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Contents

	Pages
Salt Processing in Igede-Yala Pre-Colonial Economic Relations	
Julia O. Ogbaji, Ph.D. & Otumala Peter Onah, Ph.D	1 - 8
Test Fairness of the National Common Entrance Examination in Nigeria: Implications for School Counselling	
John Jiya, PhD	9 - 15
Debt Profile and States Productivity: Evidence from Nigeria	
Abdulumuni Baba Alfa, Ph.D, Musa Salihu Ewugi, Ph.D & Monsuratu Ohunene Gomina ...	16 -24
Banditry and Ungoverned Spaces in Nigeria: A Case Study of Kaduna and Zamfara States	
Arnold Onyekachi David Okoro, Ph.D	25 - 44
The Emergence of Ex-Servicemen’s Welfare Associations in Nigeria after the Second World War	
Rabe Dahiru	45 - 55
Impact of Cybercrime on National Development: a Review on Nigeria	
Juliet Jenebu Obajobi, Francis Ojima Akoji & Chubado Umaru	56 - 63
Jungle Justice and the Nigerian Law Enforcement Order: An analysis of Fire and Smoke Relationship	
Illah, Obadiyah, Hassan Isiaka Imam, Ph.D & Douglas Samson Iya	64 - 73
The Nigerian Textile Industries in Kaduna: Challenges and Economic Recovery Policy	
Ekaette Glory Edem, Umar Danladi Mohammed, Ph.D, Bara Omeiza Dennis & Moses Omuya Salawu	74 - 86
Technology and Product Innovation in Manufacturing Companies in Nigeria	
Ovivi Audu Jamiu, Fasasi Oriyomi Kazeem, Okolo Helen Ezzo & Prof. U. D. Muhammed...	87 - 107
Role of Community Organizations in Supporting Adult and Non-Formal Education in Nigeria	
Muili Folaranmi Olajide, Ph.D & Ibrahim Hamza	108 - 117



Effect of Mutual Aid Group on Mathematics Self-Efficacy Belief among Senior Secondary School Students in Lagos State

Agnes Ijeoma Ononaiwu, Ph.D108 - 127

Gender and Information Societies: Challenges and Opportunities for Women Participation in Democracy

Hauwa Gimba Muhammad128 - 133

Security Implications of Political Thuggery in Nigeria: A Study of Rivers State from 2015-2019 Elections

Hassan Isiaka Imam, Ph.D134 - 143

An Overview of British Colonial Forest Conservation in Northern Nigeria

Aminu Saidu Ado, PhD 144 - 162

A Preliminary Report on the Archaeology of Ashehu Abandoned Settlement, Igabi Local Government Area of Kaduna State, Nigeria

Isa Muhammad 163 - 170

An Archaeological Investigation of Iyafe Sinta Abandoned Settlement Site in Gurara Local Government Area, Niger State, Nigeria

Haruna Suleiman Idris & Dauda Bashir..... 171 – 186

Federalism, Insecurity and Community Policing In Nigeria

Kamar Hamza, Ph.D187- 197

Comparison of President Olusegun Obasanjo and Muhammadu Buhari Civil Administrations of Socio-Economic Affairs

Fatima Abubakar Katcha 198 – 211

Effect of Credit Control on Account Receivables and Profitability of Some Selected Manufacturing Firms in Nigeria

Olaoye Clement Olatunji & Kolawole Olalekan Adebola 212 - 223

Border Porosity and the Perennial Challenges of Nigeria Borders and Frontier Security

Williams Adams John, Ph.D & Ebenezer Olorunsogo Ajala 224 - 236

Friend or Foe: The Executive and the Legislature in Muhammadu Buhari Administration, 2015-2019

Kamar Hamza, Ph.D 237 - 244



Salt Processing In Igede-Yala Pre-Colonial Economic Relations

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Abstract

One of the critical challenges Nigeria faces since independence till contemporary period is lack of unity and nation-building among her diverse ethno-cultural and religious groups. It is against this backdrop that this work captures a case study of the nature of the pre-colonial relations and interdependency among the component groups that made up the country. The work outlined how the long peaceful relations and coexistence among the two groups (among several others) occasioned in the sharing of technological ideas between them. It traced the origin of salt refining ideas in the regions of Middle Benue and Cross River Basin of Nigeria. The study discusses the processes involved in the refining of indigenous brine salt and its immeasurable value to the pre-colonial economy and society of the regions. It juxtaposes that such degree of interdependence and cohesion predates colonial amalgamation of entities that made up Nigeria, thereby wading off inaccurate perception that the coming together of the component groups as accident of history. Using historical methodologies particularly substantial oral evidence for the study tangible result was maximally achieved and presented to boost scholarship and contribute to Nigerian question.

Keywords: Pre-Colonial, Economic Relations, Central Nigeria Area, Igede-Yala

Introduction

At this critical period of Nigerian history one of the many challenges it faced (and is still facing) is the lack of unity and the quest for nation building. Nigerians tends to look always to centrifugal factors than those that help to unite us as one indivisible entity particularly when contentious issues like allocation of resources, power sharing and federalist issues are placed on the front burner for consideration. While the glamour for equitable sharing of resources and access to national wealth is acceptable and supported it should not be stressed to shake the foundation of Nigerian unity with unfounded arguments and rhetoric. Generally, no human society or community is an island of itself. Prior to early contacts with the Europeans, African indigenous groups existed interdependently and related mutually from one generation to another. According to O.O. Okpoh:

They were dynamic, mobile and necessarily interdependent on each other in the Ubiquitous task of coping with the challenges of their environment and reproducing their material existence. It was this process that made it possible for... (them) to maintain a reasonable level of cross cutting loyalty, mutual



trust and solidarity as well as... to affect each other's development in a fundamentality deep sense.¹

It is against this background that the Igede people, in the course of their origins, migrations and settlement in the present abode had established several socio-economic contacts, viable economic transactions and diplomatic relations with many groups before 1900. These had produced developments on both sides, that is, mutual interests and benefits were recorded. Igede relations with their contemporaneous neighbours address those bordering ethnic groups of Igede. They include Idoma (*Ikpoto*) Igbo groups *Ibahi*, (Essa, Izzi and Nri collectively) the Yala, Ukelle, Tiv and Akpa (Akweya/Yache) peoples. In this work, Igede-Yala economic relations would be treated as our case study of other such relations. This is significant for creating a background understanding of their social relations and exchanges of economic ideas and commodities within the region. In the pre-colonial period, the Igede relations with Yala were characterised by a higher level of peaceful co-existence, mutual exchange; and the spread of salt refining technology was the hallmark.

It is worthy of mention here that there were several aspects of economic relations between Igede and Yala in pre-colonial period outside salt processing. For example, the Yala and other peoples of Cross River Basin acquired their iron and pottery products from Igede through exchange with other commodities particularly those from the coastal areas and Igboland in pre-colonial market centres like Izekwe, Okuku, Ubansara, Bekwara among others. Such analyses would not be discussed here for want of space. More so, the consolidation and expansion of Igede clans led to the displacements of other neighbouring groups. These groups, according to G. E. Ode include Ekoyi, Ikoru, Okpodom, Item, Ikom, Itigidi and Yala all in the present Cross River State and Iwori, Ezza, and Wawa peoples of Ebonyi State.² They were all pushed and pressed to their present location by the incursion of Igede people to their present home land.

Background: Igede and Yala

The word, Igede refers to a people or an ethnic group, the land they occupy and the language they speak.³ The Igede live in the lower part of the Middle Benue Valley extending into the Cross River plains nearly in a contiguous form. The land is located between latitude 6°40' and 7°5' East, measuring about 2,000 square kilometers.⁴ The Igede live predominantly in Oju and Obi Local Government Areas of Benue State. They can also be found in considerable number in Otukpo, Konshisha and Gwer Local Government Areas of the State and in Yala Local Government Area of Cross River State. They traced their origin to an ancestor called Agba who begot Ogede. They originally inhabited a place around Odore in the neighborhood of Ora

¹ O.O Okpoh, "Intergroup Relations in Nigeria: A Case study of the Idoma and Her Neighbors in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century" Ph. D thesis, University of Jos, 2001. ix

² G. E. Ode "Igede and their Neighbours up to 1900" Post Graduate Seminar, ABU Zaria 1981. 5.

³ Jan Vansina *Kingdoms of the Savannah*. Michigan: 1970, p. 14 See M O Odey, *The Development of Cash Crop Economy in Nigeria's Lower Benue Province, 1910-1960* London: Aboki Publishers, 2009, 37.

⁴ A. Okpaga, "The Socio-political History of the Igede" Y.A. Ochefu, J. Iyo and T. A. Varvar (eds.), *A History of the Peoples of Benue State* (Makurdi, Aboki Publishers, 2007), 79.



people in present Sabongida Ora, Edo State from where they migrated across the Niger River *ihu otuka* due to conflict with their Ora neighbours.⁵

They migrated through parts of present Igala land, Idoma land, Igbo land and finally occupied their present abode called *Opiny'Igede* in about the Middle of the 17th Century.⁶ They formed the third largest ethnic group in the present Benue State. Igede ethnic identity is clearly established and incontestable.⁷ Igede is the people's language, classified as the Kwa sub-group of the branch of Niger-Congo African Language family; related to Idoma, Igala, Igbo, Ijo and Yoruba.⁸ The Igede have close historical affinity with the people of Obudu, Bekwarra and Yala of Northern Cross River State.⁹

Igede has some interesting geographical and ecological features. The region experiences tropical continental climate with annual temperature of 27^oC (87^oF) and average rainfall is between 1600M and 1778, climaxed between July and September.¹⁰ The main geographical feature of Igede is the conspicuous range of hills running southwest from Uwokwu, Andibilla, Ameka to Ohuhu-owo. The large plains provide agricultural lands for the production of food items like yam, millet, cassava, beans, potatoes; and hunting as well as domestication of animals to sustain the population. The drainage system provides water across all seasons. There are few large rivers and streams, most of which flow southwards into the Cross River System. The vegetation is a mixture of wood, thick forest and grass land with orchard bush. Generally, the environment is rich with enough possibilities and opportunities in economic terms to sustain the population in the pre-colonial era.

The Yala people occupy a land mass of 287 square miles at the northern end of Ogoja in Cross River State.¹¹ Yalaland is currently bounded on the north by Igede and Yache, south by Aiya River, west by Ukelle and other groups, and east by Ogoja minority groups (Yakur, Bekwara Ichibori) and Tiv people. Yala is also a language spoken by some inhabitants of Yalaland. The Yala are a subgroup of the larger Idoma nation or Idoma-speaking people. Some towns of yala include Okuku, Woda, Ijegwu, Yahe, Ugaga, Imaje, Okpoma, Echumoga. The origin of Yala people is traced to waves of migration of the entire Idoma from the Kwararafa state because of upheaval that led to the collapse of Apa.¹² According to E.O Erim, the Yala were descendants of Ode, son of Ala who moved off the main line of the larger Idoma migrations around the present Katsina-Ala area on an indefinite hunting expedition into the banks of the Cross River to settle. His descendants became Ai-Ala or Yala. In the same vein Erim have clearly shown

⁵ O. I. Iganga, *Groundwork on Igede History from Pre-colonial era to 1926*. (Oju: His Grace Printing Press, 2008), chapter two.

⁶ E.O. Erim "The Use of Migration Tradition in Reconstructing Idoma Culture History" B. W. Andah, C.A .Folorunso and I.O. Okpoko (eds.) *Imprints of Africa's Past*. Ibadan: Wisdom Publisher 1993. 82.

⁷ M.O. Odey. *The Development of Cash Crop Economy*. 37.

⁸ Okpoh "Intergroup Relations"

⁹ P. O. Agogo "The Migration Story of the Igede People: the Missing Links" A. Okpaga *Issues in Igede Development A Festschrift in Honor of Chief Reuben Galba Ade's 70th Birthday Anniversary*. Makurdi, Bookworks, 1914. 17. See S.I. Okita "Cultural Affinity in the Niger-Benue Confluence Region" O.O.A. Idrees and O. O. Okpoh (eds.) *Readings in Central Nigeria Culture*. Jos, Concept, 2011. 17-22

¹⁰ Iganga, *Groundwork on Igede History*. chapter two.

¹¹ R. G. Armstrong "Idoma-speaking peoples" 128

¹² V. G.O'kwu, "Early History of Idomaland" in *UJO: A Journal of Idoma Studies*. Vol.2, September 1999. 12- 16



how the Yala and the rest of Idoma related historically and ancestrally in details. The period of this migration was broadly put between c.1625-1775 with subdivision into several phases.¹³

Salt Production

Generally, the indigenous salt industry has not received due scholarly attention despite its high value and the important position it occupied in the pre-colonial economy in West Africa. It was generally used as a means of exchange just like the iron in some parts of Africa.¹⁴ A. G. Hopkins has described salt as “many ways the most interesting and important of the minerals produced in West Africa. Salt, like water, is a biological requirement of humans and livestock, a regular intake being necessary for survival.”¹⁵ In the pre-colonial period the demand for salt was very high because its deposit were limited to some societies and locations while those societies that did not have the deposit obtained it through exchange and barter trade.¹⁶ In the entire pre-colonial West African states and empires, salt was also mined in Taghaza, Taodeni, and other places that formed the bulk of the Trans-Saharan trade goods and the long control on the trade centres stimulated the life wire of those early kingdoms.¹⁷

Most of the popular communities and societies with history of salt production in pre-colonial times included the Jukun of Wukari and the entire Middle Benue Basin in sites like Bomanda, Je-muryan and areas around the Taraba valley.¹⁸ Other important areas of salt processing include Alago of Keana, the lowlands of Jos Plateau communities of Goemai and Kwalla within the Central Nigerian Region.¹⁹ In Borno empire, according to Paul Lovejoy, the salt mining and ownership was a very critical determining factor of ascendancy to the royal throne (the *Mai* and *Bulama*). It reflected the entire political economy of the empire in pre-colonial period.²⁰ There was also an efficient salt production and trade in Igbo land around Okposi, Uburu, Oshiri and Abakiliki in the pre-colonial period.²¹

In Igede, the Salt Lake is owned and controlled by the community but fetched and processed exclusively by their women. This practice is different from what was obtained in those areas that associated kingship with the ownership of salt well (brines). For instance, P. T. Gbasha

¹³ E. O. Erim “The use of Migration Tradition in Reconstructing Idoma Culture History” 78-84.

¹⁴ R. G. Armstrong “Idoma-speaking peoples” 140

¹⁵ K. Faluyi “Inter Regional Trade in Pre-colonial Africa” in *Tarikh Vol.10*. 35.

¹⁶ See A. G. Hopkins, *Economic History of West Africa* London 1973. 47.

¹⁷ B. Awe “ Empires of the Western Sudan: Ghana, Mali, Songhai” in J.F.A. Ajayi and J. Espie (eds.) *A Thousand Years of West African History*, Ibadan, University Press, 1965. 56-57

¹⁸ R.J.Gavin and W. Oyemakinde “Economic Development in Nigeria since 1800” O. Ikime (ed.) *Groundwork of Nigerian History Ikeja*. H.E.B and HSN. 483. S.U. Fwatshak *Indigenous*

Entrepreneurship in Jos metropolis Central Nigeria, 1902- 1985 CAP, North Carolina, 2011. chapter 4

¹⁹ *Dept. of History Seminar Series vol. 9* ABU Zaria. 65. See also S. U.. Fwatshak, *Indigenous Entrepreneurship*. 28. See SNP.17/4/34252, Benue Province Annual Report 1914.

²⁰ P. E. Lovejoy “The Proprietorship of Salt works in Borno in the 19th Century” in *Dept. of History Seminar Series vol. 9* ABU Zaria. 141

²¹ C. A. Folorunso “Contacts and Interrelations Among the Peoples of the Benue Valley” See A. E. Afigbo “Foundations of Igbo society” and Osoba (eds.) *Topics on Social and Economic History of Nigerian*. 34-54. See P. U. Mbakwe & M. A. Chigbo “Manufacturing industries and crafts in Ohoazema, Ebonyi State before 1960” O. Njokwu and O. Iwuagwu (eds.) *Topics on Igbo Economic History*. Ikeja, First Academic Publishers, 2008. 152-154 B. Awe “ Empires of the Western Sudan: Ghana, Mali, Songhai” in J.F.A. Ajayi and J. Espie (eds.) *A Thousand Years of West African History*, Ibadan, University Press, 1965. 56-57



reported that in Keana, salt springs were usually allocated to the Keana-born women as right and the industry was controlled by women.²² The indigenous table salt production was an exclusive activity of one clan, Igabu, which today is part of Yala LGA of Cross River State. However, the entire Igede and her immediate neighbours got most of their salt need and supply from this region through trade and exchange system in the pre-colonial period. According to the oral tradition of the Igabu clan, it was their hereditary activity because they started salt evaporation a long time ago. According to the tradition:

Salt refining was our inheritance from our ancestors from time immemorial. Our fathers were refining salt when they first settled in the central part of Igede land. And when they moved to the present settlement, the salt also followed them. Even today if we move from here elsewhere, we shall refine salt there.²³

In the process of establishing the claim of the Igabu clan in respect of their monopoly of salt in Igede, this study discovered that even within the Igabu clan, there was a particular family/lineage, Ojegbe-Igabu which seems to be the chief priest of the god of salt that ordered ritual cleansing of the sites when occasion demanded (either violations of the taboos of the salt lake or general cleaning of the salt lake area when necessary).²⁴ This prompted further inquiry by the researcher thus. In the same vein, G. E. Ode noted:

The earliest neighbours of the Igedes in their present land included the people called Igbadu, Uwogbu, Itire and Ijiba. The chief of Igbadu and Uwogbu received the Igede warmly and soon they had intra and inter-ethnic group marriages. The Igbadu were specialist salt refiners. The Igedes learned the salt trade from the Igbadus and subsequently used treachery to dispossess them of their land and salt lakes/mines.²⁵

Beside this fact, one discovered that the Igabu clan and the Yala clan were very close, as the Yala were widely recognized within the entire region in the pre-colonial period to be professionals in salt processing.²⁶ Indeed R. G. Armstrong mentioned earlier how widespread salt brines were in the land and listed Yala salt sites to include Ijegwu, Aloda, Ugaga, Igekuruku, Akurihia, Okpoma amongst others and how salt was the main product in the barter trade in Okuku and Okpoma markets.²⁷ G. E. Ode also maintained that the Igede learned the art of salt refining and trade from the Igbadu and Yala neighbours.²⁸ Indeed the indigenous salt is still called in Igede language as *ima ny'Ala*, (meaning Yala salt) thereby acknowledging its source. These suggest that the particular family in Igabu clan that are the main spiritual custodian of

²² P.T.Gbasha "Women and Children in the Labour Force in Nigeria: An Historical Overview".

Mangwat, M.Y. (Ed.) *A History of Labor in Nigeria*. Jos, CDS and Jos University Press Ltd 1998. 73.

²³ Utukpo-Igabu Elders interviewed in Onah Ogbu's compound, Utukpo-Igabu, Yala LGA, Cross River State on 1/11/ 1997.

²⁴ A lot of taboos surround the salt mines in Igede like many similar salt processing societies in Africa. Menstruated women were prohibited from fetching the brine, iron plates/bowl were not used in fetching the brines. Oral Interview: Cecilia Ojanyi (55 +) Housewife/farmer, Ojegbe-Igabu 5/1/15.

²⁵ G. E. Ode "Igede and their Neighbours up to 1900" Postgraduate Seminar, ABU Zaria 1981. 5.

²⁶ See D. Omagu, *A wind of change: Bekwarra in an Age of Globalization*. Makurdi, Aboki Publishers. 2011

²⁷ Armstrong "The Idoma-speaking peoples." 128.

²⁸ Ode "Igede and their neighbours up to 1900". 9.



salt could have been the descendant of the original Igbadu people or the Igabu family that agreed and actually carried out the costly sacrifice to learn the processing of salt.²⁹ Even a young boy from the family could perform the rituals when the need arises including the cleansing rites when someone breaches the taboo. The taboos and “Fetish” belief system surrounding the processing of salt is also common in the Yala and Igbo salt processing communities.³⁰ These taboos were the same in salt processing in Igede and Yala societies. The real motive of the taboos and rituals surrounding this technology was to preserve its purity and neatness of its production environment, high processing value and as well a form of monopoly and cartel over it which prevented other communities from engaging in the trade.³¹ There were no formal apprenticeship training for the refining of salt but young women learned the crafts from their mothers and other members of the family through direct participation. Such practical involvement is handled cautiously according to the age and maturity of the learners in order not to contravene the established taboos³²

Salt Processing Techniques

The salt processing here in Igede refers the mineral salt which entirely is different from the Berom salt processed from plant straw by women in houses through burning and filtering³³ The processing of Igede indigenous salt could be all year round but largely due to difficulties in fetching and boiling the salt water during the raining season, it is reserved for the dry season from January up to May. The difficulty mentioned arose from the grossly low salinity of the salt lakes due to flooding. The fetching of the liquid salt from the brine lake *Uje-nyima* in Igede was done by only “clean people” in the society using calabashes, guards and clay pots (but not iron pots and in the modern times, basins or rubber containers). The ‘clean people’ that can fetch the liquid salt include men, young girls before menstruation and old women that have passed menopause.³⁴

The liquid brine *Eny-nyima* was carefully filtered into some big cooking pots. The filtered water tastes somehow salty, different from ordinary water. When the volume of ordinary water was high, men helped women by inserting bamboos stick *Ochachwo* into the bottom of the lake thereby, fetching out highly concentrated salty water. This is done to avoid the ordinary surface water. The filtered water would be emptied into the uncovered pot placed on fire for gradual boiling with logs of wood.³⁵ The pot would be uncovered to enhance quick evaporation of water. As the boiling continued for about two to four days, the women refiners also continuously added more filtered salt water into the pot. As the heating intensified, the water evaporated while the salt crystallized at the bottom of the pot. These processes continued until the pot was full of salt

²⁹ There is serious resemblance of Igabu and Igbadu. Indeed among the entire fourteen existing clans of Igede, Igabu has a unique dialect that distinguished her from the rest and whose origin is yet to be ascertained. Traditions recorded that the Igabu ancestors sacrificed human to their shrine to own the salt brine. Utukpo-Igabu Elders interviewed in Onah Ogbu’s compound, Utukpo-Igabu, Yala LGA, CRS on 1/11/ 1997.

³⁰ Oral Interview: Mama Ownanyi Oko (80+) Old Salt refiner, Oyinyi-Ijegwu Yala 5/1/15. See P.A. Mbakwe and M.A. Chigbo “Manufacture and Trade in Igbo culture”. 152.

³¹ Oral Interview: Mama Ownanyi Oko.

³² Oral Interview: Oluwa Michael Edibe (35+) Business man, Ajimole-Igabu 5/1/15.

³³ See J. Y. Dung-Gwom “Berom Traditional Crafts” in C.C. Jacobs *Studies in Berom History and Culture Vol. I* Berom History Project 1995. 100-101.

³⁴ Oral Interview: Declan Eje (75+) farmer, Ijegwu-Oyinyi 5/01/15

³⁵ Oral Interview: Mama Odoobi Oko 78+ years, Retired salt refiner, Oyinyi-Ijegwu 5/01/15.



or till the women were satisfied with the quantity needed then, the fire would be put off. The pot *Ota-nyima* would be left over one night for cooling process to take place.³⁶ The salt could be so heavy that strong men some time would be invited to lift it with the pot from the cooking stand *Iyegwu* and then a fresh process is set up. Indeed, the factory site situated close to the salt lake was full of empty pots and the tripods. The crystallised salt *echima* would be taken home for use and to the market for sale in bowls.

Historical Significance of Indigenous Salt

Generally, salt is very important and vital for human survival particularly in the sub-Saharan Africa where there is daily loss of this all-essential mineral component from the body through sweat coupled with the long hard work by the people daily.³⁷ In fact, the product is relatively scarce and was in high demand for the following reasons. It is used to enhance the taste of food thus, as an additive and stabilizer. The indigenous salt is said to be richer than the company processed ones particularly, in quantity of iodine. Women break and grind it with other food or soup ingredients on the stone and it eased the grinding process. The Igede salt is used as indigenous medicine particularly for curing stomachache and other minor ailments.³⁸ The indigenous salt is used for preservation of food, meat and fish by the people. It is mixed with beans, groundnut, and grains in a pot to preserve these foodstuffs from insects, weevils and other animals one season to another.³⁹ Weevils and other dangerous insects are repelled from the grains thereby enhance their preservation. Indigenous salt was also used as bride price and as wealth in some communities of Igede and Yala in pre-colonial periods.⁴⁰ In early periods, salt was rolled in crystallised form and loaded in basket for markets and bride price purposes.

Indigenous salt was used in exchange for yams, cloths, iron tools and other important products of trade. It was also used as a medium of exchange as currency upon which other items were valued and exchanged in pre-colonial times.⁴¹ It was reported by Donald Omagu that the indigenous salt from Yala area was a form currency in pre-colonial period in Bekwarra, and the entire Ogoja region.⁴² The Niger Delta region and most parts of Igboland used salt molded into small cones (produced at Uburu) as currency.⁴³ Therefore salt as currency played vital role in the pre-colonial economy of Africa.

Due to its high demand, there were many indigenous traders of salt on short and long distances. The entire Central Nigerian and Cross River Valley Regions depended on the salt from Igede, Yala, Alago, Jukun production centres in pre-colonial period. The trading activities and networks were dominated by the Aro of Igbo, Akuna-Kuna, Jukun, Hausa and others.⁴⁴ They

³⁶ Oral Interview: Cecilia Ojanyi. 5/01/15.

³⁷ See O. Njokwu "Manufacture and trade in Igbo culture" Njokwu & Iwugwu (Eds.). *Topics in Igbo Economic History*. 58.

³⁸ Fwatshak, *Indigenous Entrepreneurship*. 78.

³⁹ Oral Interview: Declan Eje.

⁴⁰ Armstrong "The Idoma-speaking peoples". 128-129.

⁴¹ Faluyi "Inter regional trade in pre-colonial Africa" *Tarikh*. 35.

⁴² Omagu, *A Wind of Change*. 51.

⁴³ Umorah A.C. "The Lowlands Salt Industry" Isichei E (ed.) *Studies in the History of Plateau State, Nigeria* London, 1982. 151-178.

⁴⁴ S. A. Ettah-Attoah "S. A. Effah-Attol "Pre-colonial Trade Relations between the Cross River Basin and the Middle Benue Region of Nigeria" in Ochefu, Y.A. Iyo, J. and T. A. Varvar (eds.), *A History of the Peoples of Benue State*. (Makurdi, Aboki Publishers, 2007).



were extremely involved in itinerant trade within the broad region of the pre-colonial economic activities. Therefore, the trading activities in salt within the broad areas provided employment for the people, through exchange system brought distant goods and valuable items to the societies involved. Salt also fostered peaceful co-existence among the Igede, Yala and their neighbours.

Conclusion

The activities of salt production in the Benue Valley and Cross River areas facilitated peaceful coexistence, understanding and stable intergroup relations amongst the inhabiting groups. There was stability and even some groups had identified themselves more as kinsmen rather than geographical neighbours. For example, there existed a high bond of unity, oneness and feeling of attachment amongst the following despite the fact of long distances and separation by modern administrative and political divisions like states creation had placed them far apart. The following ethno-cultural groups had a lot in common beyond the contiguous neighborhood and trading. They include Igede, Yala, Idoma, Bekwarra, Etulo, Alago, Obudu, Jukun, and Igbo. Indeed, these groups seemed to have similarities in languages and cultural affinities particularly the dance groups, the village-based socio-political system which never ends but exists alongside the modern local government system the beginning of the twenty-first century.



Test Fairness of the National Common Entrance Examination in Nigeria: Implications for School Counselling

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Abstract

Test fairness is one of the qualities of a good test. It ensures relative comparability and reduces biases that tend to portray education as a factor of inequality i.e. widening the gap between the rich and the poor even within the public school context. The paper focused on the National Common Entrance Examination in a context of remarkable differences in the quality of schools, being subjected to the same examination with similar evaluation parameters. Area of test fairness concerns includes: fairly well-funded schools and the impoverished ones treated as common and test and measurement; aptitude subjects are taught through the levels/classes of private and model schools while this is not the case with most public schools (i.e. L.E.A. Schools). Undesirable effects of the examination were examined. Such effects include coaching and cramming which may not promote learning but are designed primarily to pass the test. This may also affect the predictive validity of the aptitude test. Implications for counselling include advocacy to operationalize the concept of school as an agent of education to guarantee learning for all, and not as a mere selection mechanism for those who passed the test. Accreditation of schools should apply to all levels including primary schools to reduce the gap in the infrastructure of fairly well-funded schools and the ones that have experienced ritualized deprivation.

Keywords: National Examination, Test Fairness, Education Policy, Secondary Schools

Introduction

The National Common Entrance Examination is a standardized aptitude test which implies that it is a test designed to predict or ascertain the readiness of primary school finishers to adjust to the academic challenges of post-primary school education specifically the unity schools i.e. Federal Government Colleges in Nigeria. The prospective candidates consist of all primary six pupils all over Nigeria. The National Examination Council (NECO) is responsible for the conduct of the examination. The selection is usually done within the scope of available vacancies in the first year junior secondary school classes of Federal unity schools under specific national policies guidelines such as Merit category, and then quota system that is designed to favour catchment areas - a mechanism meant to reduce or rule out preponderant biases of the selection process in favour of presumed educationally advantaged states. In other words, a quota system which is more or less a form of positive discrimination creates constituencies or clusters of the identical platform of scores for the selection of candidates.



It is important to document that the curriculum that prepares Nigerian children for the National Common Entrance Examination forms part of the Universal Basic Education curriculum in Nigeria, the six-year primary school education constitutes the lower basic and the middle basic. It is debatable if the selection process (which is characterized by the payment of fees which prevents the children from a poor socioeconomic background from taking the examination) is in tandem with the spirit and letter of the UBE act especially as it relates to the desire of the government to give free, universal and compulsory education. Educational assessment always takes off from some kind of presupposition about what education is for. Education assessment which is geared to giving access to all citizens will proceed slightly different from that which is to produce maximum access to an elite core of citizens. As implied in the name, the National Common Entrance examination provides a common basis (in terms of test content/items, administration, measurement and evaluation under specific policy conditions for all Nigeria primary six pupils to get admission into unity schools, that is, Federal Government Colleges which are funded by the Federal Government of Nigeria and are perceived to be part of the best of the public school system in Nigeria. Within the context of public schools, Federal Government Colleges enjoy greater prestige, better public expectations of academic achievement and higher prospects of entrance into universities and other prestigious post-secondary training institutions for professional development. Consequently, the school year in which children register for the examination is often one of strain for all concerned particularly parents, pupils, teachers and school administrators.

The objective of this paper is to examine the extent to which the examination fulfils one of the key qualities of the test, that is, test fairness as well as to ascertain the credibility of the name - National Common Entrance Examination- given the widening gap in funding, staffing and public expectation of fairly better-funded schools via-a-vis poorly funded ones. There is also the question of whether or not the Nigeria philosophy of education which is founded on the principle of, equality of educational opportunities and justice (FRN, 2014) will allow for the sort of selection that the common entrance examination engenders

Concept of Test Fairness

A fair assessment provides all test takers with an equal opportunity to demonstrate achievement or aptitude and yields scores that are comparably valid from one person or group to another (Herbert and Hausert 1999). The rationale is to allow learners or prospective test takers to show what they have learned from instruction in the form of an application of some sort. If some students have an advantage over others because of factors unrelated to what is taught, then the assessment is not fair (Macmillan 2007). Fairness requires that the test be unbiased and non-discriminatory, uninfluenced by irrelevant or subjective factors that are neither the test content/items nor the scoring is differentially affected by gender, ethnicity, background, handicapping condition or other factors unrelated to what is been assessed.

Fairness, an essential quality of a test has been broadly defined as the equitable treatment of all test-takers during the testing process, absence of measurement bias, equitable access to the constructs being measured and justifiable validity of test score interpretation for the intended purpose (AERA, APA & NCME, 2014).



Test Fairness of the National Common Entrance Examination

Part of the features of the school system in Nigeria is ownership of different categories of schools. Some of the categories of school include:

1. Schools owned by individual and corporate bodies
2. Model schools owned by federal and state governments
3. Demonstration and/or staff schools attached to institutions or parastatals with a sizable number of cities
4. Public schools I.e. primary schools managed by the state Universal Basic Education school board (SUBEC)

A cursory appraisal of the school as listed above will reveal the remarkable difference in the quality of learning facilities or resource allocation and personnel or staffing. A survey of primary schools that traditionally serve as dominant sources of admission to federal government colleges will show that the LEA schools are the least to likely obtain admission. This was not the case from 1970s till the early 1980s because the public primary school or L.E.A. Schools were remarkably comparable to the private and model primary schools. Indeed, many public primary schools especially the rural ones are no longer attempting the National common entrance examination. In addition, the UBE act (FRN, 2000) provides that assessment at the basic education level shall be largely based on continuous assessment only to be confronted with an end of primary school programme evaluation that is significantly formalized. The National Common Entrance Examination exemplifies the view of Gopaul-Monicol and Brice Baker (1998) that school assessment has veered too far in the direction of formal testing. The Examination compromises most of the advantages envisaged for the continuous assessment programme as documented in the national policy on education (FRN, 2014).

One of the weaknesses of the National Common Entrance Examination relates to a developmental psychology imperative that nascent cognitive potentials emerge, develop and are displayed within the socio-cultural milieu (Brice- Baker 1998). Tests are usually skewed toward a certain type of cognitive style. For example, the availability of textbooks for the aptitude test (quantitative and verbal) together with past questions and answers confound the aptitudinal claim of the examination. Also, most of the source schools for admission to target schools i.e. unity schools have on their timetable these aptitude subjects from primary one to primary six. The concept of aptitude test does not require teaching and intensive coaching that characterizes examination year. Invariably the test and the assumption that it predicts the readiness of the prospective successful candidates is substantially compromised.

Most public schools in states like Niger do not have the aptitude subject on the timetable and it is important to reiterate that it is not a conventional school practice to have it. Also undermined is the bio-ecological treatise on intellectual development by Cecil in Gopaul-Mcnical and Brice-Baker which states that context and cognition are inseparable. Simply put the National Common Entrance Examination suffers from item bias. Item bias is said to have occurred when individuals with the same amount of underlying aptitude traits from different sub-population have different probabilities of responding to an item (i.e. a test question) correctly in ability measurements or positively in attitude measurements. The cause of item bias could be the use of highly idiosyncratic terms drawing on sub-cultural knowledge not widely shared in the



population, an item that refers to a concept not relevant to some sub-population of an item that has been badly translated into a foreign language (Hulin Drasgrow & Persons, 1983). For example in 1992 during the marking of the NECO junior secondary school certificate Examinations, the writer witnessed a situation where children from urban centres included E-mail in their answer to the question - List five modern forms of communication - some markers who were predominantly teachers in and around Minna (Niger State capital) marked E-mail as the wrong answer because those teachers at that time did not know E-mail as a means of communication but some children listed it as a correct answer. Invariably children taught by these markers could not have known E-mail as a means of communication. This is one reason why seminars and workshops should be a feature of our school practice because of the dynamism of knowledge.

There are primary schools in Nigeria that are experiencing ritualized deprivation. The experience of the writer in teaching primary school teachers who were returning to school for NCE (Nigeria Certificate in Education) by correspondence overwhelmingly suggests that many of the teachers did not know enough to pass the National common entrance examination, let alone teach the pupils. Fafunwa (1983) reported that the famous Dr Samuel Johnson said that those born to poverty and drudgery should not be deprived by an improper education of the “opiate of ignorance.” He added that in any democratic society schools must be committed to mass rather than elite education. The school should aim to develop the full potential of all pupils, be they gifted or slow and there would be no need for National Common Entrance Examination as the basis for admission to the fairly well funded Secondary Schools. Fafunwa warned that educationally disinherited children are worse off than maternally disinherited ones.

One of the assumptions of sustaining the practice and conduct of the National Common Entrance Examination is that selection is by merit. Heinecke (1988) in an attempt from a sociological perspective to fault the meritocratic claim of our school system said that peasants, labourers and truck-pushers all belong to the same underprivileged group whose children suffer serious educational handicaps in comparison to their rich peers. Working class children are most likely to take up similar occupations to their parents, not because they have a natural and/or innate aptitude for pushing trucks and labouring but because they lack contacts, academically conducive home environment, money, godfathers and other Favourable avenues that make for upward social mobility in Nigeria. Education has become an expensive commodity that most people simply cannot afford. Educational policies of Government on free, compulsory and universal basic education lack financial backing particularly when primary education is largely the responsibility of Local Governments.

Bowles and Gintis in Hurn (1995) disagreed with the meritocratic hypothesis with its assumption that schools are efficient ways of selecting talented people. Instead, National Examination is one of the ways that shows albeit seemingly and not in reality that selection is meritocratic. This is essential for the legitimacy of the capitalist order that the population be convinced that people in high-status positions do deserve these positions that they are more talented and harder workers than others. Schools are an essential prop of legitimacy. Selection for particular tracks within a school must appear to be made based on ability and intelligence, and such purportedly objective criteria as Intelligence Quotient (I.Q) and grades serve this function. But these criteria mask the fact that success in schooling and of course success in later life is closely related to



social class becoming less closely related over time. We need to interrogate more critically what constitutes normalcy and what harmful assumptions are inherent in our educational practice.

One aspect of the National Common Entrance Examination that abbreviates test fairness is the concept of clustering for a cut-off point which defines a collectivity for the same cut-off point to include indigenes of a state irrespective of residence. For example, an indigene of Niger state schooling in Lagos state will be considered on the same measuring scale as those at home. But it is a well-known fact the school context of Lagos is generally better than that of Niger state. Similarly, even with pupils resident in the state of origin, selection across socioeconomic classes within the state with the same cut-off point smacks of insensitivity to the research imperative of socio-economic factors in academic achievement. Poverty is more obvious in villages and urban slums. It is the poor that patronize UBE schools more and the schools are generally impoverished. Therefore using the same cut-off point for schools that have a remarkable difference in the quality of teachers, infrastructure, student support services and public expectation simply illustrates test unfairness

Undesirable Effects of the National Common Entrance Examinations

As children approach the end of the primary school curriculum, many teachers and parents in Nigeria exert pressure on learners by devoting all their effort in the last year or two to cramming pupils into passing the Examination and usually pay less attention to school subjects or activities which do not directly contribute to this end. Teaching for examination or test is liable to have a stultifying effect on progressive educational practice, to discourage experimentation with activity methods, group work and self-expression or creative subjects. This is injurious to the mental health and the proper social and emotional growth of children.

Coaching is another harmful effect. As an accountability tool, the National Common Entrance examinations often lead to widespread coaching of prospective candidates. Coaching often degenerates into drilling for the least important skills and perpetuates damaging models of instruction and educational excellence. Learning how to learn and use knowledge is relegated to the background.

A national standardized, multiple-choice examinations would likely perpetuate sorting students according to class. Under the guise of tracking for “ability” students are often segregated according to socioeconomic class based on test scores. This is partly because the tests make cultural assumptions through the language used and the experience the test treats as normative, assumptions that work to the detriment of low-income children and children from rural areas. For example, most students in Federal Government colleges attended pre-primary schools as well as a model or private primary schools. While there are real differences in the educational opportunities of poor and rich pupils, standardized tests exaggerate these differences by their biases and confuse lack of ability with lack of exposure.

Implications for Counselling

Schools are supposed to be designed to guarantee success for every child, particularly for a government that has committed itself to equal educational opportunities and free education for citizens. Also, school from a counselling point of view should give expression to what is in the



child through systematic management of individual differences. Consequently, a National common learning environment/context should precede a national common entrance examination. The national common entrance examination put the cart of testing before the horse of a relatively comparable educational context/facilities and the harmful effects of this trend will fall most heavily on the children of the poor. If two children attend two different schools of different qualities they do not have to write the same examination if the purpose is aptitudinal or when they write the same examination, they do not need to be subjected to the same cut-off point if the purpose is aptitude. Differences in the test performance are likely going to reflect more of the differences in the learning environment rather than in their aptitude to learn. There is nothing common about the national common entrance examination except the examination paper and the dates or else not even the venues of the examination are of equal or comparable comfort for testing Nigerian schools need to be repositioned in such a way that teachers and school management can be held accountable for the education of learners. Most public primary schools lack basic infrastructure and qualified and motivated teachers. In these circumstances, school personnel cannot be held accountable. The hypocritical approach to attaining a conducive learning environment through accreditation at the tertiary educational level should be stepped down to primary and secondary schools. One's the condition for functional education is available every child can learn (Schmidt, 1999)

Continuous assessment at the primary school level should be of the right difficulty level and the essential attribute of guidance oriented practice should be implemented, this will significantly improve learning. School conditions that allow for immediate feedback and remedial services such as appropriate learner/teacher ratio as recommended in the National Policy on Education should be adhered to If aptitude which embodies readiness for secondary school education is our goal, then we need to robustly reconceptualize the readiness test in a way that gives fairly equal opportunity to all that desire secondary school education. In the 1970s up to the early 1980s, products of public primary schools including the ones located in villages were getting admission to Federal Government Colleges. Such students will show initial learning deficits, especially in communication skills but within the time-space of two to three years of learning in the Unity Schools, they adjusted and often graduated with good WAEC results. If we value both fairness and merit in determining access, we might consider alternative readiness test designs that move away from an emphasis on a single cut-off point and tilt towards that which incorporate the identification of the skills the students should develop to improve their readiness for success.

Conclusion

The absence of test fairness amounts to test abuse of a kind. The National Common Entrance Examinations need to be closely examined to reflect legitimate variables of national interest so that education rather than being a factor of social mobility turns out to be a factor in widening the gap between the rich and the poor thereby setting the stage for social implosion as implied in the Marxist materialist construction of history which talks about the contradictions of the system that is bound to experience upheavals by working out its logic. Our school system can be made better, more responsive or sensitive to the need and aspirations of the various sub-cultures as it relates to the comparability of results of national examinations.



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Debt Profile and States Productivity: Evidence from Nigeria

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Abstract

This study examines the extent of the debt profile of the productivity of the states in Nigeria. Using data from the National Bureau of Statistics from 2013 to 2017, the study employed a linear regression with debt, sub-sector (agriculture, industry and service) on GDP as variables, while panel data analysis was equally employed to assess the net effect. Findings from the study show that debt taken so far positively enhances GDP, with it contributing more to the agricultural sector. The net effect of time shows 2017 to be the most impactful year with the high influx of investors. This study recommends that more emphasis should be given to the industrial sector as its multiplying effect can lead to more productivity.

Keywords: Debt Profile, Domestic Debt, Debt Management, Productivity, Nigeria

Introduction

Over the years, the persistent rise in the poverty level in developing countries like Nigeria has continued to put pressure on the government to increase its expenditures, to cater for the need of the people. This pressure has made many governments rely on borrowing, especially when the revenue receipts fall short of the required funds to finance expenditure (Kaur, Mukherjee & Ekka, 2018). Government borrowing occurred as a result of increasing government expenditure unmatched by its revenue (James, Magaji, Ayo & Musa, 2016). As a major requirement for the growth of any economy, without finance, the government would not be able to meet up with its obligations, because borrowing allows the government to spend even without static income (Cecchetti, Mohanty & Zampoli, 2011).

A debt profile is the outline or description of the total debt owed by individuals, companies or the government. Debt in Nigeria dates back to 1958 by the colonial administration which led to the creation of the marketable public securities to finance fiscal deficits (Mba, Yuni & Oburota, 2013). In Nigeria which is faced with fiscal imbalances, government debt is crucial for economic growth. Evidence shows that many developing countries in Africa including Nigeria, experienced a severe economic crisis in the late 1970s and early 1980s, which accounts for macroeconomic imbalances widening savings-investment gap, high rate of inflation, the balance of payments disequilibrium and huge budget deficit; the poor management of public debt has escalated the debt burden (Mba, Yuni & Oburota, 2013). This high level of debt has eroded its positive effect on the growth of the economy as a result of decreasing investment and consumption which results in less employment and lower output and productivity (Egbetunde, 2012).



Originally, public debt is aimed at making funds available for developmental projects that are meant to promote investment and greater productivity but the rise in debt profile has been a course for concern. Looking inward, the debt profile of many states in Nigeria has continued to increase especially within the democratic setting, to increase physical infrastructure. Most of these debt profiles which constitute the domestic and external debt are geared toward economic growth; but despite this, debt size is important for sustainability (Adesoji, 2019). The sustainability of the debt has continued to be an issue for policymakers. Evidence from Debt Management Office (DMO) shows that as of March 2020, the debt profile was ₦28.63 trillion with ₦1.23 trillion increases when compared to ₦27.40 trillion as of December 2019, with total domestic debt constituting ₦18.64 trillion and the external debt is ₦9.99 trillion (Economy, 2020). In essence, domestic debt seems to be the most accessible debt platform for most States, to resuscitate the decay in infrastructure and enhance their productivity. A closer look at these States, notably Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross Rivers, Delta, Imo, Lagos, Ogun, Osun, Plateau and Rivers are the 10 top rankings indebted States to the tune of over ₦100 billion each. Other states are below ₦100 billion with states like Oyo, Enugu and Niger States cropping up faster (Sulaimon, 2021).

There has been a great surge in debt, which studies have blamed on widening fiscal deficits at both the national and State levels (Aladejana, Adeniyi, Okeowo, & Abosede 2021). This significant movement may pose a danger if appropriate measures are not taken, which might lead to a debt overhang. The debt overhang might be eminent especially when the components used in debt servicing fluctuate. Given the productivity rate of states, the most common means of servicing debt may fall under Federal Account Allocation which is always dynamic.

