships, healing and mending whatever is broken during the conflict and modifying the conflict by moving from hostility to harmony (Abua,2009a; Abua,2008; Robert &Gboko,2020; Zartman,2000).

The *Ikim Udiara*, is the mediator therefore functions to facilitate communication and dialogue between conflicting parties through ensuring that the parties in dispute have heard each other properly and now have sufficient understanding of the others perceptions and interest, because dialogue between adversaries helps to change their mindset and image and facilitates a better understanding of the others position, concerns and restraint.

Adjudication

Customary Adjudication is semi-formal in nature; they follow well- structured procedures based on the interpretation of customary law jurisprudence. in that the parties to a conflict agree both in principle and practice to submit their case for outside arbitration and to comply with the outcome. Colonialism came with the introduction of legal courts of competent jurisdiction to try cases and resolve disputes. Though not without the colonialist acknowledging the existence of Judicial system already in place. little wonder, (Sir James Marshall in Omagu 2012) has this testimony to say about the efficiency of the West African Justice system.

These people have their own laws and customs, which are better adapted to their condition than the complicated system of English jurisprudence. The adoption of them would, it maintained, be more conducive to the best interest of all than the present system.

According to him, the customary courts operated according to traditions and customary laws, obedience to the law was maintained through custom and religion as well as established patterns of sanction. A customary law is regarded by the members of the traditional community as binding on both a traditional leader and the people alike. customary

Adjudication is more often than not, performed in the presence of the chief's council also known as *Ikim Udiara* the Council helps the Chief to sit in judgment and to unravel some intricate legal issues tied to the dispute. Both plaintiff and the defendant are asked to deposit a certain amount of money which then shared by the presiding chiefs/elders. on the appointed day of the hearing, litigants appeared before the council and other participants who listens to their presentation.

When delivering the judgement, the spokesman relies on proverbs and idioms because they convey wisdom with customary interpretations, unlike the formal adjudication which is represented professionally and legally. Once found guilty of an offence, the wrong doer is fined to pay all the expenses incurred by the other person or even the court expenses. The customary judicial system has strong mechanisms for enforcing judicial decisions reached. It is worthy of note that serious crimes like, rape, murder, etc may attract stiffer punishment or penalty like banishment or ostracism. While lesser crimes may fine money, sweeping of markets and other public places (Odey,2007; Ogundipe-Ieslie,1994; Ojogbane,2006),

Reconciliation

The main thrust of traditional Bekwarra justice system is often to bring closure to disputes between people living in same community based on restoration, cooperation and harmonious coexistence. For instance, the restorative justice has been the dominant model of criminal justice throughout most of human history for perhaps the entire world's people. (Momoh, 2021) argued that, reconciliation is being both a locus and focus in conflict management, resolution and peacebuilding in customary Africa. According to him, reconciliation as a locus involves the creation of social space where both truth and forgiveness are validated and joined together, rather than being forced into an encounter in which one must win over the other or envisioned as fragmented and separated parts. these elements form a fundamental challenge in modern conflicts. Therefore, conflict transformation must be rooted in the socio – psychological and spiritual dimensions of the traditional reconciliation process.

Boege, (2006) notes that African customary legal processes “Actually focuses more on the victim rather than on the offender”, According to him, the goal of the justice was to vindicate the victim and protect his or her rights. Imposing fines punishment or compensation on the offender is actually meant for the healing of the victim rather than to punish the offender. Because compensation according to (Nsereko,1992; in Omagu, 2012) goes beyond restitution. It could also represent a form of apology and atonement by the offender to the victim and community.

Land Disputes

As noted by Omagu, (2012), Bekwarra like most traditional African societies has an agrarian based economy with an extraordinary attachment to land that until recently land was a communal property which could be partitioned to individuals and used for farming or building purposes, the Chiefs or village Head to some extend was the administrator/allocator of the community land and the people and any member who wanted a piece of it either cultivate or build on went to him for it. Westernization coupled with method of cultivation and the dire economic condition provoked tensions over land, and at the event of boundary dispute or trespass, it is adjudicated by the elders/chiefs through traditional history. Although land disputes could turn violent sometimes, (Chief Adie Idiege, the village head of Uduo, Gakem), in an interview stated that” When land dispute becomes violent, the ownership of the land is being traced from way back by the family head or presiding elders and the elders ascertain the right ownership of that land through history and demarcations made with palm frond or other economic tree”.

Marital/ Family issues

In African societies other community members are expected to be closely involved in children upbringing. from early childhood a child is taught the value of peace, love for one’s neighbor, being a brother’s keeper and the institutions and methods of proper behaving through folktales, idioms, proverbs and songs the child is taught to adopt reconciliation and socially harmonious postures, shun win -at -all attitude cost in conflict. (Omagu, 2012) assert that some reasons for

tension within the family like idleness, irresponsibility, and laziness on the part of the children normally invite displeasure and disillusion from parents, encouraging and supporting healthy marriages is very important to the Bekwarra people because a simple domestic squabble between husband and wife will bring together a small group of immediate neighbors acting in an advisory capacity, will initially seek to reduce imminent violence and attempt to resolve the dispute through mediation.

Inheritance issues

At the death of the owner of a property, the deceased son/sons inherit the properties, as Omagu, (2012) believed that in this regard, justice is more or less practiced in terms of equity rather than equality, according to him, it is only the male child/children that can inherit their late father's property or in the event of absence of a male child the deceased property is inherited by his brothers. The Bekwarra custom actually do not regard women as heir or heir apparent to their father's property. this socio- cultural practices also influenced both indigenous and formal law (customary law) in conceiving a wife as part of the husband's economic unit. meaning that a wife's claim to her husband's property is limited or not existence at all.

Theft

Stealing is frowned at and completely detested by the Bekwarra people, it is a very serious abomination to steal things relating to people's vital interest and occupation. Indeed, thieves are treated with the severity their crimes deserve. The penalties usually focus on compensation and restitution in order to restore the status quo, rather than punishment.

Social Outcast and accusation of witchcraft

Traditionally, there is widespread belief in witchcraft across Africa, it symbolizes anger, jealousy, greed, lust, relentless secret crime and everything evil. accused witches could be young or old, and can be male or female, oftentimes people protect themselves against their despicable actions through different kinds of ritual like offering sacrifices, making and wearing of charms etc. when one is publicly accused of being a witch, one basic approach adopted by the elders to test the accused innocence is through the process of (trial by ordeal).

This could take different forms including oat taking (*Uchon*) or even an appeal by the gods of the land to kill the accuser if found guilty. Ostracism is another punishment given to the accused if found guilty.

Communal clashes

Bekwarra people had lived, peacefully with their neighbours right from the precolonial era, though tension and insecurity were not uncommon between neighbouring communities and communal strife could arise as a result of boundary dispute, feud for farmlands, murder of a member of a particular community, as well as market quarrels. Resolution of conflict takes the form of negotiation and plea bargaining between the two towns.

Murder

In the Bekwarra traditional conflict management system, (Omagu, 2012) Observed that there was a clear recognition of the distinction between the secular and sacred, and between crimes against a person and a crime against the society. Crimes against society such as murder is often weighed more and called for a greater retribution because of its dislocate and destructive impact on the society. Crimes like murder is considered as defilement against the community which calls for atonement, propitiation of gods or ancestors and punishment which is as severe as banishment and even death sentence. The illustrations and discussion above clearly show that Africans and especially Bekwarra had mechanisms of social control and legal system that was predicated on their customs and traditions though these mechanisms have been weakened by colonization and by extension, westernization.

Strength and challenges of Traditional Conflict Management in Bekwarra

As stated earlier, African societies have always had its conflict resolution mechanisms which was deployed and used to strengthen and maintain social order among generality of the people. Through culture, the heritage and of the people is being preserved and handed down from generation to generation. One of such is the traditional methods of conflict management which is imperative and necessary, because it provides social order and fairness to everyone alike. Though not without challenges which was surmountable through traditional practices which

are accepted by the people. These established principles of pattern of behaviour, customs, norms and traditions are not without its strengths and challenges (Abua,2008b).

Strengths

- a. The African justice system focus on the restoration of social harmony and social bonds between disputants. Which eliminates deep rooted hatred and promotes trusted intimacy and fosters true reconciliation.
- b. The traditional African justice system in Bekwarra is built on confident, reliability and truth therefore much emphasis is placed on truthfulness of statement of disputant than on the superiority of arguments,
- c. This system promotes the culture of dialogue, truth and reconciliation which are enshrined in the constituted authority, in dispute resolution or management, to foster and install true peace, dialogue plays greater role.
- d. The open nature of the proceedings of Dispute resolution scene with the elders serve as a form of deterrence because nothing will be concealed.
- e. Bekwarra justice system especially during the pre-colonial era have spiritual component as traditional healers, seers, diviners etc take part in the process to seek the truth at the core of the dispute.

Challenges

Despite the strengths and utility of African traditional justice system, certain challenges abound that may prevent its complete application in African societies.

- a. Traditional institutions are politicized and instrumentalized by the elites for variety of reasons; too much state involvement in the determination of the jurisdiction, mandate and conduct of the process which dilutes the institutions independence thus posing as danger of state centrism in local initiatives.
- b. It is regarded as inferior in comparism to the formal justice system.
- c. The absence of clear, written constitution for coordinating the activities and processes can create complications and render some of the resolution processes futile.

- d. It is culture specific and not flexible thereby making it difficult for people who are not from a particular culture to subscribe or respond positively to the processes involved.
- e. The system relies solely on the contribution, knowledge and expertise of the Elders/traditional leaders in managing conflict as opposed to professional mediators in a situation where elders are not readily available to manage a dispute. It may result to postponement or even escalation.

Conclusion

Every traditional and cultural milieu has its own unique mechanism for managing conflict and building peace. For instance, while the western world has the police and other judicial arms to detect crime and manage conflict, most African communities still relies on the traditional method of oath-taking to getting at the truth. Though most African societies are increasingly becoming westernized they still rely on the paramount rulers, chiefs and village heads to settle disputes and maintain peace. This occurred due to the failure of western methods of conflict resolution to address African traditional conflict beyond expectation.

This paper recommends as follows:

1. The traditional method of conflict resolution should be revived and strengthened especially in African communities that have long neglected theirs for effective utilization.
2. That traditional leaders at all levels should be given maximum support through adequate remuneration to prevent bribery and corruption amongst the elders.
3. The traditional laws should be enshrined into various state constitutional laws
4. There is need to develop an enforcement mechanism for traditional dispute resolution processes to be carried out. In the Bekwarra system its observed that in the modern times offenders barely carry out or even undertake their punishment for crimes committed anymore.

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CROSS-BORDER TERRORISM AND ITS IMPACT ON ECONOMY AND HUMAN SECURITY IN NORTH EASTERN NIGERIA: BORNO IN PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

This research examines cross-border terrorism and its impact on economy and human security in North Eastern Nigeria and Borno State. The methodology applied in this research is survey with qualitative analysis to verify the data. Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was used in gathering the data with the assistance of some social workers in the area of study and a telephone conversation as an indirect interview to ascertain the experience of those who are involved within the border communities in Borno environ. Findings revealed that the communities along the border area are seriously neglected over time by the government and left in an appalling condition an opportunity used by Boko-Haram and other terrorist groups to dehumanize them and also some participants in FGD complained that social injustice, unemployment, improper management of security, inefficient government apparatus to give dividend of democracy are posing factors behind human insecurity and displacement in the area. This research concluded that even though, cross-border crimes is a complex one, government and citizens have responsibilities to perform to safe guide human displacement for economic development at large. This research also recommends that Government at all levels should try as much as possible to put some measures in place for human survival as a matter of priority. Protecting life and properties coupled with human dignity should be done out of sentiment and with political will so as to address the problem of cross-border terrorism holistically.

Keywords: Cross-Border, Economy, Human Security, Terrorism

Introduction

Cross-border trade activities in north-eastern Nigeria is not a new phenomenon because its predated history with precedented socio-economic growth and development. The activities along border areas have transformed livelihood creating multi-cultural atmosphere as a result of mutual and peaceful communities' integration and inter-relation which existed for century.

Borno State shares borders with Niger from the north, Chad and Cameroon at the eastern part of west African sub-region.

Previously, the Lake Chad basin provided conducive weather and climate condition with influx of people for business opportunities, farming activities, livestock, herding, fishing, long and distance trades, coupled with various skilled and unskilled specialization which were the major stimulus which strengthen bond of inter-state peaceful relation without peculiar rancor (Olukayode, 2018). The whole region remained peaceful without anticipating that the Lake Chad basin will shrink with massive economic collapse, which today has left a huge vacuum, and the region reaping the consequences of various crimes such as very high poverty and unemployment rate, money laundering, smuggling of hard drugs, leading to the local proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) (Prosper, 2006).

The combination of these factors highlights some of the worst scenario cases of border-related crimes, amongst which include terrorists' activities, etc. There was a report of proliferation of CBRNE by the ISIS, which shares strong ties with Nigeria's Boko Haram terrorists, leading to the possibility that they could launch attacks in the area in the future through using these dangerous weapons. Thus, these kind of dangerous weapons at the hand of terrorists raises concerns about the need for a counter measure strategy, as stated in the latest version of the National Security Strategy 2019.

These documents, released by the office of the National Security Adviser (ONS), indicated that, currently there are about 857 million SALWs in circulation globally, of which 10 million landed in African continent, while one million out of ten had since in-road into Nigeria. Nigeria's porous borders allow for the proliferation of light weapons, which are critically argued and concluded they found their way into the country from the Maghreb as a result of uprisings in the following countries Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali and Libya. The ECOWAS Protocol on free movement of persons, goods and services has also created a wide gap that criminals exploit to facilitate cross-border trafficking of all sorts. In

North-East Nigeria, the movement of people and arms across borders has created severe security problems in recent years (Ya'u, 2021).

Cross-border crime and terrorism activities along the northeastern corridor of Nigeria has not been adequately addressed and given much attention in the volumes of literature especially on its negative effects on trade related matters. Due to the strategic location of the area as informal cross-border activities, the frequent violence and terrorism has become so complex and dynamic. The inability of the stakeholders to counter measures effectively brought about contemporary train in the border criminal activities. Previous studies confirmed that since 2009 some part of Northeastern Nigeria has become the epicenter of cross-border insurgency and terrorism by the Boko Haram notorious sect which their activities had crippled both economy and human security at large. In view of that, this research intended to bridge the existing gap because besides the tragedy of loss of lives and properties, the activities of these terrorist groups constitute a major constrain on both economic and human securities in part of north-eastern region especially the border areas. It is against this back-drop that this study intended to examine the impact of cross-border terrorism activities on economic and human security in Borno State, Nigeria.

Conceptual Analysis

Terrorism

There are currently a number of debates among scholars and researchers in social sciences, particularly those whose research work is on the issues of war and peace. These debates are centred around the notion of “new” and “old” wars, and were sparked by scholars such as Kaldor, who argued that new wars are significantly distinct from old wars in many ways. In her writing, she described new wars as “a mixture of war, organized crime and massive violations of human rights in which actors are both global and local, public and private. These wars are fought for particularistic political goals using tactics of terror and destabilization that are theoretically outlawed by the rules of modern warfare. Following this argument, this article presents a similar view: that new wars are distinct from old wars. In describing old wars,

Kaldor explains that they were fought by regular armed forces of states, and were financed by the respective states. To a greater extent, these wars were fought within the dictates of international humanitarian law (IHL) or the law of armed conflict (LOAC) (Lweendo, 2019).

Shimko (2018) has varied opinion from other evaluation on terrorism. He stated that “the indiscriminate use or threat of violence to advance social, political, economic, or religious objectives by creating a climate of fear.” In another argument posed by Rourke (2018) outlined some characteristics of terrorism. Thus; “terrorism is (1) violence; (2) carried out by individuals, non-governmental organizations, or covert government agents or units; that (3) specifically target civilians; (4) uses clandestine attack methods, such as car bombs and hijacked airliners; and (5) attempts to influence politics” (Shimko, 2018; Rourke, 2018). Adil (2022), has different opinion in regards to terrorism. His argument concurred based on the United Nation expression that involved “any act intended to inflict death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants in order to intimidate a community or force a government or an international organization to do or refrain from doing something, which are crimes under international terrorism conventions and protocols and are not justifiable by political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious, or other comparable grounds, and urges all States to prohibit such acts and, if they cannot be prevented, then ensure that they are punished with consequences of grave nature (Aadil, 2022).

Human Security

Since the early 1990s, the term ‘human security’ has been used to signal a shift in the ways security is viewed across the world. The concept was meant to demonstrate a “paradigm” shift from the traditional concept of security, which predominantly emphasized military defense of state interests and territorial boundaries (Paris, 2001). This traditional notion of security was the type which shaped many national security policies and architectures, especially during the cold war period. However, while the traditional security or state-centric security was meant to strengthen and to stabilize state governance institutions and to ensure state monopoly over the means of force and violence (Civic, 2011).

As argued by Luckham (2003), part of the reason is that the security structures, which emerged following state building at independence, still reflected the repressive tendencies characterized by colonial rule. In many instances across Africa, these colonial legacies have persisted and the search for ways to reduce and replace those tendencies still remains a challenge. Especially within the Cold-war period, it was thought to be necessary that the post-independence governance process required a certain political posture which had to be extensively sensitive to the external ideological influences (Luckham, 2003). This undermined political accountability at home, especially in the ways state institutions were built to protect ruling regimes as opposed to the state (Bryden, 2015; Joseph, 2019; Viviane, 2018; Okeke, 2012).

Literature Review

Freedom (2014) investigates the circumstances surrounding Boko Haram's transnational reach and regional attacks in his research argued that Cameroon become the center stage of organized cross-border attacks which increased insecurity along Lake Chad basin. The research findings show that the Boko Haram deadly activities created a transnational consequence and growing violence which has affected both security and economic lives of the people and created vacuum and instability in Nigeria. He concluded that misguided responses would lead to disastrous, long-term consequences and outright failure. However, if multinationals response fails to defeat Boko Haram there could be some chance that the group could re-emerged on the collaborating border countries, considering the after math of East African countries where Al-Shabab in Somalia mounted frequent border attacks (Freedom, 2014). Vivian (2018) discusses the impact on border security trade and economic collaboration between Nigeria and Cameroon.