The essence of this debt by states is to accelerate the pace of economic development by addressing the most critical areas and as well enhancing the investment portfolio. The big question is, what has been the pace of economic development given the referred sectors within the confine of debt taken so far? The main goal for every society is to stimulate and address the critical infrastructure with the sole aim of providing employment opportunities for the teeming population. In addressing this key fundamental issue, previous studies have examined the relationship between debt and economic growth in Nigeria (Adofu & Abula, 2010; Egbetunde, 2012; Matthew & Mordecai, 2016). Other studies looked at public debt on sub-macroeconomic variables like investment, prices and interest rate among others (Akomolafe, Bosede, Emmanuel & Mark, 2015; Essien, Agboegbulem, Mba & Onumonu, 2016; Ogunjimi, 2019). Though, these earlier studies were directed toward country-level data, without due consideration for state-level debt profile and their productivity status; secondly, earlier studies emphasise more on foreign debt than domestic debt. In essence, the manifestation of the domestic debt crisis is more responsible for the increment in unemployment, high cost of governance and low productivity due to the lack of strict restrictions. Therefore, the persistent rise in debt profile may fail to attain economic development, if the necessary measures are not taken into consideration; especially when the share percentage of debt approaches 100 percent of the state growth rate.

Literature Review

The federal, as well as state governments, have come to rely heavily on debt as an instrument to solve financial deficits. However, this has given rise to a series of studies because of the heavy



burden borrowing has caused as it has been identified as the cause of the inability of the government to fulfil its financial obligations. Debt profiles have a severe link to the growth and productivity of the economy. Most studies focused on the overall effect of public debt on the national economy (Oke & Suleiman, 2012; Boris, 2014; Erhieyovwe & Onovwoakpoma, 2013; Ebi, Abu, & Clement, 2013). Kamundia, Gitahi, and Mwilaria (2015) use data from 1980 to 2013 in Kenya and examined the effect of public debt on economic growth, and the result shows that debt has a positive effect on economic growth. The Same findings were obtained in the study of Al-Dughme (2019) in Jordan, as the study try to test the effect of public debt on economic growth from 1990 to 2017. But, Alzoubi, Khasawneh and Alzoubi (2020) found a negative relationship between the ratio of Net Public Debt to economic growth in Jordan. Although this public debt is more specific as it comprises both external and domestic debt. The superiority of external debt to domestic debt in terms of economic growth leads to a crowd-out of domestic investment in Nigeria (Ebi, Abu, and Clement, 2013). This might lead to an increase in the cost of debt servicing because it can crowd out investment expenditure (Karagol, 2002). The study of Didia and Ayokunle (2020) in Nigeria incorporates both the domestic and external debt; finding show that external debt negatively affects economic growth while domestic debt positively affects economic growth. Domestic debt is more advantageous as seen in the study of Mba, Yuni and Oburota (2013), their study used the error correction model and finds domestic debt to have a significant and direct relationship with GDP, with debt should be invested in the real sector. Titus, Chidi, Tochukwu and Babatunde (2016) use domestic debt and economic growth in Nigeria, and the study revealed that domestic debts enhanced the growth of the economy. But the negative result was obtained by James, Magaji, Ayo & Musa (2016) between domestic debt and economic growth in Nigeria.

Methodology

In examining the effect of state's debt profiles on productivity, the study used a dataset from 2013 to 2017 for seven states notably, Rivers, Ogun, Kano, Kaduna, Niger, Ondo and Kogi obtained from the National Bureau of Statistics (2019). Only 22 states have a complete report on states GDP out of which seven states having complete information on sub-sector were purposively selected. The study used domestic debt stock to represent the debt profile, because virtually all states have been accessing domestic debt when compared to external debt, due to its flexibility and favourable conditions. For productivity, the state GDP at the current basic price is used for the productivity of the state, while productivity from the agricultural, industrial and service sectors was equally used. The argument expects that the debt profile should increase the productivity of the agriculture, industry and service sectors.

This study used linear regression analysis to estimate the debt profiles and productivity components. This study used the sectorial productivity on the debt profile. To achieve a more normalized dataset, a log transformation was carried out by transforming high skewed variables. Also, the aim is to have homogeneity in the data format. The estimation model for the study is stated as:

$$lgdp = \beta_0 + \beta_1ldb + \varepsilon \dots\dots\dots 1$$

$$lgdp = \beta_0 + \beta_1lagr + \beta_2lind + \beta_3lsev + \varepsilon \dots\dots\dots 2$$

On the panel setup, the Harris-Tzavalis unit root test was employed because the number of panels is larger than the number of periods. The Hausman test were used to identify the preferred model



and the null hypothesis is more of random effects than the fixed effects (Green, 2008). Using simple panel analysis, the fixed effect associated with this study is stated below:

$$lgdp = \beta_1 ldbt_{it} + \alpha_i + \mu_{it} \dots\dots\dots 3$$

Where α is the unknown intercept for each state, $lgdp$ is the log of GDP given the states i at time t ; $ldbt$ represents the log of debt profile; β is the coefficient and μ is the error term. The fixed effect usually removed the time-invariant associated with observations thereby assessing the net effects.

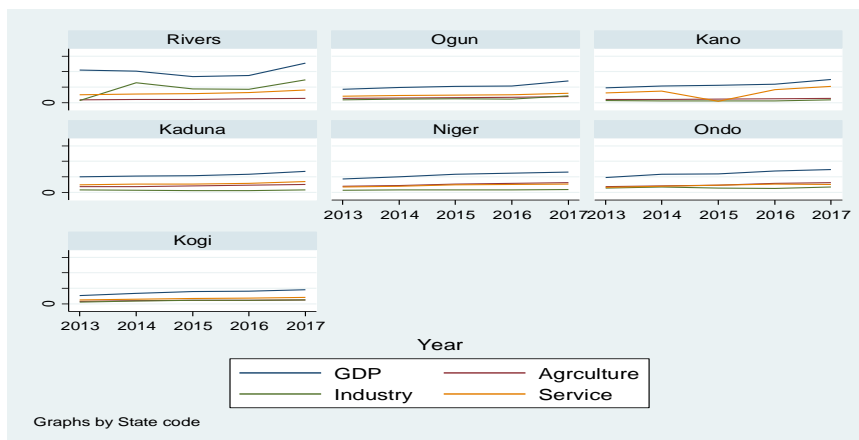
Results

From the data obtained, the descriptive result shows that the average mean for domestic debts for the seven states is ₦58.2 billion with Rivers State having the highest debt of ₦142 billion in 2017, while Kogi State has the least debt in 2013 given the periods under observation. For agriculture, Niger state took the lead from 2013 to 2015 with a maximum production of ₦1061314.8 billion, while Ondo state had top agricultural production from 2016 and 2017 with ₦1251162.3 billion. However, in terms of industry, Ondo State only led in 2013 having over 100 medium and largest scale companies. But from 2014 to 2017, Rivers have the highest contribution in the industrial sector with over 5000 medium and large-scale companies. Looking at the service sector, Kano State lead all through except in the year 2015 when Rivers state had a high record of ₦1164774.02 billion in the service sector. In terms of GDP, Rivers State has the highest growth rate given the years under consideration.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

Variables	Mean	Standard Deviation
Domestic Debt	58.2	38.1
Agriculture	683668	273689
Industry	598291.2	642717.5
Service	1021159	357181
Gross Domestic Product	2416229	829918.5

Source: Authors' Computation





For the sectorial result, industrial and service sectors are positive and significant at 1% and 10% respectively, while agricultural productivity is positive but not significant. However, emphasizing on state, the agricultural productivity is positive and significant in all the states with Ogun state having a higher contribution of agricultural productivity to its GDP. In the case of industry, Ogun, Niger and Kogi show a positive and significant contribution to GDP. Surprisingly, states like Rivers, Kano, Kaduna and Ondo are positive but not significant, this might be due to the proliferation of industries in those states. Also, most of those industries are largely cottage in nature with no registration with any government agency. For the service sector, Ogun, Kaduna, Niger, Ondo and Kogi have positive and significant results, whereas not significant in the case of Rivers and Kano.

Table 2: Sector's influence on GDP

Variables	All States	State1	State2	State3	State4	State5	State6	State7
Agriculture	0.11 (0.15)	0.28* (0.66)	1.35*** (0.19)	1.21*** (0.17)	0.72** (0.14)	0.88*** (0.01)	0.69*** (0.07)	1.18*** (0.05)
Industry	0.28*** (0.05)	0.01 (0.08)	0.55*** (0.04)	0.44 (0.32)	0.03 (0.32)	1.99*** (0.28)	0.28 (0.66)	0.63*** (0.05)
Service	0.36* (0.20)	0.45 (0.42)	1.29*** (0.08)	0.04 (0.06)	0.88*** (0.94)	0.95*** (0.03)	0.79*** (0.11)	1.15*** (0.15)

Notes: Robust standard errors are in parentheses, P values: significance *10%; **5%; ***1%. State codes have State1= Rivers, State2 = Ogun, State3 = Kano, State4 = Kaduna, State5 = Niger, State6 = Ondo, and State7 = Kogi.

Source: Authors' Computation

To determine the sector that always benefits from debt in most states in the light of major sectors like agriculture, industry and service sector. The result shows that debt influences the GDP of all states except that of Rivers where they are at the largess of high IGR. Rivers state is ranked the second most industrialized state in Nigeria aside from Lagos state. The state has a huge investment in oil and gas, with a production of almost 60% of crude oil in the country. An in-depth analysis of Rivers state shows that the debt those not have any significance on the GDP and the servicing sectors identified in this study. The result from Ogun and Kogi states shows an increase in debt usually accelerates the growth rate of their GDPs and other servicing sectors, with the industrial sector having the contribution given the coefficient of 1.72 and 0.28 respectively. Differences were found in the case of other states, with Kaduna and Ondo states debt contributing more to the agricultural and service sectors. For Niger State, an increase in debts tends to accelerate the agricultural and industrial sectors in the state with agriculture receiving the highest share given the value of 0.64. In Kano, debt tends to drive the agricultural sector more.



Table: Debt influence on Sectors

Variables	GDP	Agric	Industry	Service
Debt*	0.27*** (0.05)	-0.08 (0.08)	0.42*** (0.13)	0.18** (0.09)
Debt1	-0.02 (0.41)	0.33 (0.33)	-0.75 (2.26)	0.49 (0.39)
Debt2	1.11** (0.49)	0.89*** (0.30)	1.72* (0.98)	0.92*** (0.34)
Debt3	0.25*** (0.08)	0.23*** (0.04)	0.06 (0.18)	0.01 (0.87)
Debt4	0.09** (0.04)	0.16*** (0.03)	-0.14 (0.07)	0.11*** (0.04)
Debt5	0.55* (0.33)	0.64* (0.37)	0.29** (0.13)	0.55 (0.36)
Debt6	0.24** (0.12)	0.41*** (0.15)	-0.06 (0.13)	0.27* (0.16)
Debt7	0.18*** (0.03)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.28*** (0.05)	0.16*** (0.02)

Notes: Robust standard errors are in parentheses, P values: significance *10%; **5%; ***1%. Debt codes have Debt1 = Rivers, Debt2 = Ogun, Debt3 = Kano, Debt4 = Kaduna, Debt5 = Niger, Debt6 = Ondo, and Debt7 = Kogi.

Source: Authors' Computation

From the further analysis, the data for the study consist of panel nature with observations cut across seven states from 2013 to 2017. This study analyzes the impact of debt on GDP using the panel model by adding the time dummy into the equation. The result of the estimated coefficient shows that domestic debt has an impact on GDP in both the pooled OLS and Random Effect Models. Looking at the two-panel models, the domestic debt is negative but not significant in the fixed-effect model, while is positive and significant in the random-effect model. For the time dummy, the results are similar across the two models, with 2017 having the highest impact on the models. The obvious reason for the high impact in 2017 shows the actualization of MOU signed by many states which led to an influx of investors. Most of these states organized an investment summit to reaffirm the economic renaissance of the states, notably like KadInvest by Kaduna State Investment Promotion Agency (KADIPA), and Niger State investment summit organized in 2017 to tackle the development of critical infrastructure in the state. States like Kano and Ogun have continued to have a yearly summit on investment in the industrial sector.



Table: Debt on GDP

Variable	Pooled OLS	FE	RE
Domestic Debt	0.28*** (0.08)	-0.04 (0.04)	0.07* (0.04)
2014	0.11 (0.13)	0.11** (0.04)	0.11** (0.05)
2015	-0.01 (0.14)	0.12** (0.05)	0.11* (0.06)
2016	-0.04 (0.16)	0.17** (0.06)	0.15** (0.07)
2017	0.14 (0.15)	0.35*** (0.06)	0.33*** (0.07)

Notes: Robust standard errors are in parentheses, P values: significance *10%; **5%; ***1%.

Source: Authors' Computation

Conclusion and Recommendation

This study used state-level debt profile data from 2013 to 2017 for seven states to see how debt influences their productivity. This study concludes that state agriculture contributes more to states' GDPs when compared to the industrial and service sectors. Likewise, debts tend to contribute more to the agricultural sector than other sectors in Kaduna, Ondo, Niger and Kano. On the timing, the highest impact is seen in 2017 due to the signing of MOU by many states which warrant an influx of investors.

However, given the GDP level of states, the various state governments should channel the debt toward agricultural and industrial sectors, as its multiplying effect can enhance productivity for states through the creation of agricultural processing centres and industries. Debt repayment should be a priority for most states given the extent of their profile, to avoid debt overhang.

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Banditry and Ungoverned Spaces in Nigeria: A Case Study of Kaduna and Zamfara States

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Abstract

Bandits perpetrate acts of banditry such as kidnapping, rape, wanton killing and so on. They perpetrate these acts while trans-locating from place to place, traversing the rugged outskirts of states called ungoverned spaces which they convert as their place of abode. These spaces are used by bandits as safe havens for living, planning, training and indoctrinating, securing access to weapons and equipment and engaging in illegal smuggling. Bandits find the environment conducive due to its rugged terrains, complex mass of ridges, arid climatic conditions, crisscrossing seasonal streams and rivers as well as adequate cover from observation and direct fire from state forces. The objective of this paper is to examine the effect of the existence of banditry on the ungoverned spaces of Kaduna and Zamfara states. The environmental crime theory was applied while relying on interviews (anonymous identity) and extensive secondary data in the paper. The effects of this menace which was found to be depletion of tourisms, and reduction in foods production, among others. The efforts of governments at all levels to curb the menace of banditry and recover the ungoverned spaces were discussed while proffering viable ways forward, which include synergy of efforts by governments of the two states to combat the menace and enhancement of the judicial system amongst others, as appropriate recommendations for dealing with the menace.

Keywords: Bandits, Banditry, Ungoverned Spaces, Government, Crime.

Introduction

Globally, one very devastating issue that nations have continued to grapple with are those of crimes. The various vices of crime come in shades and shapes ranging from just mere theft to complicated banditry which would often be destructive to lives, properties or even both. The survival and well-being of an affected nation could spell doom if this crime of banditry is not curbed and degraded decisively. According to Mburu (1999), “the crime of banditry have remained a source of wider political and security problems in a turbulent geopolitical environment of nations.”

Banditry is an organized crime characterized by the exercise of physical force as to inflict injuries on or cause damage/death on a person(s) or property as the case may be (Tamuno, 1991). Additionally, Osagie (1995) corroborated that “all forms of banditry involve the use of force be it a



legitimate or illegitimate act.” Perpetrators of this crime are called bandits. They are person(s) that are outlawed, proscribed or best described as lawless marauders. Under the umbrella of banditry, they perpetrate vices or acts such as kidnapping, rape, wanton killing, etc. They perpetrate this by translocating from place to place, traversing the rugged outskirts of states called ungoverned spaces which is also their place of abode.

Ungoverned spaces, according to Whelan (2006:64) refers to a territorial sphere where firm governmental control is lacking. He opined that it is “a physical or non-physical area where there is an absence of state capacity or political will to exercise control.” This may include land areas, maritime spheres and cyberspace domains, where state control is grossly deficient or absent. “The physical space can be land area” such as forests or maritime areas while the “non-physical space refers to a financial space” where the criminals, bandits or terrorists raise and move monies and other resources without any impediment; whether technological driven or legal.

It is a new concept applied to an old problem that constitutes lack of effective government presence in parts or places within its territory. It is a direct reflection of the inability of the state to effectively perform its minimal statutory functions which are exercise of monopoly of the use of force, full territorial control and provision of basic social services. Such a scenario often gives room for illicit and subversive activities such as banditry and other criminal vices.

In Brazil, social banditry lasted from the year 1920 to 1939 when it was conquered. Though, there were several banditry groups across the country, the most popular was the one led by Virgulino Ferreira da Silva popularly known as Lampiao who was killed along with his group in 1939. The group terrorized and invaded so many states in Brazil using high calibre weapons and knives as at that era and would often escape to the mountain areas which was their safe haven. They occupied the northeastern part of the country which is described as rugged with a complex mass of ridges and mountain ranges as well as arid climatic conditions. The space is fortified and often made untenable for state forces to penetrate.

The horn of Africa is made up of 8 countries which are Djibouti, Eretria, Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Sudan, South Sudan and Uganda. This region has overtime, experienced a symmetrical connection between regional political instability, poverty and lawlessness which are appendages to banditry within the region. The region has experienced roving banditry which is in four different groups namely, Kafagne, Ngoroko, Faloul and the Shifta (Mburu, 1999). These groups of bandits freely roam the horn of Africa presenting themselves in different forms. They have been a source of wider political and security problems in a turbulent geopolitical environment in the horn, creating a deliberate and unstable national security environment that leaves much to be desired. Additionally, traditional banditry in the horn of Africa has been explored as a vocation where individuals waged war against greedy village chiefs or the political unit on behalf of the local community while living in the forest and mountainous areas as hermits until justice was exacted.

Banditry in Nigeria is not a new phenomenon. It had existed prior to the 1980s in various forms across the country. It is a violent crime whose lethality has evolved from an old practice into organized crime conducted with immense sophistication and efficiency. It is now characterized by the use of modern weapons, accompanied by rape, armed robbery, kidnapping activities, cattle rustling, as well as organized attacks on villages and communities. Their operations are both trans-



locational and transnational while occupying various ungoverned spaces (Okoli & Atelhe, 2014). According to Momale et al (2019), it is fairly established that banditry in Kaduna and Zamfara states has been trending from when it was a minor attack on travelers on the road to now that it has become a major issue of invading villages and towns, as well as an open challenge to instituted authorities of a state. In Kaduna and Zamfara states, bandits occupy ungoverned spaces of Kamuku and Dansadau forests respectively where they use as abodes and training areas. They periodically invade various villages at will and carry out atrocities such as wanton killings, kidnapping, cattle rustling, armed robbery, raping women/girls of attacked communities, destruction of buildings/infrastructure, arson, political thuggery, armed robbery and forceful seizures of farm produce and farmlands, amongst others.

Conceptualization

Banditry

Banditry has existed right from so many centuries ago. Philosophers, researchers and scholars have viewed banditry from several perspectives. While some viewed it based on their plight and vulnerability against imminent disadvantage and sufferings due to ill administration by governments, others see it from points of the description of the acts carried out by bandits. Osaghae (1995) noted, however, that all forms of banditry involve the use of force, whether it is legitimate as protagonists of the state or illegitimate as is the case when force is applied by the murderer, robber or bandit. In this definition, the use of force is considered a necessary element of banditry. Such force when used inflicts pain which could lead to murder, rape and all forms of destruction. Furthermore, Domenack (1978) defines banditry as the use of force whether overt or covert, in order to snatch from individuals or groups, something of value that they are not disposed to give of their own free will.

Slatta (1994) also posited that banditry involves the taking away of property by force or the threat of force, often by a group of men that usually operate in the shadows, often on the fringes of the society, in geographically isolated areas. Conklin (1992) adds that banditry is a proto-type, unprovoked and unpredictable kind of crime most feared by the public that usually involves theft with violence or threat of violence by a person with whom the victim has had no previous contact. From the point of view of Shalangwa (2013), banditry is the practice of raiding and attacking victims by members of an armed group, whether or not premeditated, using weapons of offence or defense especially in semi-organized groups for the purpose of overpowering the victim and obtaining loot or achieving some political goals. Such bandits are usually regarded as outlaws and desperate lawless marauders who do not have a definite residence or destination.

Acts of banditry have been perceived by different societies in different ways and should therefore be considered by identifying its essential features within specified historical contexts. According to White (1981), a bandit is a person who has been forced to become an outlaw by robbing the rich and giving to the poor. He further added that the poor state of the oppressed can functionally be attributed to the attitudes and behaviours of the rich in the society resulting in robbing the rich to pay the poor. This description portrays a bandit as someone preoccupied with seeking revenge on behalf of the maligned in society. On the other hand, Manderson (2010) asserts that bandits are outlaws who failed to stand trial becoming fugitives by the law. Society may declare such a person wanted, dead or alive and that gives any new member of society license to kill the declared bandit with impunity. From another point of view, Wartyo (2011) defines social banditry as the act of crime



committed either by the residents of a village or people in the low economic and social strata in order to fulfil their basic needs. Such acts are a response to the structural pressures, which deprive people of access to the natural resources that support their lives.

Hobsawm (1959) proposed the construct “social bandit” and considers them as peasant outlaws who maintain some respect within peasant society and are sometimes considered by their people as heroes, champions, avengers, fighters for justice, perhaps leaders of liberation. In any case, they are seen as men to be admired, helped and supported. He further suggests that the link between banditry and violence is tied to terrorism, well rooted in peasant culture. This is what Blumel (2007) refers to as ‘ancient banditry’ or ‘traditional banditry’, which existed in the primitive or pre-colonial time. Blok (1972) further added that bandits are persons regarded by the state as outlaws, but whose umbilical cord is tied to the moral order of the peasant community.

Mikhail (1978) submits that in the Russian state, banditry is seen as one of the most honourable ways of life. The bandit is seen as the people’s hero, defender and saviour. Such bandits are the implacable enemies of the state and the whole social order; they are ready to die fighting against the entire civilization of the aristocratic Chinokniks and government priesthood. In agreement with to this notion, Rife (2011) opines that the social bandit flaunts authority, lives with abandon and champions the causes of the masses against elite oppression. It could however be argued that instead of championing the cause of the poor, men are more likely to turn to banditry out of desperation and hard economic realities than for vague notions of righting wrongs.

Consequently, Sullivan (2012) observed that contemporary banditry has changed in scope, nature and extent from historic antecedents. He maintains that modern-day bandits are criminally inclined insurgents and conventional terrorists. He argued plausibly that these groups are a cog in the wheel of democratic governance and free-market economy. To Bunker and Sullivan (1998), bandits are ‘gangs, criminal enterprises, insurgents or warlords who dominate social life and erode the bods of effective security and the rule of law’. In congruent to these assertions, Williams (1998) conceived bandits as transnational gangs and criminals who extend their reach and influence by co-opting individuals and organisations through bribery, coercion and intimidation; they do so in order to facilitate, enhance or protect their own activities. Bandits in the era of globalization, therefore, are more than mere rural gangs and criminals. The act has metamorphosed into a network, exerting strong forces on the remote areas and extending its tentacles to urban settings; the expansion being accompanied by an increasing level of violence. The scope, dimension and operational pattern of banditry have been enlarged around the world and in Africa in particular.

Mburu (1999) opines that the motive for contemporary banditry is the pauperization of people living in a harsh physical environment. The activities of bandits are inhumane and lead to violence, causing insecurity challenges that encourage other forms of criminalities. The large scale effects of contemporary banditry cannot be justified on any ground when compared with what existed in the past, when bandits were feted as heroes by the peasant population, celebrated for their opposition to the oppression of the rich or predation of the government. These bandits are emerging as a serious impediment to democratic governance and sustainability around the world.

Mburu (1999) in his study of the Horn of Africa, further observed that banditry had transmuted from what he called ‘innocuous tribal sport’ into terrorism unleashed by hardened former guerilla fighters



that were used to killing and having little respect for the laws of the land, or any symbol of formal authority. These new forms of banditry even involve both inter and intra-ethnic and cross-border raids for livestock. Crummey (1999) however argued that banditry was indeed a significant African phenomenon in the 19th century and embedded in rural societies. Its motive was to protest against the centralism of authority and it was recognized by rural dwellers. Furthermore, traditional banditry has been explored as a vocation where individuals waged war against greedy village chiefs or the political unit on behalf of the community while living in the forest as hermits until justice was exacted. He further explained that local languages have specific terms for bandits and if the 'criminals' in question are not locally recognized as bandits and labelled as such in African languages, then they are not bandits. Additionally, Mburu (1999) further noted that similar experience in Somalia has also shown how banditry can be exported to another country through refugees that include former regular soldiers who hide sophisticated firearms in the bush for use to rob or execute rivals.

Therefore, banditry is an organized crime carried out by individual(s) who by way of conspiracy have resolved to invade the safety, tranquility and secure nature of a whole or part of a nation-state. Their conspired resolve would often be unleashed in form of various vices such as killing, kidnapping, arson, etc preceded by the infliction of terror from an environment that offers and affords them safety against being caught and prosecuted. Their infliction of terror could be determined by their level of armament, operative maneuver and inhuman treatment to their captives which could be a whole village, country or state, as the case may be.

Ungoverned Space

The concept of 'ungoverned space' pervades discussion of global security threats and dominates analysis and policy approaches to different countries across the world (Piombo, 2007; Hazen, 2010). Many analysts think of ungoverned space in strictly security terms. One of such analysts is Fauziya (2017) who described ungoverned spaces as zones that lay beyond the reaches of the central government. The prevailing view holds that the more remote they are, the more vulnerable they become to the lure of violent radicalization and extremism. Tenet (2003) also defined ungoverned spaces as vast stretches of lawless zones and veritable "no man's lands" where extremist movements find shelter and can win the breathing space to grow. Furthermore, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (2014) described ungoverned space in its report, as 'safe havens' where bandits/terrorists/criminals plan, train and indoctrinate, secure access to weapons and equipment, have the ability to engage in illegal smuggling to generate income and derive benefits from the existence of staging grounds and transit zones.

In reality, however, ungoverned spaces are also marked typically by a significant absence or limited provision of basic social services, making such places vulnerable to the control of criminal networks, radical extremists or other groups that offer alternatives to state authority by addressing, or spearheading agitations against, long held political, economic or social grievances of particular communities. This is similar to the position of the United States Department of Defense which described ungoverned space as a place where government at all or any level is incapable or unenthusiastic to control, effectively administer, or have an influence on the local population (OUSD, 2007). It described the space as a location where a sovereign government does not fully govern. That is under-governed or ill-governed, as a result of measures, not limited to issues like



lack of capacity to govern, deficiency in political will, acceptability of the government, unresolved conflict, or restrictive norms of behaviour. This definition, not only defined the ungoverned space but also went ahead to state reasons why they may remain ungoverned. It is noteworthy to state that all the reasons raised as responsible for the creation and existence of this space apply to Nigeria and most of the regions in Africa (Ukwuoma et al, 2018).

Ungoverned spaces occur as much in a national context as in a sub-regional or regional context. Indeed, the so-called ungoverned sub-regional spaces are nothing more than an aggregation of ungoverned national spaces. When such spaces lie in contiguous border areas between states, it exacerbates the challenges of ungoverned spaces. Experts have identified six drivers of violent conflicts, which are also pertinent to ungoverned space. These include lack of quality governance and transparency, ethnic rivalry, religious extremism, mismanagement of land and natural resource, declining economic conditions and proliferation of small arms and light weapons (Ejeviome and Oseloka, 2019).

Four clear manifestations of ungoverned space currently pertain to Nigeria which are banditry, terrorism, herdsmen/farmers' conflict and piracy/militancy. In Kaduna and Zamfara states, banditry activities have extensively taken hold in various parts of the states. Indeed, very few parts of these states are exempt from this menace (Ejeviome and Oseloka, 2019). The ungoverned space of the states which includes the forested parts of the states and forcefully collected farmlands making up their territories have remained potential dens and safe havens of these bandits from which they plan and launch their operations. These locations lack government presence which at least should be by way of police deployments, making it look like a no-man's land. As much as the military support to the states, through several military operations to take hold of these ungoverned spaces, it does not in any way derelict the need of the states to show presence and take charge of these places as long as they remain part of the state's territory. Therefore, ungoverned space is and should be an issue of concern.

Theoretical Framework

This paper will rely on environmental crime theory which deals with the study of crime, criminality and victimization in relation to particular places. In 1971, Ray Jeffrey published "Crime Prevention through Environmental Design". He examined the role in which environments, especially areas of non-human existence with rugged identities, play in crime. He posited that crime, locations used and location of the victim are three strong criteria for any criminal success. This explains the banditry in ungoverned spaces in Kaduna and Zamfara states and the vulnerability of rural communities in sustaining the activities of bandits. In his postulation, he suggested ways of deflating crime through the re-shaping of the crime-enhancing environment. It was based on this environmental crime theory that he coined the term "environmental criminology" which is studied in institutions across the world within criminology as a subject.

In the 1980s, Paul and Patricia Brantingham did a further study on this theory, putting the focus of criminological study on environmental or contextual factors that can influence criminal activity. These five factors are space (geography), time, law, offender and target or victim. They are components that have been found to be necessary and sufficient conditions, for without one, the other four, even together, will not constitute a criminal incident (Brantingham & Brantingham,



1991). Environmental criminologists examine crime in relation to geographic locations which could be an enhancing ground or a scene where crime had occurred such as the ungoverned spaces of Kaduna Zamfara states. They are interested in land usage by the criminal bandits, traffic patterns and navigational strategies of the geographical landscape across narrow paths as well as the daily activities and movements of criminal bandits and their captives.

Methodology

This paper relied on extensive interviews of individuals' especially local farmers (anonymous) in villages near some of the ungoverned spaces inhabited by bandits in Kaduna and Zamfara states. The interview of the farmers is predicated on the fact that they carry out farming and rearing of livestock in the expanse of lands that run unto the forest perimeters. Hence, their observation of activities within and around these spaces were adjudged to be cogent for this paper. Relevant government officials (anonymous) were also interviewed so as to understand and ascertain relevance of data as well as authentication of facts gathered. Officials of government agencies such as Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC), and forestry were also interviewed. Additionally, a wide reference to secondary data was made so as to give temerity and relevance to the primary data collected for subsequently required analysis.

Nexus between banditry and ungoverned spaces

Banditry is viewed, within the context of the state system, as a threat to the security of a nation. It involves all forms of illegal and criminal activities across the nation backed by the use of arms and dangerous weapons with which they execute mayhem on their prey which could be persons or communities from a launching point. This launching point could be anywhere bandits find very conducive to accommodate them and their practices. Often times, these places would be outside the environment or domain of state citizens known as ungoverned spaces. Due to lack of government coverage and reach to these spaces, they become a comfortable den for use by bandits to galvanize, mobilize forces for expansionist purposes, establish themselves, consolidate, plan, organize, fundraise, recruit, train and operate (Clark & Mansour, 2013). They also use the spaces for their camps, execution of captives, keeping of captives, transnational transactions especially on the proliferation of arms, sales of persons captured or kidnapped and a planning area for onslaught onto projected areas for invasion. These descriptions befit the position of environmental crime theory described by Ray Jeffrey (aforementioned). The more available these spaces are and the more out-of-reach they are from the government, the more comfortable, habitable, conducive and a safe haven they become for bandits and their cohorts. This was buttressed by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (2014) which described ungoverned space in its report, as 'safe havens' where bandits/terrorists/criminals plan, train and indoctrinate, secure access to weapons and equipment, have the ability to engage in illegal smuggling to generate income and derive benefits from the existence of staging grounds and transit zones.

The expanse of ungoverned spaces run into thousands of kilometres in both length and area and their rugged nature attracts these bandits to occupy it no matter the expanse. The expanse and the terrain provide maneuverability, camouflage and concealment from both ground and air observations as well as fire. These further buttresses the position highlighted by Paul and Patricia Bratingham (1980) who emphasized on space (geography) in the aforementioned theory as one of the major factors

used by criminals who occupy ungoverned spaces and environments. The more ungoverned spaces exist in a nation state without the evidenced reach of government, the more vulnerable the spaces would be for bandits to occupy it. This invariably means that a nation that is able to keep presence in its ungoverned spaces would likely have less or no presence of bandits in those spaces. These, therefore, makes the concept of banditry and ungoverned spaces directly proportional to each other.

Geography of ungoverned spaces in Kaduna and Zamfara states

Fig 1.1 Map of Nigeria highlighting the north western states of the country



Source: Getamap.com

The north-west Nigerian geographical environment is a Sahel frontier (having the characteristics of a desert environment). The ungoverned space which interacts with bandits or banditry acts are closed rugged terrains within Zamfara and Kaduna states. These closed environments are the Kamuku forest and game reserve, Dansadau forest and game reserve and part of Alawa forest and game reserve which is shared between Kaduna state and Niger state. It is imperative to note that the part of the Alawa forest shared by Kaduna state falls largely, if not completely, into the sparse expanse of Chikun LGA. Suffice to mention that these three forests intertwine and overlap into the other, thus making the spaces an expansive one that could accommodate numerous colonies of gangs of bandits operating from varying locations within the space.

Kamuku Forest and Game Reserve

The Kamuku National Park and forest is located in Kaduna State, Nigeria, with a total area of about 1,120 km² (430 sq mi). The park has a typical Sudanian Savanna ecology. The park is located in the west of Kaduna State and is adjacent to the Kwiambana forest in Zamfara state. It was established in 1936 as the Native Authority Forest Reserve of Birnin Gwari under the Northern Nigeria Government. It was upgraded from a state Game Reserve to a National Park in May 1999,



in part due to the success of a community-based project promoting sustainable resource usage, managed by Savanna Conservation Nigeria, a national NGO. The park has a combination of flat terrain and rugged ridges and passes, sloping gradually upwards to the Birnin Gwari Ridge along the eastern boundary. Natural features of interest include the Dogon Ruwa Waterfalls; the Goron Dutse, a large isolated inselberg with a smooth surface stratified in a pattern of black and white squares; and the Tsaunin Rema, a hill made of large boulders piled on top of each other, with a large population of rock hyraxes. Vegetation is Guinea Savanna with some transitional Sudan Savanna elements in places. The park and the nearby forest reserves have some of the best preserved blocks of this ecosystem in the country.

Dansadau Forest and Game Reserve

The Zamfara forest (Dansadau forest and game reserve) located in the Sahelo-Sudanian zone of northwest Nigeria, form the larger part of an ecosystem extending into Maradi in the Republic of Niger with an approximated total area of 3367km². The forest was sparsely populated with marginal areas prior to the 19th century and also contains four legal encapsulated farming enclaves surrounded by farming communities. About 150,000 people live in the four enclaves and the 56 bordering villages west of Zamfara reserve. The forest sustains livelihood which is based on crop or livestock production or a combination of both. Rainfall means range from 650mm in the north to 925mm in the south while the vegetation is of the northern Sudanian savannah type. The predominantly rugged terrain and sandy soil environment have a low nitrogen, phosphorus and organic matter content, low water holding capacity and is susceptible to drought. It is adjacent to three other forests which are the Gundumi, Dumburum and Kwimbana forests which lead into the Kamuku forest of Birnin Gwari, Kaduna state

Effects of banditry infesting ungoverned spaces

The effects of banditry infestation of ungoverned spaces may be positive to bandits. This is in terms of all it provides for them as afore discussed. However, its effect on surrounding villages, communities or states including captives are negative. These include:

- ***Depletion of tourism opportunity/foreign investment***

The forests mentioned above became parks for tourism in the states where they exist. They are special abodes for both florals and faunas (plants and animals), seasonal streams, interspersed rivers, natural terrestrial and geographical features and so on which both nationals and foreigners visit from time to time to catch a glimpse of nature. These visits generated revenues used by states at a time and subsequently, the bigger Nigerian state for economic and national development. The forests and parks were protected by forest guards who fight against poachers and hunters. Additionally, they served as points of research for members of the academia especially those in forestry, tourism and sciences.

The presence of the bandits has not only created a distortion in the activities in these forests and parks, it has caused the withdrawal of the forest and park guards who are not armed enough to challenge them, chased away many of the animals from their natural habitats, caused a no-revenue from tourism due to absence of tourists who have stopped going to the parks due to insecurity and depletion of state revenue which has also invariably decreased developmental revenue. This is in tandem with Muggah and Batchelor (2002) who posited that "...where this happens repeatedly on



a large scale, social investment often declines with broad ripple effects on both foreign investor confidence and overseas development assistance”. The presence of these bandits in these spaces has indeed caused more harm to tourism and investment potentials of these parks than good.

- ***Reduction in food production***

Surrounding either side of the vicinities of these forests and parks are extensive farmlands upon which farmers from surrounding villages’ farm. The extension of these farmlands in some parts protrude inwards into the forest as experienced in Zamfara forests and parks. The extensive nature of these farms makes great yield annually for Zamfara and Kaduna states. Thus, food production was adjudged to be bountiful and remained so year after year. Additionally, farmers in these areas were respected because they top the echelon through which immense revenues from farming were enjoyed by the state. These farming efforts were both in crops and in animal husbandry such as cattle, sheep and goats.

The presence of bandits in these spaces have not only caused a stoppage in farming activities around these forests, it has also caused massive refrain of farmers from going to their farms. This is due to fear of being killed or kidnapped for ransom as elaborated by aforementioned theory that described them as targets or victims of the bandits or criminals. Thus, causing a massive reduction in food production and food availability. This negativity was buttressed by Muggah and Batchelor (2002) who posited that “banditry can severely affect the supply of cash crops as public and commercial transportation to markets is often interrupted and consequently, farmers are forced to abandon commercial harvests”. The non-availability or limited availability of food could cause malnutrition and where limited access occurs, access to food could be made difficult due to scarcity and high rate of purchase. Either way it goes, drought could be imminent.

- ***Infliction of terror***

These ungoverned spaces occupied by these bandits are launching pads unto invasions of villages, communities or even roads where they kidnap unsuspecting persons for ransom. Sometimes they even kill when obstructed by anyone. The obvious stance here is that their operational launch including their charismatic hoods inflict terror on the environments they are invading which of course is made up of unsuspecting citizens. During this infliction of terror, affected individuals give up their belongings to the bandits for fear of being killed, maimed and in the case of girls and women, raped. Although, in most cases where women and girls are involved, they were often harassed, violated, raped and kidnapped even after they have given up their belongings. People in these villages, communities and societies live in perpetual fear as they can no longer freely go about their daily activities for fear of these bandits. This was buttressed by Osai Ojigho (2018:par.1-7), Director of Amnesty International Nigeria who posits that:

Insecurity is escalating in northwest Nigeria’s Zamfara state, with daily killings and kidnappings by bandits leaving villagers in constant fear of attack. When we visited the region, villagers told us they had pleaded with the government to help them after receiving warning letters from the bandits ahead of attacks but had received no protection. The Nigerian authorities have repeatedly claimed to be tackling the situation, but the mounting death toll tells a different story. On 27 July 2018, 18 villages in Anka local government area of Zamfara state were attacked, leaving at least 42 people dead.



At least 18,000 residents of the affected villages who were displaced over the weekend are now taking refuge at various locations in the local government headquarters.

Amnesty International Nigeria (2018) further reported that at least 371 people have been killed in Zamfara state in 2018 alone, and at least 238 of these killings took place after the deployment of military personnel. Villagers described a pattern where they receive warnings ahead of attacks, including by phone, ordering them to pay huge sums of money or be killed or abducted.

- ***Forced internal displacement***

The presence of these bandits in these spaces coupled with their menace against host villages, communities and societies has become devastating in terms of killings, destruction of properties, kidnapping, looting, rape and terror from untimed invasions. This has made individuals and their families feel highly insecure and have continued to leave their villages, communities or places of abode to other safe havens. These safe havens may not necessarily be internationally inclined but a relocation to other surrounding states for safety and survival. According to the rapid assessment report of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2019), Zamfara and Kaduna states have the highest number of internally displaced persons at 38,113 and 16,230 respectively. Gusau being the capital of Zamfara state has recorded the highest displaced number of individuals from other hit LGAs in the state. Similarly, in Kaduna state, most of the displaced persons from Birnin Gwari LGA reside in the state's capital and parts of Igabi LGA that is within the metropolitan area of the capital. Their leaving their communities were of course not planned but forced, thus, creating a lull in their life into a period of stability in their new-found abode. This forced displacement in no little measure has caused a reduction in the population of the states, a depletion in workforce and a psychological loss of confidence in the minds of displaced persons.

- ***Increase in out-of-school children and depreciation of the educational system***

A very important entity in the society that is affected by banditry in these states are children. Bandits from these spaces have not only invaded communities and villages, but they have in recent times continued to also invade schools (during which they abduct children). As much as there are cases where the children are abducted for ransoms which are demanded from their parents, guardians or even the state (Okoli and Agada, 2014), there are also cases where they have been abducted to be used as foot soldiers. This was buttressed in a report by UNICEF (2007) which posited that child soldiers within non-state armed groups may be trained and used for combat, assigned to support roles such as porters or messengers or used for tactical advantage as human shields or for political advantage in propaganda.

Even when ransoms are offered as an option for the release of the children by the families, they are rejected. This is because the abduction of the children by the bandits are for other ulterior purposes. This illicit act has made many parents to withdraw their children from schools, thus increasing the population of out of school children. According to a report by the West Africa Network for Building Peace (2019), out of the 10.5 million out-of-school children in Nigeria, 30 percent are in the North-West (Zamfara, Kaduna, Jigawa, Katsina, Sokoto, Kebbi, Kano). Besides, insecurity in the communities has a negative impact on young boys and girls, as school activities in vulnerable areas are disrupted. The few existing schools are unable to operate properly for fear of kidnap of students



or attacks and killing by bandits. This has also created instability in the educational system of the state, leaving a huge gap between the child and his formal education.

- ***Unemployment***

The presence of bandits in the spaces has caused loss of jobs in various sectors of the state economy. These sectors include forestry, tourism, agriculture, health, education, environment, just to mention a few. Many workers in these sectors of the economy have either quit their jobs or paid the supreme sacrifice of death borne from banditry invasions in localities where they work or dwell. Some of the workers have also lost their jobs due to incapacitation. According to Egwu (2015) the main assumption is that no nation can be safe and achieve economic growth and development if it fails to resolve issues of unemployment, corruption and governance, all of which may undermine the rule of law and be a bane to the welfare of its people, even if the state has the most powerful army or police force. It behooves on the affected states to make frantic efforts at stabilizing this situation so as to enhance its growth.

- ***Create distraction to governance***

Governments at all levels owe it a responsibility to provide good governance to the citizens of states. Good governance in this regard connotes the provision of national/state security, national development, socio-economic development as well as economic growth. The provision of all of these requires that governments at all levels concentrate on ensuring that citizens adequately reap the dividends of their leadership. Banditry occupation of the ungoverned spaces in these states has continued to be a source of distraction to governments of the states to the provision of the aforementioned dividends to citizens by the government.

These distractions have continued to occur following incessant invasions and attacks on citizens by bandits from the ungoverned spaces causing various degrees of mayhem both against the citizens and the state. They have become a point of attention for the government of the state resulting in the spending of the state resources in the fight against their existence in the ungoverned spaces instead of the utilization of the resources in the development of the states. Suffice to mention that although issues of corruption may evolve in the pretext of fighting these bandits, the carnage of the situation has become obviously devastating that corruptive tendencies could only be ascribed a mega percentage when compared to the extent of distractive effects in which banditry is having on governance in these states. Thus, the need for the governments of the states to develop necessary strategies for curbing the menace so as to ensure their concentration on providing the citizens with the much-needed dividends of governance. According to a government official (Personal interview, Abuja) who chose to be anonymous:

Security, peace, stability and good governance have always been regarded as a prerequisite for the achievement of any meaningful socio-economic development of any nation-state. However, challenges of threats such as banditry have continued to remain a major stumbling block in achieving this especially in the banditry infested areas of Kaduna and Zamfara states.



Governments' efforts at redeeming spaces from bandits

The governments of Kaduna and Zamfara states are specifically affected by this menace. Over time, governments (federal and states) have made frantic efforts aimed at ensuring the curbing of banditry within the two states and asserting various strategies with a view to ensuring a lasting solution to the problem. These efforts by these governments which has kinetic component was expected to create the enabling environment for a feasible non-kinetic approach at resolving the causative root of the menace and drawing a lasting solution that would be beneficial to all parties involved.

- **Federal Government Interventions through Deployment of the Armed Forces and Authorization of Military Operations**

The federal government of Nigeria intervened through kinetic means in the curbing of banditry in the ungoverned spaces of Kaduna and Zamfara states. These kinetic means were actualized through the deployment of the Nigerian Army and the Nigerian Air Force troops at various operation bases and the approval for the launching of various military operations within the two states to combat the menace. The operations were mainly carried out in the rural hinterlands (ungoverned spaces including forests) which the bandits converted into safe havens and operating bases from where they launch attacks on the rural areas, LGAs and towns in the states.

Series of operations were launched under the directives of the federal government by the Nigerian Armed Forces as renewed strategies to flush out the bandits and gain maximum control of the situation in the states. Notably among these operations was OP SHARAN DAJI launched in 2016 to curtail the activities of bandits particularly in the ungoverned spaces of Zamfara state and environ. The operation successfully engaged bandits within multiple fronts including the dreaded Dumburum forest, which stretches to neighbouring Niger Republic. The operation has continued to record strings of success as stolen cattle were recovered as well as firearms and ammunition of bandits. Simultaneously, OP AYEM AKPATUMA was conducted in Birnin Gwari, Igabi and Pan Dogeri axis in Kaduna state in 2018 to exploit the successes of the operations in Zamfara state by eliminating escaping bandits who had failed to surrender. Another notable operation that was carried out in both Kaduna and Zamfara states was OP HARBIN KUNAMA launched on 1 April 2019 to ensure the complete defeat of the bandits in the states. The operation recorded huge success as hundreds of bandits were apprehended and killed in the operation. The Defence Headquarters on, 10 May 2019, reorganized OP SHARAN DAJI by strengthening the operation with the acquisition and addition of new strategies, improved fighting equipment and additional manpower. The codename was changed from OP SHARAN DAJI to OP HADARIN DAJI.

Asides the additional troops deployed to Kaduna and Zamfara states in previous operations, the Nigerian Air Force launched OPERATION DIRANMIKIYA on 31 July 2018. It was an intensive air operation aimed at locating and neutralizing bandits and other criminal elements in the states in support of the ground forces (the Nigerian Army) with a view to restoring normalcy in the affected areas. Aircrafts like Alpha jets, Diamond 42 for surveillance, MIC 35 attacking helicopters, EC 135, Ogusta 109 helicopters, were all used to support the operation. The operation aided the destruction and neutralization of bandit camps. (HQ NAF – OPERATION DIRANMIKIYA - 2019).

In the same vein, the Nigerian Police launched Operation Puff Adder on 5 April 2018 which was a multi-agency strategy in collaboration with the Nigerian Armed Forces and the Department of State



Services (DSS). It was geared towards ridding Kaduna and Zamfara states of all forms of banditry activities and restoring normalcy to the states. The operation also recorded huge success. The federal government has not relented in availing necessary kinetic efforts against this menace in these two states to date.

- **State and Local Government Efforts**

The state governments of Kaduna and Zamfara states have over time battled against the overwhelming presence of the menace of banditry in the ungoverned spaces of the states and their environs. They have instituted several mechanisms aimed at eradicating, degrading and decimating banditry within its domain. These intensified efforts worked in synergy with the federal government's efforts thus the immense support through all the initiated kinetic operations. On the other hand, the non-kinetic effort of dialogue was also available to accommodate repentant bandits for further disarmament, demobilization and reintegration into the community or society.

Responses under the Administration of Governor Abdulaziz Yari in Zamfara State (2011 – 2019)

The administration of Governor Abdulaziz Yari of Zamfara state has witnessed and suffered major attacks unleashed by bandits in several villages since 2011 across all its LGAs. Several lives have been lost, individuals kidnapped, communities burnt, cattle rustled, farmlands destroyed, businesses lost amongst numerous others. Consequent to the persistent insecurity situation in the state, Governor Abdulaziz Yari exerted several efforts to contain the security problems in the state. According to Suleiman (2019), the government of Abdulaziz Yari alone spent over ₦17 billion for the strengthening and coordination of security formations in the state through intelligence gathering as well as state and local government security committees. In addition, equipment such as operational vehicles were provided to enable efficient operations in the state.

Another concerted effort made by the governor was intensified consultation and persuasion with the federal government to increase security formations in the state. Shinkafi (2018) opined that the governor provided sites for military barracks which birthed the establishment of 223 Battalion in 2013, 207 Air Force Quick Response Unit in 2016 and 1 Brigade Nigerian Army in 2018 to address the future shortfall of security personnel in the state. Abdulaziz Yari also made tremendous efforts to provide humanitarian support to the internally displaced persons. According to Shinkafi (2018), the governor spent Two Billion Five Hundred and Fifty Nine Million Naira (₦2,559,000,000.00) for relief packages. He also solicited support from relevant agencies such as NEMA, the Refugees Commission, the Dangote Foundation and the National Assembly for cooperation to aid in the provision of assistance for the affected persons.

The state government also opted for the idea of a peace deal and amnesty between the Zamfara state government and the leadership of the bandits in 2016. This was with a view to getting them to surrender their weapons to the state government as the best option for ensuring sustainable peace. As stated by Nadama (2018), the state government delegation led by the then deputy governor, Mallam Ibrahim Wakkala Liman and the bandits under the leadership of Buharin Daji had their first meeting on 15 December 2016 at Gobirawar Chali in Dansadau Emirate under Maru LGA. Three major issues during the dialogue were emphasized especially with the demands from the bandits clearly spelt out. First was the issue of the Yansakai which was decided must be stopped from the



wanton attacks on their communities. The second was the condition that security agents and vigilante groups must stop seizing their cattle and thirdly the government should not continue to neglect their communities in the area of developmental projects. The government submitted to these demands in exchange for the surrender of the bandits' arms and the promise not to invade any community while the peace deal lasted. The government also proposed some strategic measures of integrating the bandits back into their communities by providing soft grants for them to commence business as well as bringing some of them closer to the government.

It is the reconciliation and disarmament process according to Shinkafi (2018) that led to the recovery of over 3000 different types of weapons. He also asserted that the notorious gang leader of the bandits, Buharin Daji was killed in the same month of the reconciliation process. Despite all the strategies and efforts on the part of the government of Abdulaziz Yari to mitigate the problem, the menace of banditry persisted and even intensified beyond the government's control and public outcry. The peace deal and amnesty programme brought stability and relative peace in the state for only a few months with no recorded attacks in communities.

Nadama (2018) however opined that the peace deal collapsed with the resurgence of fresh killings in some communities with multiple deaths and loss of property worth millions of naira. The failure of the peace deal was attributed to many factors, some of which include; absence of political will from the side of the state government to implement the agreement it has entered with the bandits, non-implementation of rehabilitation and reconstruction measures to bring relief to the victims of the conflicts, as well as re-arresting of some members of the bandit by the operatives of the Department of Security Service (DSS) after they have signed the peace deal with the state. It was alleged that the peace pact was jeopardized after a close associate of Buharin Daji called Dogo Bangaje was intercepted, arrested and detained by the DSS. Others were of the opinion that some of the bandits' leaders heard about the huge amount of money being dashed out to Buharin Daji and his camp, so they decided to establish their own popularity within different areas in the ungoverned spaces thus extending their evil days.

Responses under the Administration of Governor Bello Mohammed Matawalle of Zamfara State (May 2019 – May 2020)

Governor Bello Matawalle who took over the reins of power as governor of Zamfara state in May 2019 from Abdulaziz Yari came with the mandate of restoring tranquility, security and orderliness in Zamfara state as a result of banditry which has become a recurring decimal in the state. In order to achieve this, he reviewed the security situation taking into cognizance the complex issues involved and he opted to dialogue with the bandits in order to promote justice, peace and an atmosphere of calmness amidst public outcry. The governor decided to undertake dialogue for several reasons one of which is ethnicity-based. He was of the posture that he could reach the hearts and minds of the bandits with a view to making them see the enormity of their actions. He reached out to make them understand that there are other means of resolving whatsoever is their pain or ill-feelings, and to make them understand that what they are perpetrating is against the laws of the state and nation and is not in the best of their interest if they do not desist.

To achieve this laudable objective, Governor Matawalle in collaboration with the police set up the Peace and Reconciliation Initiative under the leadership of the Commissioner of Police to peacefully negotiate a ceasefire by the bandits. It is necessary to note that negotiation of ceasefire with bandits



by a government or their representative may not be a conventional approach as most nations would hardly negotiate or dialogue with bandits. However, within Nigeria's political domain which fosters within the ambits of ethnic sentimentality, the idea and approach could have been viewed by the government of Zamfara state as civil. Also, achieving it would cause less collateral damage on both humans and socio-economic infrastructure of the state as would be the reverse in situations of military operations or kinetic efforts. This move by the governor was applauded by many and regarded as the ultimate solution to the menace. According to a news release by Channels Television on 10 August 2019, the decision to restore peace through dialogue with the bandits has received more boost from the then Chief of Army Staff, Lieutenant General Tukur Yusuf Buratai who expressed that he had total confidence in the peace process to be an opportunity for the bandits to lay down their arms and key into the attainment of peace.

From another perspective, Gusau (2019) quoted the governor to have proclaimed during an event organized by the Nigerian Army in Gusau that repentant bandits who have embraced the peace deals now assist security operatives in the state to fight banditry by taming any recalcitrant bandit and submitting his weapon to the state government. In order to fulfil all righteousness as regards the peace process, the Zamfara state government announced its plan to establish three Ruga settlements in each of the three senatorial zones of the state which was to cost the sum of 8.6 billion Naira. This was seen as an initiative to resolve an aspect of banditry which is the clash between herders and farmers in Zamfara state. The governor asserted that 100 hectares of land each have been earmarked for this purpose where schools, clinics, water and grazing reserves will be provided for the herdsmen (Olafusi, 2019).

Additionally, the state government made a robust effort to involve traditional leaders, CSOs, community watch groups and Non-Governmental Organizations in its quest for peaceful resolution of the banditry conflicts in the states. The state has leveraged upon NGOs in acknowledgement and recognition of the roles of critical non-state actors who are stakeholders in the affairs of peacebuilding, intelligence gathering and conflict resolution. It is necessary to note that as of recent times, kinetic efforts by the military has continued against unrepentant bandits who as of now have chosen to continue fighting and occupying the ungoverned spaces of forests and abandoned/desolate rural communities. This kinetic effort is ongoing alongside the non-kinetic efforts of the government. The bridge between the two is that an overwhelming kinetic effort would be expected to cause the bandits to forcefully lay down arms and voluntarily surrender to the state for further non-kinetic procedures which naturally would include disarmament, demobilization and reintegration into the society.

Responses under the Administration of Governor Nasir El-Rufai of Kaduna State

The efforts of the government of Kaduna state at curbing the banditry ravaging the state have been more on the path of kinetic efforts than non-kinetic efforts. It has continued to support the military in its operations against banditry in the state through the provision of financial resources, vehicles as well as other equipment required to enhance the operations. The stakeholders of the operation which are the military, Department of State Security (DSS) and the state vigilante service have remained committed to curbing as well as absorbing run away bandits incusing into Kaduna state.

Prior to this military operation, Kaduna state had an anti-banditry outfit which was a joint patrol conducted along the Kaduna-Birnin Gwari and Kaduna-Abuja highway checkmating the illicit



activities of bandits on the highways which included the menace of robberies, killings and kidnappings for ransom. This joint patrol team, which consists of the military and the Nigerian Police, were forthcoming at containing the menace. However, several limitations which rested on issues of logistics support were a challenge at several points. Unlike Zamfara state where the government is taking the bull of negotiation by the horn and is reaping the dividends of its rightful actions, Kaduna state has remained resolute on kinetic approach as the resolve of the government remains that the government will not negotiate with bandits, hence the menace has remained unabated till date.

Way forward

It is obvious that the resolve of bandits occupying ungoverned spaces in Kaduna and Zamfara states is to continue occupying the spaces and launching their invasions from there. It is also of obvious notice that the enormity of their actions against individuals, communities and the states in terms of various degrees of mayhem is of no concern to them. It could be interpreted therefore that infringing on state security and the much-revered tranquility of communities and environs is their aim and purpose to achieve their intentions. Consequently, the need for the states to develop sustainable strategies necessary to curb these bandits, secure the ungoverned spaces and return the amiable peace to communities and socio-economic activities cannot be overemphasized. Hence, it would be necessary for Kaduna and Zamfara states to:

- a. Synergize together towards curbing a common threat and enemy.
- b. Draw up a common sustainable roadmap or framework towards achieving the curbing of bandits from their ungoverned spaces.
- c. Ensure robust deployment of law enforcement agencies unto appropriate investigations and prosecutions of these bandits.
- d. Appropriately strengthen their judiciaries and prison systems for the dispensing of justice on these bandits.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The presence of bandits and their activities in the ungoverned spaces of Kaduna and Zamfara states has continued to do more harm than good. This is in terms of the mayhem they cause to host villages, communities and towns which they invade from time to time. Their invasion often leads to death, destruction and other ill-fated incidences which has left communities in terror, individuals in trembles and relocation for safety as well as states in distractions of governance. Suffice to state that frantic efforts have been made by both the federal and state governments to curb the menace as well as to keep the ungoverned spaces safe. These efforts ranged from kinetic to non-kinetic means. The kinetic effort has remained with the expectation that it will ripple into non-kinetic outcomes in the distant future.

Given the main findings of the study, this paper recommends that:

The governments of Kaduna and Zamfara states should synergize and draw up a common sustainable roadmap or framework that will aid in eradicating the menace of banditry from their



ungoverned spaces as well as securing it through the deployment of appropriate law enforcement agencies (the Nigerian Police and the NSCDC) and the use of ICT.

The law enforcement agencies especially the Nigerian Police Force should carry out prompt investigations on apprehended bandits and prosecute them accordingly.

The judiciaries and prison systems of these two states should be strengthened appropriately for the dispensing of justice on apprehended bandits.

The two states should establish a rehabilitation centre that would care for victims of banditry including IDPs.

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The Emergence of Ex-Servicemen's Welfare Associations in Nigeria after the Second World War

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Abstract

The outbreaks of the First and Second World Wars forced the British colonial government to recruit and conscript colonial subjects in large numbers to fight for the survival of the British Empire in Africa, Asia and the Middle East. After the wars, the demobilized ex-servicemen started to seek a change of attitude from the colonial government because of the new experiences they had acquired during their military services outside Nigeria. One of the significant outcomes of the wars was the eventual proliferation of Ex-servicemen welfare associations throughout the country. The demobilized soldiers started organizing themselves into associations to address their welfare issues because the colonial government failed to provide jobs for the majority of them. This paper argues that the emergence and proliferation of ex-servicemen's welfare association in Nigeria was due to the failure of the colonial government to resettle and rehabilitate the ex-soldiers into meaningful civil life despite their contributions to the survival of the British Empire.

Keywords: Army, Colonialism, Ex-Servicemen, Legion, Veterans

Introduction

Since the beginning of colonial rule in Nigeria in the early years of the twentieth century, one of the major challenges faced by the British colonial government was how to preserve the ambivalence of the colonial system on the colonial subjects. By the 1930s it had been established that colonialism was one inevitable phenomenon that the four corners of the inhabited globe must live with. In other words, Europeans had succeeded in extending their powers to the areas that were hitherto out of the purview of the colonial system. Although by the 1930s colonialism did not provide the much-needed impetus for peace even among the Europeans, the international system remained temporarily stable until the balance of powers was upset by the incessant pressure from the newly emerging world powers (Germany, United States of America and Japan) with their ambitious quest for hegemonic influences. In the Far East, by the beginning of the 1930s, the Japanese made it clear to everybody that their aim was the dissolution of the British Empire, or at least to end the British colonial experiment in Southeast Asia and the Indian sub-continent. While in continental Europe Hitler was exhibiting vengeful attritions toward the other European States by gradual erosions of the



sovereignty of the European states, especially France. With these enormous challenges, the European powers' capacity to confront their enemies they must source alternative and additional resources from their colonies. Hence, the British decision to involve its colonial subjects in the conflict to halt the looming disaster in both Europe and the colonial world, especially in the Southeast Asia region. Consequently, Nigerians and many other Africans were recruited and conscripted and forced into joining the imbroglio of European armed forces to save the British Empire from the imminent collapse.

Between 1939 and 1945 many Nigerians together with many other Africans fought on various fronts and different capacities and eventually helped the British Empire to survive the Japanese onslaught. At the end of the war, these Nigerians and other African contingents were demobilized and abandoned at the mercy of their societies, unlike their European counterparts who were treated with the required attention. However, when some African contingents realized the intention of the colonial government and the Military Authorities they started clamouring for attention and equal treatment. The colonial government responded with the establishment of a government-sponsored welfare association for the veterans which proved inadequate and unsatisfactory. The Veterans took it by themselves and started the process of establishing their own military veterans' association, similar to the ones found all over the world. By 1946 they came up with the idea of establishing the Nigerian Legion; an ex-servicemen welfare association for veterans of the First and the Second World War.

Post-Second World War British Policies on Nigerian War Veterans

Some claims show that up to 1918, there were no clear blueprints proposed by the British colonial government to resettle and rehabilitate the mobilized Nigerians, who fought on the side of the British and her Allies.¹ It is very difficult if not impossible to accept this assertion in it is because the British Government's plan for demobilization and resettlement appeared in the January and February 1919, issues of the *Monthly Labor Review*. The plan provided for the demobilization of armed forces by trades in accordance with the needs of industry and only as rapidly as the industry was prepared to absorb them. Obviously, less direct control could be exercised by the Government in the demobilization of civilian war workers. The plan contemplated, however, active assistance by the Government in the reorganization of the industry.² However, this may not be far from the fact that at the time there were no moral dimensions in the colonized-colonizer relationships because since the Berlin conference the guiding principles that governed the relationships between the colonial powers and their subjects had been the right of conquests which was then the legal framework for colonial rule.³

However, the issue was not the same in Europe and other areas that were affected by the war. In Britain and other European countries, the idea of how to deal with veterans' affairs was designed to

¹ Uba, C. N. *Colonial Army and Society in Northern Nigeria*. Kaduna: Baraka Press, 1998. P. 43

² Benjamin, M. S.. *Demobilization and Resettlement in the United Kingdom; Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 8(5) May 1919.

³ Babou, Cheikh Anta. "Decolonization or National Liberation: Debating the end of British Colonial Rule in Africa." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*: Vol. 632. 2010. Pp. 41 – 54.



involve governments and the general public to shoulder the burden of taking care of the ex-servicemen since it was concluded that the governments could not cater for the needs of the war veterans.⁴ Therefore, from the on-set, it was made clear that Europeans did not take the risk of abandoning the veterans after their demobilization from the army for obvious reasons. As such they adopted different measures to curtail the consequences of creating a community of disgruntled class of ex-servicemen amidst several other post-war challenges.⁵

In England, and elsewhere, a new kind of agriculture known as the “farm colony” was developed purposely to cater for the millions of returning soldiers from the battlefield. This is because it is believed that a large number of the ex-soldiers would be accommodated in such a program. Official commissions in England developed plans by which the state sold to the returning ex-soldiers ready-made farms of from three to thirty acres, which a single man cultivated. The farms were grouped about a size of a village community, with educational, recreational and cooperative agencies for marketing and buying. Then an educational expert would be shouldered with the responsibility of directing the activities of the colony. The veterans were sold small farms, with a house, barn, and sufficient capital on easy terms, the state advancing nine-tenths of the capital, to be re-paid on long-term instalments. The idea behind the program was that the ex-soldiers should remain on the farm under these conditions, and it was believed that production would increase, and a new interest in agriculture would be awakened. The successes of the program in Europe led to its advocacy in the Americas and elsewhere. Such a program proved very helpful as this involves no permanent burden to the nation. It pays for itself.⁶

It also appeared that Britain was not unmindful of the plight of European veterans after the First World War. It, however, maintained the idea that the War’s burden could not be met by State alone. Therefore, the notion of “Voluntarism” was used by Britain to escape the inherent burden of taking responsibility for her unpopular policies toward the veterans. And this assisted the British government in shifting the burden from the shoulders of the State to the society through the application of the idea of public benevolence as fundamental channel for developing ex-servicemen’s organizations in Britain.⁷ As early as 1943, the British colonial government set up the Hoskyns – Abraham Committee to look into the situation and proffer a cogent guideline on how best to demobilize the soldiers that participated in the Second World War.⁸ The Committee came up with the following broad provisions that could allow the government to conduct demobilization and resettlement of ex-soldiers exercises successfully:

⁴ Deborah, Cohen. *The War Came Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914 – 1939*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001. P. 10

⁵ Frederic C. Howe, “A Constructive Program for the Rehabilitation of the Returning Soldiers” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 80, *Rehabilitation of the Wounded* (Nov., 1918), pp.

⁶ Frederic C. Howe, “A Constructive Program for the Rehabilitation of the Returning Soldiers”...Op cit.

⁷ Deborah, Cohen. *The War Came Home: Disabled Veterans op cit*

⁸ Geoffrey, I. Nwaka. “Rebellion in Umuahia, 1950 – 1951: Ex-servicemen and Anti-colonial Protest in Eastern Nigeria.” *Transafrican Journal of History*. Vol. 16(1987). Pp. 47 – 62. P. 53



- i. A considerable proportion of the demobilized soldiers would be seeking paid employment, preferably with the government. Therefore, undue haste in the exercise must be avoided, and that no expense should be spared if the final result is a satisfactory citizen in employment is produced, as against a discontented and unemployable ex-soldier.
- ii. The labour Department should endeavour to register all ex-soldiers and set up „Holding Camps“ where they and their families would remain for some time under some form of military discipline and supervision to prepare and train them for civil employment. iii. The program for post-war economic reconstruction and development should be designed in a manner that would create and provide employment for ex-soldiers.⁹

The demobilization of African troops started in 1945, precisely in October. Ernest Bevin was appointed the British minister of Labor and National Service and he became the general overseer of the whole demobilization exercise. When the exercise commences it was expected that by October 1946 it was going to be completed. Therefore, the troops of the Royal West African Frontier Force started to be demobilized in October 1945. The returning Nigerian troops disembarked in Lagos which was their designated demobilization centre. The ex-soldiers' pay were calculated and documentation of everyone was also completed there and discharge books were issued to everybody. In return, all the ex-servicemen were ordered to return all equipment and the surplus clothes in their possession. From there all the ex-servicemen were directed to move to their dispersal centres at the staging camps in their respective provinces. The following staging camps were stipulated in the Northern Nigerian provinces by the colonial demobilization agency for convenient execution of the demobilization exercises. They include Bauchi, Gboko, Gusau, Kano, Katsina, Kontagora, Lokoja, Otukpo, Yola and Zaria. From these centres, each ex-soldier was discharged and sent to his place of origin or place of enlistment.¹⁰

In 1945, the government had established the Resettlement Branch of the Labor Department, backed by the Employment of Ex-servicemen's Ordinance No. 48 of 1945, to register demobilized soldiers and obtain for them such employment as was available. The Ordinance obliged employers to reinstate all ex-soldiers in their pre-enlistment jobs. There were also the legal obligations on employers to hire ex-servicemen up to a specified quota to fill any vacancies that would occur in their establishments. The quota restrictions implied that preference would be given to ex-soldiers by employers until not less than 10 to 15 percent of those employed were ex-servicemen. In addition, 100 percent of all vacancies for messengers, gatemens, and cleaners and 50 percent of vacancies for motor drivers were to be reserved for ex-soldiers. Accelerated salary increases were approved for them to cover the period of their services, and slightly lower educational standards were sometimes required of them for employment. Disability pensions and gratuities were paid to those who were incapacitated as a direct result of their service in the army.¹¹ Circular, Notices and Instructions were constantly issued for the retraining of ex-servicemen at the Trade Training Schools and in some agricultural and educational institutions. A "Supernumerary Vote" was set up to enable government

⁹ Geoffrey, I. Nwaka. "Rebellion in Umuahia, 1950 – 1951: Ex-servicemen p. 53

¹⁰ Miller, E. A. *Colonial Annual Report on the Department of Labor and the Resettlement of Ex-soldiers, 1945*, Lagos: Government Printers, 1946. 18

¹¹ Geoffrey, I. Nwaka. "Rebellion in Umuahia, 1950 – 1951: Ex-servicemen P. 55



departments to engage ex-servicemen in excess staff in permanent employment. Disused army toolkits were to be issued at nominal cost to interested tradesmen to enable them to establish on their own. Also, ex-soldiers were exempted from liability to pay tax for the two financial years immediately following their discharge from the army.¹²

Nigerian Ex-servicemen Welfare Association (NEWA)

The demobilization exercise in the Nigerian Royal West African Frontier Force (RWAFF) started in October 1945; therefore, after these exercises, the colonial government facilitated the formation of an association under the patronage of His Excellency the Governor-General of colonial Nigeria. The central aim of establishing the association was to be able to poster the spirit of comradeship and self-help among the ex-servicemen.¹³

The first attempt by the British Colonial government in addressing the eventualities of the Second World War was the intervention into the affairs of the demobilized veterans of the War. First of all the colonial government developed a Rehabilitation centre (unit) at the 37th Military General Hospital in Accra, Ghana. This is to ensure that those soldiers that need serious medical attention as a result of the war were catered for.¹⁴ The idea of establishing this unit emanated from initial Britain's rehabilitation scheme intended to serve both African and European soldiers serving in the colonial military. However, the unit was short-lived, because it was closed in 1947 and the colonial government allowed the Voluntary agencies to take over the responsibilities of the disabled soldiers.¹⁵

One significant impact of the First and Second World Wars on the colonial world was the consequent emergence of institutionalized veterans' organizations throughout the world, Africa inclusive. The idea of the formation of the Nigerian Ex-servicemen Welfare Association (NEWA) emanated from the assumption that government alone could not carry out the gigantic task of catering for the social welfare and future economic situations of the demobilized soldiers of the Second World War. When it was formed, NEWA was affiliated with the British Empire Service League (B.E.S.L) and came under the patronage of His Excellency the Governor-General of colonial Nigeria. Its inaugural Chairperson was Lord Louis Mountbatten of Burma.¹⁶

The mobilization and the difficulties of demobilization of soldiers who were recruited to serve the British colonial government in the execution of the Second World War placed considerable strain on imperial systems which were not completely resolved through postwar reforms. Therefore, the events that led to the subsequent establishment of NEWA were the complaints from the discharged

¹² Miller, E. A. *Colonial Annual Report on the Department of Labor and the Resettlement* . .op cit. p.18

¹³ Abubakar, Muhammad. "The Nigerian Ex-servicemen Welfare Association and the Resettlement and Rehabilitation of the World War II Veterans: A Study of an NGO Under Colonial Rule, 1946 – 1960", (PhD History, UNIMAID, Dec. 2015). p. 44

¹⁴ Jeff, D. Grischow, *The Journal of African History*. Vol. 52. No. 2. (London: Cambridge University Press, 2011). P. 180

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Abubakar, Muhammad, "The Nigerian Ex-servicemen Welfare Association.... Op cit. P. 45



soldiers from the military service about resettlement and compensation policies.¹⁷ In 1944, an ex-servicemen's division was established in the Department of Labour to register veterans and servicemen. The division registered 3,000 veterans, but the government could find jobs only for 150. Therefore, the general outcomes of the whole scenario of involving colonial subjects in the centre of European conflicts were the pressure for reforms of the entire colonial machinery in order to avoid the inevitable socio-economic and political crisis inherently present in the aftermath of such conflicts.

Legal Status of NEWA

NEWA appeared as a legal non-governmental organization in the colonial system, supported by the provisions of appropriate colonial legal instruments. Since the British colonial government was not unmindful of the problems of creating jobs for the veterans, it became inevitable to provide a required legal framework for the smooth running of the colonial system. Thus, in March 1945; the Legislative Council passed the Employment of Ex-servicemen's Ordinance, which authorized the government to restore veterans to "civil life". The enactment of this Ordinance led to the establishment of NEWA which took over the assets of the various Pro-war funds and organizations established during the Second World War.¹⁸ This is necessary, because, it is a crucial step toward addressing the socio-economic problems of the African soldiers who participated in the Second World War. Therefore the organization was legally established by the British colonial government in Nigeria. Thus, NEWA was established as a legal veterans' organization by the British colonial government for the purpose of addressing the anticipated challenges associated with the poorly addressed veterans' issues. The law related to the establishment of the veteran organizations in Nigeria is traceable to the enactment of the 1946 Nigerian Ex-servicemen Welfare Association (NEWA), ordinance No. 32, which was consolidated in 1948 and 1958. As contained in the 1958 version of the Laws of Nigeria, according to section 3 of this Law; the Nigerian Ex-servicemen/s Welfare Association was established. It constituted a statutory corporation with the powers to sue and be sued in its name. The principal reason for the establishment of the Association is to ensure that the interest of veterans is amply taken care of with adequate legal support for the avoidance of future uncertainties. It was vested with the responsibility of fostering camaraderie and the general welfare of its members.¹⁹ The NEWA (vesting of certain charitable Funds) Act No. 33, 1947 consolidated in 1948 reinforced the Law of 1946, since superseded. In 1960, however, the Law of 1946 as amended was further altered by the NEWA Act No. 42 of 1960 to bring up to date the designation of Governor and vest his functions in the Minister of each of the applicable Region responsible for fraternal matters such as the NEWA. From 1946 to 1964 the legal status of NEWA remained effective and all binding throughout Nigeria. However, with the enactment of the Nigerian Legion Act No. 18, 1964 as amended, the former position of NEWA was changed. According to section 1 of the 1964 Act, the Nigerian Legion was established to replace NEWA.²⁰

¹⁷ Toyin Falola, *Colonialism and Violence in Nigeria*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009. P. 159

¹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹ Charles, Mwalimu, *The Nigerian Legal System Vol. 2 Private Law*. Newyork: Peterlang, 2009. P. 1019

²⁰ Ibid



When NEWA was established it emerged with its structures for the proper conduct of its vested functions. The first Headquarters was positioned in Lagos and branches were opened all over the country, especially in places where there was the existence of large number of ex-servicemen. The northern Nigerian branches had their regional Council in Kaduna. Then sub-committees were formed to ensure the establishment of branches in all the existing districts in Northern Nigeria. The sub-committees were to serve as linkages between the provincial and Regional Councils and remain closer to ex-servicemen in their districts. The representatives of ex-servicemen and Native Authority officials formed the members of the sub-committees.²¹ At the central council level, the patron of the organization was His Excellency, Sir Arthur Richards, the Governor-General of Nigeria. The Chairman of the organization was the Area Commander of the Nigerian Regiments, S. MacDonald Smith, and the Vice-Chairman was Captain A. B. Jones. Other members of the Association were: E. D. F. Mann, S. A. I. Bucknor, Officer Commanding 2nd Nigerian Regiment and Col. J. S. Vorley served as Treasurer and Secretary of the Association.²²

At the Regional Council in Kaduna Mr L. H. Goble, Secretary of Northern Provinces served as the Chairman, members were, Captain G. D. Boutflower, Major L. N. Barker, Simpson a military representation, Ciroman Kano, R.S.M. Oseni Bako, Emir of Kontagora, Mr J. Landfield, B. B. W. A. Kaduna, Captain N. P. Roberts, U.A.C. Kano and the secretary was J. G. Lenox-Corynham, the Resettlement officer.²³ When NEWA was established, it took over the control of the Funds of the „Nigerian Ex-servicemen“s“ Benevolent Funds“, better known as „Win-the-War-Fund“, and also the „Disabled-Soldiers Funds. The amount taken over by NEWA was some £65,000, and it was considered insufficient to finance the annual current expenditure of the association. Thus, special appeals were made to help NEWA out of its situation. During the WWII, the Nigerian government made grants available to the Nigerian troops at the war fronts for their welfare under the care of the Officer Commanding the Nigerian Regiments while abroad. These grants were reduced progressively as the demobilization exercise of the returning soldiers progressed. The grant of £8,000 was diverted to NEWA to be used for the welfare of the ex-servicemen in 1948, the year in which the demobilization of Nigerian troops was concluded. The association expected some income of £25,000 in future years which was to come from other sources.²⁴

By Ordinance No. 32 of 1946, the government established the Nigerian Ex-servicemen’s Welfare Association, (NEWA), a supposedly non-political charitable association, sponsored by the government and affiliated with the British Empire Service League. NEWA was a statutory corporation whose members at both the national and regional levels were neither elected by nor responsible to the ex-servicemen themselves. NEWA had 87 district councils, two in Lagos, thirty-four in the North, twenty in the West and thirty-one in the East.²⁵

²¹ Abubakar, Muhammad, “The Nigerian Ex-servicemen Welfare Association.... Op cit. P. 45

²² Abubakar, Muhammad, “The Nigerian Ex-servicemen Welfare Association.... Op cit. P. 46

²³ Ibid

²⁴ Ibid. p. 45

²⁵ Abubakar, Muhammad, “The Nigerian Ex-servicemen Welfare Association.... Op cit. P. 46



Other Ex-Servicemen's Organizations

Although NEWA was the most widely recognized ex-servicemen's association during the colonial period, there was existence of many groups of ex-soldiers that formed themselves as unions outside the parameter of colonial control. As early as mid – 1946, there was a national association known as the Nigerian Union of Demobilized Servicemen but it was later overtaken by a much more effective grouping of ex-soldiers known as the Nigerian Ex-servicemen's Union (NESU), and then appeared Nigerian Federation of Ex-servicemen's Association. Each of the above-mentioned groups had a different set of leaders, priorities and strategies, some of them contradictory and conflicting, especially as the ethnic factor began to gain prominence in Nigeria in the 1950s.²⁶

Activities of NEWA: Successes and Challenges

From its inception, NEWA as a charitable organization of ex-servicemen had its overriding functions and responsibilities which made it possible to achieve some of its objectives. The following objectives define the scope of NEWA's activities:

- i. promoting comradeship between ex-servicemen,
- ii. raising and administering funds for the benefit of ex-servicemen,
- iii. assisting necessitous ex-servicemen whether by a grant of money or otherwise,
- iv. establishing and maintaining such welfare Bureau as it may deem fit,
- v. establishing and maintaining such hostels as it may think fit, for aged or infirm ex-servicemen and their families and,
- vi. furthering the general interest and welfare of ex-servicemen.²⁷

By 1947 there were more than 100,000 ex-servicemen in Nigeria, and Northern Nigeria was accommodating the largest proportion of this number. And by the same 1947 NEWA was only capable of raising the donation of £67,200 pound sterling which was very insufficient by any standard to cater for the needs of such a large number of ex-soldiers and their dependents. This is the reason why NEWA's capacity failed to address the challenges it faced during the time of its existence. Therefore, since the major elements in the organization were people that shared similar destinies and predetermined ideals of what their lives should look like the organization must employ some strategies in discharging its duties toward the members. In this regard, some basic provisions were made in order to give the organization the maximum opportunity it needed to serve its members efficiently. It is expected that NEWA is poised to provide loans for deserving projects undertaken by ex-soldiers and to assist in the general welfare issues of members it outlines some key areas of interest to its members. NEWA was prepared to provide:

- i. grant to meet the transport of the families of ex-servicemen,
- ii. grant to assist the genuine destitute person who had exhausted his gratuity legitimately and not squandered it,
- iii. grant to assist in technical training or further education which cannot be obtained under government Resettlement schemes,

²⁶ Geoffrey, I. Nwaka. "Rebellion in Umuahia, 1950 – 1951: Ex-servicemen ... p. 54

²⁷ Abubakar, Muhammad, "The Nigerian Ex-servicemen Welfare Association.... Op cit. p. 53



- iv. grant for the education of the eldest son and possible assistance towards scholarships. (This is because District Council's grants were only limited to the fees of the secondary schools),
- v. grant to assist ex-servicemen during the early weeks of his resettlement on a farm to assist him by tools, these were outright grants, not loan,
- vi. to supplement government disability pensions in the case where an ex-servicemen was unable to maintain his family on his own pension and limited earnings,
- vii. grants in case of sickness or accident causing disability incurred after the ex-servicemen's demobilization,
- viii. grants to widows and dependents of ex-servicemen,
- ix. grants to enable destitute ex-servicemen to travel on compassionate ground.²⁸

NEWA administered funds vested in it by statute as well as monies derived from government subvention and the proceeds of the annual Poppy Day collection. It is also expected to provide relief for very needy ex-soldiers and their families in the form of hardship allowance and loans for small-scale agricultural or industrial enterprises. The annual reports of NEWA indicate that in the first three years of its existence, it disbursed some £80,000 pound sterling without appreciably affecting the crucial question of unemployment among ex-soldiers. However, NEWA insisted that it would not recognize or cooperate with any ex-servicemen's organization with professed political views or which sought special treatment for ex-servicemen as a class.

Despite its shortfalls in getting the necessary funds to execute its programs, NEWA had attempted to achieve some of its objectives. One area which NEWA made an outstanding contribution to its members was to secure employment by putting pressure on potential employers to consider the applications of the ex-soldiers in accordance with the stipulations of the colonial government's directives. NEWA followed applications to Native Authority institutions, private companies and individual contractors in order to secure employment for its members. Ex-servicemen apprentices were also assisted to acquire necessary skills or other training from different trades and agricultural institutions.²⁹

Since resettlement and rehabilitation of ex-soldiers were the key aspects of NEWA's programs, the organization had succeeded in granting loans to its members to the tune of £2:10:00 a month for an unmarried member or £3:0:0d a month for a married member. The amount was usually given to those apprentices to enable them to acquire requisite skills from their masters. The amount was also paid directly to the master who trained the apprentices and this exercise was to last for six months only. NEWA had succeeded in providing accommodation for the old and disabled ex-servicemen in various parts of the provinces. In places like Jos and Maiduguri, "Sabon Gida" and Sojiri" were established respectively as permanent settlements for ex-servicemen, a legacy that still remains standing. In several other provinces, such infrastructure was absent because a large number of ex-servicemen were accommodated by their family members after they were demobilized from the army.³⁰ NEWA had also succeeded in its efforts to improve the welfare of the ex-servicemen by

²⁸ Servicemen Welfare Association.... Op cit. p. 51

²⁹ Ibid. p. 45

³⁰ Servicemen Welfare Association.... Op cit. P. 45



building additional vocational training centres in arts and crafts and also started ex-servicemen's clubs and recreational halls in towns where there were a good number of ex-servicemen.³¹

NEWA had been facing several challenges since its foundation in 1947 ranging from a poor turnout of its members during its annual and seasonal activities to revenue generation difficulties. Many members of the association were not giving it the required cooperation to serve them better, in fact, some members were not mindful of the existence of the association. The sources of revenue that NEWA enjoyed were seriously inadequate. The main sources of its revenue were the government's benevolent subvention, contributions from the general public and proceeds from Poppy Day sales. The collections from these sources were sometimes negligible and in others outright absence of any significant response. This rendered the association almost incapable of achieving many of its objectives on a substantial scale.³² Another area where NEWA faced serious challenges was the area of unpaid pensions and gratuities and other allowances on discharge from the duty of its numerous members. In other instance, the difficulties associated with obtaining the war medals of its distinguished members as well as rectification of disputed entries in some ex-servicemen's discharge papers constituted a serious threat to its ability to discharge its duties effectively.

Conclusion

The outbreaks of the Second World War and its attendant outcomes provided the enabling environment for the emergence and proliferation of Veterans' organizations in Nigeria in particular and the rest of Africa in general. NEWA, being a government-sponsored and recognized Ex-servicemen organization played a prominent role in making the life of the demobilized soldiers bearable to some extent. However, the activities of the organization remained largely regulated by the colonial government, thus, making the organization less active in the discharge of its primary responsibility. It was this reality that forced some elements, among the veterans to challenge the monopolistic tendencies of NEWA, where they came up with the idea of the establishment of the Nigerian Legion against the British colonial interest. Nigerian Legion was unofficially established in 1946 despite vehement but cautious resentment from the British colonial government in Nigeria. However, throughout the colonial period, Nigerian Legion was not given much credence by the colonial government because of its political susceptibility and the fragile nature of the entire colonial system at that time. Therefore, Nigerian Legion was only granted parliamentary recognition in 1964, as an official version of the Ex-servicemen organization in Nigeria.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Servicemen Welfare Association.... Op cit.P. 46



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Impact of Cybercrime on National Development: A Review on Nigeria

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Abstract

Humans will continue to seek ease of life and consequently record breakthroughs in diverse aspects of life. Often, this growth and development will have its positive and negative sides, one of which is cybercrime. The internet with its benefits has a plethora of downsides and it has wrought a lot of havoc on socioeconomic and political wellbeing of nations. The drive of every nation is to develop to its full capacity and potentiality, but this among other factors continues to act as a stumbling block to this development. This work will consider the impact of cybercrime on national development in a bid to recommend ways of curbing cybercrime and positioning the national interest before individual interest which hampers the direction of national development including an examination of the legal instrument of control both locally and at the international plane. In the end, this study concludes that the growth of cybercrime in relation to fraud is a digital pandemic that will continue to spread in Nigeria in the years to come if offenders are not dealt with according to law, to serve as deterrence to intending offenders. The research methods employed are derived from secondary sources such as the internet, textbooks, journals and articles within the area under study; governmental material from law enforcement, intelligence and policy communities, and non-governmental sources like reputable global cyber security vendors, consultancy companies and academia or research institutes (secondary sources were reported using the triangulation process). The retrieved data from books, journals and newspapers were analyzed using content analysis.

Keywords: Cybercrime; National Development; Malware; Hacking; Phishing.

Introduction

Human civilization has advanced through the ages to its current position due to human drive and desire to utilize God giving intellect towards creating a better living. The efforts of man have yielded good fruits in various ways part of which is the breakthrough in information technology which has provided wide access to information. This unfettered access to information and ease of



communication has transformed the world to the point that it is justifiable to say it is a global village, because nations of the world more than ever before are now so connected. However, there are downsides to unhindered access to the internet, as it has introduced diverse changes to human life, one of which is the surge in criminality.

Cyberspace has become a haven for crimes and criminality with the advent of technological breakthroughs. While its benefits in improving communication and other spheres remain veritable, it has become a tool in the hands of evil plotters especially when tech users fail to take the most basic protective measures and where tech products lack defences (Chong, 2013; Akinyetun, 2021). The spate of cybercrime in Nigeria has experienced cataclysmic eruption with many youngsters using, misusing and abusing the access gained to the internet network. Various range of criminal activities have now arisen ranging from cyber stalking, cyber extortion, cyber bullying, phishing, etc. the socioeconomic affairs of the country are greatly affected and until something is done to avert the dangers arising from cybercrime, it is likely to crumble a nation's peace and security as well as sabotage the economy (Bhawna, 2016).

The internet came into Nigeria in 1996 and between then and now, Nigeria has over 108 million internet users according to demography and it is expected to rise by 60 per cent in 2026 (Johnson, 2021). The internet creates unlimited opportunities for commercial, social and educational activities. There is a noticeable change in socioeconomic sphere and development such as banking, insurance, stock market, low production, service etc. which have consequences such as email scam, identity theft, child pornography, organized crime and solicitation for prostitution, fake lotteries and scam text messages as well as cyber-piracy. It has introduced its own peculiar risk that poses danger to the economic, social and political life of countries and the world at large including Nigeria. The dangers could affect many sectors of society and put the development of the country in peril. Nigeria is a very youthful country, with the vast majority of its population comprising of young people who are doing everything possible to make ends meet. With this teeming population comprising of majorly youths, makes cybercrime an epidemic which needs to be contained. Sorunke (2011) maintained that Nigeria in the cyber-space is under threats with such vulnerability, many loopholes in our system and issues bothering our payment networks. If urgent steps are not taken by businesses and governmental organization deploying web-based platforms for their operation and with the rate of cyber security in Nigeria, companies might soon be faced with a high incidence of hacking leading to loss of data critical to business life and revenue.

Hence, this work looks at the implication of cybercrime on national development in order to examine the menace this has caused to national development and proffer plausible ways of combatting internet crimes. The research will make recommendations that can be adopted by governments and other institutions towards quelling this menace both locally and internationally.

Conceptual Clarification

Cybercrime is defined as offences that are committed against individuals or groups of individuals with a criminal motive to intentionally harm the reputation of the victim or cause psychological or mental harm to the victim directly or indirectly using modern telecommunication networks such as the internet (chat rooms, emails, notice boards and groups) and mobile phones (Debarkaton and Jaishankar, 2011).



Phishing or “web spoofing” is a type of social engineering method in which an attacker attempts to acquire PII through a fraudulent method of emailing bulk messages to victims (Brody *et al.*, 2007). A common factor that many users face is the use of the same username and password for multiple sites, and then the imposter sends a link asking the victims to verify.

Malware is the use of malicious software to obtain the desired information directly from the user’s computer. They can also be designed to intercept communications or log keyboard strokes by recording every entry made by a user and this information can be sifted electronically for passwords and related information.

Business Email Compromise [BEC] is the act of sending an email from a spoofed or compromised account to the victim company’s financial institution requesting a wire transfer. Once the transfer is sent, the payment details are intercepted by the criminals and changed (Akinyetun, 2021).

Hacking involves breaking into a person’s computer to compromise information, this is often perpetuated from a remote location and takes advantage of loopholes in the victim’s computer program (Adepegba, 2021).

The Wave of Cybercrimes among Nigerian Youths

Society is evolving and new things sprout up daily with the advancement in technology and globalization, it cannot be said that they are known or predetermined, but we learn to describe them and attribute meanings to them. Cybercrime means different things to different people depending on the lenses from which it is viewed. To be able to guide our thoughts in this research, we will consider some scholarly definitions already proffered as it has been defined in a variety of ways by scholars and researchers. While there is no blanket or one-size-fits-all definition, the basic elements of the definition reflect in all definitions. For Moore, Cybercrime refers to any crime that involves a computer and a network (Moore, 2005). It is a fast-growing expanse of crime whereby the internet has been used to commit a variety of criminal actions that knows no borders either physical or cybernetic (Interpol). According to Folashade and Okeshola (2013), the information technology revolution associated with the internet has brought about two edge functions: that is, on one hand, it has contributed positive values to the world. While on the other hand, it has produced so many maladies that threaten the order of the society and also producing new wave of crimes in the world (Folashade and Okeshola 2013). Shinder (2002) opines that cybercrime is any criminal offenses committed using the internet or another computer network as a component of the crime.

Cybercrimes come in different ways depending on the way and manner the internet is utilized to orchestrate them (Jane, 2013). It cannot be said that mankind has seen all the types of crimes affiliated with the use of the internet, as criminals will always struggle to break new grounds and foment different types of criminal activity using the internet as a tool. There are diverse types of cybercrime part including Website cloning, financial fraud, identity theft, credit card theft, cyber theft, cyber harassment, fraudulent electronic mail, cyber laundering, wiretapping and virus/worm/Trojans. According to Ribadu (2007), the most common form of cybercrime in Nigeria are cloning of websites, false representation, internet purchases and other e-commerce kinds of fraud. While these lists may not even exhaustively accommodate the known types of cybercrime, the unknown is a plethora and the ones to come if the uses of computers, the internet and other electronic



devices are not tailored to suit societal needs and development cannot be quantified (Jaja and Jude, 2013). With the spate of terrorism, efforts to disrupt the security and financial health of nations cannot be explained.