The research finding indicate that poverty is among the key element that cause cross-border crimes which as a result led to the influx of illegal aliens and weapons to boost the operations of Boko Haram in the Northeast. Another finding revealed that economic factors such as very low levels of per capita GDP, contributed to the failure of states, thereby, linking

the relationship of the variables between terrorism and income which galvanized the situation in the boundary borders (Viviane, 2018). Samuel (2020), examine insurgency in the border's communities of North-Eastern Nigeria. Findings in the field survey show that the border communities were seriously neglected by the government who are saddle with the responsibility of protecting life and properties but failed to do so, therefore, people were left with their predicaments and social problems unchecked, and for that reason they have no available option than to regroup themselves to defend and fight back against Boko Haram aggressiveness (Samuel, 2018).

It has been observed that the Nigeria's borders are marked with hundreds of footpaths crisscrossing to neighboring countries of Cameroon, Niger, Chad extended to Mali terrorists base, failed state of Libya as well as chaotic state of Sudan. The finding estimated that there are over 250 footpaths ranging from Maiduguri/Damaturu along the axis which connects to Cameroon, Niger and Chad respectively. These channels or networks are probably unknown or known to security agencies but could be manned, secure, and protected from flow of arms and ammunition trafficked into Nigeria. Boko Haram have their merchants, suppliers who transport the goods through illegal means through cross-border footpaths (Olakunle, 2015).

From previous researches, findings indicate that Nigeria is the biggest economic partner among West African sub-Saharan communities. Despite the consistent conflict, uprisings, war, clashes, coupled with ravaging crisis everywhere it did not deter the movement of goods and people along these borders even during the Bakassi dispute. Besides that, there is huge gap between the rich and poor in Nigeria despite the enormous wealth in the country and this disparity of uneven development in northern region triggered human insecurity and created a fertile ground for anti-state groups, such as Boko Haram. The trans-border incursions of Boko Haram into border villages, towns, no doubt, has contributed to depletion of the fragile economic activities and the government closure of all Nigerian border which has also paralyzed human development in particular (Viviane, 2018).

Human security is an aspect that has consistently generated concerns with a paradigm shift from traditional concept of security worldwide. Human security is considered as “people centered”, hence, it drew the attention of institutions on human individual and their societal structure globally. This focuses on differentiating human security from the objective of protecting state territories that galvanized security strategies in the nineteenth century. More so, the concept of human security shifts a balance to focus on persons regardless of gender, race, religion, ethnicity, citizenship or other distinguishing characteristics (Sabina, 2003). Majority of African states are at risk of global health, threats, frequent natural and manmade disasters, devastating conflicts, violent extremism, terrorism and related humanitarian crises such as forced displacement of people, destruction of their properties, thereby, truncating previous development and growth of the large population drastically. According to Aminu,

Boko Haram’s fierce attacks triggered the displacement of the majority of citizens who presently occupied many of IDPs camps across the country. It is important to note that out of the victims of the most violent attacks, women, girls and children have been the most affected, with the abduction and forced marriage of girls, which is a defining feature of the Boko Haram insurgency. It is estimated that over 50% of the IDPs population are children, nearly half of the people impacted by the conflict are under the age of 18 years and they are mostly at risk of violation of their rights (Aminu, 2020).

However, the UN Refugee Agency reported that:

During the commemoration of the 16-Days of activism for 2021 in Borno, Adamawa, and Yobe states, UNHCR and partners reached nearly 2,600 individuals through community engagement and advocacy. The Borno state Government unilaterally close Bakassi and Teacher village IDP, Camps in the Maiduguri metropolitan council, hosting nearly 63,000 women, men and children (12,294 households) (UNHCR, 2021).

So, in terms of human insecurity and economic backwardness, the Boko Haram menace have done more harm than good that for decades to come, the communities in the region specifically Borno would not regain so quickly.

The Impact of Cross-Border Terrorism on Economy and Human Security in North Eastern Nigeria

Having discussed the various empirical studies on cross-border crimes and human security in Nigeria, particularly in Borno state, it is paramount to also discuss the findings from some of the community's members who experience bitterly the horrific terrorist activities. Findings from the group interview response and phone calls admitted that the communities along the borders are constantly neglected for over some decades in an appalling condition without proper attention and care by the government. Again, some complained that social injustice, unemployment, improper managing of security, inefficient government apparatus to give dividend of democracy are posing factors behind human insecurity and displacement. Some respondents in the selected border communities affirmed that the entire community are often times left in the hands of Boko Haram and other terrorist groups who tortures, maltreat and met-out inhumane treatment on them due to their vulnerability. Some religious respondents testified that Boko Haram members lack full knowledge of Islamic religion and those who know the religion misused it to justify their cruelty and despicable activities.

Other respondents revealed that there are some social forces which caused human insecurity and displacement such as social imbalance and economic inequality without job security etc. This is because people can no longer go back to their farms for fear of being kidnapped or ambush and killed by the terrorist. Some respondents believed that trading and business activities are very difficult to exercise because of rampage killing everywhere within and outside the Borno metropolis by the terrorists, and virtually 70% of local and international businesses has collapsed due to restriction of movement of person and goods which led to restiveness among teeming youth, an opportunity harnessed by the terrorist to recruit them. Some internally displaced persons who are also respondents admit that the current administration of Governor Zulum is doing very well by reviving both human and economic developments through various supports to alleviate suffering by building, rebuilding and reconstruction of infrastructures, reintegration, reconciliation measures to resuscitate the lost glory of the State.

Conclusion

Hunger, poverty and social problems are the major constrain by which the various terrorist groups used as an opportunity to wage their attack and gain many captives. However, the impact of cross-border crimes and terrorism are complex one that need collective responsibility to tackle. It's quite obvious that securing life and properties are government responsibilities especially, the protection and defence of the territorial integrity of Nigerian sovereignty from internal and external aggression. Likewise, citizens are required to give their maximum cooperation and support to security agencies with credible information on criminal activities. It's quite obvious that every nation big or small are proud of its human diversity, therefore, cannot bear to lose certain digit of its populace, because the consequences of human displacement is not a small tragedy on economic growth and development of a nation.

1. Recommendations
2. Government at all levels should try as much as possible to put some measures in place for the survival of majority of its citizens.
3. Protecting life and properties coupled with human dignity should be done out of sentiment and with political will so as to address the problem holistically.
4. Proper security apparatus and surveillance equipment should be provided, and installed in areas prone to criminal activities like the border areas.
5. Well trained and equipped security personnel are required in the area under study especially in border areas for effective safeguard of lives and properties.
6. Terrorism is a global major concern; therefore, a global solution should be overemphasized by collaboration with the global community in combating the Boko Haram activities.

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CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN HOMOGENEOUS SOCIETIES: A STUDY OF LAND DISPUTES IN IGALALAND OF KOGI STATE

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ABSTRACT

The paper examines conflict the homogenous society of Igalaland, especially as it concerns land disputes, which is a major source of conflict in the locality in Kogi State. The objectives of the study were to identify the major causes of land disputes in Igala land; examine the consequences of these disputes and to proffer solutions that will mitigate the problem. The study adopted explanatory research design which is qualitative in nature by using secondary method of data collection that include textbooks, journal articles, government documents, periodicals and internet materials. The study found that the main causes of land dispute in Igala include poverty, unemployment, exploitation and oppression, immorality, inordinate political ambitions, family/clan rivalry and domination. The consequences of land disputes in Igala land include destruction of lives and properties, decline in commercial activities as well as agricultural practices, sacking/vacation of ancestral home or land, enmity and vendetta. Measures that can be taken to end land disputes in Igala land include proper delineation of ancient landmarks and enforcement of compliance, setting up and proper mobilization of arbitration committees or panels, frequent cultural and political education on land. The study recommends among others that Kogi state government should put in place more robust institutional mechanisms that are proactive and have the capacity to detect early warning signals that breed land conflict in Igala communities.

Keywords: Democracy, Election, Political Participation, Youth, Nigeria

Introduction

Conflict is a fundamental feature of human societies. Conflict occurs in all organized human societies over issues associated with the distribution of values and resources, political and economics. While not all conflicts always progress and transform into violent confrontation and engagement, history is however, full of instances both past and contemporary where disagreements over allocation of values degenerated into violent physical confrontation.

Recurring incidences of land conflicts in some parts of Nigeria have become a major national problem in contemporary Nigerian society.

Conflicts which scholars simply identify as clash of interest, is as old as mankind and has formed a salient feature of the human society. It is a major problem in any society as it remains inevitable factor in human existence since the communities, social groups or societies are structured and organized to achieve the goals set by the organs and members of the society (Itumo and Nwobashi, 2017). In pursuit of these various individual or group interests, there are bound to be disagreement in some means of achieving these goals which result in disagreement. This has made conflicts inevitable in any society no matter its level of development, prompting Orji (2015) to believe that conflicts cannot be totally expunged from the inter-relationships that exist among individuals, groups, communities or societies at large.