The transformation of information and communication technology in Nigeria has resulted in an inevitable spike in criminality. Albert Einstein's remark that technological progress is like an axe in the hands of a pathological criminal comes to mind (Folsing, 1997). Activities of people in Nigeria today are knit to technology in virtually all spheres. Information is now digitized with an attendant consequence of people seeking more rapid, open and global access to information. In Nigeria, cybercrimes are not age restricted as they can be by people of all ages, both old and young alike. Although it is more common with the younger generation because hacking tools have become more accessible. With the increase in computer usage and internet access as well as access to other electronic devices and the convenience, more young people are prone to be commissioned into crimes on the internet (Jonathan *et al.*, 2004). In recent times there is a surge in the activities of cybercrime by young people, with trends of ritualistic activities connected to it, and even leading to the murder of victims of such rituals.

Its Implication on National Development

The term National Development is all-encompassing as it relates to the overall wellbeing of the nation and individuals therein. National development is geared towards the improvement of the standard of living of citizens. The term national development is very comprehensive; it includes all aspects of the life of an individual and the nation. It is a process of reconstruction and development in various dimensions of a nation and the development of individuals. National Development is also the gradual manifestation of positive changes in the economic, industrial, political, social, cultural and administrative life of a country (Ogai, 2007). It is an all-round and balanced development of different aspects and facets of the nation *viz* political, economic, social, cultural, scientific and material.

National Development is hinged on several factors and is greatly influenced by the participation of every member of the nation. The activities of members have an impact on the affairs and running of the nation (Kamini, 2011). On the international plane, the world is grumbling with various menaces ranging from insecurity, and data violation to economic sabotage, these are issues that hamper development. It is even more worrisome when these are left for an individual state to deal with personally. While the world is glory in the gains of technology and its consequent developments in virtually all spheres of human life, there is more than ever before, a need to take a reflective posture towards the ills that these advancements are clouded with. We celebrate the access to the internet and how in milliseconds we get things done and can access information, but we need to examine how the information is being misused and abused.

While it is a good thing to have the internet, it can cause severe damage when left in the hands of bad people. The effect cybercrime has on the image of the country and its effect on restricted business opportunities and social interaction should also be emphasized. The gains of access to the internet have brought upon us, the debilitating effect of cybercrime. It is dealing a heavy blow on the nations of the world. In fact, a report by International Monetary Fund ranks cybercrime as 3rd in dollar value as a global scourge (Maurer, 2021). A Cyber security venture, a company providing



research into threats opined that damage from cybercrime activity is expected to cost the global economy \$ 10.5 trillion a year by 2025. The effect on security in a world heavily hit by issues of insecurity is immeasurable. Jonathan (2004) said that cybercrime may threaten a nation's security and financial health. In Nigeria, the common negative effects Cybercrime has generally been revenue losses, disruption of business, profit pilferage, and welfare losses. In most cases, affected stakeholders do not have records of losses encountered or let's say the concealed losses information, projecting losses based on assumptions. Meanwhile, Financial Derivatives Company FDC (2020) reports that the estimated annual financial loss in Nigeria due to cybercrime was N250 billion (\$649 million) in 2017 and N288 billion (\$800 million) in 2018.

More so, as a result of identity theft and unauthorized access to data, it has led to international reputational mistrust. Folashade and Okeshola (2013) corroborated this by opining that cybercrime can "destroy image home and abroad, insecurity of life and properties, fear of doing business with Nigeria citizens. Recently, any social interaction with a foreigner over the internet as a Nigerian has become a problem in itself, as you are faced with the challenge of trying to explain how you are not a potential scammer or related to one. This is large because according to a 69-page document released by the United States District Court in February 2021, it was alleged that Abass (Cyber fraudster, famously known as Billionaire Gucci Master Hushpuppi) paid \$20,600 to Abba Kyari (Nigeria Police Officer and leader of the Intelligence Response Team) to unlawfully detain and torture Kelly Vincent over a disagreement. The police officer was allegedly involved in an international scheme to defraud a Qatari businessman the sum of \$1.1m. Abass was arrested by the Dubai police on June 10, 2020, alongside 12 other accomplices in connection with multiple fraud charges amounting to \$35million. He and his major accomplice Olalekan Jacob Ponle (Woodberry) were accused of committing crimes outside the UAE, including hacking, money laundering, banking fraud, cyber-fraud, criminal impersonation, and identity theft. The Dubai CID claimed incriminating documents were found of planned frauds worth a total of \$435 Million. Also seized in the arrest were \$40.9 million in cash, 21 laptop computers, 12 luxury cars valued at \$6.8 million, 47 Smartphones, five hard disks, and 15 memory sticks, all containing 119,580 fraud files as well as addresses of 1,926,400 victims. Cybercrime decimates the reputation of a country, making the business environment uncondusive for Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises (SMEs) and start-ups, while discouraging investment in the economy by foreign companies. This is worrisome considering that after the arrest of Abass, six Nigerians were placed on the FBI's most-wanted list, alongside 73 others from different countries. The six Nigerians Alex Ogunshakin, Richard Uzuh, Abiola Kayode, Micheal Olorunyomi, Nnamdi Benson, and Felix Okpoh were accused of perpetrating Business Emails Compromise and romance scams to the tune of \$6.3m in losses by Americans (Akinkuotu, 2021).

A major implication of cybercrime for national development in Nigeria is communal and sectarian violence. They affirm that social media is being used to spread hate speech and divisive contents which often give rise to tension among various groups in the country. For example, social media has been used to frame the prevailing farmer-herder conflict in the country as an ethno-religious crusade. In addition to using cyberspace to incite violence, cybercriminals are beginning to commit acts of terrorism via computer networks. Cyber terrorism, cyber espionage, insurgency financing, and recruitment are gradually becoming the norm. Indeed, cyberspace is now being used to solicit funds, increase the membership of terrorist organizations, drive ideological indoctrination, and



promote radicalization. The Boko Haram insurgency group in Nigeria is beginning to have a cyber-presence. The Boko Haram sect hacked the servers of the Department of State Security on August 30, 2013, and leaked the details of over 60 officials including their addresses and names of family members. This is a big threat to the lives of the officials and their family members, and of course, a strain on national security (Akinyetun, 2021).

In addition, another implication of cybercrime is its effect on the educational system. The advent of social media has easily spread the awareness of cybercrime among the youth in Nigeria. This has drastically increased the quest for participation in cybercrime, having seen the lavish lifestyle fluent on social media, clubs, and other social gatherings not knowing the danger behind this wealth. Some youths go as far as withdrawing from school to join the pyramid of cybercriminals which is motivated by the influx of youth to the urban city where it is lucrative to be established. They also travel out of Nigeria to other countries to hide and carry out their activities without an easy trace (Ogunjobi, 2020). Meanwhile, victims of cyber-attacks usually suffer from emotional trauma, they feel that they are to be blamed for the attack, they prefer not to involve anyone, or preferably handle the situation themselves which results in isolation, depression and suicide, and drug abuse.

Legal Regime/Mechanism for Combating Cybercrime

The spate of cybercrime in the world and Nigeria, in particular, is at an alarming high thus, there must be in place a legal mechanism to combat cybercrime. The import of this cannot be overemphasized because the more simplified the access to the internet is, the more the need to strengthen the legal system to be able to contain it because new crimes related to the internet will sprout daily.

In Nigeria, the laws on cybercrime have been harmonized in the Cybercrime (Prohibition and Prevention) Act 2015, which is geared towards mitigating and prosecuting cybercrime. The act is the shield of cyberspace even though it cannot be said to be comprehensive enough to perform the task of prohibiting, detecting, prosecuting and punishing cyber offenders. It is an institutional framework to safeguard the legal right of the users of the internet and oversee the distribution of software, information, online security and e-commerce through the internet (Ogunjobi, 2020). It also helps to give legal validation to documents.

However, pertinent to note are the areas that need improvement or adjustment that the law did not take cognizance of. Firstly, it does not provide for a very common form of cybercrime in Nigeria which is email spam. Section 15 of the Act only referred to the crime of sending messages that are offensive, indecent, obscene, and false or messages meant to annoy or harm another. The act is not comprehensive enough compared to what is obtainable in other foreign jurisdictions as it does not provide for compensatory damages to victims of cybercrime (Ogunjobi, 2020). It does not allow victims who suffer damages as a result of violations of the Act to institute civil actions against the violators for injunctive or equitable reliefs. Section 31 only makes provision for forfeiture to the federal government by neglecting the interest of the victims.

Section 24 (3) of the Act allows law enforcement, security and intelligence agencies to undergo training programmes. While this is plausible, adding the judges who will adjudicate on these issues to the list would have been advantageous because the cases coming before them will require their



ability to determine and establish the occurrence of these crimes. Section 8 and 9 also prevents the modification of computer data and computer system through malicious codes such as viruses they do not prevent the creation and distribution of computer viruses among people (Ogunjobi, 2020).

Recommendations

- I. The pace at which most Nigerian youths are eager to make quick-money is alarming, this greed has led them into all sorts of crimes. There is therefore an urgent need to sensitize and reorient youths on the dangers of cybercrime and the effect it has on the individual, image and national security of Nigeria.
- II. Cyber security should be made an interdisciplinary and compulsory course of study in Nigerian schools.
- III. Cyber Forensics Department should be created to analyze and keep track of cyber activities and investigate any suspected acts of cybercrime.
- IV. The government should partner with the Nigerian Police and set up Anti-Scam Reporting Channels across the thirty-six states of the federation, so that people can easily report suspected cybercriminals.
- V. Modernization of current processes, such as the Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty (MLAT), which allows governments to enlist the help of other governments in cybercrime investigations and evidence collection.

Conclusion

From the preceding discourse, Cybercrime is a great threat to the Nigerian economy and even to its national peace and security. The study has shown that the abuse of computer technology threatens national security, public safety and even devastates the lives of affected individuals. However, Nigeria like most African countries has a weak legal framework and weak legal enforcement to effectively combat cybercrime. As shown in the research work, the legal framework regulating cybercrime in Nigeria is not as comprehensive as other developed jurisdictions particularly in reference to the US jurisdiction. Therefore, regulating the abusive usage of the internet, and social media just like china, Japan, and other world power will go a long way to check the excesses of cyber risk.

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Jungle Justice and the Nigerian Law Enforcement Order: An Analysis of Fire and Smoke Relationship

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Abstract

The article reviewed how the menace of jungle justice is an obliteration of criminal justice administration in Nigeria. It looked at the prevailing reality of human rights in Nigeria, the causes of jungle justice, its implications for criminal justice administration and what government can do to mitigate them. Using secondary sources, the study found that the principle of fair hearing is dwindling in the administration of criminal justice. The behaviour of law theory was adopted for the study and utilized within the context of Nigerian society. In mitigating this pseudo form of justice in Nigeria, the government needs an overwhelming reform of the judicial process in line with the global concern for human rights protection; ensure justice administration that is visible and aimed at building public confidence in the criminal justice apparatus, the need for a massive awareness campaign by statutory organs on the right to fair hearing as contained in Nigerian Constitution as well as the need to rekindle the spirit of patriotic consciousness and professionalism in public authorities so that each citizen will have the obligation to obey the law as expected.

Keywords: Criminal Justice Administration, Fair hearing, Human rights, Jungle justice, Nigeria

Introduction

Over the years, man's ability to carve for himself a legal framework useful for social order and the administration of criminal justice has been epochal in man's social existence. This legal characteristic seems to have been embraced by various constitutional jurisdictions across the globe. In recent times, however, there seems to be an emerging trend, the phenomenon of jungle justice which tends to exist side by side with the formal system of justice, especially when viewed from the angle of its prevailing reality around the globe. When jungle justice is perpetrated in a society operated upon the modern apparatus of justice, it may suggest that the administration of criminal justice is becoming failed and societal members are at the risk of predisposition to self-help. Thus, where the underlying order of society is exposed to stiff opposition or fragrant rupture by human



anti-social interferences such that the law protecting human security is becoming less impactful or not properly adhered to, the propensity for outright inhibition and disregard for human life may become a practice. In recent times, jungle justice appears to be one of such obvious social disregards plaguing human security and the administration of criminal justice around the globe.

As revealed by Vladimir (2012), the practice of jungle justice connotes a debasement of the human species in society. Vladimir justified this when he cited an episode where a 14-year-old Emmett Till was beaten, his eyes gouged and shot in the head with his neck barbed wired for allegedly whistling at a white woman in the United States in 1955. In Africa, the United Nations Office on Drugs Control (UNODC, 2011) revealed that South Africa and Nigeria are accounting for between 35% and 45% of mob attacks and vigilantism as volatile criminal acts on global statistics. The above instances painted a graphic picture of how jungle justice could portend danger to Nigeria and by extension the world at large. Although crime has been considered inevitable and forms an integral part of every society (Durkheim, 1951 in Gbenemene, & Eric, 2017), but when social life becomes threatened with criminal acts perpetrated blatantly against the law, the quest to question such a trend becomes necessary. As tendered by Ukwai (2004), most developing economies are faced with reports of jungle justice in the face of global efforts to promote human rights.

Based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations, Nigeria is a signatory, “everyone has the right to life, and no one shall be subjected to torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment” (Odewale, 2016). In section 8(1b) of the Administration of Criminal Justice Act 2015, the law is protective of a criminal suspect from any form of torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment. In the same vein, section 36(1) 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as amended, provides for the right to fair hearing as part of the fundamental rights of citizens. Section 36(5) of the Constitution, particularly presumed a suspect to be innocent until proven guilty in a court of law. Based on the provisions of the laws cited above, jungle justice is clearly a criminal offence against natural justice and in an event where these constitutional provisions are no longer adhered to, the dispensation of justice via formal institutions of justice, particularly when it concerns the need to protect the fundamental rights of citizens may become dicey. Continuous practice of jungle justice constitutes a fundamental disjuncture to the essence of human corporate existence which the criminal justice system protects.

The reality today is that the practice of jungle justice indicates that Nigeria and perhaps the world is retrogressing back to a state of nature where the English philosopher, Thomas Hobbes, had characterized social life as being nasty, brutish and short. Hence, looking at the epidemic of jungle justice in the administration of criminal justice in Nigeria and finding ways of curbing this anomaly constituted the key objectives of this study.

The Concept of Jungle Justice

In Nigeria, Jungle Justice tends to have a standing history of constituting a public trouble. The study of Tamuno (1989) in Joseph (2014) referred to the Nigerian Civil War of 1967-1970 as the progenitor of many violent crimes in post-colonial Nigeria. It then follows that the public execution of suspected criminals had public approval since inception and gave birth to mob attacks as a form of punishment for suspected criminals in Nigeria.



However, understanding the concept of jungle justice is key and central to this study. In this wise, it must be highlighted that in Nigeria, every discourse on justice is solely a constitutional matter and usually a duty of the court to interpret when interpretation is sought. As contained in Shivji (1989) cited in Ernest (2014), justice connotes equality and fairness before the law. Justice is thus, the right of citizens to a fair and speedy trial that is accessible by all. Therefore, any justice outside the view of Shivji (1989) in Ernest (2014) is considered jungle justice. In the words of Brunt (2017), jungle justice refers to when a group of people, sometimes in their hundreds, take the law into their own hands, act as accusers, juries and judges and punish an alleged wrongdoer on the spot. When this happened, the person accused of committing a crime has no chance to defend himself/herself or claim innocence and often times, this procedure ends up with the victim being beaten to death or seriously injured.

According to Ernest (2014), Jungle justice is a form of public mal-judicial killing in Sub-Saharan Africa, most notably Nigeria and Cameroon, where an alleged criminal is humiliated, beaten or summarily executed by a crowd or group of vigilantes. The author held that punishment varies from a “muddy treatment”, where the perceived suspect is made to roll in mud for hours to severe beatings followed by necklacing. Onu (2017) opined that jungle justice is a travesty of justice since it does not guarantee fairness to anyone. In this wise, when jungle justice is perpetrated, there is a defect on the rule of law which protects human rights and this has been a justice epidemic in Nigeria.

Problematizing Jungle Justice in Nigeria

Over the years, jungle justice appears to be among many human security threats confronting sub-Saharan Africa and Nigeria due to its recurrent trend. A study carried out by the United States Department of Diplomacy in Action (USDDA, 2010) revealed that some human rights factors are associated with the causes of jungle justice in Nigeria. The study outlined some of these factors to include - high cost of justice, leadership failure, illiteracy/ignorance, delayed justice/prolonged and pre-trial of suspects. In another view, Joseph (2014) singled out the loss of trust and confidence in the judiciary as leading to weekly incidences of jungle justice in Nigeria. For Rita (2012), the loss of confidence in the police is accountable for the reality of jungle justice in Nigeria. On the other hand, studies by Neequaye (2007) and Asare (2007) particularly blamed inconsistency and inefficiency of the judiciary as the leading cause of jungle justice. The multiplying effects of these factors are not in doubt and a further review of the situation in Nigeria constituted a necessary urge for the study.

According to Achebe (1983), the protection of life and property from criminal tendencies, including the crime of jungle justice is primary of the government in Nigeria. Indeed, this singular responsibility is characteristic of every country where leaders pay attention to the fundamental rudiments of leadership. In Nigeria, section 14(2) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended, affirms that the state exists for the security of citizens. Section 33(1) also states that, “every person has the right to life, and no one shall be deprived intentionally of his life, save the execution of the sentence of a court of competent jurisdiction in respect of a criminal offence of which he has been found guilty in Nigeria”. Based on these constitutional provisions, it is jungle justice for citizens to punish their fellow citizen(s). However, the reality on the ground leaves much to be desired hence a further review of the situation.



One fundamental function of the criminal justice system is to protect life and ensure the enforcement of law and order in society. However, the practice of jungle justice dampens and weakens the strength of the criminal justice administration in Nigeria (Illah & Idom, 2017). The spate of jungle justice is so disturbing and societies divulged by acts of jungle justice portray the entire concept of “State”, “Government” and “Rule of Law” as lost (Philomena, 2012). In the views of Ernest (2014), the practice of jungle justice disintegrates the investigation process and the impracticality of arresting other accomplices of a suspected crime. It appears very little seems to have been done to salvage the situation in Nigeria.

The Behaviour of Law Theory

Donald Black, a professor of sociology at Yale University, developed the behaviour of law theory in 1976 and has been used by a number of scholars and specialists in various subjects in the subfield of social sciences. Black’s theory of law addressed a range of phenomena in nearly every subfield of social sciences, basically the handling and/or management of human conflict in a more broadly manner, the question of moral disputes wherever they exist, the question of why one person has a grievance against another and the explanation of why one person defines another’s behaviour as deviant. It thus focuses on instances where conflict may occur where there is a clash of interest and people are known to handle conflicts through means other than the law, and such means lead to actions such as boycotts, protests, revolutions, avoidance, suicide, or feuding. To Black, the nature of these disputes sometimes do not explain how they are handled. According to the author, one assault or theft may result in lots of arrests, prosecution, and prison time, while another does not even get reported to the police; one homicide case may result in the death penalty, while in another case, the killer walks free. According to Black, this kind of variation in social control creates an alternative to law.

Black defines law as “governmental social control i.e. a task that is inevitable and unavoidable. Black also evolved the concept of social geometry .To him, every case of conflict has a social geometry (social structure) consisting of the social characteristics of everyone involved such as whether they are wealthy or poor and whether they are intimates or strangers. Thus, the geometry of a case predicts how it is handled.

In applying this theory, Black's investigation into the behaviour of law can be used to describe jungle justice as a medium the Nigerian citizens have used to handle social life other than the law. Although Nigeria is a country governed by law, the practice of jungle justice means that the presence of law is not the sole alternative to settling conflict or disputes, especially when people no longer feel safe in the protective arms of government. In another vein, the social geometry of a criminal suspect in the current formation of Nigeria tells a lot about his/her handling by the criminal justice system. The reality is that some broad day light killers are today walking freely on the streets of Nigeria amidst the administration of criminal justice. Such a situation could breed a medium of handling social life other than the law which jungle justice is a classical instance.



Causes of Jungle Justice in Nigeria

Many experts, including social thinkers and lawyers seem to be taking giant steps toward unravelling the causes of jungle justice in Nigeria. Given the foregoing, some causes of jungle justice in Nigeria are specifically highlighted and discussed below.

Injustice and Oppression in the System: In Nigeria, Dambazau (1999) argued that not all crimes or offenders are justly processed due to the adulterated nature of the Nigerian justice system which accommodates injustice and partiality. Reasoning in the same line, Robert and Greene (1978) blamed injustice on the inequality when they argued that all men are not born equal and cannot be treated equally because some men are taller than others, some are lighter in the skin than others, some are more physically built than others, some more intelligent than others, some are more talented and gifted than others, some richer than others, some are more ignorant than others, some are introverts while some are extroverts. As President Obama said during his 2015 address at the African Union, “there is a lot a leader must do to keep his country moving and that is to know that law is law, and no person is above the law, not even the president” (Vera, 2015, p. 7). In this wise, government needs to respect the rule of law, for where it persists in flouting court orders, it is setting a pernicious example to the rest of society, and telling others that it is no crime to behave unjustly.

The Anti-thesis of Corruption: That corruption constitutes a big threat to meaningful development where ever it is found and in whatever form it exists is no longer a doubt in the criminological reality of contemporary Nigeria. As captured by Illah and Douglas (2015), we have less energy to dissipate on when it comes to discourses on corruption since we are familiar with its manifestations in our daily life – governmental bureaucracy, the military, the criminal justice system, the educational sector, the private business sector, the media, Non-Governmental Organizations, professional bodies, traditional rulership and even religious organizations. This may have made nations around the world through the activities of the International Association of Anti-Corruption Authorities, Amnesty International, and Transparency International to continue to fashion out ways of curbing corruption among private and public office holders, especially because issues of corruption are becoming linked to several social vices thwarting developmental activities in the world. Generally, when you fall victim to crime and you go to the police, you are asked to fund the investigation. If you do not have the money to fund it and meet the incessant bribe demanded by the police, the case is often dropped. On the other hand, the criminal suspect, if he or she has the financial means, he simply pays off the police and this could form part of the reasons why extra-legal executions and other forms of jungle justice are beginning to get common in Nigeria.

Pseudo Democracy: Pseudo democracy which also means wrong or pirated democracy appeared to be a strong poser of violent crime in contemporary Nigeria. For instance, section 14(2) of the 1999 constitution considered Nigeria a State founded on the principles of democracy and social justice, where sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from which government derives all its powers and authority. There seems no strong will from government in terms of good governance and the protection of lives as contained in section above. It does appear that security in Nigeria is for the rich or for people who can afford it, the ordinary man is left to cater for himself, and that is what has given birth to people arising to take laws into their hands.



Delayed justice: Reviewing this, Asare (2007) bemoaned regular adjournments and delays in adjudication of justice as resulting in jungle justice and calls for a concerted effort by the judiciary to stem the trend. For Neequaye (2007), the legal system is too slow in dealing with criminal cases, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. Perhaps, Neequaye (2007) is being guided by these paradoxical legal maxims: “the wheels of justice grind slowly but will certainly reach its destination but justice delayed is justice denied”. Reasoning in the same line, the author observed that judicial inefficiency is just one of the many causes of mob violence. Thus, the seeming delays in the judicial process, through unjustifiable acquittal of popular criminals, to the lack of publicity of courts convictions of criminals make people assume nothing is done to people who are arrested for a crime.

Depreciated Trust and Confidence in the Law Enforcement Agencies: Trust and confidence are often the fulcrum of any strong and respected justice system. However, where there is an absence or a near absence of this element, people easily resort to self and begin to do what their leaders or the institutions they lead are supposed to do. Research has shown that the perpetrators of crimes such as jungle justice have less confidence in the police (Cao, 1996; Maxson., 2003; Allen, 2006). To Brunt (2017), a dominant perception among the deprived class is that the judicial system is fragile and untrustworthy, leading them to take the laws into their own hands. Dada, Dosunmu and Oyediji, (2015) contended that jungle justice occurs when the society is fed up with the administration of criminal justice, and have come to believe that there is little or no difference in the way criminals are processed in the system. The author also noted that under this system of justice, the entire concept of state, government and rule of law is defeated because people are allowed to act in a form that is unregulated and unbridled.

According to Ugwummadu (2013) cited in Tunasangwitches (2013), at the height of jungle justice is the loss of confidence in the judicial system. This view of Tunasangwitches (2013) is elated because when people hear of so many well-to-do persons who have been charged with criminal cases and hear very little in terms of punishment and sentences about them, whereas they hear that people who stole tubers of yams, goats and wristwatches are instantly convicted and sentenced to years of imprisonment, they do not need to be politically enlightened or properly schooled in the legal processes before they lose confidence in the system. Thus, jungle justice is a clear manifestation of the loss of confidence of Nigerians in the agencies of criminal justice administration by which justice is served. Therefore, rather than exposing the persons whom they have caught committing a criminal act to a criminal justice process that could exonerate them, mobs often take the law into their hands, believing that that is how justice would be better served.

The Implications of Jungle Justice

Ordinarily, a criminal act is rarely without implications and even more, jungle justice, considering its many human rights issues is rarely without implications. The law enforced in Nigeria is clear on the practice of jungle justice as constituting a threat to human life protection. As provided by Illah and Idom (2017), section 36(1) 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended, captures the right to fair hearing as a fundamental right of citizens; section 33(1) further states that “every person has the right to life, and no one shall be deprived intentionally of his life, save the execution of the sentence of a court in respect of a criminal offence of which he has been found guilty in Nigeria”. Corroborating this position, Hauwa (2016) cited in Nneka (2016) opined that most victims of jungle justice are clearly innocent of the crime they are attacked for since they are



yet to be convicted by any court of law that jungle justice defers. The views above revealed how jungle justice denies the criminal justice system the platform to protect the right to fair hearing of criminal suspects. Also, there could be instances where innocent people are brutalized and killed as mistaken identity owing to the culture of jungle justice when a crime is committed.

The practice of jungle justice creates sudden disintegration in the investigation process and the impracticality of arresting other accomplices of the crime suspected when closely viewed (Falana & Ogunye, 1998). Corroborating the above position, it can be said that jungle justice does not only disintegrate the investigation process but offers penalties which can be extremely ruthless and brutal to human life compared to what can be accorded when processed through the criminal justice system. These implications can be considered a fundamental disjuncture to the very essence of law and criminal justice administration which Falana and Ogunye (1998) have less buttressed in their work. The Nigerian constitution provides that a person arrested on suspicion of a crime is presumed innocent until proven otherwise by a competent court of law. This implies that a suspected offender still has the right to counsel, privilege against self-incrimination, and should appear before a magistrate or other judicial official within a reasonable time of the arrest to defend oneself. With the culture of jungle justice, this legal leverage is a mirage in contemporary Nigeria. Both the Court of Appeal and the Supreme Court have taken the advantage of their rare judicial altitude to hand down warnings to the perpetrators of jungle justice that the Nigerian system of justice abhors such practice. Citing the case of *Olabode v. State* (2007), Brunt (2017, p. 8) revealed that their Lordships of the Court of Appeal have viewed jungle justice in this light:

...let me state once again that no matter how one feels about the acts of another, it is wrong to try to redress an unlawful or seemingly unlawful act with another unlawful act, this will amount to jungle justice, the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, recognizes the sanctity of human life and no one will be allowed to take the life of another without due process no matter how brave he thinks he is, the law frowns at and will certainly punish such criminal and irresponsible act when proven as in this case.

Agreeing with Brunt (2017), Nigeria seems to be facing this unfortunate situation that has made the criminal justice system lost its capacity to conclude criminal trials as fast as expected. With the level of explosion and the way the country has developed in recent times, a crime deforming the criminal justice system is not something to take for granted.

Criminal Justice Administration

Often times and over the years, it has been the duty of the government to combat crime and the process of doing that is always statutory of the criminal justice system. That is to say, it is not out of place to discuss the administration of criminal justice as being dedicated to carrying out the operations of the criminal justice system within a federation. According to Sani (2007), the administration of criminal justice concerns all operations of the agencies of government that have the responsibility to enforce the law, adjudicate crime, and ensure that criminal offenders are punished according to the law. In the view of Iwarimie-Jaja (2003), the administration of criminal justice is both a system and a process. As a system, it is made up of three components: police, courts



and corrections. As a process, the administration of criminal justice explained how the various components co-ordinate their independent functions by processing the criminal suspect from one stage to the other. Concisely, a descriptive operation of the criminal justice system connotes the administration of criminal justice. In Nigeria, the various institutions saddled with the task of criminal justice administration include the police, the courts, and the correctional service. These sub-systems are said to be responsible for criminal law enforcement and decision making on crime prevention and control including the trail of criminal suspects.

As tendered by Ayorinde (2014), the administration of criminal justice is of different stages which commences from when the police has a reasonable suspicion that a person has either committed a crime or is committing a crime, then an arrest will occur, then filling of criminal charges and the bail hearing, through to trial; continues in the case of conviction, through sentencing, imprisonment and release upon completion of sentence. Apart from these statutory procedures, the Nigerian legal system is divided into sub-systems which comprise various laws enforced at the federal, state and local government levels. As it were, there appeared to be no uniformity of laws governing criminal law and procedure in Nigeria although the criminal justice system in all the states of Nigeria is similar with some differences in the law applicable in the Northern and Southern states. In procedural matters, Ayorinde (2014) opined that the law applicable in the Southern states is the Criminal Procedure Act, while the Criminal Procedure Code applies in the Northern states. Despite these differences, it appears there is almost nothing to distinguish from the states in terms of development and challenges that concerned the administration of criminal justice. Although the Administration of Criminal Justice Act of 2015 has brought a stand down on both laws for greater unification of criminal procedures in all parts of Nigeria with greater efficiency in the dispensation of criminal justice.

Conclusion

Having examined the epidemic of jungle justice in Nigeria, it is obvious that, other than solving the problem of human security, it has compounded and complicated the situation. Its use, which is in defiance of natural justice and the task of criminal justice administration, has constituted more social problems for the Nigerian State. In fact, jungle justice was established to be a contradiction any civilized society should employ in resolving conflict or addressing criminality in society. It must therefore, be understood that the culture of jungle justice is a threat to everyday life of citizens and the task of justice delivery in Nigeria.

Recommendations

To curb the ugly trend in the task of justice administration, the role of government as well as the public is paramount. These will include:-

- i. Government should ensure that justice administration is visible and aimed at building public confidence in the criminal justice apparatus. That means justice should be seen and felt, not minding whose ox is gut.
- ii. Government should carry out sustained reforms of the law enforcement agencies so as to enhance judicialization and criminalization processes in the country.



- iii. Concerned statutory government agencies should carry out a massive awareness campaign and enlightenment programmes on the right to fair hearing as contained in the Constitution of Nigeria. This will further elevate public knowledge of law and law enforcement in the country.
- iv. Government and spirited individuals should rekindle the spirit of patriotic consciousness and professionalism in the handling of public affairs so that citizens will have confidence in the law.
- v. Government should provide good governance by putting in place the basic infrastructural facilities for the people. Effective control of jungle justice as it were would require a fundamental activation of this approach.

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The Nigerian Textile Industries in Kaduna: Challenges and Economic Recovery Policy

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Abstract

The Nigerian textile industries faced many challenges that affected the local textile production. The main objective of this paper was to assess the Nigerian Textile Industries revival in Kaduna. The specific objectives evaluated the impact of intervention funds and restriction policy on the revival of the Nigerian Textile Industry in Kaduna. The study was conducted based on a descriptive survey design; it used primary data from a structured questionnaire administered. The population of the study was 101 employees of industries considered while the same was adopted as the sample size because the number was not too large. Convenience sampling technique was used for the survey while linear regression through the SPSS version of statistical packages was used to analyze the data and tested the formulated hypotheses at a 5% level of significance. The study shows that there is a significant impact between intervention funds and the revival of textile industries in Kaduna, and concluded that the potential of textile industries to contribute to long-run growth and development will therefore depend not just on the attributes of the investor, but also the quality and effectiveness of government policies and their implementation, as well as adequate funding. The paper, therefore, recommends the provision of intervention funds by the government or private sectors to the textile industries in Kaduna and Nigeria at large to revive the collapsed textile industries in Nigeria and boost the production of textile materials that will meet the demand of the Nigerian market.

Keywords: Economic Recovery Policy, Restriction Policy, Intervention Fund, Revival, Textiles Industries.

Introduction

Industrialization is the engine for growth in any economy due to its important role in the foreign exchange earnings, provision of employment and general well-being of a nation. The textile and garments industries are of the largest industries in the world (Abimbola, 2010). As one learns about the various aspects of textiles and garment production, it is clear that it plays a major role in the economy of a country (Adam, 1992). Textiles and clothing contribute to employment in developed countries, particularly in regions where alternative jobs may be difficult to find, for example, the sector is dominated by small and medium-sized enterprises concentrated in several regions that are highly dependent on this sector.



Textiles and clothing are also said to be among the sectors where developing countries have the most to gain from multilateral trade liberalization. The garment industry is one of the largest and fast-growing industries (Adisa, 2013), the clothing industry is labour-intensive and it offers entry-level jobs for unskilled labour in developed as well as developing countries. Moreover, it is a sector where relatively modern technology can be adopted even in poor countries at low investment costs. These technological features of the industry have made it suitable as the first rank on the industrialization ladder in poor countries, some of which have experienced a very high output growth rate in the sector.

Before the dominance of oil, Nigeria used to export agricultural products namely: oil palm produce, cocoa, groundnut, cotton and a host of others. The solid minerals exported included tin ore, iron, cobalt, coal, columbite etc. In Nigeria, nearly two decades after independence, the textile sub-sector was the major key player and this industrial sector contributed significantly to the growth of the economy. The textiles factory is said to have employed about 3 million Nigerians in the direct job from the production of cotton to the weaving, spinning and printing of textile materials. The industry also contributed hugely to the revenue bases of governments across the country and created hundreds of thousands of indirect jobs for Nigerians (Afuye, 2014).

Reports have shown that before 1997, the Nigeria Textile Industry was the second largest in Africa after Egypt with above 250 vibrant factories and over 50 percent capacity utilization. Olumide Abimbola (2015) reported that by the 1970s and the 1980s, the Nigerian textile industry had grown to become the third largest in Africa. Between 1985 and 1991, it recorded an annual growth of 67% and employed about 25% of workers in the manufacturing sector. This era could be described as the golden period of Nigeria's textile industry. Some of the textiles companies that enjoyed the boom in the golden era then include Kaduna Textile Ltd (KTL), Arewa Textiles Plc, United Nigerian Textile Plc, Supertex, Nortex Nigerian Ltd and Finetex Nigerian Ltd. Others include Gaskiya Textiles Mill, Kano Textile Ltd, Aba Textiles, Zamfara Textiles Ltd, Asaba Textiles Ltd, African Textile Mill Plc, Tofa Textiles and several others such as Afprint, Atlantic Textiles Mill, Spintex, 5-Stars and Speco Mills Ltd.

With the closure of KTL in 2002, Arewa Textiles in 2005 and UNTL in 2007, former President Olusegun Obasanjo announced a plan just prior to leaving office in 2007 to establish a 70 billion naira fund (which was later increased to 100 billion naira) that would provide moribund mills with loans to revive the industry. However, by September 2009 funds had not yet been disbursed, in part because the procedures for administering the loans had still not been finalized. The following year Namadi Sambo, the then Vice-President of Nigeria, set up a committee to reorganize revival efforts. By the end of March 2011, Salisu Umar, chairman of the textile section of the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria, reported that 'At least 60 per cent of textile companies in the country have accessed loan from the N100 billion textile revival fund'. The textile revival committee also facilitated the loan made to the largest Kaduna textile mill, UNTL, which was reopened in December 2010. Yet UNTL, while producing textiles for the domestic market continues to work with a skeleton staff, as the many and complex problems facing the Kaduna textile industry remain to be addressed.

Previous studies by Asaju (2004), Oloyede (2014) and Makinde (2015) have shown that the textile industry had been a major employer of labour (about 60% of the labour force) in the manufacturing sector and contributed immensely to the socioeconomic and cultural development of Nigeria. It is



unfortunate, however, that the current economic downturn in Nigeria has developed adversarial forces, thereby, clamping down the proper functioning of the textile industry as a resourceful economic contributor, due to the continuous usage of obsolete technology in the textile industry which reduces the standard, thus, patronage of the locally produced textile in the country, and unfortunately lack of intervention fund because money is not readily available for textile manufacturers in Kaduna and Nigeria at large. When it is available through bank loans, the interest rates are so high. At such rates, even if you made a profit, you will use a good amount of that profit if not all to pay your debt to the banks, and finally, the lack of restriction policy on foreign textile materials into the country makes most of the earlier textile industries in Kaduna to stop functioning. It becomes germane to briefly trace the history of the development of both the traditional cottage textiles and industrial textiles over time to ascertain the lack of revival of textile industries in Kaduna.

Nigeria's reliance on oil affected production in other sections, which led to the neglect of non-oil exports and Nigeria became a mono-cultural economy depending solely on oil revenue for economic progress. New developments and challenges made diversification inevitable. The essence of diversification is to make Nigeria go back to a non-oil economy based on the quadruple of agriculture, manufacturing, trade/services, textile, and other emerging sectors like entertainment and telecommunication. However, the sub-sector which was once the leader in Nigeria's industrial sector has undergone a considerable decline over the years. This paper, therefore, examines Nigeria's textiles industry in Kaduna: Challenges and economy recovery policy. The main objective of the study is to assess the Nigerian Textile Industry: Challenges and Economic Recovery Policy. It attempts to find out to what extent the intervention funds and restrictive policy impact on the revival of the Nigerian textile industry?

Thus, the study focused on the revival of the Nigerian textile industry in Kaduna, challenges, the impact of intervention funds and restriction policy on revival. This study looked at the economic policy as a way of reviving the textile industry in Kaduna and Nigeria at large. The scope of the study is limited to the three textile industries in Kaduna (Kaduna textiles limited, Arewa Textile Plc and United Nigeria textile Ltd) which were closed down or barely functioning as a result of the inability of the authority involved to disburse the moribund mills loans to revive the industry by former president Olusegun Obasajo before leaving the office in 2007, even up till September 2009 because the procedures for administering the loans had still not been finalized.

Review of Related Literature

Conceptual Issues

Traditional Cottage Textiles: Production of cottage textile in Nigeria is the traditional artisanship of the rural and urban dwellers who engage in the production of various textile related materials with available raw materials sourced locally and skills inherited from past generations. The cottage textile industries produce their products locally and through handcrafted of locally sourced raw materials. According to the International Labour Organization (2007), handcrafting is a part of economic activity characterized by certain features like reliance on locally available resources and skills generally acquired outside the formal school system, unregulated and in a competitive market. Nigerian traditional textiles are classified as woven, non-woven, dyed or patterned which are decorated and designed structurally at the surface. These include; "Aso Oke" (Yoruba), "Akwete"



(Igbo), “Okene” (Ebira), “Ashiasha” (Tiv), and “Adire” (Yoruba) among others. These fabrics have age-long qualities such as high durability, unique textures and traditional designs used on special occasions.

Industrial Textiles: Industrial textiles are produced specifically through the use of automated electronic machines which come in a variety of colours, designs, and quality. It became possible due to some factors. Basically, Nigeria is known for the production of cotton, silk and others, which are primarily raw materials for the industries (textile). However, the situation has changed today as Nigeria now relies majorly on imported raw materials and foreign technology to make the industry function. Andrae and Björn (2009) state that the oil boom era stalemated the steady growth and promising future of Nigeria's political economy as it resulted in the neglect of other aspects of the economy such as agriculture (cocoa, groundnut, palm); textiles, art and crafts among others in pre and post independent Nigeria. These other sectors of the economy were gradually undermined through inadequate funding.

Concept of Economic Recovery Policy: According to study.com (2021), economic policies are the actions that the government take to bring changes to the economy of a nation. It is the term used to describe government actions that are intended to influence the economy of a city, state, or nation.

Intervention Fund: Textile industry is capital intensive and the Nigerian industry in particular experiences a shortage of funds for the smooth running of the mills. The federal government has made effort to approve a bail-out funds for the textile industry under President Obasanjo’s regime, he approved 70-million-naira Textile Industry Revival Fund to revive the ailing industry. Unfortunately, this fund was not disbursed to the stakeholders. The bail-out fund was later increased to 100 billion naira before some could access it. (Adamu-Suka, 2011). **Restriction Policy:** Restriction is an official rule that limits what you can do or that limits the amount or size of something (Collins English Dictionary).

Concept of Revival: According to Oxford Language Dictionary (2021), revival means an improvement in the condition, strength or fortunes of something. It is an improvement of something becoming popular again, active, or important again. Ogunbiyi (2019) stated that considering the urgent need to diversify the country’s economy, there is no better time than now to promote the non-oil sectors in the economy. One vital approach to achieve this would be to revive the local industries. There is a need to embrace local industries by embracing locally made goods and this is where the funding and other related issues come in.

Empirical Review

Owen, Ogunleye and Orekoya (2016) conducted a study on The Nigerian Textile Industry: An Overview. The study adopted the qualitative approach to investigate the problem and concluded that the nation’s textile industry has been brought to its knees by a combination of huge infrastructural deficits and cheap imports from Asia, thus, recommending the cotton, textile and garment (CTG) policy as a “requisite compass” for the revitalization and growth of the cotton, textile and garment industry in Nigeria. Akintayo (2020) also conducted a study on Revitalizing the Nigerian Textile Industries for Mitigating the Effect of COVID-19 and Achieving Sustainable Economic Development. The study used the literature review method and concluded that the industry can stimulate the Nigerian economy, and retain and create jobs, thereby turning COVID-19 into an opportunity if there is government determination to introduce policy options and programmes



designed to proactively revitalize the textile industry. The study recommended that Governments at all levels should implement developmental policies especially as it relates to the productive sectors of the economy as economic growth is a determinant of foreign direct investment. Yusuf, Salihu, and Danladi (2021) equally carried out a study on Nigerian Textile Industry Sickness, Failure and Decline: A Literature Review. The study used an empirical literature review. The study findings from the empirical literature review show that sickness, failure or decline is attributed to internal and external factors in the business environment. The study concludes and recommends that the Nigerian textile industry used to be the largest in Africa after Egypt and South Africa. It plays an important role in the economic development of the country and was previously the largest employer of the labour force after the civil service. Though the outlook of the industry looks bleak, a concerted effort is required to restructure the moribund sector. Muhammad (2019) also carried out a research study on Trade Liberalization and Deindustrialization of the Textile Industry in Nigeria (1997-2000). The researcher compares financial data for a period of four years before textile import was liberalized, and four years during the period of trade liberalization. The study recognized the adoption of the neoliberal policies by Nigeria brought about low sales, low profit, and low dividends and shares. The case of the textile industry in Nigeria as a result of trade liberalization is a case of deindustrialization. The study recommends that government should increase surveillance on the porous border to eliminate or reduce drastically the incidences of smuggling and that Government should set up machinery at the port of entry to ensure that all imported textile goods are correctly evaluated and taxed accordingly.

Challenges Facing the Textile Industries in Nigeria

In addition to the problems that plague businesses in Nigeria and Africa in general, some challenges are specific to the Textile industries in Nigeria which are as follows:

Financing: The stage of a business could make one be thinking about the product to produce or might have started producing, thereby, planning on expanding operations. Whatever the case is, you will need some money to kick start your business. Unfortunately, money is not readily available for Textile manufacturers in Nigeria. When it is available through bank loans, the interest rates are so high (25% - 40%). At such rates, even if you made a profit, you will use a good amount of that profit if not all to pay your debt to the banks. The textile industry is capital intensive and the Nigerian industry in particular experiences a shortage of funds for the smooth running of the mills.

Inadequacy of Local Raw Materials: Availability of raw materials is the major factor of consideration when proposing the establishment of a textile industry. The basic raw materials for effective textile productions like cotton, silk, dyestuff, and chemicals among others are not readily available at home. Where available, the quality is low, inadequate and not of commercial quantity for the industry's full production capacity (Oloyede, 2014). Even petrol chemical-based products such as polymer, dyes and other synthetic materials (which were later introduced and are now being used in Nigeria) are scarcely available even though Nigeria is a big oil-producing nation. Most of the raw materials used are now imported due to the country's inability to produce them and the factor of liberalization policy of the nation.

Global Recession: Global recession is affecting the economic stability of the world, particularly the developing nations coupled with the present pandemic (Covid-19). The World in general as well as Nigerian society is feeling the impact of the global recession. The problems are low economic



growth, closure of companies that cannot compete with those that are highly technologically driven, retrenchment of staff in companies and government establishments, unemployment of youth, financial liquidity and high cost of living. There is a general decline in economic activities around the world.

Manpower Development: In the 1920s, textile industries in Nigeria employed and trained their factory staff on the job to satisfy the principle of manpower development. However, only expatriates (foreign experts) were usually allowed to man the sensitive sections of the industry to keep Nigerians away from understanding the secret and basic technological workings and operations of the industry to the advantage of the colonial masters (Ahmed, 2014). A similar situation persisted even after many decades of the Nigerian nation as a free state. Technically, the modern textile industry has a complex setup that needs to be handled with utmost care. Most of its units are independent and so, it requires different skilled personnel to handle them. This includes designers, spinners, engineers, technologists, chemists and marketing experts, while the whole units are integrated as one.

Dependency on Foreign Technology: Nigerian textile mills depend heavily on foreign technology (machines) and accessories. This practice becomes problematic and costly to the nation's economy due to the high cost of importation of materials and tools, non-availability of spare parts for the replacement of worn-out or damaged tools, coupled with poor maintenance culture arising from inadequate knowledge of its components (Ohiorhehuan, 2001). Often, these machines wear out with use and age while the unserviceable ones are often cannibalized in an attempt to put the working machines in good shape. This invariably affects the production and quality of products which often leads to the abandonments of local textiles for the imported ones as a better substitute.

Low Patronage: People are not patriotic and are not patronizing made in Nigeria textile products. The Nigerian Customs Service is guilty of this because they fail to check the influx of foreign textile materials. Investigations conducted among some selected consumers in Nigerian markets revealed that more than 70% of the people prefer imported textiles to locally produced ones. Price and quality have been observed to be the determinant factor for consumers' choice of goods (Ogundele, 2000). The concomitant effect of all these is that smuggling has become a "booming industry" this has greatly affected the locally produced products to compete with the cheap smuggled ones into the country. 80 per cent of Ankara in the country today are being smuggled in, many of them are counterfeited Nigerian products branded as made in Switzerland. So, smuggling, faking and counterfeiting are the order of the day and nobody is checking the trend.

Infrastructural Inadequacy: Power infrastructure has been a major challenge facing Nigeria's economy, even as privatization of the power sector is yet to yield the desired result to resolve the perennial electricity shortage in the country. The main issue that hinders manufacturers is the access to an uninterrupted power supply. The use of alternative power such as Diesel generators in Nigeria increases the cost of production by a magnitude which discourages manufacturers. Other infrastructural issues include bad roads, and poor storage facilities. These all extend the time it takes for a manufactured product to get into the hands of the consumer. For our economy to achieve optimum growth, there must be stability to enhance sustainability both in the medium term and long-run expectation.

Insecurity: Insecurity in the country is affecting many manufacturers. For example, Vita-Foam has a manufacturing plant in Jos, which has been closed due to insecurity in the Northern region. In fact, the last bomb blast in Kaduna was very close to one of the Textile mills. Not to talk of perpetrating



issues of kidnapping. Yet, the people perpetuating this evil live within the same economic environment we operate. Ginners have not been able to operate because of insecurity in the North, and so have not been able to produce enough cotton to feed the local textile factories, which hitherto have no standard measuring equipment to process their product for export, “Apart from the inputs, you need appropriate seed to give you the right yield. You also need security, farmers are being killed every day in the North, and 75 per cent of the Ginners are located in the North where there is insecurity. So, the industry doesn’t have enough cotton, the raw material for the textile companies.

Smuggling of Textile Goods: In the textile trade, much smuggling occurs when enterprising merchants attempt to supply demand for a particular textile that is illegal or heavily taxed. Smuggling is an attritional problem, evidence of corruption, greed and disrespect for the rule of law. Smuggling is caused by greed for wealth and the implication is disrespect for due process. It does not encourage the growth of local industries. The activities of smugglers have posed a serious threat to the survival of the textile industry. This is because the foreign textile materials are always cheaper and they are considered superior to local textiles even when the local textiles are more expensive.

Theoretical Framework

The Internal Funds Theory of Investment is the base on which this paper is built upon. Under this theory, the desired capital stock and or investment depends on the level of profits. Since investment presumably depends on expected profits, investment is directly related to realising profits. Alternatively, managers have to decide on their preference for financing or funding investment internally. It is in line with the focus of this paper because funding is identified as one of the parameters of reviving the textile industry in Nigeria. Firms may be funded for investment purposes from a variety of sources.

Methodology

The study used a descriptive survey research design which is sourced mainly from primary data. The population includes the employees of the textiles industries in Kaduna (Kaduna textile Limited, Arewa Nigerian Textile Limited and United Nigeria Textile Limited) which are either closed down or barely functioning as a result of the inability of the authority involved to disburse the moribund mills' loans approved by former President Olusegun Obasanjo regime to revive the industry prior to leaving the office in 2007; even up till September 2009. The population is 101 various employees of the industries. The population of 101 was retained as the sample size because it is not too large for the analyses. This sample size helps the paper for appropriateness and equal participation of respondents from the various textile industries sampled through the selected instruments of data collection. The paper used convenience sampling techniques for the selection and distribution of the questionnaire to the respondents. The questionnaires were used to gather the data used for analysis, and it was designed on a 5-point Likert scale. A total of 101 questionnaires were administered to the top level managers, and middle and lower level managers of the selected textile industries respectively. Out of this number, 101 were correctly completed and hence retained for analysis. The collected data was analyzed using linear regression through the statistical packages for social sciences (SPSS) and tested the formulated hypotheses at a 5% level of significance.



Data Presentation and Analysis

Measurement of Variables

The reliability of the instrument was measured using the Cronbach Alpha to determine the internal consistency of the instrument. A reliability coefficient of 0.50 and higher is appropriate for measuring the reliability of the instrument (Hulland, 1999). Kline (2013) suggested a coefficient of 0.60 as average reliability while Mallery and George (2003) are of the view of a coefficient of 0.70 as having higher reliability. For the purpose of this paper, a threshold of 0.70 as suggested by Mallery and George (2003) was adopted for the paper.

Table 1: Results of the Reliability of the Independent and Dependent variables

<i>Variables</i>	<i>No. of items</i>	<i>Cronbach alpha</i>
Intervention Fund	5	.722
Restriction Policy	4	.840
Industry Revival	4	.874

Source: SPSS Output.

Hypotheses Testing

H₀₁: The intervention fund has no significant impact on the revival of Nigeria's textile industry in Nigeria.

Table 2: Model Summary A

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
1	.382 ^a	.146	.138	2.13325	1.906

a. Predictors: (Constant) Intervention Fund & Restriction policy

b. Dependent Variable: Industry Revival

The model summary in table 2 on the impact of intervention funds on the revival of the textile industry shows the correlation between the predictor and the dependent variable to be positive at .382. The predictor accounted for .146 (14.6%) of the variance in industry revival. This implies that only about 14.6% of the variation was explained by the intervention fund, whereas variables not included in the model accounted for 85.4%. According to Cohen (1988) classification of R^2 into: a) 0.02 as weak; b) 0.13 as moderate; c) 0.26 as substantial. Based on Cohen's classification, the value of R^2 is moderate. Also, the Durbin Watson (1.906) has fallen within the acceptable range of 1.5 – 2.5 as recommended by (Norušis, 2006). This shows that the assumption of independence of error term has been met.

**Table 3: ANOVA A**

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	79.511	1	79.511	17.472	.000 ^b
	Residual	464.176	102	4.551		
	Total	543.688	103			

a. Dependent Variable: Industry revival

b. Predictors: (Constant), Intervention Fund

The ANOVA table shows that the overall model is significant, considering the Sig. F Change value ($F(1, 102) = 17.472, P < .05$). The level of significance is .000. This shows that the model is good and fit for the study. Also, the significance implies that there was strong evidence that the regression model gave accurate predictions on the relationship between the independent variable (Economy recovery Policy) and the dependent variable (Industry revival).

Table 4: Regression Coefficients A

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error			
1	(Constant)	19.474	.993		19.606	.000
	Intervention Fund	.294	.070	-.382	-4.180	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Industry revival

Source: Extracted from SPSS Output

Table 4 shows the coefficient estimate which revealed that the intervention fund is significant at $P < 0.05$. The regression model further indicates that a unit increase in funding will lead to a .294% (29.4%) increase in industry revival when all factors are held constant. There is thus a positive impact of intervention funds on industry revival as illustrated by a regression coefficient of .294.

H₀₂: Restriction policy has no significant impact on the revival of Nigeria's textile industry in Nigeria

Table 5: Model Summary B

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
1	.328 ^a	.107	.009	2.42497	1.891

a. Predictor: (Constant) Intervention fund & Restriction policy

b. Dependent Variable: Industry revival

The model summary in table 5 on the impact of restriction policy on the revival of Nigeria's textile industry shows the correlation between the predictor and the dependent variable to be positive at .328. The predictor accounted for .107 (10.7%) of the variance in industry revival. This implies that only about 10.7% of the variation was explained by restriction policy whereas variables not included in the model accounted for 89.3%. According to Cohen (1988) classification of R^2 into: a) 0.02 as weak; b) 0.13 as moderate; c) 0.26 as substantial. Based on Cohen's classification, the value



of R^2 is weak. Also, the Durbin Watson (1.891) has fallen within the acceptable range of 1.5 – 2.5 as recommended by (Norušis, 2006). This shows that the assumption of independence of error term has been met.

Table 6: ANOVA B

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	72.103	1	72.103	12.261	.001 ^b
	Residual	599.810	102	5.880		
	Total	671.913	103			

a. Dependent Variable: Industry revival

b. Predictors: (Constant), Restriction policy

The ANOVA table shows that the overall model is significant, considering the Sig. F Change value ($F(1, 102) = 17.103, P < .05$). The level of significance is .000. This shows that the model is good and fit for the study. Also, the significance implies that there was strong evidence that the regression model gave accurate predictions on the relationship between the independent variable (Economy recovery Policy) and the dependent variable (Industry revival).

Table 7: Regression Coefficients B

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	19.086	1.129		16.903	.000
	Restriction policy	.280	.080	-.328	-3.502	.001

a. Dependent Variable: Industry revival

Source: Extracted from SPSS Output

Table 7 shows the coefficient estimate which revealed that restriction policy has a significant impact on industry revival at $P < 0.05$. The regression model further indicates that a unit increase in import policy will lead to a .280% (28.9%) increase in industry revival when all factors are held constant. There is thus a positive impact of restriction policy on industry revival as illustrated by a regression coefficient of .280.

Discussion of Findings

The first hypothesis shows statistically that the intervention fund has a positive impact on the revival of textile industries in Kaduna. The result further reveals that as the intervention fund increases, it leads to an increase in revival by .294. This clearly indicates that the revival of the industries in the study is a function of the intervention fund. The finding of this study is not strange as it is in agreement with the studies of Salihu, and Danladi (2021) the outlook of the industry looks bleak, concerted effort is required to restructure the moribund sector.



The second hypothesis also shows statistically that restriction policy has a positive impact on the textile industry revival in Kaduna. The result further reveals that as restriction policy increases, it leads to an increase in textile industry revival in Kaduna by -.280. This clearly indicates that the revival in the study area is a function of restriction policy on the side of the government. The finding of this study is similar to the findings of Owen, Ogunleye and Orekoya (2016) which concluded that the nation's textile industry has been brought to its knees by a combination of huge infrastructural deficits and cheap imports from Asia, and Muhammad (2019) who recognized that the adoption of the neoliberal policies by Nigeria brought about low sales, low profit, low dividend and share.

Conclusion and Recommendations

It is no gainsaying that the Nigerian textile industry has the potential to contribute profitably to human capacity development, revenue generation (through exports), and job creation and sustain the national economy. Unfortunately, the industry had been undermined for more than three decades and could not measure up to its potential. The potential of textile industries to contribute to long-run growth and development will therefore depend not just on the attributes (desirable or otherwise) of the investor, but also the quality and effectiveness of government policies and institutions and funding in developing countries like Nigeria.

Nigeria has had its fair share of development plans and industrial policies, but that the industrial sector contributes only 4 percent to the national GDP is an indication of the failure of the planning agencies or implementation agencies or both. Given that these policies were instrumental to the successes of other economics; it is easy to conclude that perhaps in stepping down or replicating policies (as is often the case) our local peculiarities were neither accounted for nor modelled into the implementation processes.

Based on the conclusions, the following policy recommendations are proffered:

- i. Provision of intervention funds by the government or private sectors to textile industries in Kaduna and Nigeria at large to revive the collapsed textile industries in Nigeria should be encouraged to boost the production of textile materials that will meet the demand of the Nigerian market.
- ii. Government should restrict the importation of foreign textile materials into Nigerian market, so as to revive the domestic textile industries in Kaduna and Nigeria at large against their foreign counterparts.

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Technology and Product Innovation in Manufacturing Companies in Nigeria

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Abstract

The study examined the impact of technology and product innovation in manufacturing companies in Nigeria. The objective of the study is to ascertain the impact of technology on product innovation and customer satisfaction, and the impact of product innovation on competitive advantage and profitability. The study adopted the survey type of research design, where questionnaires are administered to respondents. The population of the study comprised of twenty-three (23) manufacturing companies that are into consumer goods listed on the Nigeria Stock Exchange, each company was used as a unit of analysis. Purposive sampling was used to select eighteen (18) manufacturing companies which were used as the sample size. In each company, questionnaires were administered to the managers and production managers to get their view on the subject matter, making it thirty-six (36) copies of questionnaires administered and thirty-one (31) were retrieved and used for analysis. Simple regression was used to test the formulated hypotheses in line with the objectives of the study and the result revealed that technology impacted positively on product innovation and customer satisfaction, while product innovation impacted positively on competitive advantage and profitability in manufacturing companies in Nigeria. The study concluded that technology and product innovation had positively impacted manufacturing companies in Nigeria. This connotes that sustainable product innovation and development cannot be attainable without the driving forces of technology. The face of production and operational processes have changed over time in manufacturing companies due to the effect of dramatic changes in technology. The study recommended that manufacturing companies should set up Competitive Intelligence (CI) and Strategic Intelligence (SI) to attract every new technology invention in their product innovation from the competitive market environment to attain sustainable business performance.

Keywords: Competitive Advantage, Customer Satisfaction, Product Innovation, Profitability and Technology

Introduction

In today's business environmental context, technology is an outstanding and dramatic variable that changes periodically and affects the interest in solving the problem of humanity. The incremental value of technology cannot be overemphasized in our society now and in the future. The current trend of technology has added value to new and existing product development, the core value of products and services in terms of the qualities, users and usage. In the current turbulent markets, the



firms that are successful and sustainable are those that adopt modern technology in driving product and services design innovation (Coccia, 2017; Aibar-Guzman, Garc ía-Sanchezb, Aibar-Guzman & Hussain, 2022; Kaplinsky & Kraemer-Mbula, 2022; Afrifa, Amankwah-Amoah, Yamoah et al. 2022; Agarwal, & Gaule, 2021). Afrifa, et al. (2022) and Agarwal & Gaule, (2021) opined that technology and technologies are the strengths that have helped to drive innovation and improvement in research and development during the Covid-19 pandemic. Most manufacturing companies that are into processing and production were sustainable and profitable in their operation and are at competitive war due to their continuous alignment with new technology and help to attain a competitive edge as a result of their alignment with the dramatic change in technology and its complexity.

Technology and product innovation are vital in the modern digital business environment for manufacturing companies in Nigeria to attain sustainable strategic marketing management and competitive advantages. Many manufacturing companies in Nigeria are structuring their production plans in alignment with the modern technology to meet up with the current marketing and competitive environment and they are counting on sustainability and profitability in their operation while many other manufacturing companies have failed due to failure in the application of technology driving forces with their strategic marketing management Kouhizadeh, Saberi, and Sarkis, (2020) assert that innovativeness can be driving sustainable and profitable with the strategic strengths of manufacturing companies to adopt new digital technologies. Therefore, this study intends to address the relevant issue of the impact of technological forces on product innovation in selected manufacturing companies in the production of consumer goods in Nigeria.

The continuous dramatic change and complexity of technology forces in the business setting both nationally and globally have created turbulent competitive global markets. Today manufacturing companies are pushing and searching harder to get dynamic sustainable technologies for their product innovation processes at a low and affordable cost for their target markets and end users in Nigeria to have long term sustainability in competitive markets. The bane of most business leaders/strategic thinkers in the rapidly changing technological deployment in manufacturing companies' products and the swiftness to adopt these changes have coursed a drop in some companies' market share and sales volume, which may edge out some companies in the modern market environment. In mobile phone companies, the average users focus and buy those mobile phones that have a sustainable battery life span and upgradeable android that can sustain fast browsing in Nigeria. Technology and product innovation favour the firms which act fast to changes to gain acceptability and positioning in the competitive target market. Another major challenge faced by most manufacturing companies is staying too long on a particular deployed technology on a product and services, and failure to attend to other factors that affect innovation processes. Many manufacturing companies in different industries have attained drastic changes in their business and corporate performances at sustainability and profitability in mixed of dramatic changes in technological forces and their swift adoption of their product innovation in recent years in Nigeria.

In recent years Nigeria's business settings, a high number of manufacturing firms do not actually budget and invest funds enormously to adopt and deploy modern and new technology either as a result of lack of finance or improper management structure and culture that may be rigid. This has led to long stay and low attraction to product innovation in many manufacturing companies in Nigeria and led the slow pace of new product development. In the nutshell, a long stay in business without product modification and modernization in the current harsh competitive markets can lead



a company to a decline stage of its business life cycle. Recent Global Innovation Index (GII) 2021 ranked Nigeria 118th when compared to 2020 which shows that Africa's biggest economy (Nigeria) was ranked 117th whereas others African states such as; South Africa (60), Kenya (86) and Mauritius (52) were above Nigeria ranking. GII report shows that South Africa, Kenya and Mauritius are brave three economies in terms of technology deployment and product innovativeness in Africa higher than Nigeria. Even measuring the level of product innovation deployment and development among the low-middle-income nations globally still shows that Nigeria is ranking 15nd globally which is just higher than Bangladesh, Nicaragua, and Zambia of the total 26 countries measured globally (GII, 2020). It is on this premise that this study, therefore, intends to examine the causal relationship and the contributing impact between technological growth and product innovation in manufacturing companies in Nigeria.

The following research questions guide the study: In what ways do technological changes enhance product innovation in manufacturing companies in Nigeria? What is the effect of product innovation on the competitive advantage of manufacturing companies in Nigeria? To what extent has product innovation contributed to the profitability of manufacturing companies in Nigeria? And how does technology impact customer satisfaction in manufacturing companies of Nigeria? Based on the objectives of the study and the research questions of this study, the following null hypotheses were formulated as follows:

H01: Technological changes do not have a significant impact on product innovation in manufacturing companies in Nigeria.

H02: Product innovation does not have a significant impact on the competitive advantage of manufacturing companies in Nigeria

H03: Product innovation does not contribute significantly to the profitability of manufacturing companies in Nigeria.

H04: Technology does not have a significant impact on customer satisfaction in manufacturing companies in Nigeria.

Literature Review

Market segmentation, target market and product positioning of products and services for the target customers were effective and sustainable for strategic marketing thinkers of various manufacturing companies due to the alignment of technology in those organizations. Vaccaro, Jansen, Bosch, and Volberda (2012), were of the assertion that competition has pushed manufacturing companies toward technological changes and firms need to renew their internal structures. However, the corporate images of manufacturing companies can be sustainable from the continuous marriage of the organizations with technological driving forces, because it is the driving and dramatic force that changes the shape of every business model in modern business settings to attain long term sustainable business growth and performance. Technology advancement is very vital in new product development stages and product innovation because it helps organizations' products and services to be successful in the full commercialization stage and also facilitates a new product model. In the modern business model and intelligence, technology has become a variable tool for various levels of management to adopt and apply in their strategic formulation to the implementation stage in terms of product design and redesign to suit the interest of the target market segment and the end users.



Technology adaptation in the modern business model will pave way for companies' sustainability and profitability in the operations. From the above discussions, technology can be viewed as the radical and dramatic business operational enhancer to sustainability and profitability in every dynamic and competitive business context. It is the root of sustainable change in the organization and management of business settings. Technology also is the bedrock for business organizations' survival in the modern digital business environment.

Product innovation in manufacturing companies can survive and is attainable from the roots of the technological driving force in modern business settings. Product innovation is vital for the survival of firms in the modern digital business world, because, product positioning and market acceptance can be viewed by consumers from the perspective of those companies whose products are technological perceptible in the competitive marketing environment. In the nutshell, innovation is a brand that creates a lasting brand, because modifying a product through technological means brings out a new brand that has an effect to change behaviours' of the consumers. In the case of mobile phone manufacturing companies in Nigeria, the various users are attracted to purchase those mobile phones that have a long life battery life span, fast browsing, quality pictures, and other viable features on them which are driven from the impact of technological forces. The firms' products need periodic innovation to gain continuous acceptance in the modern digital business setting and the key instrument for its innovation in technology. Innovation is the process of adding more value to existing products in terms of quality and usage value. In the area of product innovation, technology forces are useful in the modification and differentiation of the core value of the product to enhance the users and usage rate, the branding, the packaging and the labelling. Product innovation can be described as the modification, differentiation and redesigning of an existing company's product in terms of its features and attributes to meet the changing needs of the target markets through technological means. Duygu, Wever and Brezet (2020) opined that product innovation strategic adaption and implementation in modern marketing and manufacturing companies bring creative changes in operational performance and market sustainability.

Concept of Technology in Business Environment

Modern technological growth attracts demand from the global market environment in the modern digital business setting and in every organization. No productive sectors or industries in the world today can survive and sustain the global changing market demand without the deployment of technology. Technology is the pillar that holds the growth of many industries in Nigeria and another part of the world. Modern technological growth is an essential part of any business or manufacturing organization that they need to align with their corporate and strategic plans. The theme (that technology is the best option for environmental performance and sustainability) is favoured by many recent studies (Dana, Salamzadeh, Mortazavi & Hadizadeh, 2022; Tsao, Mukherjee, and Ray, 2022; Fadda, Sanna, Sakar, et al. 2022; Hervas-Oliver, et al., 2018). Technological growth has an impact, on technical growth, production growth, administrative growth, creative and radical growth and sales growth in the organizations. In the nutshell, technological growth runs the entire organizational activities because it has pave the ways for creativity and innovation in organizations and is a sustainable source of competitive advantage. Modern technology is a very vital tool in product development processes as an indicator of the impact of IT on product development performance (Nambisan, 2013). Tsao, et al. (2022) opined that technology leaders and followers are driving innovative investment in modern manufacturing companies. Tsao, et al. (2022) concluded that



modern business leaders and innovators are changing faces of competitiveness and service to humanity with the advancement in technology. Kaplinsky and Kraemer-Mbula (2022) assert that the advancement in innovation and improvement in organizational productivity and performance is a result of advancement in technology. That is, from their perspectives, technology drive growth, diversification and expansion of innovation and productivity in modern organizations.

Consumers' behaviour towards a company's product or services in a target market can be monitored and evaluated with the effect of the technological deployment of the organization and its product and similarly, the application of modern technological growth is vital in new product development and in turn can enhance product development performance and sustainability. Technology is very important in the new product development stage especially at the prototype design stage, to have a successful commercialization stage and a sustainable product life cycle phases. Yoo, Henfridsson, and Lyytinen, (2010) suggest the consideration of a layered modular architecture for digital innovations and the technical and strategic dimensions that would likely shape a firm's decisions on such architectures. Yoo et al, (2010) believed that new technology is an instrument for a sustainable firm's decision-making process for digital innovation.

Modern technological growth has become vital tool to analyze and evaluate the vision and mission statement of organizations in modern business settings. The long term sustainability and performance of organizations can be viewed by the public from the perspective of technological growth. Abbas (2017) confirmed that technology increases the development of teaching methods and learners' knowledge. Studies from Murrey et al. (2020); Vita et al., (2020) and Liu et al., (2020) expressed that newer technological improvements in the business context tends to shape and reshape human learning skills and sustainable operational performance in manufacturing and other global business operational dealings. The above idealist believed that technological deployment in an organization enhances growth in knowledge and skills for sustainable creativity and innovation. Pourhosein and Lai-Mei (2012) asserted that modern technological growth has posited new strategies in the teaching and learning of language skills. Technologies are increasingly widespread, impacting many aspects of our social and work lives, and many of our leisure activities. Osterwalder and Pigneur, (2010) suggest that new technology is an important equipment to be incorporated into a company's product offering in order to attain superior effect in the competitive market. They viewed technology as an instrument that exposes value in a variety of product offers. Modern technological growth in totality with value chain in all facets of our human existence and the life span of business organizations and modern technology has an impact on their survival and sustainability. In Barley's (2015) view, cited by Wayne et al., (2016) it was suggested that digital technology is rapidly becoming as infrastructural as electricity, there is surprisingly little research on how it is altering work systems or the work that people do. From the above reviews, technology is a perceived intelligence system that modern manufacturing settings and business organizations need to adopt and adapt consistently to shape and reshape the operational behaviour in the interest of the current market behaviour to attain sustainability and profitability.

Concept of Product Innovation

Strategic growth of any modern manufacturing setting can be attainable and sustainable in its operational performance when operating on policies and strategies that back consistence product innovation and innovativeness. Dess et al., (2014) describe innovation as applying and adopting modern knowledge and skill to attain positive change in the structure of the product and service of



the manufacturing enterprise processes that involve the use of modern technology. The sustainability of business organizations relies on how frequently they vary with the changes that occur in the business environment. As the technology driving forces changes, it is very vital for strategic thinking organizations should modify the entire elements in the organization to make a sustainable ending. One key element in the organization is its products that need to change with the dramatic change in technology. Because strategic modification and modernization of continuous companies products will lead to sustainable profitability of the organization as the consumers' need also varies with modern technological changes. Torben (2021) viewed product innovation as an instrument to ensure equity share value in employment patterns and ways of improving strategic capabilities in manufacturing companies' operational dealings. Product innovation in organizations occurs as a result of frequent modernization in technology that corporate organizations need to tap into to attain and sustain long term growth.

To the views of Dougherty and Dunne, (2012); Fara et al., (2011), technological forces are the technical tool for organization innovativeness in terms of product and process. Product innovation involves the modification and modernization of existing products in a company to add more value to the quality, the brand, the package, the users and the usage. In totality, product innovation brings more value and quality to existing products to increase the customers' satisfaction and lead to an increase in the customers' base. Dess et al., (2014) assert that product innovation is the application of organizational competencies to create new products via modern technology for the teaming potential and existing customers and do occur at the introductory stage of the industrial life cycle. Muhammad et al., (2021) assert that product innovation from newer technological variables is a strategic tool to ensure sustainable operational management and boost the speedy market and competitive performance in modern competitive markets. Aibar-Guzm, et al. (2022) described that attaining sustainable product innovation required effective and well-structured financial back-up to acquire the needed technological infrastructures.

The company's product is the most important element that has the direct link and alignment with the customers' intentional needs and to ensure consistency product acceptance and positioning in the target market segment, the strategic managers of the organization need to look for ways of adding more values to the product through persistent innovation. Robert and Scott, (2010) assert that companies with effective product innovation programs rely on several tools to implement them, including strategic buckets for resource allocation and strategic product roadmaps. From the opinion of Robert and Scott, companies with sustainable human and financial resources are more prompt to be successful in a product innovation programs. To them, sufficient resources in organizations to deploy new technology and attract strategic managers will enhance sustainable product innovation programs. Strategic product innovation requires the strategic development of frameworks, setting up goals that will be supported by specific sales and profit objectives for product innovation (Robert and Scott, 2010). Cherroun (2014), viewed a product innovation program as a source of competitive advantage for a firm in an industry.

In the nutshell, product innovation helps to expose the corporate image of organizations and helps to attain long term growth as well as help to attain differential strategy of the firm. Product innovation can take a different shapes and do take place in the firm as a result of the occurrence. Radical and incremental innovations do occur in new product innovativeness in a competitive industry. The radical product innovations emanating from the dramatic changes that occur from

technological forces which attracted a change in product restructure and development by the firms and the incremental product innovations occur when firms change part of their existing and new products by modification and modernization to sustain among competitors. Siti and Haryanto (2022) concluded in their study that strategic improvement in product innovation as a result of adoption and implementation in technological infrastructures can enhance sustainable competitive advantage and sustainable market and business performance respectively.

Product Innovation Stages

From the opinion of the researchers, the innovation of a product starts from the product development stage. Critically, to the researcher's view, innovation emphasizes a change of existing phenomenon to a current or modern look. Product innovation in a nutshell emphasizes the reproduction or makes changes to an existing product in an organization to boost the interest of the target market in a particular industry. The following are the stages of product innovations in the organization as suggested by this study:

- i. Product development/Invention stage
- ii. Product innovation stage: modification/modernization stage, product differentiation stage and diversification/positioning stage.

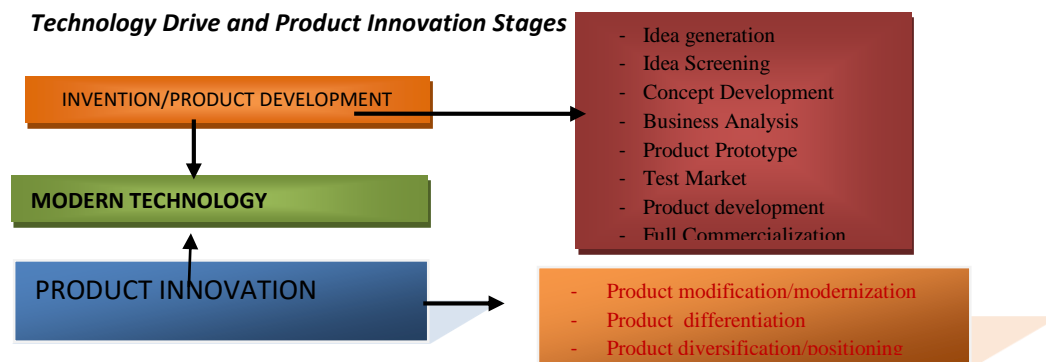


Fig. 1: Diagram Representing Modern Technology Alignment with Product Innovation Stages in Manufacturing Company, (Ovivi, Fasasi & Okolo, 2022)

- ❖ **Product Development Stage:** Product development is an invention that is carved out from the development of a new product after a deliberated prototype of the product was screened and agreed upon by the idea generators of the company and production took place as a result of a new innovative technological push. The company product is then pushed out into full commercialization in target markets for their notice and awareness of a new product into existence. The actions and reactions in terms of the perception of the customers towards the product in the target markets will trigger the product to move fast into the innovation phase. And also the complications the product itself perceived in the product life cycle stages will determine the quick call for product innovation programs of companies at the introductory stage.



- ❖ **Product Innovation Stage:** At this stage, the product is considered passing innovation processes which involve improvement in the product qualities, quantity, the core product, and changes in brand and package structure to suit the interest and perception of the target markets and customers to maintain a competitive edge and catch up with the competitive advantage. Innovation of products by marketing organizations will reduce the cost and effort of a promotional programs, because a well strategic innovated product will sell itself without excess hunting for customers. Organizations need to improve their product quality more than to have a product and keep hunting for customers. Well innovated products need less marketing effort to succeed in the target market. The product innovation stage involves several phases to maintain the long term profitability of corporate organizations and attain the level of a market leader. The following are:
- 1. Modification /Modernization Phase:** The product modification phase of product innovation will be successful from the emanation of modern technology after the reactions of the consumers from the product development stage. The strategic aspect of the modification phase involves changing the product into modern usage for the end users. This involves modernizing the product qualities with the current technological environment trends and the current digital market structure to help the organization attain sustainable growth and maintain long term competitive advantages.
 - 2. Differentiation Phase:** At this product innovation stage, the company now targets its product innovation strategy and programs on differential innovation in the competitive marketing environment. This can be strategically carried out by targeting product innovation that maintains unique branding and packaging. The strategic managers' role of companies at this stage of product innovation is to access and deploy modern technology to work on sustainable innovative branding and packaging of a product that has sharp differentiation mirage in the operational markets.
 - 3. Diversification Phase:** product diversification phase of product innovation focuses on attaining long term market coverage and retentive positioning by deploying current technology to attain varieties of innovated products with different brand names for different customers group. The strategic thinking of this phase is to conduct masses innovation process on a group of products to attract more markets and more customers coverage and retention. This phase of product innovation helps to maintain the long term sustainability and profitability of the corporate organizations. The phase of product innovation has helped companies like Coca-cola, Toyota, Samsung, Apple and other manufacturing companies to sustain the long term maturity stage in the product life cycle, because they provide the operational markets and customers with product choices. Coca-cola display a variety of product offering in the operations like; Coke, Fanta, Sprite and others. In the same way, Toyota offers its operational market with Camry, Corolla, Hilux, Matrix and many other brand names and they keep improving on their qualities. Kotler and Keller, (2012, 2009) assert that P&G is an active product innovator, devoting \$2 billion annually to research and development, an impressively high amount for a packaged goods company. And they keep modifying their products with the current changing technology to maintain and sustain the changing needs of the target operational markets and customers and this is the market leader's strategy that made the above-mentioned companies market leaders in their various industries in the current global market trends.

Benefits of Product Innovation to Manufacturing Companies

The long term growth and the general attainment of the company's vision and mission can be attracted to their consciousness and rate of innovativeness of the entire organization especially the

innovation of the company's products that have a direct link with the customers. The following are the benefits of product innovation to manufacturing companies:

- i. An organization with product innovative strategies and programs are prone to have a sustainable corporate image.
- ii. Product innovativeness of manufacturing companies creates the chances of attaining and sustaining successful strategic marketing management programs.
- iii. Innovativeness of an organization on product can increase its employee's competence and organization capability as well as enhance positive changes in the organization.
- iv. Innovativeness of a company's products mostly is a source of creating a competitive edge and advantage in target operational markets.
- v. The market share and sales volume of a marketing company can increase as a result of its product innovation.
- vi. Well innovated products will reduce the marketing effort and cost of manufacturing companies.

Technology Contribution to Product Innovation to Manufacturing Companies



Fig. 2: Diagram Showing Link of Effects of Technology on Product Innovation (Ovivi, et al. 2021)

From the diagram above show how product innovation strategy and competency can be attained effectively and efficiently with contribution and role technology of various kinds. Technology influence new product development or product innovation the specification and expectations of new product or change in product and technology have an influence on product structure and design because technology helps to attain suitable branding and packaging of product to meet the end users' need and satisfaction during innovation processes. Product innovation cannot carry out in manufacturing companies without the deployment of technological forces as a competitive advantage. Modern technology has tremendous contributions to the growth of innovativeness of the entire company and its product in terms of their sustainability and profitability in the harsh business environment. Studies have shown that no society operating modern manufacturing companies that want to be stringent in product innovation and holistic innovativeness without the adoption and adaption of newer and current technological variables in their operational dealings (Dmitry et al., 2021; Murmura et al. 2021; and Khanfar. Et al. 2021). The other contributions are:

- i. Influence on product modification and modernization of companies' products



- ii. Influence on product differentiation and diversification of companies' products
- iii. Stabilizing product positioning and brand acceptance of companies' products
- iv. Building corporate image of business organizations
- v. Ensuring long term profitability of organizations
- vi. Sustain other uncontrollable variables in the target operational markets
- vii. Rise and retention of customers and markets coverage.

Theoretical Framework

Creative Destruction Theory

Creative destruction theory foresees the future impact of technologies and technical know-how on innovation for rapid industrial growth (Schumpeter, 1940). The theory expresses the need for continuous new innovation in an organization that will back out the old shape of the entire elements in organizations through the growth and adoption of modern technology. The theory proposes that adopting modern technology in product innovation of manufacturing companies will enhance the sustainability and profitability of the firms. The theory also asserts that replacing new product offerings with the old ones for the target customers will foster the firms to attain a competitive edge and competitive advantages as the target market demands change with the changes in modern technology. Schumpeter's view has distinct alignment with the current study as it exposes the contributions of modern technology to product innovation in the manufacturing industries. Innovativeness cannot be attained without destroying the old ones and creating new ones in the organizations. The modern digital world has influenced in the taste and fashion of the target customers in terms of their perception of product offerings that also have changed the perception of manufacturing companies to continuously ensure the best product offering are attained through modern technology and innovation strategy for the target markets, which have been asserted by Schumpeter theory of creative destruction.

Intelligence Volatility Assessment Theory (IVA Theory)

Intelligence Volatility Assessment Theory (IVA Theory) was built to improve on the Technology, Organization and Environment framework (TOE model) by Torbatzky and Fleisher (1990). The TOE model focused on three crucial elements accessibility, analysis and evaluation to enhance sustainability in organizations but IVA theory sees the need to create attention to the newer consistent change in environmental behaviours that effect change in intelligence gathering that lead to change in operational performance in modern business settings.

IVA theory centred and was built around the simultaneous complexity and dynamism in business situations and radical changes in the variation of data and information in the modern business world. The theory believed in fortuitous business herculean misshapes in intelligence gathering, assessment and analysis alignment with the survival of business operations. IVA theory is a modern theory propounded by Ovivi (2020). The theory posits that fortuitous changes in behaviour of business contexts leads to change in behaviour of intelligence systems which variably changes the behaviour in operational performances. It stated that continuous variation in business contexts and intelligence analyses are the roots of the flow of business sustainability. The theory predicts that SMARTER intelligence is a huge resource for SMARTER sustainability in operational performance. IVA theory



believed that simultaneous variations in business contexts and intelligence trends are pillars that matter to business future. From the perspective of this theory, change behaviour in environmental issues creates and invents opportunity and core values to the existing business through intelligence gathering. Many global businesses trends to profitability and sustainability during the COVID-19 Pandemic despite the harsh and changed business situations and many engaged in different diversification operations positively. The Assumptions of IVA theory are that:

- i. Environmental issues are fortuitous consistency, dynamic and complex
- ii. Intelligence is not constant but dynamic and complex
- iii. SMARTER Intelligence management predicts future business strength
- iv. Business expectations and opportunities rely on Intelligence
- v. Intelligence is an immune booster of SMARTER business sustainability

IVA Model

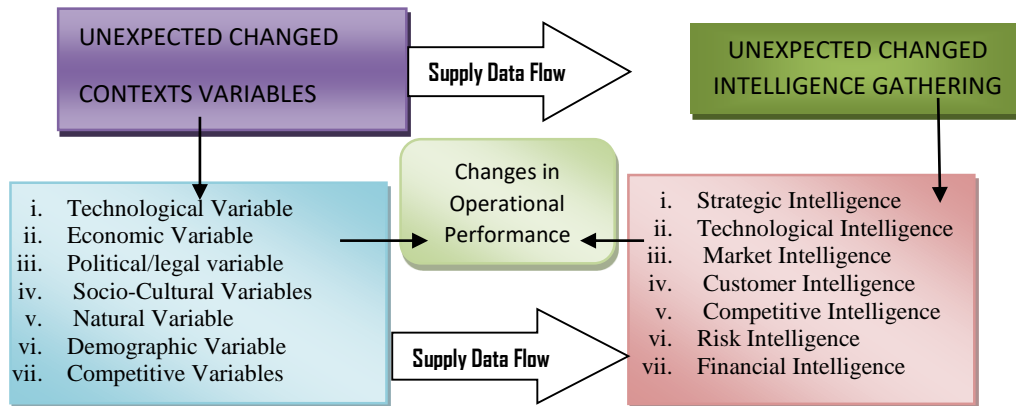
IVA model gives more details on how the variations in business contexts give more strengths to intelligence gathering and enhance business operational performance in modern business settings

IVA Model = Change BC + Change IS + Change OP

BC= Business Contexts

IS= Intelligence System

OP= Operational Performance



The IVA model expresses the correlation between versatile business contexts and intelligence versatility and how business operational performance can be attained. This model explains the chain of correlation between business contexts, business intelligence system effectiveness and efficiency to operational performance in modern business settings. The dynamism and the behavioural changes in technology in the last ten (10) years and the intelligence gathered by a business operation have huge ways supported behavioural changes in their operational profitability. In the mobile phone and computer-based industry and many manufacturing industries in the last 10 years; the dynamic changes in technological infrastructures have also affected the changes in intelligence gathering, leading to changes in strategic formulation and implementation, leading to changes in



product innovation and product modification and redesign, leading to increases in market share and generally to changes in operational performances and sustainability.

Theoretical Bases for the Study

For stringent analysis and evaluation of this study on technology and product innovation in manufacturing companies in Nigeria, two critical theories were reviewed; the Theory of Creative Destruction (Schumpeter, 1940), and the IVA theory (Ovivi, 2020). But the study adopted the Theory of Creative Destruction. This theory explained that change is a constant variable that manufacturing firms must adapt and align between technology and product innovation to have long term business growth and survival in the complex business environment.

Empirical Studies

Robert and Scott, (2019) conducted a study on developing a product innovation and technology strategy for your business; a framework for developing a product innovation strategy includes defining innovation goals and objectives, selecting strategic arenas, developing a strategic map, and allocating resources and their findings were that their research offers concrete evidence of the importance of a product innovation strategy and the strong positive impact such a strategy has on performance. The above studies conducted have not actually addressed the current study in manufacturing companies in Nigeria as technology is variable and complex in the business environment, which business organizations need to adapt to its continuous changes. Ladokun (2019) conducted a study on product innovation as the panacea for the sustainability of business performance in Nigeria Breweries Plc., using purposive sampling to attain a sample size of 70 prospective respondents and data was analyzed statistically using the SPSS tool and involved the use of both descriptive and inferential statistics. After critical testing of the stated hypotheses, the study revealed that there is a significant correlation between technology changes and product innovation and consumer satisfaction and the study suggested that concrete sustainable relationships should adequately be maintain with existing and prospective consumers.

Nwosu, Awurum and Okoli (2016) studied the effect of technological innovation on the performance of Nigerian manufacturing firms. The population of the study is 8725 the total staff strength of ten manufacturing firms spread across ten sub-sectors of the manufacturing sector on Nigeria Stock Exchange while the sample size was extracted from the population using the Taro Yameni method. A structured questionnaire was used to generate the primary data. The study used a descriptive type of survey design while t-statistics were adopted for hypotheses testing. The result of the study revealed that Process Innovation, Product Innovation, Organizational structure and employee development have a significant positive effects on the performance of manufacturing firms. Given the above findings, the study concludes that even though most firms in the manufacturing sector are not performing, the result from selected few performing manufacturing firms used in this study attests to the presence of technological innovation which is a critical success factor behind their success. The study, therefore, recommends that Nigerian manufacturing firms should give more serious attention to technological innovation.

Research Gap

A significant amount of research has been carried out both within and outside the country on the topic; of technology and innovation such as (Robert and Scott, 2019; Ladokun, 2019; Nwosu, Awurum and Okoli, 2016; Hojin, Sangyoon and Heejun, 2016; Adeyeye, 2014; Yu-Cheng and



Shun-Hsing, 2011). But none had discussed vividly at the topic from the perspectives of evidence and knowledge gaps even from the points of empirical and theoretical gaps. We looked at technology and product innovation and how it impacted the Nigeria Manufacturing Companies positively which makes this uniquely different from other previous studies.

Research Methodology

The research design adopted for this study is the survey type of research design, where questionnaires are administered to respondents to get information about the subject matter. The population of the study comprised of twenty-three (23) manufacturing companies that are into consumer goods listed on Nigeria Stock Exchange as of 31st December 2019. Each company was used as a unit of analysis. Purposive sampling was used to select eighteen (18) manufacturing companies which were used as the sample size. In each company, questionnaires were administered to the managers and production managers to get their view on the subject matter, making it thirty-six (36) copies of questionnaires that were administered and thirty-one (31) were retrieved and used for analysis. A simple regression technique was applied to analyse the data due to the nature of the studied variable. The study covered a period of five years (2014 to 2019). This period was chosen because is the period that characterized technological and product innovation by manufacturing companies in Nigeria.

Estimation of Study Variable

In order to examine the contributing impact of Technology and Product Innovation on Manufacturing Companies in Nigeria, a simple linear model was built.

$$PI = a + b_1TC + e \dots\dots\dots 1$$

$$CA = a + b_2PI + e \dots\dots\dots 2$$

$$P = a + b_3PI + e \dots\dots\dots 3$$

$$CS = a + b_4T + e \dots\dots\dots 4$$

Where,

PI, CS, P and CS are Product Innovation, Customer Satisfaction, Profitability and Customer Satisfaction (Dependent Variable)

a = constant

TC, PI, PI, T are Technological Changes, Product Innovation, Product Innovation and Technology (Independent Variables).

b₁, b₂, b₃ and b₄ are regression coefficients which measure the degree of the responsiveness of the dependent variables to the independent variables

e = residual or stochastic term (which reveals the strength of b₁X₁+ b₂X₂ + b₃X₃+b₄X₄ ; if e is low, this implies that the amount of unexplained factors is low, then the residual R and R² will be high and vice versa.



Test of Hypothesis

Table 4.1 Summary of Regression Result

Variables	TC	PI	PI	T
Coefficient	.172	.535	.601	.684
t-value	4.265	7.311	7.835	11.956
P-value	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
R ²	0.32	0.59	0.56	0.81
R ² Adj	0.34	0.63	0.52	0.75
F-Stat	31.82	62.20	51.39	110.05
DW	0.19	0.21	0.17	0.32

Source: Computed by the Authors using E-view (Version 23)

Technological Change and Product Innovation

Table 4.1 shows the regression result for hypothesis one indicates that product innovation of the selected manufacturing companies will increase by 17% for every 1% increase in the level of technological change. The coefficient (0.172) of technological change (TC) is positive and significant at 5% with p-value of (0.00) in achieving product innovation in the selected manufacturing companies. This implies that technological change significantly to product innovation in the selected manufacturing companies. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected and we accept the alternative hypothesis that there is a significant positive relationship between technological change and product innovation in the selected manufacturing companies.

Product Innovation and Competitive Advantage

Table 4.1 shows the regression result for hypothesis two, indicating that competitive advantage in the selected manufacturing companies will increase by 53% for every 1% increase in product innovation. The coefficient (0.535) of product innovation (PI) is positive and significant at 5% with p-value of (0.00) in achieving competitive advantage in the selected manufacturing companies. This implies that product innovation contributes significantly to competitive advantage in the selected manufacturing companies. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected and we accept the alternative hypothesis that there is a significant positive relationship between product innovation and competitive advantage in the selected manufacturing companies.