Kogi state is made up of three senatorial districts namely, the east, the west and the central (Ali, Etila and Maji, 2012; Tukool, 2018). The Eastern Senatorial district is predominantly made up of Igala people who undoubtedly, are not just the majority in the district but also the largest ethnic group in the entire State (Onuche, Opaluwa and Edoka, 2014, Paul and Edino, 2015, Nasir, 2016 and Igala History, 2018). Two other major tribes that make up the senatorial district are the Bassas and the Ebiras. The Bassas and the Ebiras live in one out of the nine (9) local governments that constitute the senatorial district while the remaining eight (8) local governments are occupied predominantly by the Igalas. In each of these nine (9) local governments however, these three major tribes co-habit. For instance, in Bassa local government that is predominantly made up of the Bassas and Ebiras, there are Igalas in their large numbers along with other ethnicities like the Hausas, the Iboes, the Yorubas and the Idomas to mention these few.

Igala is an ethnic group in Nigeria. The home of Igala people is situated on the Eastern side of the river Niger and Benue confluence. The pictures painted about Igalas are about the same with the Bassas. The Bassas lived harmoniously with one another and had coexisted with the Ebiras and other ethnicities within Bassa Local Government. The Bassas had commonly

shared boundaries in many communities such as Agodo, Odenyi, Odulu, Okoliko, Oguma and Sheria to mention these few with their Igala neighbors. They had had common farms and common boundaries and used to share fire to roast yams and discussed on common issues as farm neighbors. The same could be said about the interrelationships between the Bassas, the Ebiras and the Igalas. In fact, between the Ebiras, the Bassa Nges and the Igalas in this local government, there had been series of intermarriages.

Prior to the creation of Kogi state on 1st October, 1996 and its transition to democratic rule of the country – Nigeria on May 29, 1999 in which the people that constituted the state had several rashes of communal violent conflicts that were land induced. It was believed that the incessant clashes between the warring communities within the area that later became Kogi State and some bordering communities from neighbouring states would be the two turning points – the realization of a state and the subsequent transition to democratic rule which gave the people the opportunity to be governed by their own people. Equally, it was believed that it would give room to the creation of more local government, more autonomous communities, the State Security Service Command, the Office of Special Adviser on Internal Security, the Ministry of Border, Peace and Conflict Resolution, and the Judicial System, which are institutions for checkmating and peaceful resolution of conflicts. Despite the creation of these institutions, the spate of land conflicts has remained increasingly alarming and these conflicts have defiled all management and resolution mechanisms put in place by the state government.

The continued rise in the re-emergence of land conflicts among people who are seemingly same ethnically, religiously and culturally homogeneous group has continued to be a serious source of worry to both academics, Kogi state government and all stakeholders in the peace project. Notwithstanding these worries, the magnitude of loss of lives and property with the attendant displacement of thousands of people and the serious implications this menace has for governance and development has not attracted the much-needed studies. Very few scholars have narrowly focused on some cases of the conflict such as Itumo (2014); Oji, Eme and Nwoba (2014); Oji, Eme and Nwoba (2015), without a comprehensive study of these

land conflicts in the state and their implications for governance and development of the state. It is this lacuna that this study has filled.

But today, to many people's utter dismay, many Igala and Bassa communities, villages and towns have become fearsome and deadly due to land conflicts within Igala communities and other neighboring communities (Omede, 2019). This basically results from land dispute in Igalaland. It therefore becomes necessary to investigate this phenomenon with a view to determining the best way to mitigate this problem to ensure peace, security and progress in Igalaland.

Conceptual Framework

The concept of conflict

Conflicts seen from different perspectives, connote a serious or protracted disagreement or an existing state of disagreement or hostility between two or more people, group, communities or societies. (Nicholson, 1992). It is often seen as clash of interest, which shows that two or more parties do not agree and are as such on two different parallels on the same issue. It is a deliberate attempt to oppose, resist or coerce the will of another or others as observed by Alabi (2010). This shows that one group is in opposition to the views or position of the other. As there are different causes of conflict, so are their different interpretation to the concept. In politics, conflict could be seen to exist when two or more groups engage in a struggle over values and claims to status, power, and resources which the intention of the other group is to neutralize or eliminate the rivals (Jega, 2003), and as a demonstration of disagreement, it often leads to violence.

When groups pursue incompatible goals, there are bound to be disagreement, and these opposing views may result into hostility. In some cases, conflicts may not necessarily lead to direct or sharp confrontation, but when goal differences reach a crescendo, a manifestation of actual hostility or clashes is inevitable. Conflicts also connotes different perceptions that may not necessarily result in confrontation. In this way, it may simply mean different things to different people depending on the situation, as noted by Onwe (2006). These

aspects include, religion, customs, cosmologies or values. Such differences may never culminate indirect and sharp confrontations. They note as well that on the other hand however, different perceptions, values or world-views may transcend just differences and result in the extreme connotation of conflicts.

Communal conflict

Communal conflicts can be described as a struggle between non state groups that are organized along a shared communal identity over the control of power and the available scarce resources (Galtung, 1965). In his views, Lyam (2000) describes communal conflict as a struggle over scarce resources that are not controlled by share rules. This may constitute attempt to eliminate or destroy rules, one rival among others. It is always associated with antagonistic interest between two or more opposing forces or groups within the society and can be seen in a continuum range from early signals to violent crisis or war as opined by Imobighe (2003).

This was corroborated by Akinwale (2010), when he states that this situation usually arises when those concerned are dissatisfied with existing social conditions and as a result seek the same goals. Conflict in itself refers to the fact that the parties use lethal violence to gain control over some disputed and perceived indivisible resource, such as piece of land or local political power, which follows a generally accepted conceptualization of armed conflict as stated by Galtung, (1965). The groups involved are non-state groups, meaning that neither actor control the state and armed forces (although state actors may be involved as an important supporting actor in a communal conflict).

Furthermore, the groups are organized along a shared communal identity, meaning that they are not formally organized rebel groups or militias but that the confrontation takes place along the line of group identities. Some would equate the concept of communal identity with ethnic or religious identity, but as conceived here, the conflict is along village identity. The bottom line is that what constitutes the basis for a communal identity may differ across time and space.

Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored on Resource Competition Theory. This is to enable us grasp clearly the underpinnings of incessant re-occurrence of land conflicts that are the result of contestations over the ownership of land in Kogi State. The proponents of resource competition theory include Wunsch cited in Osaghae (1994); Ijewere (1999) and Mbaku (2010). The underlying assumptions of resource competition theory are that there exists a system of boundaries between groups whose power and relevance are determined primarily by the nature and scope of contact for scarce resources among communal cleavages. It argues that the need to compete over resource allocation forces individuals and groups along communal lines to organize themselves in order to minimize their transaction costs and maximize benefits accruing to them thereby creating in group and out-group.

In many plural or communal groupings, natural resource competition especially land remains a perennial problem in the sense that communal cleavages shape and determine whose group control the natural resources. By this, several communal violent conflicts have usually been caused by the attempt to capture or dominate another communal group so as to seize their natural resources like land.

Causes of land disputes in Igalaland

Land dispute could be one of the causes of communal or ethnic clashes witnessed in some parts of Igala land. Communities that have shared common boundaries for years and lived harmoniously suddenly have jerked to consciousness seeking means and most times, not peacefully but forcefully, to disengage other occupants and users of the land. The reason for this is not farfetched. As noted by Marxist conflict theory, one could say that this sudden desire to reclaim or forcefully occupy is simply because of the economic viability of the land which hitherto was not discovered by one of the contending parties. For instance, the protracted war raging between the Bassas and the Ebiras that have left many communities in Bassa local government deserted was traceable to two main factors, namely, cultural violation and economic. It was reported that one tribe in observing her culture deliberately violated the

culture of another tribe. In retaliation, the man who felt his cultural right was abused or desecrated went far by shooting and killing the violator. This act led to love lost between the two tribes who were bloated and became dagger-drawn and began to beat drums of war waiting for any slightest provocative opportunity.

What became the last straw that broke the camel's back was fracas that later developed between these two tribes over a small piece of fish pond that provided economic benefits. The two tribes began serious contention over who should own the fish pond, the pond that had existed before and that its discovery and utilization was not recent. Because of vested economic interest, this contention was not properly managed. And so, what began like a small spark of fire became fully blown that putting the fire off is now difficult because of lots of damages that had been caused to lives and properties of the two sides involved.

Similar land clashes had been reported in Ibaji local government within communities in the local government (Vanguard, 2016) and other communities outside the local government that share boundaries with them. The Uchuchu, Omabo and Ayah communities in Ibaji had been at war with one another over land disputes for long times now (Yell, 2016, E-Projectmatters.com, 2019). Similarly, there had been a long standing battle between villages of Iyano community such as Aluaja, Iru and Itale (Vanguard, 2016) as well as between the Echeno/Odeke communities in Ibajis in Kogi state and the Agulere-Otu people in Anambra East local government area of Anambra state over a portion of land that was discovered to be a repository for petroleum (This Day, 2013, P.M News, 2018).

Community conflicts a part, between individuals or members of the same families, many who had died as a result of land disputes that are not recorded are uncountable in this land. People kill other people to retain, reclaim and or receive their own land or the land of others by force simply because of economic benefits (National Geographic, 2018). There are reported cases in Kogi East, where many were killed on the farms some years back because of cashew seeds (ThisDay, 2018). The main causes of land dispute in Igala include Poverty and

unemployment, Exploitation and oppression, Loss of morality, Inordinate Political ambitions and bad politicking, Ethnic superiority and dominance

Consequences of Land Disputes in Igalaland

The consequences of land conflicts are almost universal. In Igala land, land conflicts that had happened so far had led to the following:

Loss of lives

In most land conflicts in Igala community that involved the use of fire arms, many were wounded, maimed, while some others died (Yell, 2016, Vanguard, 2016, Greenbargue Reporters, 2016, This day, 2018, P.M. News, 2019 and The Guardian, 2019). The land conflict in Ibaji and Bassa local government areas had left many dead. What is most painful is that several of the victims of these attacks are youths who usually volunteer themselves for these battles because of the confidence they have in their mystical fortification that most times leave them disappointed with irredeemably disastrous and calamitous losses. Some of them who engage in battle die and again others who are innocent but happen to be victims of circumstances also die.

Even those who survive the battle may be because they had stronger power eventually will die not long after, as the surviving opponents seek measures to weaken or rubbish their power and this is how the “merry will go round” until they all get eliminated fulfilling the scriptures that says, “he who lives by the sword will die by the sword” (Luke 9.23). Once upon a time, the city of Anyigba had lived under the fear of many dreadful thugs but who today have all died. The life expectancy of these youths is so short. ir lifespan don’t always go beyond the government or party in power that they served.

Destruction of properties

Conflicts that involved land in Igala communities had always led to destructions of buildings, cars, public installations in areas where these conflicts erupted (Tenuche, 2009, AOAV.org.UK, 2013, and EProjectmatters.com, 2019). In places like Ebiroko, Ogba, Sheria, Oguma in Bassa local government area, so many buildings had been brought down, some had

been burnt while some that were left standing have had their roofs removed. Similar things are obtained in warring communities in Ibaji local government and also Agbenema and Bagana in Omala local government areas living several affected victims homeless

Decline of commercial activities as well as agricultural practices

Whenever there were reported cases of conflict in Anyigba, Sheria, Bagana, to mention these few, commercial activities got paralyzed and frustrated. People will avoid going to the market in these affected towns at least for some market days until peace or normalcy was seen to be restored. The consequence of this is a decline in per capita income and ultimately, the national income of the country and a fallen in the standard of living of people should the crisis be made to persist.

Vacation of ancestral home or land

Many people had vacated their families from communities that experienced frequent land conflicts. Today, many communities had been vacated in Bassa Nkomo Districts of Bassa local government due to frequent and protracted conflicts that the solution seemed elusive. The people live under perpetual fear of sudden attacks because the two warring tribes are not ready to sheath their swords. Neighboring towns such as Dekina, Anyigba, Lokoja are flooded with refugees from Bassa local government particularly, people of other tribes that are not directly involved in the land conflict. This sudden relocation will undoubtedly have effect on the economy and means of livelihood of these people as well as the education of their children, their social, physical and emotional health. At a point, a whole community in Ibaji local government was driven from their ancestral homes. It took the intervention of government for the stronger community to permit the return of their brethren they drove away from the land.

Social conflict and vendetta

Bridges of trust and love may no longer be built between the warring communities and families. In land conflicts in Igala communities, many harms and wrongs are done such that when the coasts get cleared, confidence and trust in one another will be very difficult to come by. For instance, if during the one land conflict, one recognizes the person that pulled down

one's house or killed one's spouse, parents or children, how will one reconcile with such a person for a normal relationship to resume? It is difficult if not eternally impossible. It can only take a regenerated mind not to engage in vendetta.

As discussed above, much harm is done in land conflicts. Some of such harms leave behind permanent scars and wounds that are difficult to heal and if healed, may be difficult to forget. People kill, destroy properties during land conflicts in Igala that they affected people live with these wounds or scars for life. As a result, they seek out opportunities to revenge and this is why land conflicts seem endless. People kill and destroy sometimes in retaliation.

Measures to End Land Disputes in Igalaland

Proper delineation of ancient landmarks and enforcement of compliance

Communities that have lived together for ages past should be disciplined enough to respect age-long established landmarks. And where these landmarks are not properly delineated, the need for elders of integrity from within the Igala communities should come together to agree on where the boundary should be is necessary and recommended. Where this boundary is clearly delineated and there are deliberate violators, the need for men of integrity in the two communities to come together to mobilize forces against the violator to ensure compliance is also necessary and recommended. Why this is necessary is that there is no alternative to peace and nobody has the monopoly of violence.

Setting up and proper mobilization of arbitration committees or panels

Where the two communities that have boundary adjustment problems have difficulty in resolving themselves, it is recommended that government either at the local, state or federal levels should set up arbitration panels with dispatch to immediately nip the problem at the bud before it gets escalated. Membership of this committee should be made up of people of probing integrity who are well known to people in the two communities that are in fracas

Frequent moral and political education

Frequent moral and political education are also recommended as one of the ways to finding solution to the frequent land conflicts in Igala communities as well as other regions within the

country. Organs that could be saddled with this responsibility are governmental and nongovernmental agencies such as National Orientation Agency and other organizations that are formed to promote peace in communities within and outside the country. The mass media could be used in this regard. In addition, the curriculum of post-basic education should be made to incorporate the teaching of some moral values as well as some basic civic education.

Formation of peace club

Formation of peace club in warring land communities and other parts of the country is also recommended as a panacea. Men of probing integrity within these communities are encouraged to float this club by ensuring its incorporation, supervision and monitoring. Their responsibility is to sue for peace by promoting messages of peace and timely responding to reconciliatory needs were such cases spring up between neighboring communities. The formation of this club can also be extended to schools at the post-basic level.

Making scapegoats of culprits

Today in Nigeria, it seems wanton killing and destructions of properties as a result of land disputes have become legitimized. Nobody is held culpable any longer by law enforcement agencies for illegally terminating another person's life even when the culprit is identified. People who kill other people illegally take to the streets in broad day light walking with their shoulders high and thumbing their chests that they did it well. This accounts for why conflict never ceases. If one has the upper hands today, it might be the turn of another tomorrow and so the merry goes round. Once upon a time in Nigeria, nobody can escape with the case of murder but today, soldiers and policemen get killed illegally and nobody is made to face the wrath of the law because of political connections. Land disputes will never cease until government agents cease to shield and treat culprits with kid's gloves.

Depoliticizing community policing and surveillance

Most communities have formed vigilantes to provide security within their environs. Good as this initiative is, what has become obvious is that several of these community police are used by men in government and politicians to undue advantage. They are selective in identifying

and punishing criminals and some of them are criminals themselves in the robe of a vigilante. Until people of probing integrity get recruited as vigilantes and until they realize the need to serve the interest of the community rather than that of the few selfish politicians, their impact in curbing land disputes will not be accorded due priority.

Godliness and righteous living

Godlessness is at the root of land disputes that are witnessed in many communities in Nigeria including Igala communities in Kogi state. There is nothing a godless and unrighteous person can't do. In fact, nothing is miserable to a godless person. Why shifting an ancient landmark to disfavor another person or community? Why should a politician recruit thug to attack and kill other communities because of Land? Why would somebody agree to be hired to kill another person? The answer is simply godlessness. Therefore, if people will espouse God, they will respect lives and properties of others because any individual that is regenerated will put the interest of others first above that of self. It is therefore; recommended that people embrace God in all honesty. This can be the only strong factor that will be the solution among families and communities to the problems of land disputes in Igala land. A godly person is patient, tolerant, accommodating and sensible, ever conscious of standing before God one day in eternity to account for his/her life.

Conclusion

The Igala community of Kogi state have witness land dispute frequently and the consequences of these conflicts on lives and properties are greatly devastating. The conflicts had led to loss of lives and properties living some communities deserted with some other surviving persons mourning the death of their loved ones. The study avers that there has been a rising wave of land dispute in Igala land from time immemorial. The conflicts are land resource induced. The management and resolution mechanisms put in place by government are inadequate. This menace has grievous implications for the governance and development of Igala community and Kogi state at large.

Recommendations

The study thus recommended the following:

- i. Kogi state government should put in place more robust institutional mechanisms that are proactive and have the capacity to detect early warning signals that breed land conflict in Igala communities:
- ii. Kogi state government in collaboration with local government areas and traditional rulers in Igala land should work out modalities that can clearly demarcate the boundaries of the existing communities of the state:
- iii. There should be necessary steps by the National Boundary Commission towards the implementation of resolutions on internal boundary disputes for the people of the state.
- iv. The traditional rulers and town unions of the various communities in the state should institutionalize inter-community relations that can help neighbouring communities to handle incidents of issues of common concerns that can lead to land dispute.
- v. The state should embark on equitable utilization of shared border resources of land, water, games, forest resources, etc.