Product Innovation and Profitability

The regression result in table 4.1 for hypothesis three indicates that the profitability of the selected manufacturing companies will increase by 60% for every 1% increase in product innovation. The coefficient (0.601) of product innovation (PI) is positive and significant at 5% with p-value of (0.00) in achieving profitability of the selected manufacturing companies. This implies that product innovation contributes significantly to the profitability of the selected manufacturing companies. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected and we accept the alternative hypothesis that there is a significant positive relationship between product innovation and the profitability of the selected manufacturing companies.

Technology and Customer Satisfaction

Table 4.4 shows the regression result for hypothesis four, indicating that customer satisfaction of the selected manufacturing companies will increase by 68% for every 1% increase in technology.



The coefficient (0.684) of technology (T) is positive and significant at 5% with p-value of (0.00) in achieving the customer satisfaction of the selected manufacturing companies. This implies that technology contributes significantly to the customer satisfaction of the selected manufacturing companies. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected and we accept the alternative hypothesis that there is a significant positive relationship between technology and customer satisfaction in the selected manufacturing companies.

Discussion of Results

The analysis in hypothesis 1 revealed that there is a significant correlation between technology and product innovation in manufacturing companies. That is the relationship between technology and product innovation can be described as seamen twins from the study. It was also revealed from the study that technology is the life wire of product innovation in manufacturing companies. This finding was supported by the literature reviewed by Murrey et al. (2020); Vita et al., (2020); Liu et al., (2020) and finding Paunov and Planes (2019) who assert that digital technologies change the face of innovation and reshape creativity in a modern manufacturing setting and that technological growth is a dramatic roadmap that gives direction for sustainable product innovation across all sectors in an economy.

The finding based on the analysis in hypothesis 2 revealed that product innovation has a positive significant relationship with the competitive advantage of Nigerian manufacturing companies. Our position is therefore in line with Cherroun (2014); Siti and Haryanto (2022), who found a positive relationship between product innovation and competitive advantage. The concrete alignment and integration of technology and product innovation have been competitive strengths and drive force for strategic thinkers to restructure and reshape holistic business performance in modern manufacturing companies in the global context.

The analysis in hypothesis 3 revealed that product innovation has a positive relationship with Profitability. The study position is therefore in alignment with the studies and findings of Dmitry et al., (2021), Murmura et al. (2021) and Ladokun (2019), who found a positive relationship between product innovation and Profitability and this buttress the fact that product innovation in manufacturing companies has increased their sales volume and market share over time. The finding from hypothesis 4 shows that technology has significantly increased customer satisfaction of manufacturing companies in Nigeria. In the nutshell, the lifestyle of consumers and end users of products innovated has changed over time positively in the society due to the contributing impact of changing technological forces. Our position is therefore in line with Muhammad and Kalthom (2014), who found a positive relationship between technology and customer satisfaction.

Conclusion

The study examined the effect of technology and product innovation in manufacturing companies in Nigeria. The study revealed that technological changes impact product innovation in manufacturing companies of Nigeria positively; product innovation impacted on the competitive advantage of manufacturing companies in Nigeria positively, product innovation contributed to the



profitability of manufacturing companies in Nigeria and technology influences customer satisfaction in manufacturing companies of Nigeria positively.

Most of the findings of the research are consistent with previous normative and empirical works as it has provided empirical evidence pertaining to the perception of technology and product innovation in manufacturing companies. Therefore, we concluded that technology and product innovation had positively impacted manufacturing companies in Nigeria's operations. This connotes that sustainable product innovation and development cannot be attainable without the driving forces of technology and the face of production and operational processes have changed over time in manufacturing companies due to the effect of dramatic change in technology. Therefore, technology is the life wire and backbone of the product innovation paradigm shift to business sustainability and profitability in modern manufacturing companies.

Recommendations

From the research findings and conclusions drawn from the study, the following recommendations were ascertained:

- i. Manufacturing companies should set up Competitive Intelligence (CI) and Strategic Intelligence (SI) to attract every new technology invention in their product innovation from the competitive market environment in order to attain sustainable business performance.
- ii. Financial budget and resources structure should be set aside to invest in every wanting new technology that will have an impact in developing new products and in modifying the existing products in manufacturing companies and adequate technology infrastructure should be in place to enhance product innovation implementation to enjoy a competitive advantage.
- iii. Knowledge management should be attained as it is a tool to drive organizational capabilities that can enhance the attraction of new technology to manufacturing companies that can be used to drive successful product innovation to enhance profitability.
- iv. Leadership and organisational structure matters to attain successful implementation of attracting new technology to product innovation in manufacturing companies. The leadership style and strategy should be designed in alignment with new thinking towards their companies' products and services and this will drive the strategic leaders to attract new technologies to their product design and modification.
- v. Having structured Business Intelligence (BI) and Artificial Intelligence (AI) in place is another strategic tool to attract effective new technology, robotic operations and machine learning to product innovativeness in manufacturing companies and finally, deployment of resources to the above recommendations will enhance swift changes on product innovation to always meet the target markets and customers' needs in the changing business contexts.

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APPENDIX A

Hypothesis One

Dependent Variable: PI
 Method: Least Squares
 Date: 06/24/2020 Time: 11:50
 Sample (adjusted): 1 18
 Included observations: 18 after adjustments

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C	0.592814	0.143171	3.455605	0.0001
TC	0.172605	0.036156	4.265319	0.0000
R-squared	0.323586	Mean dependent var		1.320000
Adjusted R-squared	0.340744	S.D. dependent var		0.471212
S.E. of regression	0.373792	Akaike info criterion		0.908944
Sum squared resid	6.706587	Schwarz criterion		0.985425
Log likelihood	-20.72361	Hannan-Quinn criter.		0.938069
F-statistic	31.86971	Durbin-Watson stat		0.192396
Prob(F-statistic)	0.000002			

Source: Computed by the Author Using E-view Statistical Software (Version 23)
 1% level of significance, 5% level of significance and 10% level of significance

Hypothesis Two

Dependent Variable: CA
 Method: Least Squares
 Date: 06/24/2020 Time: 11:51
 Sample (adjusted): 1 18
 Included observations: 18 after adjustments

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C	1.657293	0.186292	8.896203	0.0000
PI	0.531436	0.055223	7.361214	0.0000
R-squared	0.591175	Mean dependent var		3.120000
Adjusted R-squared	0.633700	S.D. dependent var		1.154229
S.E. of regression	0.698571	Akaike info criterion		2.159618
Sum squared resid	23.42407	Schwarz criterion		2.236099
Log likelihood	-51.99046	Hannan-Quinn criter.		2.188743
F-statistic	62.20008	Durbin-Watson stat		0.215073
Prob(F-statistic)	0.000000			

Source: Computed by the Author Using E-view Statistical Software (Version 23)
 1% level of significance, 5% level of significance and 10% level of significance



Hypothesis Three

Dependent Variable: P
 Method: Least Squares
 Date: 06/24/2020 Time: 11:52
 Sample (adjusted): 1 18
 Included observations: 18 after adjustments

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C	0.193697	0.229536	0.843863	0.4029
PI	0.601922	0.064057	7.835510	0.0000
R-squared	0.561224	Mean dependent var		1.840000
Adjusted R-squared	0.522083	S.D. dependent var		0.976458
S.E. of regression	0.553510	Akaike info criterion		2.026260
Sum squared resid	20.49962	Schwarz criterion		2.102741
Log likelihood	-48.65650	Hannan-Quinn criter.		2.055385
F-statistic	51.39522	Durbin-Watson stat		0.175501
Prob(F-statistic)	0.000000			

Source: Computed by the Author Using E-view Statistical Software (Version 23)
 1% level of significance, 5% level of significance and 10% level of significance

Hypothesis Four

Method: Least Squares
 Date: 06/24/2020 Time: 11:53
 Sample (adjusted): 1 18
 Included observations: 50 after adjustments

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C	-0.066175	0.189278	-0.349618	0.7282
T	0.684716	0.053365	11.95685	0.0000
R-squared	0.814375	Mean dependent var		1.840000
Adjusted R-squared	0.758425	S.D. dependent var		0.976458
S.E. of regression	0.527265	Akaike info criterion		1.596951
Sum squared resid	13.34440	Schwarz criterion		1.673432
Log likelihood	-37.92377	Hannan-Quinn criter.		1.626075
F-statistic	110.0526	Durbin-Watson stat		0.327296
Prob(F-statistic)	0.000000			

Source: Computed by the Author Using E-view Statistical Software (Version 23)
 1% level of significance, 5% level of significance and 10% level of significance



Role of Community Organizations in Supporting Adult and Non-Formal Education in Nigeria

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Abstract

The paper discusses the role of community organizations in supporting adult and non-formal education in Nigeria. It assesses the impacts of community organization and the effort made by a community organization in supporting adult and non-formal education in Nigeria. The paper also provides a clarification of community organization, adult education and non-formal education. It also discusses adult and non-formal education programmes, roles of community organizations and the challenges faced by a community organization. It was recommended that adequate funding should be allocated to community organizations, and there is a need to provide adequate organizational support and attitudinal change of people in political authority for the development of a new course to improve the living condition of people.

Keywords: Development, Community Organization, Adult Education, Non-Formal Education

Introduction

Every nation indeed every community all over the world whether urban or rural, developed or developing, has the experience and is experiencing one form of problem or the other. These problems manifest in different forms and circumstances. It could be political, social, economic or even cultural into communal self-help that gives rise to community organization (Ugwuzor, 2016). Community organization programmes can either be initiated by people or the government or both of the community (Abiona, 2009). Community organizations can also be seen as those organizations formed by members of the community to provide for the needs and challenges of the people and the community through a joint effort of members. The essence of this organization is to serve as an avenue through which the citizens of the country meet together to discuss issues affecting them and the community with the view to jointly proffer solutions through the effort of the members.

Adult and non-formal education is a very important field in the Nigerian educational system/endeavours. It is systematically planned designed to educate, develop, train, improve and produced skilled and informed citizens in different occupational skills and enterprises with knowledge and skills that can aid them to solve their basic needs and also contributes meaningfully to their community and national development and sustainability, Akande (2010) is of the opinion that poverty, corruption, unemployment and environmental legation are always common in the areas rooted with unskilled and uneducated people; and probably without career or professional incomes, adult education with its predetermined objectives focuses on liberating people from illiteracy, poor



standard of living, ignorance, poverty, unemployment and economic and social challenges that threatened people's lives and properties in their communities (Nzeneri, 2010). Adult and non-formal education objectives include among others to provide functional literacy education for adults who have never had the advantage of any education, providing further education for different categories completers of the formal education system to improve their basic knowledge and skills, to provides vocational and in-service and on-the-job training, to professionals to improve their skills, supporting this Mbagwu (2016) states that adult and non-formal education is a viable tool for innovation, creativity, functionality and career emancipation in our present realities.

Nigeria is experiencing some challenges at the moment, such as (hunger, conflict, disease, poverty, and marginalization) being experienced in Nigeria to be reduced. It is necessary that adults who have no jobs and the young adults who have dropped out of school be encouraged to undertake non-formal education programme therefore as a result of this it is the role of a community organization to support adult and non-formal education programmes so that the above challenges can be overcome.

Conceptual Clarifications

Concept of Community

In ordinary language, the community is a popular word that is used in development circles, of the humanity. The community is the basic operational unit or the activity centre of mainly human services like community development, extension services, adult education, and social welfare. It is the unit to which practitioners address themselves to be relevant in the provision of basic needs to the people under local conditions. However, our discussion must evolve from a good clarification of what community is all about. According to Imhabekhi (2009), Community is a geographical area where people cluster together and have things to do with one another than with people outside the cluster. A community is a legal entity or government in which people are governed by the same officials. A community is a set of attitudes, beliefs, and loyalties by which people feel as part of such a group. Anyanwu (2009) defined a community as a group of people living in a given geographical environment, whether large or small and united by community interest. Hence, the term 'community' may be applied to a rural area, locality, city, town, state or nation in which people share in common the basic conditions of life.

Community Organizations

Community organization involves the collaboration of separate community or welfare agencies with or without the additional participation of statutory authorities, in the promotion of joint initiatives. Community organization is a term that is popularly employed in the social work community. However, scholars and practitioners have found difficulty in defining it. This is as a result of shifts in the area of focus and concern of community organizations. In general, four major ideas are reflected in the various definitions offered for a community organization. First, the idea of cooperation, collaboration and integration; second, the idea of meeting needs; third, the idea that community organization deals with programme "relationships" as contrasted with the "direct service" of group work; fourth, the broad philosophical working relationship between the democratic process and specialism (Abiona, 2009). According to Anyanwu (2002) community organization is a process by which a community identifies its needs or objectives; orders or ranks, these needs or objectives; develops the confidence and will to work towards these needs or objectives; finds the resources to



deal with these needs or objectives; takes actions in respect of them; and in so doing, extends and develops collaborative attitudes and practices in the community. Community organizations provide mutual strength and cohesion in which people decide for themselves what issues are important and thus systematically engage mega structures in an equal forum to pursue those issues. They help connect people to corporate power structures, and governmental agencies and teach people how to use the power of the community to make their common voices heard. Community organizations exist almost everywhere. Community organizations are mediating structures that stand with the individual and the neighbourhood, between the neighbourhood and organizational mega structures and society.

Ross, as cited in Abiona (2009), defines community organization as a process by which a community identifies its need or objectives, orders or ranks these needs or objectives find the resources internal and or external – to deal with these needs or objectives, taking action in respect of them, and in so doing extend and develops cooperatives and collaborative attitudes and practice in the community.

Adult and Non-Formal Education

Abiona (2009) defines adult education as “that force which its ideal application can bring about a maximum of adjustment of attitude within a society in the shortest possible time and which involves and impacts new skills and techniques required and made necessary by change”

UNESCO in Nzeneri (2015) gave a broad and universal definition of adult education by highlighting that it is: The entire body of organized educational process, whatever the content, level or method, whether formal or otherwise, whether they prolong or replace initial education in school, college and university as well as in apprenticeship, whereby a person is regarded as an adult by society to which they belong developed their abilities, enrich their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications, or turn them into a new direction and bring about changes in their attitudes or behaviour in two-fold perspectives of full personal development and participation in balanced, independent, social economic and cultural development.

Adult education can also be seen as a process whereby persons who no longer attend school on a regular or full-time basis can pursue organized studies or develop their knowledge and skills and so become equipped to perform roles in their societies in more or less creative or critical fashion so that they can be of greater use to themselves, their families and to the community. Adult education is the process whereby adults engage in systematic and sustained learning activities to gain new forms of knowledge, skills, attitudes or values. (Merriam, Sharau& Brockett, 2007)

Non-formal education is referred to as an organized systematic educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal school system to provide a selected type of learning to a particular sub-group in the population (Obi,2015). This includes adult education, an apprenticeship system, containing education, in-service Programmes, personal and professional development, on-the-job training, refresher courses, staff development Programmes and student industrial training (Ololube and Egbezor 2012). Non-formal education can take place within and outside the school system: it cares for a person of all ages. It may cover educational Programmes to impart adult literacy, basic education for out-of-school children, life skills, work skills and general depending on the country context.



Adult and non-formal education is the veritable index for meeting the clarion call of the present desire for human and material development and sustainable demands and challenges of 21st Century in Nigeria. Ihejirika (2015) states that adult and non-formal education cut across all out of school education Programmes which among others include. Functional literacy, vocational education, skills acquisition programs, and in service-training, etc. Functional literacy is a combination of socio-economic and literacy programs. That is why most often adult and non-formal education is referred to as carrier oriented, work-oriented, occupational oriented or economic oriented education. Functional literacy education focuses on developing and strengthening human and material resources: and equipping the beneficiaries with skills and knowledge for effectiveness in social economic and political performances for national and sustainable development (Inhabekhai, 2009; Olasupo, 2015)

Adult Education Programmes in Nigeria

Adult Education Programme in Nigeria includes the following:

- i. **Women education:** these are educational programmes designed for women to make them more productive and contributing members of their families and society. It is a means of enhancing their chances in life (Dimkpa, 2011). Women's education Programmes in Nigeria include vocational training in dressmaking tailoring, hairdressing, knitting, embroidery, soap making, and others. Various states in Nigeria have established women's development centres where women are empowered. Also under the administration Dr Goodluck Jonathan has the first lady, Dame patience Jonathan championed the cause of women in her project- Women for Change and Development initiatives. In the past, other Programmes such as the Better Life for Rural Women and the Family Support Programmes were directed at improving the lots of women in Nigeria.
- ii. **Remedial Education:** this is usually designed for school drop-outs or individuals with an educational deficiency. in Nigeria, it is generally referred to as extramural classes provided by institutions of learning to prepare candidates for further education and/or employment, it offers the school dropout or those or with deficiencies in their qualifications a second chance to acquire education and go higher in education. It could be at any level of education; primary, secondary, tertiary, professional or vocational (Imhabekhi, 2009).
- iii. **Literacy Education:** literacy education is associated with the teaching of reading, writing and numeric or arithmetic skills popularly referred to as the 3Rs. In Nigeria, literacy education is embedded in adult education programmes which is why adult education is often referred to as literacy education. UNESCO has categorized them into three levels which are: (i) basic (ii) middle (iii) self-learning (Ezimah, 2004).
- iv. **Vocational Education:** this is usually designed for the acquisition of economic skills to earn a living. It includes professional training such as in-service training and on-the-job and off-the-job training for workers to further improve themselves and achieve greater productivity at their workplaces. For instance, the National Directorate for Employment (NDE) is organized by the Federal Government to provide vocational skills to men and women in the society (Ezimah, 2004).
- v. **Civic Education:** This includes Programmes that enlighten the people on the socio-cultural and political conditions of the community such as community development, cultural



education and political education (Imhabekhi, 2009). These Programmes are aimed at improving peoples living condition by educating them on matters that concern them so that they can also contribute to their own development. The people become active members in decision making of the society. Awareness creation can be done through the mass media (television, radio and newspapers).

- vi. **Population Education:** This is a program designed to enlighten youth as well as an adult on population matters, family size, sex and other issues relating to reproduction to help them adjust to the changing societal needs and increased cost of living' According to Imhabekhai (2009) population education refers to education that is provided to a person of reproductive age and those yet to get there, to expose them to strategies and method of planning and determining the family size they can raise and can adequately cater for. Efforts have been put in place by the government to achieve this objective. One such effort is by the National Council for Colleges of Education (NCCE) which has introduced the teaching of sexuality education in the colleges of education in the country.

Non-Formal Education Programmes in Nigeria

There are different programmes of non-formal education. These programmes vary from one country to another country. According to Amadike (2012), the following are non-formal education programmes in Nigeria:

1. Programme for out of school children
2. Functional literacy and life skill training
3. Agricultural extension and rural development
4. Continuing education
5. Distance education programme
6. Nomadic education
7. Vocational training programme for industrial workers
8. Individual interest promotion workers
9. Quality of life improvement programme
10. Future-oriented programme

Each of the above programmes is designed to address a specific objective in a constantly changing society.

Roles of Community Organization in Supporting Adult and Non-Formal Education Programme in Nigeria

According to the World Health Organization (W.H.O), in Khasnabis (2010) outlines the roles of community organization in supporting adult education programme, which includes: **Facilitating Fun and Flexible Learning Environments:** Community organizations and the government are assisting to remove barriers to inclusion by making schools accessible by adding ramps, wider doors, and additional/bigger windows; providing training for teachers and other staff; providing assistive, low-cost devices such as hearing aids, glasses, wheelchairs; and creating learner-centred teaching materials and methods including posters and storybooks that raise awareness - so making the whole environment "disability friendly".



Help make Existing Non-Formal Education Programme Inclusive: A wide range of non-formal education programmes may already be operating in the community. These programmes may be oriented towards literacy and basic education, health promotion (reproductive health issues, sexually transmitted diseases, HIV/AIDS), environmental issues, agriculture, fishing, rural development and/or community development. Non-formal education programmes offer excellent opportunities for people with disabilities to be educated alongside their non-disabled peers. Community organization programmes can identify existing non-formal education programmes and encourage them to become inclusive rather than establish parallel programmes for people with disabilities. Making non-formal education programmes inclusive will involve encouraging the enrolment of people with disabilities in all types of programmes, and ensuring that teaching is conducted in accessible places and that teaching formats are accessible.

Government Programme: Government ministries, e.g. ministries of social welfare, education or youth, are often responsible for managing non-formal education programmes. These programmes are usually focused on literacy, adult learning and vocational training. Community organization programmes need to find out about existing non-formal education policies, who is responsible for implementing these policies, the current focus of non-formal education, whether people with disabilities are included and whether grants or loans are available to enable them to participate. This will help community organizations to shape a strategy to include people with disabilities in existing non-formal education programmes.

Access through Policy Actions: It is part of the roles of community organizations to have access to policy on non-formal education in Nigeria: “NFEC (Non-Formal Education Centre) has made efforts to pay special attention to the people who have problems caused by their ethnicity, language, gender and physical disabilities and make non-formal education programme inclusive”. An inclusive education policy will be adopted to ensure access, quality and co-existence. The following policy actions will be adopted for the implementation of the above policy: Special educational and pedagogical measures will be adopted to eliminate caste, ethnicity, gender, language, and disability-related discrimination. Special arrangements will be made to ensure access to quality non-formal education for the children with various disabilities, conflict-affected children and adults, and child labourers.

Community-Based Non-Formal Education Initiatives: These may include nongovernmental organizations carrying out various development or awareness activities, faith-based schools, crèches or daycare centres, schools to promote girls' education and schools for older children with disabilities (who were not identified early or included in primary education), formal school dropouts and working children. Community organizations can identify the different forms of community-based non-formal education initiatives available and facilitate the inclusion of people with disabilities, including children. Community organization personnel can work together with non-formal education facilitators to ensure teaching materials are accessible (e.g. large print, Braille, tape, audio facilities), that the environment is accessible and welcoming, and that students are supported in their learning.

Ensure the curriculum is practical and relevant: Lacking the rigid constraints of formal schools, adult and non-formal education curricula often have greater flexibility and can be easily adapted to



suit the needs of individuals. Community organization can help ensure that non-formal education: Prioritizes basic literacy and numeracy; is oriented to practical skills, life skills and personal development; is effective in teaching decision-making skills; Focuses on vocational skills, income-generating activities and job creation; empowers students, instilling confidence and a sense of ownership in programme and project – community organization can ensure that disabled people's organizations are involved in promoting the empowerment of students with disabilities; Promotes effective communication between students with disabilities and their families, peers and the community, e.g. through basic sign language, Braille, speaking clearly.

Challenges Affecting Community Organizations in Support of Adult Education Programme

The Challenges of Poor Funding: Inadequacy of funds is a serious problem that militates against the effective implementation of Millennium Development Goals, particularly as it concerns adult and non-formal education in Nigeria. Okediran (2006) observed that inadequate funding presents a serious challenge to the effective implementation of effective community organizations in Nigeria. Specifically, poor funding for adult and non-formal education, undoubtedly, limits the opportunities to widen people's access to education. It should be noted also that the quality of education being received by adult learners in adult and non-formal education in certain cases is poor in the country. It must be remarked that poorly run adult and non-formal educational programmes occasioned by poor funding in the sector do not promote effective teaching and learning in the system. Okedera (2006) stated that poorly run and unprofessionally taught literacy education programmes are not effective in achieving meaningful results in the teaching and learning process in society. Indeed, the provision of adequate funds certainly helps to guarantee the employment of professionally competent adult education workers who will be prepared to promote effective teaching and learning in adult and non-formal education for the benefit of adult learners in Nigeria.

Aruma, (2010) asserted that sourcing for counterpart funds from participating local communities, local, state and federal governments in Millennium Development Goals remains a serious challenge to the stakeholders in this globally approved development initiative in Nigeria. The relevant stakeholders in both community organizations, as well as adult and non-formal education, should be adequately involved in sourcing adequate funds to achieve meaningful results in the sector in Nigeria.

The Challenges of Inadequacy of Organizational Support: It has been observed that inadequacy of organizational support presents another challenge to the promotion of community organization in the area of adult and non-formal education in the country. Pratt and Boyden (1985) noted that a good organization which is supported by an adequate budget to pay and train workers as well as to support learning groups with learning materials is very important in the society. Indeed, reliable organizational support for adult and non-formal education is very critical if it is to record achievement in the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals in Nigeria. Regrettably, poor organizational support for adult and non-formal education is a serious problem to this sector of the Nigerian educational system. Aruma (2010) remarked that this poor institutional support to achieve certain specific targets of the Millennium Development Goals hampers notable success in the global development initiatives in the relevant areas concerned in the country. Essentially, concerted efforts should be made to encourage the promotion of organizational support for adult



and non-formal education at various levels notably national and international levels in Nigeria. Certainly, well co-ordinated national and international concerns will stimulate achieving effective implementation of Millennium Development Goals for sustainability in promoting enabling learning environment for adult learners in the country.

The Challenges of Lack of Political Will and Commitment: Another challenge of adult and non-formal education in achieving Millennium Development Goals for sustainability is the lack of political will and commitment in Nigeria. The term political will is perceived to mean the concerns of people in governance who have the governmental authority to provide certain things which will certainly impact positively on people's lives through appropriate institutional reforms and policies in the country. Todaro (2009) defined political will as a determined and deliberate choice of a course of action by people in the political authority to enhance people's living conditions through various reforms of social, economic as well as institutional structures. Consequently, political will is simply defined as a deliberate choice of action by people in governance with vested political authority to improve the poor living conditions of people through the instrumentality of appropriate laws, reforms and policies in the society.

Indeed, the focus of political will and commitment is stimulating effective service delivery in improving the socio-economic conditions of people through the use of appropriate laws, reforms and policies that are development-oriented in the society. In the words of Todaro and Smith (2009), the concept of political will means the determined effort of people in political authority to see that certain socio-economic objectives and goals are achieved through reforms and policies. Aruma, (2011) remarked that the people in political authority must deliberately demonstrate strong political will and commitment in order to improve the socio-economic living conditions of people through the instrumentality of appropriate institutional reforms, policies and frameworks in the society. Certainly, a lack of political will and commitment presents a serious challenge to adult and non-formal education in achieving Millennium Development Goals for sustainability in Nigeria. There is, indeed, an urgent need for an attitudinal change of people in political authority to develop a new course in ensuring that improved living conditions for people are achieved through the instrumentality of appropriate laws, reforms and policies that focus specifically on people-oriented development in the society. There is, of course, a serious need to mobilize actions and relevant human and material as well as financial resources to guarantee effective implementation of adult learning in adult and non-formal education to achieve meaningful results in Millennium Development Goals in Nigeria. Conclusion fundamentally, good reforms in the educational sector will certainly help.

Conclusion

The study shows that community organization includes work, projects, community development, community building and community organization. It also leads to a greater understanding of community context. It is characterized by community building, community planning, direct action and mobilization. It is also been concluded that adult and non-formal education programmes have suffered immensely from poor monitoring occasioned by lack of institutional support, lack of organizational support, and inadequacy of funds among others in Nigeria. Some of the roles and challenges of community organizations have been discussed in the study.



Recommendations

- i. Adequate funding should be allocated to community organizations to fully support adult and non-formal education programmes effectively and efficiently'
- ii. There is a need to provide adequate organizational support to both adult and non-formal education programmes in Nigeria.
- iii. There is, indeed, an urgent need for an attitudinal change of people in political authority to develop a new course in ensuring that improved living conditions for people are achieved through the instrumentality of appropriate laws, reforms and policies that focus specifically on people-oriented development in the society.

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Effect of Mutual Aid Group on Mathematics Self-Efficacy Belief among Senior Secondary School Students in Lagos State

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Abstract

The study examined the effect of mutual aid groups on mathematics self-efficacy belief among senior secondary school students. One research question and one null hypothesis guided the study. The design of the study was a quasi-experimental non-equivalent pretest-posttest research design involving one experimental and one control group. The sample for the study comprised 207 (89 male and 118 female) secondary school two students drawn from six intact classes in three co-educational secondary schools in Mainland Local Educational District IV Sabo, Lagos State. The instrument used for the study is Mathematics Self-Efficacy Scales (MSES). Also, an instructional package: Mutual Aid Group Interactive Process (MAGIP) was developed by the researcher. Mean and standard deviations were used to answer the research questions, while analysis of covariance was used to test the null hypothesis. Major findings of the study reveal that exposing students to mutual aid groups had an enhanced effect on their mathematics self-efficacy belief. Based on these findings, conclusions were drawn and educational implications were discussed. Major recommendations made were one of which is that students should be exposed to mutual aid interactive process.

Keywords: Mutual Aid, Mathematics, Self-Efficacy Belief, Secondary Education, Lagos

Introduction

In today's technology-driven society, greater demands have been placed on individuals to interpret and use mathematics to make sense of information in complex situations. As a result, the teaching and learning of mathematics become the nation's top priority (National Open University of Nigeria, 2006). Awokoya and Fafunwa, (as cited in Maliki, Ngban, & Ibu, 2009), agreed that people live in a world where science and technology have become an integral part of the world culture. For any nation to be relevant, therefore, it must not overlook the importance of mathematics in its educational system.

Mathematics is crucial not only for success in school, but in being an informed citizen, being productive in one's chosen career, and in personal fulfilment. Bulter and Wren (as cited by Ezeahurukwe, 2010), assert that mathematics can contribute to the realization of the general aims of education which among others include the development of effective critical thinking and competence in the basic skills necessary for dealing with numbers and forms, as it is indispensable in all commercial transactions, keeping statistical records and for researches. Another related study



(Igbokwe, 2003), highlights the intricate link of mathematics to science and technology. Every new mathematics problem a person tackles requires one to expand one's ability to dissect a problem and solve each part (Williams, 2004). Again, taking time to work through mathematics problems and arriving at the correct answer teaches children persistence and perseverance. Graeber and Weisman (as cited in Ajayi and Muriana, 2011), agree that mathematics helps the individual to understand the individual's environment and to give an accurate account of the physical phenomena around the individual.

Nigeria as a nation is gradually marching towards scientific and technological advancement. The nation's educational system is currently tailored towards equipping school children with mathematical, scientific, technological and communicative skills pertinent to scientific inquiry and technological developments. As a result of this, Mathematics is made a compulsory subject in the curriculum of the primary and secondary school levels of her educational system (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2004). However, judging from the achievement level of students in mathematics examinations at the senior school certificate examinations, it may be difficult to achieve the dream of laying a solid foundation for scientific and technological development in the country. Many Nigerian students develop a negative attitude to the subject, fear it and perform poorly in mathematics examinations (Abdulahi & Onasanya, 2010; Igbokwe, 2003; Akin, 2010).

A close analysis of the students' achievement in senior secondary school mathematics examination shows clearly the deteriorating state of secondary school students' achievement in mathematics. A report from the statistics department of West African Examinations Council (WAEC), Jibowu Lagos has it that out of 1,249,028 candidates that sat for mathematics examination in 2007, only 584,024 (46.76%) had credit passes. Similarly, in 2008, 2009, 2010, and 2011 similar results were recorded as only 57.28%, 47.04%, 41.95% and 40.35% obtained credit passes in mathematics respectively. On the other hand, 24.24%, 17.24%, 23.41%, 27.20%, 27.93%, 50.58, 54.19 and 61.97 recorded failure in 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2014 respectively (Statistic Department WAEC, 2015).

Various reasons have been advanced for this recurrent and dismal performance in the school subject. These include the parent factor (Ajayi & Muriana, 2011), teacher factor (Abdullahi and Onasanaya, 2010) and student factor (Ezeahurukwe, 2010) as influencing students' achievement in mathematics. Students' factors could be in the area of poor study habits, lack of interest, achievement orientation and self-efficacy belief. Bandura (1993) social cognitive theory postulates that perceived self-efficacy affects an individual in all aspects of life, including educational experiences. Beliefs about one's competence to successfully perform a task can affect motivation, interest and achievement. The focus is on how students think about themselves, their tasks and their performance.

Both Federal and State governments as well as some corporate organizations recognizing the fundamental role of mathematics in economic development have established different programmes to improve students' cognitive and affective outcomes in mathematics. The Federal Government established the National Mathematics Centre (NMC) in 1989 and the Mathematics Empowerment Project at Akure in 2007 to develop, deploy appropriate initiatives and resources of international standing, to rekindle and sustain interest in the study of mathematics and mathematical sciences at all levels. Over the years the centres have made attempts to remedy the failure rate in the West



African Senior Secondary Certificate Examination, National Examination Council (NECO) and Joint Admission and Matriculation Examination (JAME).

Other corporate organizations such as Promasidors Nigeria limited (makers of cowbell milk) and University Press, Plc annually have programmes for secondary school students aimed at reawakening secondary school students' interest in mathematics. Examples of such programmes include the 2008 and 2009 Cowbell National Secondary School Mathematics Competition, and the 2011 University Press workshop on "effective teaching of mathematics in which the researcher was one of the participants. The media is not left out in this struggle of making the learning of mathematics easy and meaningful. The electronic media such as the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) channel 10, Lagos, has a programme called "work it out" which is aired every Saturday for the acquisition of mathematical skills. Some print media such as Punch Newspaper have educational columns for mathematics learning. Despite these efforts, mathematics achievement at all levels of education in Nigeria has not improved to a satisfactory level. This consistency poor achievement in mathematics could be a result of irrational beliefs students pick from the environment which are interpreted in the mind as the right beliefs. Beliefs about one's competence to successfully perform a task can affect motivation, interest and achievement (Bandura, 1996). The higher the perceived efficacy, the higher the goal aspirations people adopt and the firmer their commitment to achieving those goals. Self-efficacy beliefs are one's beliefs that one can succeed in a specific task. Bandura (1997), describes self-efficacy as people's judgment of their capabilities to organize and execute a course of action required to attain a designated type of performance. Self-efficacy is a person's belief in what the person can do. In this study, self-efficacy can be defined as the beliefs individuals have in their ability to get a task completed.

Suffice it that several efforts are being made to arrest the problem of students' poor achievement in mathematics especially due to low self-efficacy. For some individuals, the problem of mathematics achievement is of such magnitude that professional help is required. Such help according to Ekeh and Obi (2012), could be in the form of providing the students with information about appropriate problem-solving strategies and helping them stay away from self-preoccupied worries and negative self-talk. This may be particularly helpful to the low self-efficacy students. This modification of distorted thoughts and providing appropriate problem-solving strategies concerning mathematics could be achieved through mutual aid group. This is what this study set out to investigate.

Good knowledge of mathematics for students in secondary school is critical not only to earn them the opportunity for admission into higher institutions but also to make them individuals who will be functional in the society. Yet there have been a consistent poor achievement and a large failure rate by senior secondary school students in mathematics examinations. Some researchers have attributed this poor achievement to factors such as students' perception of mathematics as a difficult subject, inappropriate teaching strategies, poor study habits, teachers' incompetence, and poor mathematics self-efficacy belief of students. Evidence from the developed world suggests that mutual aid group has the potential for helping to correct students' negative orientation about mathematics and promote their self-efficacy belief. Unfortunately, the use of mutual aid group in changing students' negative orientation about mathematics and promoting their self-efficacy belief appears not to have received comprehensive attention in mathematics. More so there is a dearth of literature on the use of mutual aid group as intervention strategy in research. The problem of this study, therefore, posed as a



question is “what are the effects of mutual aid groups on the mathematics self-efficacy belief of secondary school students in Lagos? To guide to the study, the research question follows with a hypothesis that: There is no significant difference in the effectiveness of mutual aid on students’ mathematics self -efficacy belief in post -test mean scores.

Literature Review

In school, the beliefs that students develop about their academic capabilities help determine what they do with the knowledge and skills they have learned (Putwain & Best, 2011). Mathematics self-efficacy is an individual’s belief in his ability to solve mathematics problems. People with high self-efficacy beliefs related to specific tasks show greater willingness to be engaged in the task, persist longer in the face of difficulties, use a variety of problem-solving strategies and hence have a higher likelihood of success with the task. According to (Sahiod, 2011), students with a strong sense of efficacy are more likely to challenge themselves with difficult tasks and be intrinsically motivated. These students will put forth a high degree of effort to meet their commitments, and attribute failure to things which are in their control, rather than blaming external factors. Highly self-efficacious students also recover quickly from setbacks, and ultimately are likely to achieve their personal goals. Students with low self-efficacy, on the other hand, believe they cannot be successful and thus are less likely to make a concerted, extended effort and may consider challenging tasks as threats that are to be avoided. Thus, students with low self-efficacy have low aspirations which may result in disappointing academic performances becoming part of a self-fulfilling feedback cycle. Self-efficacy belief is therefore a major ingredient in a person’s desire to learn. When an individual loses self-efficacy, fear or anxiety is created in such an individual, which could result in low achievement orientation.

Students are reluctant to engage in activities they believe will lead to negative outcomes. This may explain why some students perform poorly in mathematics examinations since they believe that they cannot make good grades. The fact is that for these students to regain their confidence and change their negative thoughts and irrational beliefs to positive and rational ones something needs to be done. It, therefore, becomes imperative to find out if the application of mutual aid group would enhance the self-efficacy belief of students. Peer and McClendon in Cicchetti (2007) observe that nobody exists aside from others, and no social interaction is possible without others. Students need each other in varying degrees, to work on certain common problems. Schwartz (cited in Cicchetti 2007) envisioned the group as an enterprise in mutual aid, an alliance of individuals.

The concept of mutual aid was first elaborated by Kropotkin, in 1903 (cited in Cicchetti, 2007), Kropotkin, one of the most important evolutionary theorists and socio-biologists of his time argued that mutual aid as exemplified in efforts at cooperation in the face of common environmental threats was a significant factor in the survival of species. Mutual Aid Group according to Borkman and Gitterman (as cited in Cicchetti, 2007), is an exchange of help where the group member is both the provider as well as the recipient of help in the service of achieving common group and individual goals. Mutual aid groups are composed of members who share a common condition, situation, heritage, symptom, or experience. They are largely self-governing and self-regulating. Mutual aid groups emphasize self-reliance and generally offer a face-to-face or phone-to-phone fellowship network, available and accessible without charge (Gitterman & Shulman, 1994).



Mutual aid groups assume various forms, from the highly structured daily meeting format of programmes such as Alcoholics Anonymous to the more informal gatherings of friends and co-workers. Among other variables, mutual aid groups differ according to size, longevity structure, technology, level of development, purported goals, public image, and relationships with other mutual aid groups and community services systems. The form of mutual aid groups is limited only by the needs and ingenuity of their members (Borkman, 1990). In this study, a mutual aid group is a group of people with a potential for mutual understanding and empathy which help build trust, openness and a feeling of belonging, which in turn, enhances coping, problem-solving and self-empowerment. What it infers is that it is a system where people with similar experiences come together with their peers to help each other to manage, overcome issues or to build a network of support.

The classroom group has the potential to become a mutual aid system. Classroom interaction promotes a sense of connectedness among class members. Cohen and Graybeal (2007) noted that mutual aid can help people to gain a sense of personal, interpersonal, and environmental control over their lives. They stated that one of the goals of a mutual aid group is to encourage the collective resourcefulness and creativity of the group and minimize the need for professional intervention. This requires the group worker to share power with group members so that the helping process is collaborative.

Steinberg (2010) asserted that mutual aid is holistic and strengths driven, and has exceptional goodness of it with anti-pressure practice. It is a process in which power sharing and the experience, wisdom, and knowledge of participants are central – as opposed to processes that rely exclusively on professional expertise and knowledge. The five basic elements in mutual aid group learning are: (a) positive interdependence (students see the importance of working as a team and realize that they are responsible for contributing to the group's effort.) (b) face-to-face interaction (involves students working in environmental situations that promote eye contact and social space so that students can engage in discussions). (c) Individual accountability (Suggests that each person is responsible to the group and must be a contributing member, not someone who let others do all of the work). (d) Group behaviour (refers to those interpersonal, social and collaborative skills needed to work with others successfully. Finally, (e) Group processing (the time after the team task is finished then team members analyze their work and their group's abilities to work collaboratively.) while the treatment groups made use of the mutual aid group interactive process, the control group made use of conventional lesson note plan (the traditional way of teaching mathematics).

Methodology

Design of the Study: The design of this study was a quasi-experimental non-equivalent pretest-posttest control group design. The experimental group received mutual aid group intervention training programme.

Area of the Study: The area of this study is Mainland Local Educational District Lagos. It was chosen because evidence has revealed that the students' achievements in the West Africa School Certificate Examination have been declining in the area (Education District IV Sabo Yaba, School Administration Department Lagos 2021).



The population of the Study: The population of this study comprised all the 2014/2015 co-educational senior secondary class two (SSII) students numbering 2,189 (1334 males and 855 females) from 7 co-educational Senior Secondary Schools in Mainland Educational District of Lagos State (Schools Administration Department Education District IV Sabo, Yaba, Lagos).

Sample and Sampling Technique: The sample for the study comprised 207 (89 males and 118 females) senior secondary school two students drawn from six intact classes in three co-educational secondary schools in mainland Local Educational District IV Sabo. The researcher purposively sampled mainland local educational districts from the three educational districts in district IV because of high declining students' mathematics achievement in the West African Certificate Examination using the stage sampling technique. The researcher selected three schools from the 7 co-educational secondary schools. Co-educational schools were chosen to take care of gender factors. These schools have at least not less than two classes of senior secondary school class two students'. The random sampling techniques were employed in selecting six intact classes from these three co-educational schools. These three selected schools were randomly assigned to treatment and control respectively through simple balloting.

Instruments for Data Collection: Mathematics self-efficacy Rating Scale (MSERS) - The mathematics self-efficacy rating scale was developed by the researcher to help determine the students' level of self-efficacy belief in performing some academic tasks (mathematics problem solving) the questionnaire consists of 30 item questions drawn from reviewed literature. The instrument was designed to address specific feelings toward mathematics learning and problem-solving. The instrument is of two sections. Section A sought the personal information of the respondents while section B sought information relating to students' personal feelings and self-efficacy beliefs in mathematics learning and problem-solving. A 4 point rating scale of Strongly Agree (SA-4), Agree (A-3), Disagree (D-2) and Strongly Disagree (SD-1) is employed. The students are to indicate their degree of self-efficacy belief by ticking a number from 1 to 4 against any of the above-stated options of response. The mathematics Self-efficacy rating scale was face validated by 2 experts. The researcher used these experts' comments and suggestions to improve the instruments by removing some items of the instruments and retaining some with modifications.

To determine the internal consistency reliability of the instrument, a trial test was conducted using 30 students drawn from senior secondary school II outside the school of study. Cronbach Alpha method was used to measure the internal consistency coefficient of the Mathematics Self-Efficacy Rating Scale (MSERS). The reliability of the mathematics self-efficacy rating scale was 0.89.

Mutual Aid Group Interactive Process (MAGIP) as a training programme was developed by the researcher through reviewed literature. The intervention programme was developed to teach the students mathematics by applying mutual aid group strategies in the lesson plan. The intervention is intended to aid students to achieve a paradigm shift in ideology, attitude and social expectations as they affect students' mathematics and capability in their school work. The mutual aid strategies that were employed include data sharing, dialectic process, mutual support, individual problem solving and group processing.

Method of Data Analysis: The data collected by administrating the pretest- post-test instruments were analyzed in line with the research question and hypothesis. Descriptive statistics such as mean



and standard deviation were used in answering the research question. Analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was used to test the hypothesis at a 0.05 level of significance.

Results

What is the effect of mutual aid group on students' mathematics self-efficacy belief?

Table 1. The Mean Score and Standard Deviation of the Students' Pre-test post-test Scores in mathematics self-efficacy belief.

Experimental condition (source of variation)		Pre-test	Post-test	Pre-test-post-test mean gain scores
TMI(Cognitive Restructuring)	Mean	1.9740	2.5102	0.54
	N	77	77A	0.66
TMII (mutual aid group)	Mean	2.0000	2.6671	
	N	64	64	
	Std. Deviation	.56344	.45745	
Control	Mean	1.8636	1.9091	0.45
	N	66	66	
	Std. Deviation	.55154	.57452	

The table shows that students exposed to the Mutual Aid Group strategy had a pre-test mean score of 2.0000 with a standard deviation of .563 in mathematics self-efficacy and a post-test mean score of 2.6671 with a standard deviation of .467 their mean gain score was 0.66. The pre-test mean score for the control group was 1.8636 with and standard deviation of .55154 whereas their post-test mean score was 1.9091 with and standard deviation of .57452. The mean gain score of those in the control group was 0.45. From the above, it can be deduced that students exposed to the mutual aid group benefited from the strategies and manifested enhanced mathematics self-efficacy belief as against their counterparts in the control group.

This effect of the mutual aid group on the mean score of students' mathematics self-efficacy belief was further tested using the corresponding hypothesis.

H01: there is no significant difference in the effectiveness of the mutual aid group on students' mathematics self-efficacy belief in post-test mean scores.



Table 2: Summary of the one-way Analysis of Covariance for mathematics self-efficacy belief of the students' post-test for interventions (MAG) and control groups.

Source	Sum of squares	Df	Mean square	Cal F	Critical F	Decision at 0.05 level
Corrected model	22.835 ^a	6	3.806	13.655	.000	
Intercept	64.548	1	64.548	231.597	.000	
Pre-self efficacy	1.281	1	1.281	4.596	.033	
Treatment	19.950	2	9.975	35.790	.000	Sig
Error	55.742	200	.279			
Total	1238.388	207				
Corrected total	78.577	206				

a. R squared = .291 (adjusted R Squared = .269)

The data above indicates that treatments as a factor in the study had a significant difference in the self-efficacy belief of students in mathematics. This is because the calculated f-value of 35.8 in respect of treatment as the main effect is shown to be significant at a .000 level of significance and at a 0.05 level of probability. $F(1,200) = 35.8, p=000$. This also means that the null hypothesis of no significant difference in the mean scores of those in the treatment and control group was rejected, as there was a significant difference between the treatment group and the control group. The R-Squared of .291, further suggested that 29% of the total variance on the dependent measure was contributed by treatment using mutual aid group (MAG). This evidence shows that MAG was effective in enhancing the students' mathematics self-efficacy belief as compared to those in the control group that was not exposed to it.