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NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE FOR CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION IN INTRA-STATE CONFLICT: ANALYSES FROM NIGERIA'S #EndSARS PHENOMENON

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ABSTRACT

The history of struggle in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa is often depicted as barbaric, endlessly violent, and laced with wanton destruction of lives and property. For this reason, therefore, non-violent resistance does not get the attention it deserves in the continent. This study therefore investigates non-violent resistance and its potency for conflict transformation using the #EndSARS phenomenon. The study found that the event under study was indeed phenomenal, as non-violent physical and online protests were used to resist the government and ensured that desired social change of ending the brutality of the dreaded police unit, Special Armed Robbery Squad (SARS) was achieved. The concludes that #EndSARS crisis was transformed at various levels with the aid of social engagements, pronouncements, reforms, retribution and restitution. It was recommended that the events and its remembrance/celebration should not be seen as a threat to the country's peace and security, but celebrated for what is truly is, an opportunity for social transformation. It was also recommended that there should be continuous reforms in the police force and other instruments of security in the country. Also, members of the force should be re-oriented to see themselves as agents of peace and security for the society and not willing instruments of destruction. Lately but equally important, this study should be complimented with more studies on non-violent resistance in Nigeria.

Keywords: Non-Violent, Resistance, Conflict Transformation, Intra-State, #EndSARS

Introduction

No other event around the world has demonstrated greater contemporary potency of non-violent resistance to bring about social and political change than the Arab Spring dissent of 2011. When activists, citizens and labour movements in Tunisia and Egypt started about their

non-violent protests in January of 2011 that year, no one (including themselves) believed they would achieve what decades of violent conflict have been unable to do. As Chenoweth and Cunningham (2013: 272) put it,

...series of upheavals shook regimes across the Arab world and led to the removal of long-time autocrats in Tunisia and Egypt, full-fledged civil wars in Libya and Syria, and massive repression in other states such as Bahrain. In many of these instances, the general lines of conflict between governments and dissatisfied segments of their population are similar – stagnant economies with high unemployment and lack of political freedom (Chenoweth and Cunningham, 2013: 272).

The Black Lives Matters Movement in United States of America is another good example. Non-violent struggle has become popular for dealing with socio-cultural and political conflicts within a state or intra-State conflicts (in technical terms). This is justified in many ways, chief among them being the superiority of state with regards to the possession of instrument of violence. Non-violent conflict has a long history in Nigeria. This includes the struggle against the military dictatorship in the 1990s by civil society groups, the annulment of the June 12 presidential election in 1993, various fuel hike, various Niger Delta protests and ultimately, the #EndSARS resistance.

In Nigeria, studies of certain strategic incidents that plague the country are rare. Non-violence resistance is one of such. The consequence is that when there is a recurrence of such events, approaches to solving them are thus reactionary, instead of proactive. The standard solution to any such problem to Nigeria's politico-military leadership is use of maximum force, which may be counterproductive in the long term. The #EndSARS protest is the latest and arguably the most significant of non-violent resistance. For this reason, therefore, there is need to study it in order to gauge civil non-violent resistance and its import for conflict transformation.

The Concept of Non-Violence

The term non-violence is an evolving concept. To Schock (2003: 705), non-violent action is “a direct means of prosecuting conflicts with opponents and an explicit rejection of inaction,

submission and passivity.” Berghof Foundation defined non-violence as “a philosophy and practice that holds the use of force to be morally and politically illegitimate or counterproductive and strives to find non-violent expressions of resistance to oppression (Berghof Foundation, 2019: 2). It also defined violence as “harmful and damaging behaviour of a physical, structural or cultural nature, which prevents human beings from reaching their full potential”. Berghof use the terms “**non-violent conflict transformation**” (emphasis added) as a single phrase to perhaps underscore the point of the linkage of the two processes.

Similarly, Chenoweth and Cunningham (2013: 271) defined “nonviolent resistance as the application of unarmed civilian power using nonviolent methods such as protests, strikes, boycotts, and demonstrations, without using or threatening physical harm against the opponent.” Gandhi’s teaching and actions critically influenced the development of non-violence. This was carried out through his philosophical cum religious precept of ahimsa (meaning complete renunciation of violence in thought and action in Sanskrit). In attempts to separate Gandhi’s spiritual/religious practice from its political form (as practised today), many scholars reduce non-violence to essentially the absence of elements of violence. This means therefore that non-violent resistance must exclude even violence behaviour and not just the absence of physical violence. It is also important that this is communicated in the course of the struggle to drive home the ideals of non-violence.

Interestingly, non-violent resistance can take root from some form of violence. As an example, it was the self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi in Tunisia on December 17, 2010 that sparked off series of protests that overthrew the Tunisian regime. Schock (2005) and Chenoweth and Stephan (2008), share similar notion about the conception of non-violence. For the purposes of this study, non-violence is defined as social and political approaches used by groups or opposition movements in negation of violent thoughts, violent actions, conventional politics, or other due processes such as judiciary/parliamentary processes.

Conflict Transformation

Conflict transformation refers to the processes in which parties to conflicts make conscious effort to work towards the modification of structural dimensions of conflicts. The short-term objective of this is the prevention of renewed violence or at least the reduction of its intensity. Long-term objective of this process is sustainable peace (Goetschel, 2009: 92).

Conflict transformation is thus a complex broad-based term that involves different yet converging activities. According to the Berghof Handbook, conflict transformation is

A generic, comprehensive term referring to actions and processes which seek to alter the various characteristics and manifestations of conflict by addressing the root causes of a particular conflict over the long term. It aims to transform negative destructive conflict into positive constructive conflict and deals with structural, behavioural and attitudinal aspects of conflict. The term refers to both the process and the completion of the process. As such it incorporates the activities of processes such as Conflict Prevention and Conflict Resolution and goes farther than conflict settlement or conflict management (Austin, Fischer and Ropers, 2004: 464-466).

The major difference between conflict transformation and other conflict theories is that the latter basically the conflicting conditions (issues, actors, and interests) as given and works with just these elements get solutions or try to eliminate these contradictions. From the above definition by Berghof Handbook, we find that conflict transformation involves the entire process of conflict management and tries to get a good perception of the issues in contention, acknowledge the legitimacy of all the parties, understand the root causes of the conflict, keep the needs of the conflicting parties and as much as possible, assuage the different parties that their grievances are kept within the context of the conflict resolution.

This means that the two dimensions, namely structural and relational dimensions of the conflict must be put in proper perspectives in the course of the transformation of the conflict (Goetschel, 2009). In the structural dimension we have such variables as political and economic interest/power, social factors, class differentials and so on. On the relational dimensions are such factors as interests, desires, egos culture, which may change at some points in the conflict transformation process.

From the foregoing, it becomes clear that there is a linkage between non-violent resistance and conflict transformation strategies. This is the shared commitment to “social change and increased justice through peaceful means” (Lederach, 1995: 15). This is the objective of this study, to determine if the #EndSARS process (protest, resistance and movement), has achieved its desired social change, increased social justice through peaceful means.

Theoretical Underpinning

Sharp’s (1973) theory of nonviolent action is apt for this study. As McCarthy and Kruegler (1993) noted, this theory positions non-violent action as a separate political discourse as opposed to philosophical and religious principles of nonviolence that had been limited too Ghandian nonviolence or civil disobedience.

One of the most important features of non-violence is its sustenance. This can be examined using the Resource Mobilization Theory. Both violent and non-violent conflicts can be framed along the fringes of resource mobilisation. The feasibility of organised violence, be they commercial in nature (organised crime syndicate or militancy), must happen through the accumulation and use of resources. Same goes for civil and inter-state war. However, as Cunningham (2013: 294) argued, armed violence perpetrators and their non-violence counteracts face or rather, follow different resource mobilization demands. Organized violence protests make more demands and this happens at various stages. It must acquire, pay, coordinate, train and motivate people to risk their lives to attack (physically) a government/regime with superior military capabilities (Heghammer, 2013).

Similarly, scholars such as Lohmann (1994), Chenoweth and Stephan (2011: 39), Schock (2013), have all put forward the proposition that the strength of nonviolent protests is found in mass participation. This means that non-violence achieved greater results when different facets of society are mobilised. This would mean the mobilisation of citizens across class (political and social), religious affiliation and ethnicity (Svensson and Lindgren, 2011); Beissinger (2013). This would prevent the mass mobilisation from being nipped in the bud.

It must be pointed out that resource mobilisation in this sense can also go the other way of resource withdrawal. This is in the form of strikes and boycotts, which also means the withdrawal of legitimacy to govern. This is the popular tool used by the Nigerian labour Congress and other such unions. They picket banks, government offices and government revenue generating organs. Another good example of resource denial is found in truckers and tanker drivers world-wide. Truckers who were protesting the Covid 19 mandate in Canada were able to garner “275,000 supporters on Facebook, nearly 40,000 supporters on the encrypted messaging app Telegram and has raised C\$5.5m (US\$4.3m) from 70,000 donations on GoFundMe” (The Guardian, 2022). These support and cash raised were from across the world. This shows the impact social media can have on contemporary non-violent protest. Parkinson (2013); McDoom (2013: 6) proposed that social networks are crucial to resource mobilisation in non-violent dissent. Lichbach (1998) identifies such social grouping that can initiate non-violent protest as peasants, workers, ethnic groups, religious groups. This was clearly demonstrated in the #EndSARS protest and other such. In this case, it was youths, who have been victimised by the dreaded SARS police (Ozumlumba, 2021).

Brief Literature Review

In the past few decades, interests and consequently, researches on non-violent resistance have gained increased scholarship world-wide (See Zunes (1994); Karatnycky and Ackerman (2005); Schock (2005); Stephan and Chenoweth (2008); Shaykhutdinov (2010); Sutton, Butcher and Svensson (2014). Stemming from the above studies, it has come to light that non-violent dissent are more likely to have desired effects than violent insurrections (Chenoweth and Stephan (2011: 272); Nepstad (2011); and Gleiditsch (2013).

Even at the international levels, Chenoweth and Stephan (2011) citing (Schock, 2003), have decried the tendency of conflict scholars to ignore non-violent resistance for three key reasons: i. violence is usually regarded as greater and troubling global problems. They are thus of greater concern than the equally common, civilian-led, unarmed struggles and revolutions; ii. nonviolent resistance is extraordinarily difficult to measure empirically. This difficulty in

collecting data deters empiricist from the study of non-violence; and iii. in conflict studies, 'nonviolent' is often equated with 'passive', 'weak', 'pacifist', or 'activist'. This is wrong.

Academic discourse on the #EndSARS phenomenon is wide-ranging. Adewumi and Akintayo (2022) investigated the impact the #EndSARS counter protest had on the monumental destruction of cultural heritage. They surmised from the destruction of cultural artefacts that Nigerians do not hold dear cultural heritage and therefore suffer from identity crisis due to colonialism. Omreore and Ojaide (2022) was more traditional, with an attempt to examine the impact the Endsars protest had on Nigeria's internal security. They ultimately urged government to urgently review the country's security policy and institution in order to better the country's security infrastructure. For Ochi and Chinonso (2021), the interest was on the effect of the EndSars protest on the Nigerian economy. They found that the Nigerian economy suffered huge losses of billions of naira as a result of the protest. They also called for police reforms.

Odili and Egobueze (2021) investigated the decision making and strategic management process of the #Endsars protest. They concluded that both protesters and government did not employ good strategic management managing and decision making (which should be transformational and strategic). For Inobemhe and Santas (2022), the discourse was on the impact of Digital Media on #EndSARS Protest, which they considered a 21st Century Activism. They found that digital media, especially social media, played significant roles in mobilisation and management of (armed) conflict. They also noted that due to the influence of digital platforms, national government tempted to introduce some form of regulations on digital media. Akerele-Popoola, O. E., Azeez, A. L. and Abiodun Adeniyi (2022) similarly studied the direct impact of twitter as a tool for social media activism in Nigeria, using the #EndSARS protest. Effects of visuals in driving home the #EndSARS movement was investigated by Ukor (2022). He found that the use of visual elements including colour, facial expression, metaphor, inference, reference, shared situational knowledge, symbolism, gesture, contrast, satire, costume, and environment were effective in

promoting the #EndSARS movement to the world and in the achievement of the said objectives.

Nigeria's #EndSARS Phenomenon: Framework of Analyses

#EndSARS is the name of the social movement/resistance that represented the phenomenal chain of event that started with the surfacing of an online video on October 11, 2020. The video, which immediately went viral, depicted the gruesome extra-judicial execution of two men by members of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) Unit of the Nigeria Police Force. As was evident from the video, the SARS operatives dragged the two men from a hotel and executed them in the street. A few days later, youths took to the streets, and started the social media campaign with the #EndSARS. The initial demand was simple: the disbandment of the notorious SARS Unit of the Nigeria Police Force.

Contrary to popular assertions, this singular event was not the main cause of the event. It was just one of too many cases of police brutality and subsequent calls for reforms in the Nigerian Police Force. As the

On May 4, 2020, a 27-year-old 500 level Law student of Nnamdi Azikiwe University was shot dead in a beer parlour by police officers. A similar incident occurred on May 21, when a boy, an only son of his parents, met his untimely death in the cruel hands of the police. He was heading home from work at around a few minutes past 8 pm when cops from the Nimo unit chased him until he was knocked down by a moving vehicle. Seventeen-year-old Tina Ezekwe, who was preparing to take her WAEC exams, was hit by a bullet from a reportedly drunk police officer, who shot to disperse a crowd gathered after he opened fire at a bus driver who had refused to bribe him on May 26, 2020. Tina died two days after the incident sparked a wave of social media campaigns for justice. On June 2, 2020, a policeman shot and killed a 20-year-old motorcycle rider in Adamawa for not paying a bribe of N100. A policeman killed a 27-year-old man in Imo for not wearing his face mask on July 9, 2020. Samson John was killed by the bullets of a police officer on October 3, 2020, who unleashed bullets on the people at a beer parlour in Abuja...SARS was notorious for its warped profiling of criminals. A young man with dreadlocks or a full beard was easily targeted as a criminal (Ozulumba, 2021).

It was not the first time such requests for reforms in the police force was made. This time, it was different.

#EndSARS: protest, resistance, or movement?

The civil disobedient by Nigerian youths over the misadventures of notorious police unit SARS was dubbed *protest* by the government and it subsequently caught on with the Nigerian press (Vanguard, 2020; This Day, 2021; Channels TV, 2020). This eventually became the catch phrase for some academics in their examination of the phenomenon in scholarly discuss (Ochi, and Chinonso, 2021; Inobemhe and Santas, 2022; Omreore and Ojaide, 2022; Adewumi and Akintayo, 2022).

This is wrong and does not do analytical justice to the social *resistance*. The origin of police brutality in Nigeria is traceable to the colonial era, where the police was used as an agent of the colonial government to keep Nigerians in check. This mentality has been carried on into Post-independent Nigeria. It is not surprising therefore that the creation of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) in 1992, in response to the increasing rates of armed robbery and kidnapping in Lagos State only served to exacerbate the problem of police brutality. In order to perform covert operations, SARS operatives usually worked undercover with no identifiable paraphernalia. Reported brutality of SARS operatives were so extensive that they gained a mystical status. The call for the disbandment of the unit became widespread in 2016. However, conversations on #EndSARS first started in December of 2017. By December 3, 2017, a petition signed by 10,195 people was submitted to Nigeria's National Assembly using the #EndSARS, calling for a total disbandment of SARS (Ibrahim, (2017).

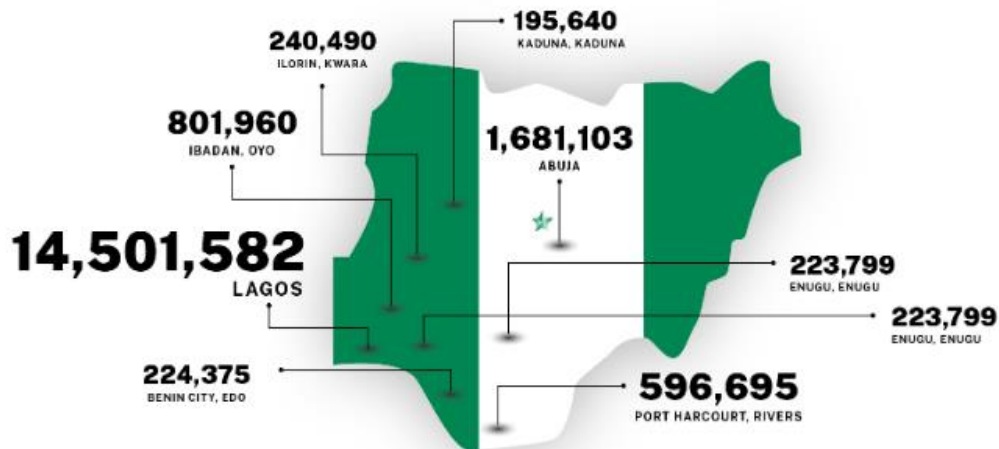
It became a resistance (in the minimalist sense and non-violent sense) on October 12, 2020, when, in spite of the disbandment of SARS on October 11, 2020, protesters occupied the Lekki Toll Gate, disrupting economic and social activities in total disregard on the authorities. We recall also that the Lagos Government House and other such strategic location were also occupied.

Protest was simply one of the tools used to call attention to the demands of the movement. They were carried out in different parts of the world. In London, some 500 protesters gathered outside the BBC offices in central London on October 24, 2020 and

shouted slogans against police brutality in Nigeria. Nigerians living in the Waterloo Region of Ontario (Canada), on Monday, 12 October 2020, gathered outside the Waterloo Public Square. They carried out a peaceful demonstration in support of the #EndSARs movement, chanting “What do we want? End SARS!” (CTV News, 2020). In New York (US), on October 11, 2020, young Nigerians gathered at the Nigerian Consulate General in Midtown. They shared their bad experiences with SARS while in Nigeria, demanding that the unit be totally disbanded to stop young from being needlessly profiled as criminals and harassed (The New York Time, 2020). The same was carried out by Nigerian diaspora in other European countries, the Americas, Oceania, and in Africa. This is in line with Schock (2013) assertion, that the strength of non-violent protests is in mass participation. In this case even, citizens of the world were mobilisation across class, political and religious affiliations and ethnicity (Svensson and Lindgren, 2011).