Discussion of Results

The result of this study revealed that mutual aid had a significant effect on the mathematics self-efficacy belief of students. The students who were exposed to the mutual aid strategy manifested higher mathematics self-efficacy than their mates who used the conventional method. This finding tallies with that of Helgeson and Gottlies (2003) who indicated that a group of people with common concerns and potentials for mutual understanding and empathy helps build trust, openness and a feeling of belonging.

This study collaborates with the findings of Cohen and Graybeal (2007) which indicated that mutual aid helped people to gain a sense of personal, interpersonal and environmental control over their lives. The acquisition of mutual aid strategy encourages the students to set high goals and commit more personal efforts to achieve such goals which resulted in increased mathematics self-efficacy in the student.

Conclusion

Instructions in mutual aid group programmes enhanced the mathematics self-efficacy belief of students. The findings suggest the need for students to be equipped with relevant skills in the use of



mutual aid group interactive process in order to facilitate their learning of mathematics and every other subject.

Recommendation

Students should be exposed to mutual aid group strategies. To achieve this, the teachers should explain, demonstrate and model the strategies to the students. They should also monitor the students' use of the strategies to provide immediate feedback.

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Gender and Information Societies: Challenges and Opportunities for Women Participation in Democracy

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Abstract

Women equality with men has taken global dimension in all aspects of life, especially in the political participation of women. Equal voting right in election represents country's initiative to establish equality among men and women in democracy. But some traditional and current policy have not given women equal opportunities like men to participate in political affairs. A number of constraints affect women participation in politics and decision making. This paper aims to explore issues and challenges faces by women in political participation. The paper also highlights the role of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) in developing information societies logical capacities as an integral dimension of full social, economic and political citizenship that emphasis gender equality and equal chances for all.

Keywords: Gender Inequality, Equal voting right, Women participation in democracy

Introduction

The world today is in information era, inequalities of all kinds including those related to gender, are at the top of political agenda for change. The new integrated social sphere of the Internet and the transformations it promises have highlighted the longstanding implications of all kinds of technological divides. What does it mean to be equal in technological terms as individuals and societies? This paper argues that the history of work on gender and technology offers some themes which are of general interest. This work emphasizes that technologies are integrated dimension of social structures, processes, cultures and practices of distinctions and unequal identifications associated with them at macro and micro levels. Technologies are a social site in which political, economic, collective and individual manifestations of power, empowerment and disempowerment are expressed.

Just as individual texts have become filaments of infinitely tangled webs, so the digital machines of the present century weave new networks from what were once isolated words. Media becomes interactive and hyperactive, the multiplicitous components of an immersive zone which *“does not begin with writing; it is directly related rather to the weaving of elaborate figured silk”* (Plant, 1998: pp11-12). Just as textual technologies cheap paper, the typewriter, printing accompanied new discourse networks and social formations, so electronic communication technologies radio, television, computer networks accompany the discourse networks, and social formations now



coming into being. These technologies, discourse networks, and social transformations continue the trend toward increasing awareness of a sense of self; toward increasing physical isolation of individuals in Western and Western-influenced societies; and toward displacement of shared physical space, both public and private, by textuality and prophetic communication in brief, the constellation of events that define the closing of the mechanical age and the unfolding or revelation of what, for lack of a better term, we might call the virtual age. (Stone, 1996:p20). From the above it can be deduced that women can equally contribute in all aspect of human development including participation in political processes in their societies.

A woman finds it very difficult to make up her mind to venture into politics. Once she makes up her own mind, then she has to prepare her husband, children, and her family. Once she has overcome all these obstacles and applied for the nomination form, then she has to face a big challenge from her male aspirants against whom she is applying the same seat, her immediate society and after all this, when her name goes to the party bosses, they do not select her name because they fear losing the seat to a woman.

Women's participation in politics of any country gives a strong message globally not only in terms of equality and freedom of liberty but also in the space provided for women in the democratic framework of electoral politics. Nigeria has one of the strongest laws that provide women a life with full honor and dignity. But the customs, patriarchal set ups and societal norms have always treated them as subordinate to men. They are always taught to be submissive. Because of unequal distribution of resources, women do not have adequate resources, be it economic, material or human. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that women's under-representation in Nigerian politics raises grave concerns regarding democratic legitimacy and fundamental issues of political representation. Electing more women increases woman participation in policy debates and deliberations regarding woman representation in political sphere. Political participation allows for political agendas to be developed by women 'taking part in politics' through a range of activities such as discussion and debate, lobbying and activism in formal and informal ways. The prime obstacle that hinders women's representation and participation is patriarchy. It is the very basis that makes most of the society realize and even forces them to think that women are incapable of political participation and representation. And, so they should be restricted inside the four walls to perform household chores. Some of the facets of patriarchy that play major role are (a) public-private divide (b) lack of family support especially husband (c) the belief that politics is man's arena (d) political parties also believe that women lack the 'win-ability' characteristics.

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Literature Review

Many researchers including Randall (1987), Matland and Taylor (1997), Rule (1981) explore various factors that hinder women participation in politics such as lack of time for politics due to their domestic obligations, their lack of socialization for politics, their lower social capital and weaker asset base than men owing to discrimination in schools and in the market, their under representation in the jobs that favor political careers, their marginalization within male-dominated parties, their inability to overcome male and incumbent bias in certain types of electoral systems. Research by Browne and Barret (1991) found a strong association between female education and socio-economic development at both the individual and societal level. Oduol (2008) found access to education and lack of quality education as barriers for many women. That shows lack of adequate education ill-equips women for leadership. While some of the researcher including Kellerman & Rhode (2007), Kiamba (2008) found gender stereotype as one of the important barriers for women leadership. Women also face a 'double edged sword' ascribed to gender role stereotypes, as there is a long-standing and widespread belief that male traits are consistent with leadership. Kunovich, Paxton and Hughes (2007) explained that cultural ideas about women can affect women's levels of representation throughout the political process, from an individual woman's decision to enter politics, to party selection of candidates, to the decisions made by voters on Election Day.

Challenges for Women Participation in Democracy

Bari (2005) in a study identified some important factors which hinder the women political participation. These are: Ideological factors, political factors, socio-cultural factors, and economic factors that are very important in these regards. Besides these lacks of capital and strategy for women, there are numbers of obstacle of women participation in politics such as:

Illiteracy: is one of the main hurdles in making women as politically empowered. Because of lack of understanding they do not know about their basic and political rights. Gender disparities in terms of education, ownership of resources and continual biased attitudes still act as barriers for women leaders. Education influences the social mobility of women. Formal education such as provided at educational institutions created opportunities for leadership, and imparted leadership essential skills (Walters & Mason, 1994).



Work and Family: uneven distribution of house hold work between men and women also one of the important factors in this regards, uneven distribution of family care responsibilities means that women spend far more time than men in home- and child-care. It relating not just to the time, effort, and medical care of pregnancy and childbirth, but to the far greater maternal involvement necessary for breastfeeding, and to the persistent tendency of women to do a larger share of childcare as the child grows.

Lack of Political Networks: The lack of openness in political decision-making and undemocratic internal processes poses a challenge for all newcomers, but particularly for women as they tend to lack insider knowledge or political networks.

Private-public Divide: in terms of domain identification and male preponderance in political institutions. Because of their low proportion in inner political party structure of Nigeria, they have failed to gather resources and support for nurturing their political constituencies.

Lack of Financial Support: Women do not get adequate financial support from the political parties to contest the elections. This could be as a result of their weak economic base and capacity to mobilize political financial capital.

Societal and Cultural Norms: imposed on women bar them from entering politics. They have to accept the dictates imposed on them and bear the burden of society. They also bear their deprivation and undermining status thinking as a culture of the society. Public attitudes not only determine how many female candidates win a general election, but also directly and indirectly how many are considered and nominated for office (Welch and Sigelman, 1982).

ICTs Opportunities for Women Participation in Politics

To achieved ICT opportunities for women participation in democracy, societies must ensure the full participation of women in ICT development programme and strengthen the capacity of woman citizens to access and utilize timely information. Adequate access to ICT and digital literacy is considered to be very vital to skill acquisition, knowledge, empowerment, information generation and utilization. Therefore, to ensure full women participation in democracy through ICT there is need to improve digital literacy attainment among woman citizens. Literacy is the ability to identify, understand, interpret, create communicate and compute using printing and written materials associated with varying contexts. Literacy is the ability of a person to function in all the activities in which literacy is required for an effective function of his/her group and become vibrant community member and also for enabling him/her to continue to use reading, writing and calculations for his/her own and the community's development (UNESCO, 2010).

Hence, ICT and digital literacy involves the ability to identify, understand, interpret and make use of information using digital technologies. Ifijeh, Iwu-James and Adebayo (2016) saw ICT and digital literacy as the ability to identify, search and utilize required information in multiple formats from a wide range of sources presented through information and communication technology. However, digital literacy could also participate in an environment increasingly dominated by access



to electronically enable information (National Electronic Media Institute, 2016). ICT is non-negotiable in our modern society. Almost every aspect of our lives is being dominated by the internet and digitized services. Therefore, woman employment on ICT development is very necessary to enable and prepare them for a more responsive and effective participation in democracy. Growing numbers of women are using the Internet in work and other settings. They are intrinsically a part of whatever the new social fabrics of connectivity turn out to be that are currently being shaped by cyber developments and applied strategies. Women's as well as men's direct involvement in shaping those developments and strategies, including different processes of innovation, are part of the picture that is unfolding.

Diverse global political processes have demonstrated women's active roles in contributing to the building of this so-called new information age or network society. They are part of the growing connectivity that is, to some extent at least, disrupting established linear views of 'development' and emphasizing, among other things, the importance of considering ICT capacities as an integrated aspect of possibilities for societies around the world.

The much-debated public/private structure of major patriarchal historical trends across societies (see, for example, Jaschok and Miers, 1994; Croll, 1995; Youngs, 1999a and 2000) has been identified by many analysts as central to the socially constructed relationships between technology and gender. Technologies, it is argued, largely follow the public/private patterns that allocate most political, economic and social power and influence to the former and least to the latter. The prime association of male and female practice, power and identity with the former and latter respectively informs the gendering of technology. For example, the highest technological sectors linked to pure science and innovation such as space and military research, as strategic public sphere sectors, tend to be predominantly regarded as masculinist domains. The importance of history is clear in this respect in relation to the major influence, for example, of enlightenment developments in the West in shaping the social primacy of science and scientific rationality, and masculinist forms of practice and identity associated with them.

This does not mean of course that women cannot be present in strategic scientific sectors, as indeed women have become increasingly involved in the public sectors of institutional and commercial life more generally in many societies. Key questions are not whether women are present but what kind of power and influence do they have, and whether the settings they operate within are still largely defined by significant patriarchal and historically embedded trajectories, structures, parameters and values? The following is a broad but indicative statement. Men are more commonly identified with "higher" technologies and their invention and adaptation, and women are more commonly identified with "lower" technologies (such as the typewriter, word processor and domestic appliances) and their use rather than invention (See, for example, Stanley, 1992 and 1993).

Conclusion

Society needs to deconstruct the stereotype of women as limited to household activities only. To emphasize on helping women in bridging the digital divide and provide equal opportunities for both men and women in democracy. Overall political parties' environment too is not women friendly;



they have to struggle hard and face multi-dimensional issues to create space for them in the party. It is important for all institutions (state, family and community) to respond to women's specific needs such as bridging gaps in education, renegotiating gender roles, the gender division of labor and addressing biased attitudes.

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Security Implications of Political Thuggery in Nigeria: A Study of Rivers State from 2015-2019 Elections

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Abstract

This paper discusses the ugly phenomenon of thuggery in the body politics of Nigeria. It examines the reasons for the prevalent incidences of political thuggery, particularly during campaigns, general elections and even re-run elections in Rivers State. The paper identifies such reasons as unemployment among youths and its attendant poverty and frustration which makes youths willing tools for thuggery in the hands of desperate politicians; and the negative impact of money politics in the country's democratization process. The data collection and analysis is based on a field survey in Port Harcourt using questionnaire and descriptive analysis respectively. The study adopts the Marxist perspective of Conflict Theory as the tool of analysis to explain the act of political thuggery by unemployed youths and their recruitment by desperate politicians to serve their selfish interest of maintaining and controlling political power and economic resources. The findings revealed that thuggery created fear among candidates which hindered the electorates' political participation, peaceful and fair elections, and stable democratic transitions.

Keywords: Political Thuggery, Democracy, Election, Electoral Violence, Political Instability

Introduction

Political Thuggery has become prevalent in the democratic dispensation in Nigeria. The social, political and economic power of those involved have become a huge source of concern nationally and internationally. These categories of people who possess the power are the ruling elite and their activities have been institutionalised to the point of subverting the constitution for their selfish and economic gains. Subscribing to this assertion, Gboyega (2004) observed that political godfatherism is by design placed above the law of the land. Politicians and their thugs can carry arms without hindrance. They are entitled to police escorts and are immune to abduction, harassment and maiming. Most of these thugs are recruited and trained for various political purposes such as intimidation, harassment, violence, assassination, rigging of elections, etc, against political oppositions. Some of these thugs are employed as special advisers, special assistants and personal assistants while those who do not fit in for the aforementioned positions are made contractors to the government in federal, state or local government areas. These thugs forced electorates to vote against their wishes or deny them the opportunity to cast votes. The party representatives at the



polling booths were threatened to compromise, and the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) officials were forced to change election results in favour of a particular party. Masses who want to participate in politics found it very difficult to penetrate the electoral environment because of money politics and violence.

The thugs have several names in different places such as: in Lagos *Oduwa* People's Congress (OPC) or popularly the area boys, in Rivers State and the rest of the Niger Delta the Niger Delta volunteers force (NDF) *Egbesu* boys, Bauchi State *Sara-suka* (cut and stab), *yankalare* in Gombe, *Yan daba* (Jungle boys) in Kano and *Ecomog* in Borno (Abdullahi,2013). Over the years, the activities of political thugs in Nigeria have been recognised and powerfully backed by the political class. Thus, it has gone beyond what is known or seen in the first, second or the aborted third republics. Nda Isaiah (2004) observed that thuggery in the fourth republic has even gone beyond that of the second republic. The trade is no longer for the rag-tag hoodlums that it used to be.

In recent time, thuggery has been given new garb of legitimacy by the political class. The presence of energetic (but aggressive) youth can be noticed in the name of bodyguards politicians move around with. Unfortunately, physical reality has shown that violent activities are carried out when political activities like campaigns/elections are going on. The teeming youth who are supposed to have been harnessed or trained towards nation building are used (misused rather) to harass and intimidate the political opponent including the innocent citizens and at worse maim and kill under the influence of drugs and money. Thus, this study tends to identify the causes of political thuggery in Rivers State; assess how political thuggery affects political developments of Rivers State; ascertain the security implications of political thuggery in Rivers State and explore ways to solve the problem of political thuggery in Rivers State.

Review of Related Literature

This section reviews the works of authors in the area of political thuggery and the increasing violence in Rivers State.

Causes of Political Thuggery in Rivers State

Numerous factors have been attributed to political thuggery in Rivers State. The continuing and widespread use of thugs by some political parties always created a significant degree of fear and intimidation (Igini, 2015).

Unemployment: The president of the south-south citizens residing in Oyo State, Chief Michael Obasahon, observed that as a result of frightening unemployment in the country, Nigeria is sitting on a keg of gunpowder, He advised the government to embark on massive job creation to stem the tide of pervasive social insecurity in the country (Adenyi, 2011:p17).

The Phenomenon of Godfatherism in Nigeria Politics: Okuhue (2011:p1) stated that since the return of democratic rule in Nigeria in 1999, godfatherism has remained a force to be reckoned with. The fear of godfathers, according to him was the beginning of wisdom, especially in the political territories. He noted that no contestant for political office will achieve his ambition without the blessing of the godfather.



Sit-tight Syndrome: This is a situation whereby an individual tries to hold on to power for personal aggrandisement or gains. In an attempt to hang on to power, leaders often create a regime of violence, repression and political intimidation against opposition.

The link between Thuggery and Violent Crimes in Rivers State

Thuggery is the process of acting violently, especially to commit a crime. Violence on the other hand is the act of hurting people either by word or action. Political thuggery could be defined as the illegitimate means of seeking political influence while political violence is viewed as the illegitimate and unauthorized use of force to effect decisions against the desire or will of the people. Since independence, politics in Nigeria has been characterized by thuggery and violence. For example, the 2011, 2015 and 2019 elections in Rivers State were affected by political violence (Semenitari, 2015:p3).

Political Thuggery and Violence in Rivers State 2011 Elections

The remote causes of the electoral crisis in Rivers State in the 2011 elections could be traced to the decision of the then Governor, Rt. Hon. Chibuike Rotimi Amaechi to run a re-election to the office of the Chairman of the Nigerian Governors' Forum. This re-election bid was not supported by the then President Goodluck Jonathan and caused ripples in Nigeria. It further drew Amaechi, Presidency and PDP into a dagger point. Unfortunately for the President, Amaechi defeated his rival, the then Governor Jonah Jang of Plateau State. This defeat spurred up a division in the forum and political crises in Rivers State. The spate of violence went to a point of crescendo during the campaigns for the general elections, the duo-APC and PDP criminally confronted each other openly in their campaign rallies in Okrika (Semenitari, 2015:p3).

Political Thuggery and Violence in 11th April 2015 Election in Rivers State

It was alleged that there were massive irregularities that marred the 2015 general elections in the state and there were series of protests by members of APC. One of such protests was led by its Governorship candidate in March, a day after the Presidential election, and the APC Women, all to the State INEC headquarters, secondly, by the plethora of tribunal cases challenging the elections. In some extreme instances, voting did not take place. Similarly, gunmen shot dead the youth leader of the All Progressives Congress in Ogba/ Egbema/ Ndoni Local Government Area, Mr. Felix Orukokwu, in Idu community. Dakuku Peterside alleged that seven persons were killed in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni local government area (Guardian online, 2015).

In a swift reaction to the claims of APC, the State Chairman of the PDP, Felix Obua had stated that "Rivers state is a traditional PDP State and even if the elections are conducted a million times, PDP will win here". He added that the call to reschedule the elections by the APC was "the behaviour of bad losers" (Guardian online, 2015:p2). A Commission of Inquiry headed by Chidi Odinkalu, a Professor of law and Chairman of the National Human Rights Commission, and had a clear mandate to probe politically-motivated killings and destruction of properties before and during the 2015 general elections in Rivers State. According to the Commission's Report, Rivers State recorded a monthly average of 19 killings between November 2014 and April 2015 (Odinkalu, 2015:p1). It further noted that out of 97 allegations of killings it received, 94 occurred between November 2014 and April 11, 2015. He further remarked that 83 incidents of destruction of properties including acts of vandalism and arson, seven of the incidents occurred before the



election while 77 occurred during the elections. A total of different violations involving killings, injuries to persons or destructions were reported to the Commission of Inquiry. Also, 236 alleged destruction of properties were identified in testimonies.

The then Director, Department of State Security Services in Rivers State, Abot Nyam, was quoted as having said in an online media (Naijapolitica.com, 2015:1) that he served in different states like Imo and Abia states but never experienced the high spate of political killings as being witnessed in the state, wondered why politics has to be reduced to violence and destruction. Corroborating the above, Anucha (2005) aptly captured the Rivers State elections when he observed that what happened in Rivers State during the March 28 and April 11 2015, Presidential and National Assembly, Governorship and House of Assembly elections, respectively, were unimaginal.

Political Thuggery and Violence in 2019 General Election in Rivers State

The 2019 election was not left out with crisis, where the politicians hire thugs to hijack electoral materials. In each local government, for instance, thugs sacked 5 polling units in two wards. They carried out the illegal action unchallenged by the security agents. In Khana local government area, the largest local government area in terms of landmass witness much crisis perpetrated by political thugs that leads to the death of supporters of some political parties. A correspondent of the News agency of Nigeria covering the bye-election in Port Harcourt was attacked and smashed with a bottle on his head. The Nigerian army troops of 6 Division killed six political thugs in Rivers State during the presidential and National assembly election, because they attacked the troops, according to Col. Sagir Musa Army spokesman, in a pre-planned attack occurred between Charles and Bob-Manuels compound in Abonnema town.

Security Implications of Political Thuggery in Rivers State

Insecurity in Rivers State is a result of the activities arising from the wide circulation of arms and ammunition in the hands of criminals which were used for thuggery at the elections. It becomes difficult to retrieve these arms from the hands of the thugs. Whether eventually settled or not, the thugs found another lucrative use for the arms by indulging in criminality – armed robbery - and it is the society that pays for it. Delivering a paper on 'Nigeria Electoral Violence and National Security,' the onetime Inspector General of Police, Tafa (2009:112) said: "Our experiences in the recently concluded elections indicate that there is unbridled flagrancy in the smuggling and use of arms and ammunition by political thugs and party supporters." During the recruitment/training process of thugs, drugs and rituals are often involved (Needam, 2015). The thugs are often offered/given financial and material gratifications with protection which includes protection from punishment by the law. These gratifications can be lifetime promises which are sometimes extended to thug's family members.

Theoretical Framework

Conflict and Marxist theory shares the assumptions concerning the nature and origin of electoral violence in society. Marxists situates every social action within the ambit of the economic base and lays much emphasis on historical and dialectical materialism. Conflict theory emphasizes that electoral violence encourages conflict in the society (Jegade, 2005). The theory is based upon the view that the fundamental causes and origin of electoral violence are the social and economic



forces that operates within the society. The conflict theory, therefore stresses that the wealthy could acquire arms and weapons to perpetrate electoral violence.

Conflict Theory

Karl Marx (1818-1883) is the exponent of conflict theory. Other proponents of conflict theory include Ludwig (1838-1909), Pareto (1848-1923), George Simmel (1858-1918), Ralph Dahrendorf, Gluckman, M. (1965), Lewis Coser (1956/1968), and Gurr, T. (1968). According to this theory, some groups come to dominate others and tow in for themselves a disproportionate share of the society's political power, which includes wealth and privileges in the society at the expense of the less powerful ones. They also incriminate the activities of the less powerful while they protect that of the powerful persons. Such situations according to this theory create violence which often leads to political violence and thuggery. Groups and individuals advance their interests, struggling over control of societal resources. Those with the most resources exercise power over others with inequality and power struggles resulting to violence. There is great attention paid to class, race, and gender in this perspective because they are seen as the grounds of the most pertinent and enduring struggles in society which often lead to electoral violence in the society (Anderson, and Taylor, 2009).

The theory proposes that continual struggle exists among all different groups of a particular society. Though these struggles do not always involve physical violence or economic exploitation; there can be underlying efforts by each group or individual within a society to maximize its benefits. The theory has been adopted as the theoretical framework for the study of political thuggery and the increasing violent crimes in Rivers State.

Methods and Data Presentation

The data collection relied on Questionnaires distributed to 500 respondents in the highly affected areas of Port Harcourt central communities, focused on the causes of political thuggery in the society, and the link between political thuggery and violent crimes affecting democratization in the society. 400 of the 500 questionnaires were successfully retrieved and use for the study.

The survey utilized the Likert four scale response to answer the questions and simple statistical percentage method to analyze the data collected from members of the public on the political thuggery and the increasing political violence.

Table 1. Respondents' responses on what are the causes of political thuggery in Rivers State?

Response	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Unemployment	190	45
Poverty	156	35
Do or Dies Politicians	15	5
Role of Security Agents	39	15
Total	400	100

Source: Field Survey 2020

The table 1 above shows that 45% of the respondents strongly agreed that unemployment causes political thuggery, 35% agreed that poverty causes political thuggery, 5% strongly agreed the do-



or-die politicians cause political thuggery, while 15% agreed that the role of security agents cause political thuggery.

Table 2. Respondents' responses on what are the security implications of political thuggery in Rivers state?

Response	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Violence	190	45
Threats	165	35
Not specified	15	5
Both 1 & 2	30	15
Total	400	100

Source: Field Survey 2020

The table 2 above shows that 45% of the respondents said that the security implications of political thuggery is violence, 35% said that the security implications of political thuggery is threats, 5% of the respondent have no answer 15% of the respondent said that the security implications of political thuggery is both violence and threats. This by implication means that security implications of political thuggery are violence and threats.

Table 3. Respondents' responses on political thugs are jobless youths

Response	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	190	45
Agreed	156	35
Strongly Disagreed	17	7
Disagreed	37	13
Total	400	100

Source: Field Survey 2020

The table 3 above shows that 45% of the respondents strongly agreed that political thugs are jobless youths, 35% agreed that political thugs are jobless youths, 7% strongly disagreed that political thugs are jobless youths and 15% disagreed that political thugs are jobless youths. This by implication means that political thugs are jobless youths.

Table 4. Respondents' responses on that political thuggery and violence are linked together

Response	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	192	45
Agreed	144	38
Strongly Disagreed	29	5
Disagreed	35	12
Total	400	100

Source: Field Survey 2020

The table 4 above shows that 45% of the respondents strongly agreed that thuggery and violence are linked together, 38% agreed that thuggery and violence are linked together, 8% strongly disagreed that thuggery and violence are linked together while 12% disagreed that thuggery and violence are linked together. This by implication means that thuggery and violence are linked together.



Table 5. Respondents' responses on godfatherism is among the factor influencing electoral violence in Rivers State.

Response	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	200	50
Agreed	146	30
Strongly Disagreed	10	3
Disagreed	44	17
Total	400	100

Source: Field Survey 2020

The table 5 above shows that 50% of the respondents strongly agreed that godfatherism is a factor influencing electoral violence in Rivers State, 30% agreed that godfatherism is a factor influencing electoral violence in Rivers State, 3% strongly disagreed that godfatherism is a factor influencing electoral violence in Rivers State while 17% disagreed that godfatherism is a factor influencing electoral violence in Rivers State. This by implication means that godfatherism is a factor influencing electoral violence in Rivers State.

Table 6. Respondents' responses on political thuggery presence increases violentcrimes in Rivers State

Response	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Strongly Agreed	200	50
Agreed	146	30
Strongly Disagreed	10	3
Disagreed	44	17
Total	400	100

Source: Field Survey 2020

The table above shows that 50% of the respondents strongly agreed that political thuggery presence increases violent crime in Rivers State, 30% agreed that political thuggery presence increases violent crime in Rivers State, 3% strongly disagreed that political thuggery presence increases violent crime in Rivers State while 17% disagreed that political thuggery presence increases violent crimes in Rivers State. This by implication means that political thuggery's presence increases violent crimes in Rivers State.

Discussion of Findings

To identify the causes of political thuggery in Rivers State, 80% of the respondents agreed that political thuggery is caused by unemployment and Poverty. The third objective that seeks to ascertain the effects of political thuggery in the political development of Rivers State, 80% of the respondents agreed that political thuggery hinders accountability of elective officers in Rivers State and affects the electioneering process.

To identify the security implications of political thuggery in Rivers State, 80% of the respondents agreed that violence and threats are the security implication of political thuggery in Rivers State. Lastly, on what can be done to solve the problem of political thuggery in Rivers State, majority of



the respondents agreed that public enlightenment on the danger of political thuggery, creating Jobs for unemployed youths, penalising perpetrators and mopping out illegal arms will help in curbing the menace of political thugs in Rivers State.

Summary of Findings

It was discovered from the findings of the research that factors influencing political thuggery in Rivers State are unemployment, money politics, the phenomenon of godfatherism, prebendal politics, political ideology, the desperation or ‘Sit-tight Syndrome’ politics among politicians, the impact of urban violence and gangsterism, and the ineffectiveness of security agents.

Regarding the effects of political thuggery in Rivers State, the collected data revealed that political thuggery used to cause hate speech, misinformation, physical assault, forced protection, blackmail, destruction of properties and underdevelopment, political instability, a cycle of violence and breed insecurity, among others in Rivers State. The findings further showed that the phenomenon of political thuggery in Rivers state has taken a troublesome facet that needs some imperative measures.

It was also discovered from the findings that the link between thuggery and violent crimes in Rivers State is election rigging, maiming, corruption and embezzlement, violence, and anarchy, among other negative activities affecting democratization. The findings also show that the youths are very highly vulnerable to political thuggery as such it has been increasing the rate of violent crimes in the society.

Regarding the factors inhibiting the eradication of political thuggery in Rivers State, the findings revealed that greed, love of power and money, thuggery, and election rigging have been the major challenges behind the eradication of electoral violence. The findings also showed that the ineffectiveness of law enforcement agencies to punish perpetrators of political thuggery in Rivers State limits the eradication of the menace. The findings further show that the inability of society to provide a legal framework to prosecute electoral offenders has increased the chances of political thuggery in Rivers State.

Recommendations

Globally, youths are considered vehicles of change. It is imperative to understand that the Nigerian nation cannot be built or sustained on the foundation of lies, falsehood and deceit, therefore, the majority of the politicians, including most of the youths are guilty of electoral violence in Nigeria. Politicians engage some youths as thugs and assassins to maim, kill and destroy their perceived opponents. This factor played out in the 2015 general elections in Rivers State. The current security threat, in the country may not be unconnected with the activities of politicians who supply arms to the youths intending to win elections at all cost. Youth participation in the electioneering process has consequential effects on the outcome of the elections. The level of violence before, during and after the elections resulted in the large number of cases before the State and National Assemblies as well as Governorship tribunals, Appeal Court and Supreme Court that sat in Abuja. Virtually, all the National Assembly seats won by the People’s Democratic Party (PDP), the gubernatorial and 32 State Houses of Assembly seats in Rivers State won by the PDP were challenged and about 85% of these seats were annulled by the Appeal Court and fresh elections ordered. The reasons given by the Tribunals and upheld by the Appeal Court, included among others, non-use of card



readers and allocation of scores, hijack of materials, intimidation of voters, and violence, to mention but a few. Interestingly, most of these acts were performed by the youth. Finally, the study made far-reaching recommendations which are aimed at ameliorating youth violence in subsequent elections.

There is a global renaissance in the understanding of the role of good governance in building a state's legitimacy and in providing peaceful atmosphere. Good governance is a desideratum to peaceful election globally, and its absence is incubation to anarchical situations. Youth violence in elections is considered in some climes as a pragmatic protest against the absence of good governance. This is the case in Rivers State in particular and Nigeria at large. To ameliorate youth violence in elections in the State, the following suggestions are proffered:

- Youth empowerment
- Genuine re-integration/rehabilitation
- Youth orientation/re-orientation
- Criminalization of violent politics
- Mopping up of arms
- Government/Politicians should discourage the politics of "do-or-die" and bitterness.
- NAFDAC and NDLEA should seriously increase surveillance of dangerous drugs that are used by thugs .
- The Rivers State government and private sectors should concentrate on job creation.

Conclusions

Generally, the effects of the political thuggery include creating fear amongst candidates, hindering electorates, killing innocent people, violating human rights, destruction of valuable properties, insecurity during and after elections and poor political culture in Nigerian politics. It is observed that thuggery is being politically and socially motivated affecting different people in different areas. As a result, government and private properties were burnt, and valuable properties of different political parties and different individuals were destroyed and burnt. Innocent individuals affected with different degrees of injuries ranging from wounds to loss of lives and valuable properties have all been destroyed on the streets, in their shops, and in homes. Finally, the activities of thugs have fuelled insecurity that negatively affects sustainable democracy. It is characterised by killing, kidnapping, street attacks, house break-ins, shoplifting, frightening and threatening innocent individuals by losing their lives and valuable properties that invariably exacerbated violence in Nigerian politics, especially during campaigns, rallies, and election-related activities for which electorates and candidates of different party affiliations have been frightened.

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An Overview of British Colonial Forest Conservation in Northern Nigeria

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Abstract

The paper examines the evolution of British colonial forest conservation in Northern Nigeria with particular reference to Katsina Emirate. The paper argues that the British beliefs about Northern Nigerian forest utilization and local resources management practices were ideologically driven which were never substantiated in empirical terms. The paper further makes a historical assessment of the attempts by the British colonial authorities to introduce forest policies and administration into Northern Nigeria. Of particular relevance was the establishment of the Forestry Department responsible for implementing forest conservation policies. Examination of these policies shows among other things a shift from conservation to exploitation and vice versa under colonial rule. It finally demonstrates that the entire colonial forest conservation in Northern Nigeria was characterized by the colonial degradation narrative that was mostly ideologically driven to justify direct government involvement in forest management and conservation.

Keywords: Colonial Rule, forest conservation, Northern Nigeria, British administration

Introduction

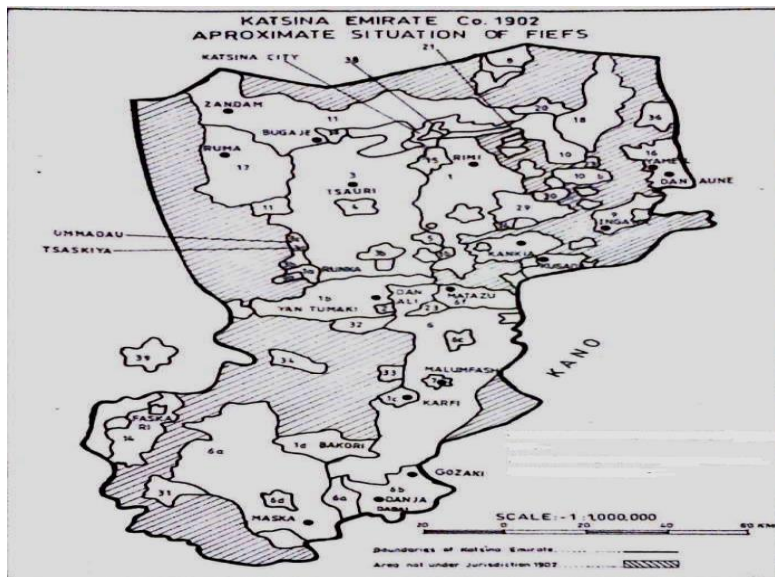
The British administration in Northern Nigeria began in 1900 with the establishment of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria and its headquarters at Zungeru. This was followed by the appointment of Colonel Frederick Lugard as its first High Commissioner.³³ Prior to this period, early European penetration in Northern Nigeria was sporadic. Yet in the last two decades of the nineteenth century after the Berlin Conference of 1884, the motivations for European activities were governed by the desire to colonize the whole region. Within three years, the whole of Northern Nigeria, which largely constituted the former Sokoto Caliphate, was conquered and brought under British rule.³⁴

³³ For more discussions on the conquest of Northern Nigeria, see I.F. Nicholson, *Administration of Nigeria 1900-1960*, (Oxford, 1969), Chapter 1 and VI

³⁴Jamilu Shehu, "A Social and Political History of Katsina Metropolis 1960-2007", PhD Thesis, UsmanDanfodio University Sokoto, p, 45.

Katsina Emirate was among the few emirates in the Caliphate that submitted peacefully to the British in 1903.³⁵ After the conquest, the British created a system of administration through the indigenous authorities and institutions popularly known as the Indirect Rule System. The central idea behind the system was for the British to rule through traditional rulers whose conduct and actions would nevertheless be subjected to close guidance and advice of colonial officials.³⁶ Under this system, the colonial administration would not deal directly with the people, rather, the colonial officers channelled their wishes and orders through the Emirs from whom such orders were to be seen to emanate. This system was geared towards bringing the territory and the conquered people into the colonial economy without many political and administrative hustles.

Map 3: Katsina Emirate: Showing the Territories in 1901



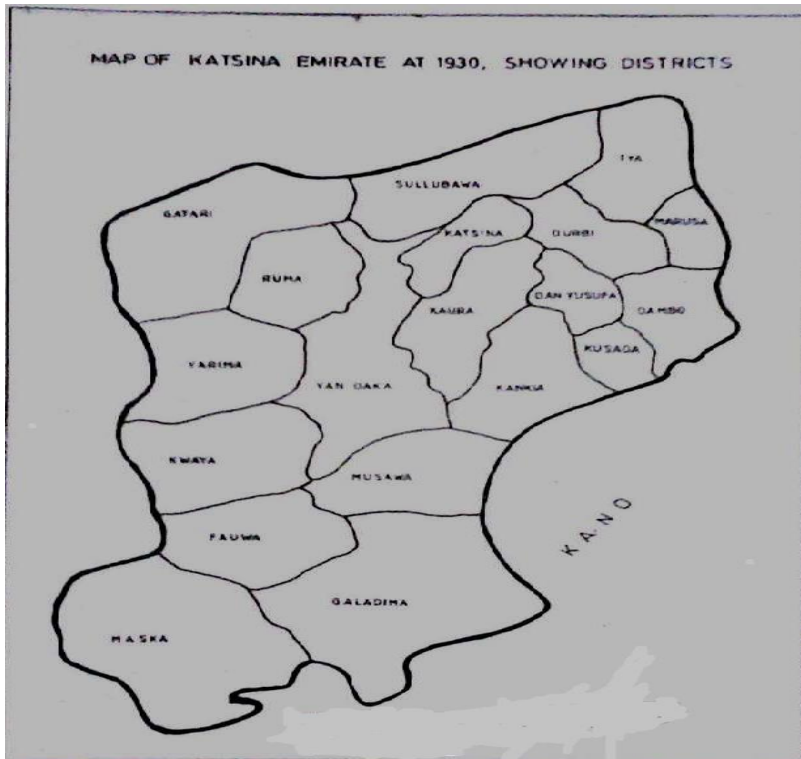
Sources: Adopted from Richard Hull.³⁷

³⁵ Richard W. Hull, "The Development of Administration in Katsina Emirate Northern Nigeria 1887-1944" PhD Thesis, University Columbia, 1968, p.34.

³⁶ See Frederick Lugard's *Political Memoranda: Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on Subjects Chiefly Political and Administrative 1913-1918*, (London: Frenk Cass and Co Ltd, 1970), pp.305-317.

³⁷ Richard Hull, "The Development Colonial Administration in Katsina Emirate" *op cit.*, p.xxxiii.

Map 4: Katsina Emirate: Reorganized Districts in the 1930s



Sources: Adopted from Richard Hull.³⁸

In Katsina Emirate, colonial rule brought about tremendous changes in the environmental structures.³⁹ This is evident considering the fact that the British were from the onset very clear about their intention to transform and change the local forestland tenure and conservation systems to align with the principles of the indirect rule system. This is not surprising because, as Roderick Neumann argued, securing bureaucratic control of forestlands constituted a critical ingredient in the mix of political and economic forces of the colonial powers.⁴⁰ Central to the above was the assumption that the Emirate's forest landscape needed active care and protection. In order to achieve their objective, they used a comprehensive and persevering degradation narrative, which emphasized the destructiveness and deterioration of forest resources as a result of misuse and dreadful practices by the local people. The narrative emphasized the need to urgently take measures that would save these

³⁸*Ibid*, p. xxxvi

³⁹Tukur Bello Ingawa, "Study of Major Cotton Producing Areas", p.49.

⁴⁰Roderick Neumann, "Forest Rights, Privileges and Prohibitions: Contextualizing State Forestry Policy in Colonial Tanganyika", *Environment and History*, Vol. 3, No. 1, (February 1997), p.46.



resources from extinction. This narrative and the remedy adopted by the British to address the perceived environmental problems contrasted with the realities of the local environment.

The Development of Colonial Conservation Narratives

When discussing the development of colonial conservation narratives in Northern Nigeria, many questions came to mind about the extent to which these narratives accurately portrayed what was actually happening on the ground. Equally important was the question of why particular narratives emphasizing the degradation of forest landscapes as a result of local perceptions and practices took a central place during the period under discussion. While addressing these questions, one must consider the global and historical milieu in which forest conservation discourse originated and operated both in policy and implementation. Within the rapidly growing literature on environmental history, there exist different discourses about the evolution of modern forest conservation ideas.⁴¹ However, in consideration of the historical antecedents of colonial forest conservation policies in West Africa, one could concur with the arguments put forward by Richard Grove⁴² and William Adam⁴³ among others. These scholars attributed the rise of modern conservation ideas to the seventeenth-century Europeans' expeditions abroad which brought them in contact with the oceanic islands, most especially the Canary and Madeira Islands. According to William Adams, 'the impetus to conserve nature began when colonial authorities became alarmed at the speed of environmental degradation and desiccation in colonized lands'.⁴⁴

This brought to light, in Richard Grove's argument, the understanding of the limits of nature's unbounded vastness as Europeans had hitherto generally believed. He postulated that these tropical islands presented themselves to the early European colonizers as macrocosms in which they could see forest resources depletion all over the colonized world.⁴⁵ There were two reasons for the above conclusions in Grove's view. First, it was in these island colonies that scientists first came to the realization of the extraordinary speed at which European exploitation of forest resources transformed and destroyed the colonies' natural environment. Second, the colonial context also stimulated a dramatic growth in scientific interest in the desiccation discourse.⁴⁶ According to

⁴¹ For example, see J. M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*. (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1998); M. Gadgil and R. Guha, *This Fissured Land: an ecological history of India*. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994); Beinart, W and Coates, P *Environment and History: The Taming of Nature in the USA and South Africa*. (Routledge, 1995); Griffiths, T and Robin, L (eds) *Ecology and Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies*. (Keele University Press, 1997).

⁴² Richard Grove, *Ecology, Climate and Empire: Colonialism and Global Environmental History, 1400-1940* (Cambridge: The White Horse Press, 1997).

⁴³ William M. Adam, "Nature and the Colonial Mind" in William M. Adams and Martin Mulligan (eds), *Decolonizing Nature: Strategies for Conservation in a Post-colonial Era*, (London: Earth Publications Ltd, 2003).

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 5.

⁴⁵ Richard H. Grove, *Ecology, Climate and Empire*, op cit., p. 19.

⁴⁶ For more on the early development of environmentalism see William M. Adam, "Nature and the Colonial Mind" in William M. Adams and Martin Mulligan (eds), *Decolonizing Nature: Strategies*



Yusufu Lawi, it was this awareness, which first presented itself as a scientific lobby in the early colonial dominions which contributed to the rise of modern conservation ideas and constituted the roots of modern environmentalism as applied to the colonies including those in Africa.⁴⁷ Furthermore, these early conservation ideas were founded on assumptions and perspectives akin to those of the degradation narrative constructed in the context of the colonies.

The desiccation narrative was further articulated with the development of a complex colonial infrastructure under the British in the mid-eighteenth century. The creation of Pax Britannica⁴⁸ provided the basis for forming information networks needed to collate and disseminate the above ideas on a global scale. These information networks were based primarily on the botanical gardens of both Europe and the colonies.⁴⁹ However, as argued by Richard Grove, these desiccation ideas might have remained within the academic walls had it not been for the efforts of some members of the Society of Arts who were also members of parliament.⁵⁰ It was these members that influenced the members of parliament to accept conservation ideas. As a result of this, when the Isles of St. Vincent, St Lucia, Grenada and Tobago were ceded to Britain, the parliament made a provision for the gazetting of a large forest area as a forest reserve.⁵¹ This tradition of forest conservation continued to be the focal point of the conservation policy of the British up to the 20th century.⁵²

In Africa, degradation narratives were first articulated through the involvement of a cadre of professional foresters and botanists nurtured in the medical schools of the Scottish Universities and the botanical gardens of Paris and Edinburgh, as well as the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew in London. Some of the central figures propagandizing these ideas were Joseph Dalton Hooker, who was a Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens for several decades, and, John Croumbie Brown.⁵³ Brown, in particular, wrote a book in which the idea of desiccation was refined and made into an environmental article of faith in Africa.⁵⁴

for *Conservation in a Post-colonial Era*, (London:Earth Publications Ltd, 2003), p.5; Richard H. Grove, *Ecology, Climate and Empire colonialism and global environmental history, 1400-1940*, pp. 6-15.

⁴⁷Yusufu Q. Lawi, “May the Spider Blind Witches and Wild Animals: Local Knowledge and the Political Ecology of Natural Resource Use in the Iraqwland, Tanzania, 1900-1985” PhD Dissertation, Boston University, 2000, p.212.

⁴⁸This refers to a period during which the British Empire became the hegemonic power and adopted the role of a global police.

⁴⁹ Richard H. Grove, *Ecology, Climate and Empire colonialism and global environmental history, 1400-1940*, p.6

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁵¹ This was the first forest reserve ever to be established with the view to preventing climate change.

⁵² Richard Grove and Toyin Falola, “Chiefs, Boundaries, and Sacred Woodlands: Early Nationalism and the Defeat of Colonial Conservationism in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, 1870-1916” *African Economic History*, No. 24, (1996), p. 11.

⁵³ Brown published a stream of works on forest conservation many of which caught the attention of the colonial authorities in the Cape, Natal and elsewhere. The two most important of these works were *A Hydrology of South Africa* published in 1875 and *Forests and Moisture* published in 1877.

⁵⁴ Richard Grove, *Ecology, Climate and Empire*, p.26.