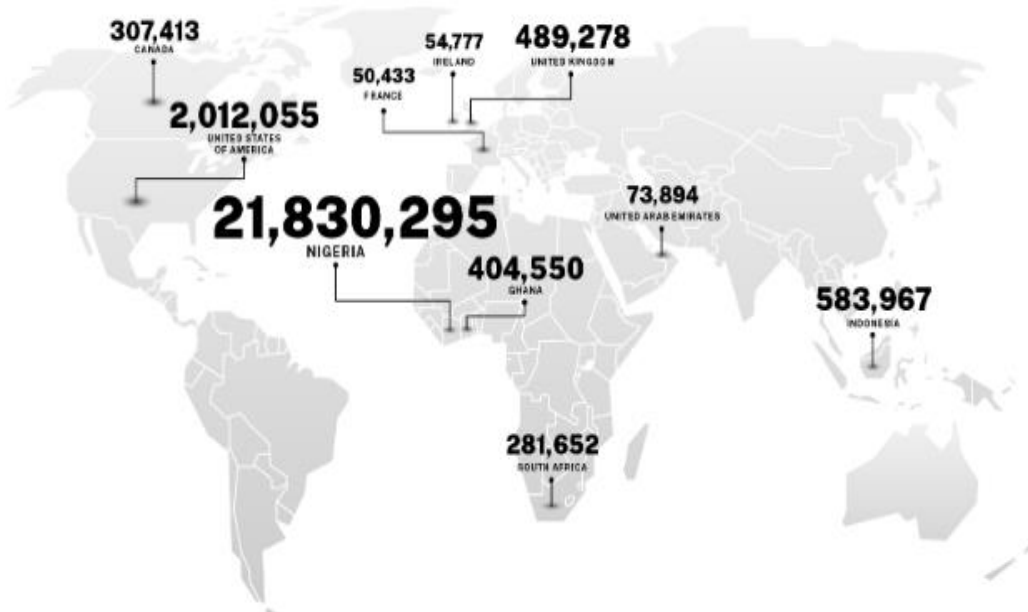
From the moment the protest was taken to all platforms of social media, it became a movement. The hacktivist group, *Anonymous*, on October 16, 2020, hacked the Twitter account of the National Broadcasting Commission and posted a message which stated “We #Anonymous will continue supporting Nigerians (Guardian, 2020)”. Between 5 October and 14 October 2020, the #EndSARS hashtag trended globally on social media and was analysed to have generated 48 million mentions and Tweets from over 5 million unique authors on Twitter (Nendo, 2020). This mention by top ten local cities in Nigeria and countries are displaced below:

Fig: Volume of Mentions by Local Cities (Top 10)



Source: Nendo (2020)

Fig: Volume of Mentions by Country (Top 10)



Source: Nendo (2020)

The movement elicited reactions on social media from international stars from across all walks of life, including the 45th President of the US Donald Trump, the 70th US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, the UN secretary-General Antonio Guterres, Google Africa, the then C.E.O of Twitter, Jack Dorsey Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, Rihanna, Cardi B, Diddy, Beyonce, Big Sean, John Kanye West, Drake, Lewis Hamilton, Odion Ighalo, Marcus Rashford, Mesut Ozil, the 67th US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, and so on. In Lagos, Nigerian youths camped and protested at the Lagos State Governor's House from Thursday 8, October till Friday 9, October 2020. The Deputy Governor had to address the protesters. Same phenomenon was witnessed across the country.

The mobilization of citizens across religious and ethnic lines, as Svensson and Lindgren (2011) and Beisinger (2013) have noted, is the reason for the success of the non-violent resistance.

Characteristics of the #EndSARS phenomenon

This was perhaps one of the greatest non-violent dissents organized and carried out by any social group in Nigeria. This group is representative of Nigeria's vibrant youth, who mostly had encounter with men of the SARS squad. This is in line with Lichbach (1998) assertion that non-violent resistance can be started by a social group.

Another unique feature of the #EndSARS resistance is that Chenoweth and Stephan (2011) concerns about lack of empiricism do not apply as there were shooting and reports of deaths. This is another unique character of this non-violent resistance.

A number of events of the non-violent #EndSARS movement demonstrated the aspects of the Resource Mobilization Theory as postulated by Cunningham, 2013: 294. These included: i. camping of the protesters on the Lekki Toll Gate, thereby preventing the State government from generating funds from the toll gate; ii. the #EndSARS protests was well organised with water, food and sanitary needs taken care of; iii. legal and medical needs of participants were also taken care of, iv. organization was sustained by voluntary donations by Nigerians and citizens of the international community (Business Insider Africa, 2020) and v.

the Nigerian government responded by freezing 20 accounts linked to the #EndSARS movement. We must remember this happened during the Covid 19 pandemic. The resource war was kept in play by the use of cryptocurrency by some, including Feminists Coalition (which at the forefront of fundraising for the protest, having raised some N87.4 million) (Nairametrics, 2021).

In spite of the fact that the resistance was cut short was cut short on 20 October 2020 by the Lekki Toll Gate Shooting, and its infiltration by hoodlums, it continued on social media. Funds were disbursed for mental health support, medical emergency response, relief for victims of SARS brutality, victims/families of those killed extrajudicially and legal battle for illegally detained protesters. Modupe Odele created a network including over 400 volunteer lawyers across Nigeria for this purpose (The Nigeria Lawyer, 2020).

Conflict transformation and #EndSARS movement

As earlier stated, the infamous unit was disbanded on the 11th October 2020, by the Inspector General of Police, Mohammed Abubakar Adamu. Nevertheless, the protest continued despite the dissolution of SARS. Their demands were: i. immediate release of all arrested during the protests as well as justice; ii. compensation for all who died through police brutality in Nigeria; iii. an independent body be set up within 10 days to investigate and prosecute all reports of police misconduct; iv. psychological evaluation and retraining of SARS operatives before they are deployed to any other police unit; and v. adequate increase in the salaries for officers of the Nigerian police. The government eventually agreed to these demands

With the success of the #EndSARS protest, further demands were made of the government. It included good governance, devolution of power, true federalism, among others. The civil disobedience included the blocking of the Lekki Toll Gate. This made Lagos State government impose curfew within the state. The non-violent civil dissent continued and eventually resulted in the shooting of protesters at Lekki Tollgate by armed soldiers. Consequently, the peaceful protest turned violence leading to several casualties and deaths,

destruction and looting of properties, among others, particularly in Lagos and Rivers States respectively. This is in line with Sharp (2005) assertion:

non-violent resistance is commonly met with repression when the opponents are unwilling or unable to grant the resisters demand. Repression is not a sign that the resisters are weak or will be defeated. Repression is an acknowledgement by the opponents of the seriousness of the challenge posed by the resistance (Sharp, 2005).

Without doubt, the social conflict caused by SARS operatives have been resolved finally. The President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Mohammodu Buhari, had to make pronouncements himself on the disbandment of the dreaded unit. The conflict was also transformed with the establishment of the Independent Investigative Panel on Human Rights Violation by the defunct Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) and other Units of the Nigeria Police Force (IIP-SARS) at the federal level. Some states established similar bodies for truth, justice and reconciliation. Various settlements were agreed upon and immediately carried out. This was one of the few occasions in conflict resolution in the country that this was effectively carried out.

The panel secretary, Hillary Ogbonna of the Independent Investigative Panel on Human Rights Violation by the defunct Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) and other Units of the Nigeria Police Force (IIP-SARS) reported that there were a total of 295 petitions were received, 95 decided and 33 struck out. He also reported that 54 complaints were withdrawn, 57 referred to NHRC, while 56 others were judgment petitions.

Eventually, 72 police officers were found wanting for various human rights infractions; 25 officers were recommended for dismissals, while 15 others were to have their ranks reduced. The commission also noted that 39 petitioners of extra-judicial killings were awarded N220 million compensation. Records also showed that a total 295 petitions were received from 29 states, with Delta, Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Lagos, Anambra, Benue, Imo and Rivers State being among the 10 states with the highest number of petitions. Enugu, Kaduna, Oyo and Cross River followed. (The Guardian Newspaper, 2022).

Another angle of the conflicts that needed transformation was the international image crises SARS garnered for Nigeria. Amnesty International reported that during the course of “the powerful #EndSARS protest, at least 56 people were killed by excessive use of force used by the army and police” (Amnesty International, 2021). The conclusion of the conflict transformation process helped to launder this image crisis.

Conclusion and Recommendation

The #EndSARS movement is one of those once in a life time events such as the Cold War, Nigerian civil war, 9/11 attack, June 12 Protests, Arab Spring and so on. It is indeed a phenomenal event that used conflict handling style of physical and online protests to resist the tyranny of a section of the managers of internal security to bring about conflict transformation. The achievements of the youths who championed this global movement should be celebrated for what it is worth. The age-old conflict was thus transformed at various levels, with the aid of social engagements, pronouncements, reforms, retribution and restitution.

Rather than seeing this event and its remembrance and celebration as a threat to peace and security, it should be celebrated for what is truly is, an opportunity for social transformation and the celebration of the resolve of the youth to engender a better country. There should be continuous reforms in the police force and other instruments of security in the country. Members of the force should be re-oriented to see themselves as agents of peace and security for the society and not agents of harassment for the government and personal aggrandisement. There are so many aspects of this phenomenon that will certainly lead somewhere for the diligent researcher. The academia should therefore follow up on this and the study of non-violent resistance in Nigeria.

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