The activities of these two colonial scientists compelled the British Colonial Office to demand the colonial administrators collect information on the production and consumption of timber in their respective colonies. In addition, they were also required to provide answers to a long list of questions, including rates of deforestation and the threat of climatic change in their respective colonies. While many colonies such as the Cape Colony, Natal and Mauritius promptly responded to the circular, in West Africa only Gambia responded and the response came late.⁵⁵ This was because in the eyes of colonial officials the rich West African forests appeared not very much affected by deforestation. Imposing these desiccation ideas and conservation policies would remove the region's commercial potential.⁵⁶

A fuller response from West African colonies had to await the appearance of a book written by Alfred Maloney, Governor of Lagos Colony entitled *Sketch of the Forestry of West Africa*. In this book, first published in 1887, Alfred Maloney used his vast experiences in the region to highlight the large scale of deforestation taking place all over West Africa. He used examples mostly from the coast of Mozambique and the dry and treeless reaches of Accra plains to warn against the danger of desiccation and called for a shift in colonial forest policy.⁵⁷ This warning was taken so seriously by the British that many scholars such as ToyinFalola and Richard Grove believed it was this book that formed the basis and the main stimulant for the introduction of colonial conservation policy in the region.⁵⁸

In the same vein many of the scientists who came to work in West Africa at the start of the colonial period were already strongly influenced by the desiccationist ideas. For instance, just like Alfred Maloney in British West Africa, Auguste Chevalier in French West Africa quoted a lot from Poivre's eighteenth-century assertion that deforestation was leading to desiccation in Mauritius. More significantly, most early British foresters in West Africa had been schooled in the forest departments of India and Burma which, as Grove had demonstrated had become central to inquiry into the orthodoxy about the impact of deforestation on climate in the nineteenth century.⁵⁹ For example, H. N. Thompson, the first trained forester in the Nigerian Forest Department, had earlier worked in India and Burma. Thompson was then employed to detail Ghana's forests in 1908 whereby he drew up outlines for forest service and legislation in Ghana which was based on Nigerian and Indian legislations. In addition, he also helped appoint the Indian-trained McLeod who worked with him in Nigeria to head the Ghanaian Forest Service.⁶⁰

The case of Northern Nigeria presented a different scenario from the rest of the British colonies in West Africa because of the existence of a pre-colonial forestry system. Besides, the larger portion of the region lies within the Savannah vegetation zone known to be lacking in economically viable timber and rubber resources. However, even with these exceptional features, the region did not

⁵⁵ Richard Grove and ToyinFalola, "Chiefs, Boundaries, and Sacred Woodlands", *op cit.*, p.6.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Alfred Maloney, *The Sketches of Forestry*, *op cit.*, p. 90.

⁵⁸ Richard Grove and ToyinFalola, *op cit.*, p.6.

⁵⁹ Richard Grove, *Ecology, Climate and Empire*, *op cit.*, pp. 5-36.

⁶⁰ James Fairhead and Melissa Leach, "Desiccation and Domination: Science and Struggles Over Environment and Development in Colonial Guinea" *Journal of African History*, No. 41, (2000), p. 37.



escape the degradation narrative. Here the narrative took a different dimension from other British possessions in West Africa. In this region, the narrative was centred on desertification, which is a narrative about how poor management and utilization of forest resources by the local people resulted in apparently progressive drying up of large areas, which led to a presumed extension of the Sahara. This narrative was much at play in the Katsina Emirate where the British occupation in 1903 coincided with years of poor rainfall.⁶¹ In fact, throughout the colonial period, the Emirate was portrayed as an area susceptible to desertification, a perception which continues today.⁶² No surprise, therefore, that the Emirate was one of the epicentres of colonial forestry interventions.

Archival records have revealed how Frederick Lugard, the region's first High Commissioner used this narrative in the formulation of the forest conservation policy even before the whole region was brought under British rule.⁶³ In one of his correspondences with the Colonial Office in 1902, he justified the necessity of forest conservation to save rubber trees from total destruction. He claimed that 'rubber collectors were destroying rubber plants due to their ignorance of the proper methods of rubber tapping'.⁶⁴

In fact, looking at the entire colonial conservation project in Northern Nigeria, one can easily see that it was clearly underpinned by the beliefs about the eminent crisis. The colonial officials and their agents believed that only the colonial state was capable of both appreciating the full extent and benefits of forest resources and of planning effectively for their conservation. In their eyes, the local populations were both ignorant of and apathetic towards environmentally sustainable forest conservation practices.⁶⁵ In the words of Lugard, 'colonial forestry was in the truest and best interest of the country, and aimed to protect an ignorant people against themselves'.⁶⁶

Further evidence of the use of the desertification narrative in Northern Nigeria can be seen from the attitudes of other colonial officials such as Mr. W.R. Elliott, the first Forest Officer of the region, who in 1904 wrote a report showing how forest resources were being destroyed by the local people. According to him, although the region had a limited forest cover, it contained valuable timber and rubber-yielding tree species, which if not protected would be destroyed by the local people within a short period of time.⁶⁷

⁶¹ Reginald Cline-Cole, "Redefining Forestry Space", *op cit.*, p.38.

⁶² Michael Watts, *Silent Violence: Food, Famine and Peasantry in Northern Nigeria*, (London: University of California Press, 1983), p.xxi.

⁶³ Edmund O. Egbah, *Forestry Policy of Nigeria*, *op cit.*, p.19.

⁶⁴ NAK/SNP 53/1902 Frederick Lugard to Colonial Office, 1902.

⁶⁵ Reginald Cline-Cole, Knowledge Claims, Landscape, and the Fuelwood Degradation Nexus in Dryland Nigeria, p.123.

⁶⁶ Frederick Lugard, *Political Memoranda: Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on Subjects Chiefly Political and Administrative, 1913-1919*, Edited by A.H.M. Kirk-Green, (London: Frank Cass, 1970), p. 434.

⁶⁷ E.O. Egbah, *Forestry Policy of Nigeria*, *op cit.*, p.20.



The desertification discourse became more explicit in Northern Nigeria in the 1930s, after the visit of E.P. Stebbing, a prominent retired Indian forester and a Professor of Forestry at the University of Edinburgh.⁶⁸ In 1934, he visited Northern Nigeria, including Katsina Emirate where he stayed for a few weeks, after which, he proceeded northward into the Saharan desert. At the end of the trip, he produced a book and several long articles, which summarized his perceptions of the dry season in Northern Nigeria and the southern French Niger forest landscapes. One of such writings was titled 'The Encroaching Sahara; the Threat to the West African Colonies'.⁶⁹ This paper presented a feverish warning on what he saw as the dangers of desiccation. The fact that the paper was presented at the Royal Geographical Society which consisted of both British and French colonial officers shows the link between these perceptions and the formation of the Anglo-French Forestry Commission in 1934.⁷⁰ Although this commission found Stebbings' claims and warnings largely unfounded, the damage had nevertheless been done because more and more writers already echoed Stebbing's alarms. One of such voices came from the book written by Jacks and Whyte entitled *The Rape of the Earth; A World Survey of Soil Erosion*⁷¹. This book set the scene for the post-war British colonial obsession with soil erosion up to the end of colonialism in 1960.

As a consequence of these narratives, in 1937 an Anti-Desiccation Campaign was launched by the British colonial Office in Northern Nigeria; and a year after, a new Forestry Ordinance was proposed with specific provisions for protected forests. Sanctions were also imposed on bush burning with the formation of the Burning of Bush Order, which initially restricted to only forest reserves. Later on, the Order was extended to unreserved areas in 1940 thereby depriving peasants of a popular method of hunting and farm clearing.⁷² The fear of deforestation continued to have a strong impact on colonial conservation. With large and integrated development schemes, even the Native Administrations began to recite the degradation narrative, adding some new empirical references to elaborate it and re-emphasize the need for conservation.

In addition to the hitherto established narratives as explained, the period after the war also witnessed the incorporation of fuelwood degradation discourse into the overall degradation setting. In a memo from the Emir of Katsina to the Northern Protectorate Conservator of Forest in 1949, it was stressed that fuel wood chopping had eaten deep into the forest all over the Emirate in a frightening way resulting in more deforestation.⁷³

Colonial Forest Resources Conservation in the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria

Travel accounts from various Europeans that visited Katsina in the nineteenth and twentieth century show how impressed they were with the sophisticated forest management strategy of the people. Both Hugh Clapperton and Heinrich Barth described some of the management systems including

⁶⁸ Jeremy Swift, "Desertification Narratives, Winners and Losers" in *Lie of the Land, op cit.*, p.74.

⁶⁹ E.P. Stebbing, "The Encroaching Sahara: The Threat to the West Africa Colonies", *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 85, No.6 (1935).

⁷⁰ Abdul Raufu Mustapha (2003): *Colonialism and environmental perception in Northern Nigeria*, Oxford Development Studies, Vol. 31, No. 4, p. 418.

⁷¹ *Ibid*

⁷² KANPROF 2137 - Anti-Desiccation Campaign.

⁷³ NAK/Katprof/1054 Katsina Emirate Correspondences, 1949, p. 78.



the planting and protection of farm trees, and their selective and rotational exploitation.⁷⁴ Occasional references to the positive aspects of forest management in Katsina and Northern Nigeria, in general, continued to surface occasionally in the early days of the British colonial period.⁷⁵

However, as shown above, the intention and the gist of the colonial discourse on the Northern Nigerian forest painted a different picture. It emphasized the widespread and unabated degradation of forests, attributing this tendency primarily to inappropriate use by the local people. Especially starting from the 1930s, foresters, government officials and non-official narratives were dominated by the threat of an impending crisis. Official discourses put emphasis on the threat of desiccation and the moving sand dunes. In line with the general orientation of the degradation discourse, everything about pre-colonial forest management and conservation was challenged; even those practices which were praised by the European explorers.

One of the most heavily blamed practices in Northern Nigeria was the rotational bush fallow system and bush burning. Under the bush fallow system, the local farmers normally allowed a piece of land that was used for ten to fifteen years to be overgrown with grasses and woody plants. This system became more pronounced from the mid-nineteenth century because of the peace and security which followed the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate. Through this practice, forest wilderness conservation was achieved.⁷⁶

After the British conquest of the region, Fredrick Lugard made good use of this local practice while convincing the Colonial Office to allow for the creation of a forest department in Northern Nigeria. In one of his letters to the Colonial Office, he argued that the destruction which threatens the forests of Southern Nigeria as a result of shifting cultivation equally constituted a threat to Northern Nigerian forests.⁷⁷

Another local practice blamed for forest depletion in the north was the annual bush fires. These were occasional fires brought about by either farmers or hunters. Traditionally, burning was used by the farmers either to clear farmland before harvesting, to reduce the labour to be employed in removing undergrowth or to drive away game that may damage their crops. Bush fires were also set by hunters to drive game out of their nests and hideouts. Fulani herdsmen also set bush fires in order to induce the growth of fresh grass for their cattle. These practices were perceived by the Europeans as harmful to the forest. In their view, apart from killing most of the young trees and injuring others, bush fires destroyed seeds and seedlings making it difficult for the forest to regenerate naturally.⁷⁸

The Colonialists also blamed Africans for grazing their cattle in the forests. The Fulani were blamed for grazing their animals indiscriminately through the forest thereby causing immense damage to

⁷⁴ Hugh Clapperton, *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, in the years 1822, 1823, and 1824*, 2 Vols. (London: John Murray, 1826), 2:237-38 and 274-75; Heinrich Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa*, 5 Vols (London: Longman, 1857), 2:93, 5:368.

⁷⁵ Edmund D. Morel, *Nigeria, Its Peoples and Problems* (London, England: Frank Cass, 1968), pp. 234, 235.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ NAK/SNP 53/1902 Frederick Lugard to Colonial Office, 22 July 1902.

⁷⁸ "There is Forestry", *Farm and Forest*, IV, No.2 (1943), p.55



large forest areas.⁷⁹ A good example of this scepticism was demonstrated in the 1934 E.P Stebbing's writings after he had toured Northern Nigeria. He blamed local people's practices including grazing in the forest area.⁸⁰ Another local people's practice blamed for forest loss was the collection of fuel wood from forest areas. Even though in the context of the early colonial period this threat was relatively less powerful than that from shifting cultivation or bush fires, it was still considered a threat. Thus, to control the perceived threats from these practices and management systems, the Colonial Government in Northern Nigeria took steps to formulate a forest conservation policy. The main principle of this policy was to stop local practices considered dangerous to the conservation of forests such as bush fire, uncontrolled grazing and bush fallow within the concept of forest reservation.⁸¹

Development of the Forestry Department

The development of the Forest Department in Nigeria owes its origin to the desiccation narrative promoted by the book authored by Alfred Maloney, the Governor of Lagos Colony, and the anxiety it generated in the minds of colonial officers and traders about the destructive exploitation of forest resources.⁸² According to Olufemi Omosini, various accounts of Colonial Officials of the time painted a gloomy picture of wasteful exploitation and massive destruction of rubber and timber trees in both Lagos Colony and the Southern Protectorate.⁸³ By the 1890s the 'destruction was so acute' at least in the eyes and mind of the Europeans that the Acting Governor of Lagos Colony, George Denton, had to put up a proposal for the establishment of a forest department, whose main duty was to ensure the protection of the existing forests and draw up plans for the re-forestation of denuded areas. In 1897 Cyril Punch was appointed as the Superintendent of Forest to the Colony of Lagos, his task was to ensure proper take-off of the new department. Similarly, Peter Hitchens was assigned similar responsibilities in the Niger Coast Protectorate with his headquarters situated in Calabar city. However, due to the high cost of running the two departments, they were merged in 1905. Mr. H.N Thompson, then Head of Southern Nigeria, became the head of the newly combined department.⁸⁴

One important aspect that becomes clear in the literature was the role played by economic considerations in the development of the Southern Nigeria forest department. This region was one of the major producers of timber and rubber in British West Africa. Conserving and protecting the forest seemed natural to British colonialists because of the role the two products played in the British metropolitan economy. However, if economic consideration was a vital point in the establishment of the forest department in Southern Nigeria, the circumstances surrounding the establishment of such a department in Northern Nigeria were heavily influenced by the political agenda of Frederick

⁷⁹ H.N. Thompson, "History of the Forest Department of Nigeria" *Farm and Forest*, X (1950), p.59.

⁸⁰ E.P. Stebbing, *The Forests of West Africa and the Sahara*, (London, 1937), pp.24-26.

⁸¹ NAK/SNP 10, Northern Nigeria Forest Policy.

⁸² R.G. Lowe, "Forestry and Forest Conservation in Nigeria", *The Commonwealth Forestry Review Journal*, Vol.63, No.2, (June 1984), p. 132.

⁸³ Olufemi Omosini, "Alfred Moloney and His Strategies for Economic Development in Lagos Colony and Hinterland, 1886-1891" *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (June 1975), p.50.

⁸⁴ See "100 Year of Forestry Development in Nigeria", Published by the Forestry Association of Nigeria, 1989, p.2.



Lugard. This claim is justified by the correspondence between Frederick Lugard and the colonial office. In these correspondences, he justified the creation of a forest department as imperative to the overall development of the Northern region. To fully augment his points he drew extensively on prevailing elements of colonial environmental discourse which emphasized ecological benefits rather than economic. He backed up this argument by citing a series of incidences of poor rainfall suffered in the region during the early years of the British administration.⁸⁵

Initially, the colonial Office showed some sympathy with Lugard's views but at the same time was unwilling to commit funds for the venture. This was because throughout the British colonial empire economic benefits were the motivating factor behind the creation of forest departments.⁸⁶ It was expected that each Protectorate should be able to shoulder its departmental expenses in order not to be an economic burden to the British Government. However, in the case of the Northern Protectorate, the establishment of such a department would increase the burden of the Imperial Exchequer because the Protectorate was largely a savannah country that was not so rich in either timber or rubber trees as to attract any meaningful trading activities as in Southern Nigeria.⁸⁷ Besides economic considerations, the Colonial Office was suspicious of Lugard's intention of setting up a separate forest department in Northern Nigeria. They suspected that he only wanted the department to keep pace with the rival Southern Protectorate.⁸⁸

Despite the above in 1903 W.R. Elliott, a West Indian planter of long and varied experience, was appointed as a temporary forest officer to head the department. Thus, the work of the Forest Department in Northern Nigeria started in 1904. One of the earliest tasks of Mr. Elliott on arrival in Northern Nigeria was the establishment of a botanical garden at Zungero the then headquarters of the Northern protectorate. Secondly, he surveyed forest resources of the region.⁸⁹ In his many reports to the Colonial Office, he confirmed the existence of forests mostly in the provinces situated south of the Benue and Niger Rivers. These include Ilorin, Kabba and Bassa Provinces, and in Nasarawa Province north of the Benue, as well as on the banks of the major rivers such as Benue, Niger and Gurara.⁹⁰ According to his report, these forests contained a number of timber and rubber trees which needed to be protected from human depredation.⁹¹ However, one observation about the reports is that Mr. Elliott, concentrating as he did on rubber and timber, failed to reflect on the complex nature of forest resource distribution and use in Northern Nigeria as a whole. In particular, the areas outside the southern march of the Northern Provinces were not properly reflected.⁹² Large areas of northern forests were only described in some detail in 1916, following the visit of the Senior

⁸⁵ Cline-Cole, 2000, pp.122-123.

⁸⁶ Bilyaminu I. Kadandani, *Microeconomic Enterprises, Deforestation and Land Degradation in Katsina State of Nigeria* (Zaria: Gaskia Corporation Ltd, 2010), p. 31.

⁸⁷ Colonial Office to Lugard, 13th February 1903.

⁸⁸ Colonial Office to Lugard, 13th February 1903.

⁸⁹ E. O. Egboh, *Forestry Policy in Nigeria, op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁹⁰ This Report is contained as an appendix in the Northern Region Annual Reports, 1900-1910, File No. NAI/CSO/AR4/1.

⁹¹ NAI/CSO/AR4/1 Northern Region Annual Reports, 1900-1910, pp. 127-135.

⁹² MinAgric, 14449 Vol. II - Forest Development and Forest Policy in Northern Provinces.



Conservator of Forests to Katsina, Sokoto and Borno.⁹³ Notwithstanding this shortcoming, eventually, Elliott succeeded in persuading the Colonial Office to confirm his appointment.⁹⁴ This confirmation marked the beginning of the Northern Nigeria Forest Department, with Elliott as the first forest officer. The department like in Southern Nigeria also incorporated agricultural and botanical departments.⁹⁵

At the amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914, Frederick Lugard, who was the father of Northern Nigerian forestry, returned as the Governor General of Nigeria, and things began to change for the better. In January 1915, he accepted a recommendation made by H.N. Thompson to unite the two forest departments, and the forestry union was effected. Also, the subordination of forestry to agriculture in Northern Nigeria came to an end. Like the 1914 amalgamation, the 1915 forestry union was a loose one. The country was divided into two large zones, the Northern and Southern Provinces. Each had its own forest department under a senior conservator of forests. The head of the Southern Nigerian forest department was not directly the head of the Northern Nigeria department, his role being that of an advisor. Such advice was transmitted through the Governor General to the Lieutenant Governors of the Northern and Southern Provinces.⁹⁶ It was however the responsibility of the adviser to submit to the Governor General a joint annual estimate for the two departments. He was also responsible for preparing the annual report on the work of the two departments. It was as well his duty to exercise general control over matters relating to forestry legislation and the constitution of forest reserves.⁹⁷

The Evolution of Forest Policies in Northern Nigeria 1901-45

There was no formal forest policy in place in Nigeria during the first two decades of the colonial period. There is, however, sufficient evidence to suggest that exploitation of rich forest resources from the Southern Nigerian forests was at the core of the unwritten official policy pursued by the colonial administration.⁹⁸ This emanated from the urgent need to finance the newly established colony of Lagos and was also partly due to the development of an alternative exportable product of rubber and timber and palm produce that dominated European trade before then. Therefore, when the rubber and timber trade developed in Lagos in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a significant portion of trees in relevant forests were cut down, logged and the products exported.⁹⁹ The fact that the colonial administration did not raise any objection to such exploitation until toward

⁹³ See, The Annual Report of the Forest Administration of the Northern and Southern Provinces.

⁹⁴ Reginald Cline-Cole, "Manufacturing Forests and Farming Trees in Nigeria" in Melissa Leach and Robin Mearns (eds), *The Lie of the Land: Challenging Received Wisdom on the African Environment*, (London: James Currey Ltd, 1996), p. 138.

⁹⁵ Edmund O. Egbob, *Forestry Policy of Nigeria, op cit.*, p.20.

⁹⁶ "100 Year of Forestry Development in Nigeria", Published by the Forestry Association of Nigeria, 1989, p.2.

⁹⁷ E.P Thompson, "History of the Forestry Department of Nigeria", *Farm and Forest*, IX, No. 1, (1948), p. 18.

⁹⁸ Alfred Maloney, "Sketch of the Forest of West Africa" and A.H. Urwin "Forest and Forest Conservation in Nigeria".

⁹⁹ See A.H. Urwin, "The Forests and Forest Department of Nigeria" *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 18, No. 69 (Oct., 1918), p.10.



the tail end of the century implies that the actual forest policy centred on extraction for immediate economic use of forest resources. The extraction was done by commercial companies while the government benefitted from the revenue accrued through export taxes.¹⁰⁰

In Northern Nigeria, the case was completely different because the conquest of the region which began in 1900 and coincided with the emergence of the environmental crisis narratives in the British Empire eventually shifted the goal of the British colonial forest policy from exploitation to conservation.¹⁰¹ As early as 1901 the Colonial Government began to make policy statements about forest conservation in the country. The earliest statement of the Nigerian Forest Policy was contained in the 'Rules of Procedure and Forest Organization' of 1901. The policy stated the creation of forest reserves as the major aim of conservation, encompassing the protection of wildlife, watershed and endangered species.¹⁰²

To ensure the implementation of this policy, forestry proclamations, bills and legislations followed one another in rapid succession. These early legislations were based on those of the Burma forest service of 1898 but were modified to suit the local requirements of the region.¹⁰³ These included the 1902 Proclamation and the 1906 and 1916 Ordinances. For instance, the central idea of the 1916 Ordinance was that 25% of the land of Nigeria ought to be reserved. Besides, the 1916 Ordinance was the first to be applied to the whole of Nigeria, which laid the foundation for forest conservation in Northern Nigeria. Frederick Lugard, as Omosini puts it, "seized the opportunity of the World War One emergency to assume radical powers for compulsory constitution of forest reserves".¹⁰⁴

For instance, the Ordinances empowered the Governor to 'designate any area into a forest reserve if in his opinion the conservation of such an area was necessary for the protection of the forest resources. Other relevant conservation provisions contained in these ordinances were the procedures to be followed when constituting these forest reserves. These included the publication of a notice in the *Gazette* of Government's intention to constitute a reserve. In the publication, issues pertaining to the boundary and purpose for which the reserve was to be constituted would be clearly stated. The ordinances also provided for the appointment of the Reserve Settlement Officer who would inquire into the nature and extent of rights claimed by any person or community in or over such lands before reservation.¹⁰⁵

In Northern Nigeria, despite attempts by the colonial administrators to implement the above-mentioned policy, its impact was up till 1906 felt only in those Provinces covered by W.R. Elliott's initial survey of 1904. As discussed earlier in this paper the survey considered only the provinces

¹⁰⁰Edmund O. Egbah, "British Colonial Administration and the Legal Control of the Forests of Lagos Colony and Protectorate 1897-1902: An Example of Economic Control under Colonial Rule" *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 9, No. 3, (December 1978), p. 78.

¹⁰¹Richard Grove, *Ecology, Climate and Empire*, *op cit.*, p. 122.

¹⁰² Forest Administration Plan of Nigeria, 1946-55: Under a Ten-Year Plan of Development for Nigeria, 1946, p.5.

¹⁰³ S.K Adeyoju, *Forestry and Nigerian Economy*, (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1975), p.20.

¹⁰⁴ Ambrose Omosini, "Background to the Forestry Legislation in Lagos Colony and Protectorate, 1897-1902", p. 69.

¹⁰⁵ S.K Adeyoju, *Forestry and Nigerian Economy*, (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1975), p.20.



with rich timber or rubber resources, such as Kabba, Bussa, Lokoja and Nasarawa. In the rest of the provinces, the policy was only implemented in areas surrounding army cantonments and British officials' residential areas which were directly under British authority.¹⁰⁶ Part of the reasons for this selective implementation was the reluctance of the colonial government to make a full commitment to forest conservation due to the lack of economic viability of the forests in the majority of the parts of the region.

Also, there was an anti-conservation attitude on the part of the Northern Protectorate Governor, Hesketh Bell, who saw agriculture, not forestry, as the principal area for economic development and exploitation of Northern Nigeria. His lack of interest was further demonstrated when he downgraded the forest department to a unit under the Agricultural Department and made no provision for a forest officer to take charge of forest responsibilities in the reorganized department. As a result, the region's Forest Department which was supposed to implement the conservation policy was struggling with staffing and lack of expertise throughout the period.¹⁰⁷

Added to the above reasons was the increased demand for more forest produce created by the opening up of the country by railways and roads. By 1918 the damage done to forest resources was so great that the then Conservator of Forest for Zaria Circle had to make a written complaint to the Lieutenant Governor about the level of forest damage by railway workers in the Circle.¹⁰⁸ Directly related to railways was the expansion of groundnut production, which the Governor promoted over forest resources.¹⁰⁹ According to Reginald Cline-Cole, the arrival of railway service from Lagos in 1912 to Kano and later Funtua town in Katsina Emirate in 1922 led to an enormous expansion in groundnut production, resulting in rapid and widespread deforestation.¹¹⁰ This damage was further exacerbated by the monetization of taxation. For the people to generate more income to pay taxes, there was an intensified and increased tree felling for commercial fuelwood production.¹¹¹ From the above obstacles one can easily see why the forest reservation policy in Northern Nigeria was a total failure up until the second coming of Frederick Lugard to the country; this time as Governor General from 1912 to 1918.

In an attempt to address all the above problems and expand forest conservation to all parts of Northern Nigeria, Frederick Lugard in 1918 consulted the Director of Forests and drew up a valuable memorandum on the forest policy.¹¹² As far as Northern Nigeria was concerned this memorandum is the first full policy statement on forest conservation in the region. A close look at it shows that it was formulated to address conservation problems in Northern Nigeria than the forestry problems in the South. The memorandum dwelt much in portraying the importance of forest conservation as the

¹⁰⁶ Edmund O. Egboh, *Forestry Policy of Nigeria*, *op cit.*, p.23.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.21.

¹⁰⁸ Annual Report on the Forest Administration of Northern Nigeria 1917, p.6.

¹⁰⁹ Tukur B. Ingawa, "A Study of the Rural Economic History of the Najor Cotton Producing Areas", *op cit.*, p. 211.

¹¹⁰ Reginald Cline-Cole, "The Political Economy of Fuelwood Relations", *op cit.*, p.74.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*

¹¹² Frederick Lugard, *Political Memoranda: Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on Subjects Chiefly Political and Administrative, 1913-1919*, Edited by A.H.M. Kirk-Green, (London: Frank Cass, 1970), p.432.



basis of the policy. Lugard's *Political Memorandum* emphatically stated that 'the only effective method of conserving forests is by the creation of Forest Reserves.'¹¹³ This he claimed was not difficult in the Northern Provinces because the land was vested in the hand of the Governor as a trustee for the people.

As a result of this policy large tracts of forests were carved for conservation all over the Northern Protectorate. In Katsina Emirate for example, from 1918 when the policy was formulated, to 1945 when a new policy came into being, no less than twenty-five forest reserves were created.¹¹⁴ Among these were two of the largest forest reserves in the Emirate, the Ruma-KukarJangarai and Kogo Forest Reserves. The fact that these two reserves with an area of more than 500 square miles exist to date with only minor modifications in terms of boundaries is a clear testimony to the early success of these forest policies in Northern Nigeria. Despite these successes, after just two decades the colonial government was back at the drawing board to come up with a new forest policy that would cater for the realities of the post-Second World War era.

The 1945 Forest Policy

Although in principle no policy change was effected before 1945, in reality, the focus of the official forest policy had changed from conservation to exploitation since 1939 in Northern Nigeria. This was the time when the British were preparing for the Second World War, under which situation many forest conservation plans were abandoned.¹¹⁵ The events of the Second World War which resulted in the increased demand for forest resources led to the realization by the colonial administration that forest products were an important input to the war effort and wartime colonial and metropolitan economy. As argued by Reginald Cline-Cole, this gave West African colonies, especially Nigeria a new economic role and heightened the region's importance as a major source of manpower and raw materials for the southern Atlantic operations and the supply routes to the Middle East.¹¹⁶

A nationwide survey of forests in Nigeria has revealed that as a result of the war, the majority of the forest department expatriate staff had been recalled to participate in the war. Their absence created a vacuum which resulted in massive encroachments into forest reserves.¹¹⁷ For example, a total of 479 square miles of reserves were discovered to have been lost to agriculture, out of which 336 was by the Government and 143 by Native Administrations in the country.¹¹⁸ These problems

¹¹³ Frederick Lugard, *Political Memoranda: Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on Subjects Chiefly Political and Administrative, 1913-1919*, Edited by A.H.M. Kirk-Green, (London: Frank Cass, 1970), p.433.

¹¹⁴ NAK/MinAgric/14449 Vol. II Forest Development and Forest Policy in Northern Province, p.39.

¹¹⁵ Reginald Cline-Cole, "Redefining Forestry Space and Threatening Livelihoods un Colonial Northern Nigeria" in Reginald Cline-Cole and Clare Madge (eds), *Contesting Forestry in West Africa* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2000), p.46

¹¹⁶ Reginald Cline-Cole, "Redefining Forestry Space", p.59.

¹¹⁷ Annual Report on the Forestry Department, 1945, 1/44/45, p.2.

¹¹⁸ Annual Report on the Forest Administration in Nigeria, 1945, p.2.



necessitated calls for a new and more comprehensive and elaborate forest policy to point a new direction for the utilization, management and control of forest resources.

In February 1945 a new Forest Policy was approved by the Governor of Nigeria, Hugh Clifford. This policy was the first comprehensive forest policy statement in Nigeria.¹¹⁹ While the policy provided for the conservation of forest vegetation to avoid damage from rainwater run-off in land or waterways, the majority of what the policy subscribed to and focused on was resource exploitation. This was demonstrated in the first section of the policy which stated that the main objective of the policy was: 'the production of the maximum benefit to the greater number from the minimum amount of forest which is essential for the general well-being of the country'.¹²⁰ If section one is a general statement, subsequent sections of the policy made it categorically clear what the intention of the policy was. For instance, in the second clause, two principles of exploitation were stated. The first was that the policy was principally meant to preserve the physical and climatic condition of the country through the control and maintenance of the forest. The second was to ensure in perpetuity the supply of all forms of forest produce. The policy further stated that once these two primary principles were in place, then agriculture must take priority over forestry, while satisfaction of the needs of the people at the lowest possible rates must also take precedence over revenue generation.¹²¹

From the above is apparent that the 1945 forest policy prioritized exploitation over conservation. This was for instance demonstrated by the second clause of the policy which says that since only the coastal strip of Nigeria supported continued heavy timber forest no more attention than is justified would be devoted to it anymore. The greatest stress would from then on be laid upon the control, management and development of the savannah woodlands and high forest patches which were contributing largely to the supply of the everyday needs of the people in the greater part of Nigeria.¹²² The policy also changed the management objective as well. In the fourth clause of the policy, it was stated that forests should be managed primarily for the benefit of the locality in which they grow.

Likewise, all revenue from the sales of forest resources should be used for the benefit of the local communities which had sacrificed land for its production. It further provided that wherever the competence and the will to undertake it exists, the control and management of forest reserves shall be devolved on Native Administration, who shall receive all revenue, subject to such control by Government as will ensure that management is in accordance with the Government's policy. The policy shall be to encourage the acceptance of responsibility by Native Administrations.¹²³

¹¹⁹Edmund O. Egboh, *Forestry Policy in Nigeria, op cit.*, p. 41.

¹²⁰Ebenezer IbukunArifalo, *Understanding Forest Policy*, (Yola: Paracelete Publishers, 2005), p. 146.

¹²¹ "The 1945 Forest Policy of Nigeria" as contained in the Annual Report on the Forest Administration of Nigeria, 1944-45, p. 45.

¹²²*Ibid.*

¹²³ "The 1945 Forest Policy of Nigeria" as contained in the Annual Report on the Forest Administration of Nigeria, 1944-45, p. 46.



Even though the 1945 policy continued to be the official forest policy for Nigeria, the political developments of the 1950s meant a variation in the forestry policy. The new constitution in vogue by 1955 was the Macpherson constitution which brought about changes not only in the management structure of the forest departments but also in the policy objectives as well. For instance, in Western and Mid-Western regions the objectives were centred on the production with special reference to local needs, while in the Eastern Region emphasis was on multiple land use planning, provision of recreation and maintenance of good public relations. It also stressed government participation in the development of wood processing such as pulp, paper, particle board and chipboard.¹²⁴

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to show how colonialism in Northern Nigeria changed the nature and foundation of forest resources management and conservation. The period witnessed the adoption and elevation of the so-called western scientific conservation methods in place of the indigenous conservation methods and Caliphate rules and regulations. In this region of British dominion, as in the case of the rest of the British colonial empire, the backbone of forest conservation was a set of widely perceived but often unfounded ideas about deforestation and desertification, generally termed the degradation narratives. Particularly, the paper pays attention to the origins of the narratives and their justifications and goals.

Also, the paper shows how colonial administrators involved in forest policy formulation were swayed by the various discourses under the dominant degradation narratives. It seems from the discussions that a great deal of the colonial narratives about Katsina people's forest management and utilization were ideologically driven. It is apparent that what colonialists perceived as the right way of managing and conserving forests was often built on personal misconceptions than determined by verifiable scientific explanations. By highlighting the new developments that took shape in the colonial period the paper demonstrates how colonialism as a specific socio-economic and political system brought notable changes in forest conservation perspectives and practices. It also clearly shows the role played by colonial agents such as governors, forestry directors and officials and colonial scientists in bringing about the said changes in forest conservation ideas, practices and justifications.

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¹²⁴ S.K Adeyaju, *Forestry and Nigerian Economy*, (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1975), p.48.



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A Preliminary Report on the Archaeology of Ashehu Abandoned Settlement, Igabi Local Government Area of Kaduna State, Nigeria

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Abstract

This article reports an archaeological study of the Ashehu abandoned settlement in Igabi Local Government Area of Kaduna State. The exercise which took place in February 2009 was conducted in the accomplishment of a Bachelor of Archaeology in the Department of Archaeology, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria. This preliminary investigation adopted archaeological survey and oral tradition collection and documentation as methods of carrying out the research, it revealed proven evidence of a sedentary way of life by the people due to the availability of house foundation, visible massive defensive wall which suggests and symbolizes power and authority. Hence the need for further and more detailed study for a better understanding of the nature, and evolution of the site is Recommended.

Keywords: Archaeological Reconnaissance, House Foundation, Defensive wall, Ashehu.

Introduction

Ashehu lies between latitude $10^{\circ} 53' 17''\text{N}$ and longitude $07^{\circ} 45' 50''\text{E}$. The old Ashehu settlement is about 15km northwest of the famous Turunku settlement in Igabi Local Government of Kaduna State (see fig. 1, 2 and 3). It is bordered by Sarwani villages to the West, Birnin Barwa to the South, Sheka to the North and river Galma to the East. The archaeological investigation aims to document and report the archaeological finds and features identified on the Ashehu site. The research was carried out in February 2009 as a requirement for a Bachelor of Arts in Archaeology, in the Department of Archaeology, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria.

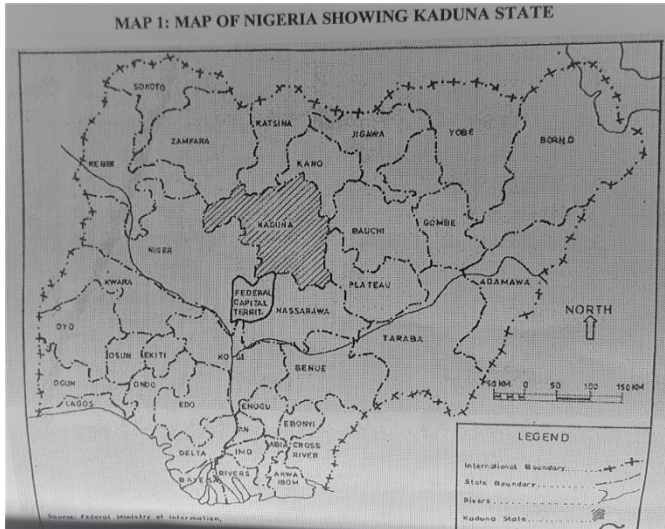


Fig. 1 Map of Nigeria showing Kaduna State.

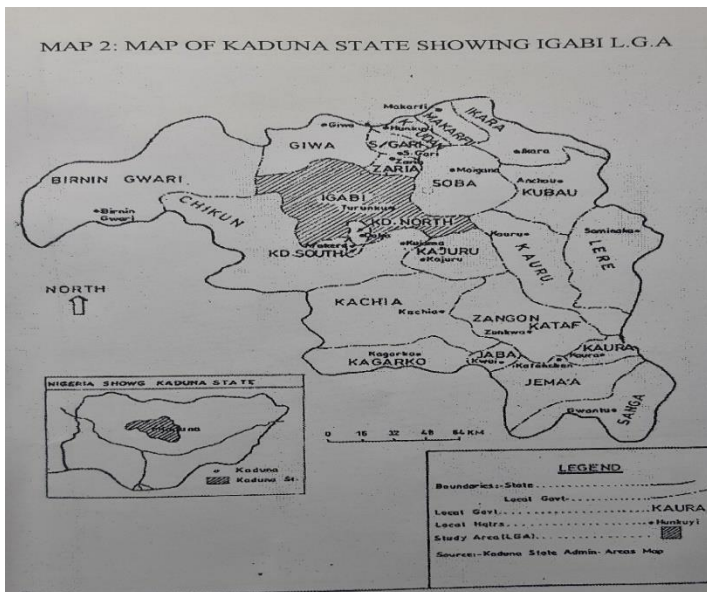


Fig.2: Igabi Local Government Area in Kaduna State

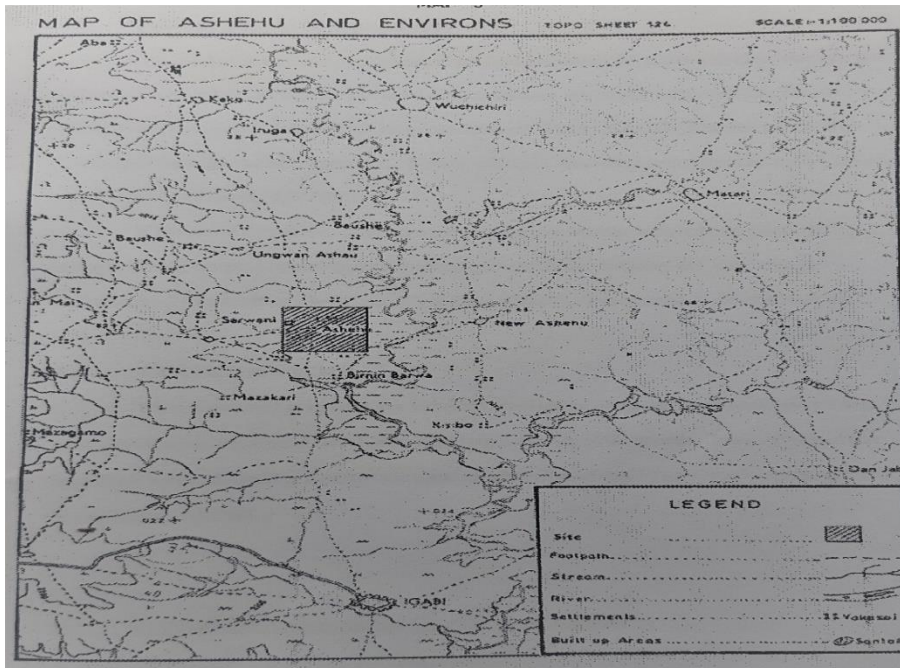


Fig.3: Ashehu in Igabi Local Government Area

Research Methods

This investigation was conducted by adopting two methods: Oral tradition and Archaeological Reconnaissance.

Oral Tradition

Cooper (2005) describes oral tradition to mean stories about the past that local populations produce and reproduce orally to preserve their own history. Interviews were conducted with people of different ages and statuses. The interviews were conducted individually, and questions asked were targeted around the origin of settlements, rulership, indigenous craft and industries as well as the relationship of *Ashehu* with other settlements in the neighbourhood. A total of six people were interviewed.

Oral information says that Ashehu was founded in the mid or late 18th century by a group of migrants from *Kabi* valley in present day Kebbi State, under the leadership of a prominent Islamic scholar then by name Abubakar Shehu, he was popularly called “*Shehu*” which meant an elder in Islam and a well-respected personality in Sufism (a sect within the Muslim Society).

He (Shehu) was said to have left the Kabi valley with his family and disciples; this included his friends and majorly his students *Almajirai* in search of a strategic place to hide from the colonial masters who at then had conquered the Sokoto Caliphate, and a place they could continue there farming and religious activities which they were known for. This pursuit led them to the settlement. The migrants acclimatized to the environment and built small huts with thatched grasses and also



engaged in agriculture practice along the *Kogin Galma* which is predominantly the eastern part of the site. The *Kogin Galma* (River Galma) was probably the major pull factor that attracted Shehu and his disciple's attention to settle in the area.

Oral informant (Abdulkareem, 2009) said the site was said to be very secured from external attacks and even from internal disputes as the Shehu was said to have been a very spiritual person, people from neighbouring places kept migrating to the site where they said “a *Ashehu akwai tsaro*” meaning in the Shehu's place there is exist serenity. Hence the name of the site got its root from the leader Shehu and they said Ashehu.

The population of the people kept increasing due to reproduction and emigration, this led to the construction of a defensive wall that surrounded the settlement which was a defensive strategy organized in the past to prevent the settlement from raiders. The people of Ashehu were great farmers and hunters, they fought several battles in the past and were never defeated. They also helped most of the neighbouring communities and secured them from external attack, especially during the *Tawaye* (uprising) raids.

According to oral tradition, the earlier inhabitants of Ashehu were known for their craft of weaving by the women and dyeing by the men. The men dye the end products using local dye substances such as indigo and other leaves. They also practice agriculture and cultivated crops like maize, potatoes, millet, and cocoa yam, among others.

After the demise of Abubakar Shehu, the people of the community agreed that “Ashehu” be given as the title of anyone who ascends to the throne. The following Ashehu's continued leading the community: Ashehu Kembo, Ashehu Tukur, Ashehu Gani, Ashehu Danpati, Ashehu Idris, Ashehu Lawal and Ashehu Haruna, it was during the reign of Ashehu Haruna that the old site was abandoned for a new settlement where they moved eastward across River Galma. Ashehu Haruna was succeeded by his nephew Ashehu Muhammad Haruna Commander who had been on the throne for over thirty-five years.

Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey

Archaeological reconnaissance is generally referred to as the systematic recording and identification of archaeological features and finds, in other words, it is the careful observation of a landscape using a broad range of techniques by the archaeologist in locating archaeological sites (Renfrew and Bahn, 1996)

An archaeological survey carried out in this investigation involved foot walking by crew and guides. A Traverse survey was conducted, prismatic compass, measuring tapes, digital camera, ranging pole and photographic scale were carried along during the exercise, with the focus of identifying the material evidence on the surface of the site and properly documenting them.

Results

Defensive Wall: Defensive wall is the first visible feature to be seen on the site, called in Hausa (*Ganuwar Ashehu*) the wall has four gates namely *Kofar Arewa*, *Kudu*, *Yamma*, and *Gabas* (North, South, East and West) which serves as the major entrance of the village in the past. It has the following measurement, a thickness of 3.40m, and an average height of the wall of 1.95m.

Noteworthy, to say that the eastern part of the site has no visible defensive wall as the whole of the eastern side is bordered by the River Galma.



Plate 1: Ruin of Defensive wall

Dyeing Industry: it is situated at the southern part of the site, very close to the southern wall. The area is now been farmed on but the soil which is grey in colour suggests it was used for dying as corroborated by oral information. The diameter of the covered dye area is 7.24cm.



Plate 2: Dye Area identified by the colour of the soil

House Foundations: remains of different sizes of house foundations were identified on the site, the foundation was made of stones which are arranged in a circular form, and the stone were of various sizes. The various sizes of the house foundation were identified at the centre of the site, eastern and western parts of the site respectively. The diameter of these house foundations ranges between 1.5m and 2,9m.



Plate 3: Remains House Foundation

Discussions

Dye Industry: Dyeing is the process of colouring woven textile materials or fabric. Dye pits are holes dug into the ground for the purpose of dyeing activities. According to oral information, dyeing was among the traditional industries that flourished in the old community. The people constructed the dyeing pits using raw materials obtained from their immediate environment and the surroundings.

Presently there do not exist dyeing activities in the area so no ethnographic parallels to the dyeing tradition in the area of our study. In the past dyeing is one of the major crafts, it confirms their passion for aesthetic material. Ashehu community were known for their unique indigo dyed fabrics, which were traded in various commercial markets within the Zaria area, and other places like Kano, Sokoto and Katsina. At present, dyeing industries in Ashehu are no more, this is a result of modern textile industries and chemical dyeing which are cheaper and easier to obtain than the traditional ones.

Defensive wall (*Ganuwa*): This is one of the most prominent features that still stand in its ruins state on the site, oral tradition has it that it was built during the reign of Ashehu Abubakar Shehu the founder of the community, the walls appeared to have been constructed with lumps of dark mud laid in coarse form (*Turbaya*).



The ruins of the defensive wall can be used to establish the significance of this settlement in terms of size, wealth, authority and classification of labour among the people of Ashehu. The town walls symbolized power and authority.

The extensive nature of the walls shows that the society was a complex one, probably with a complex socio-economic system and a social stratification comprising of the “freemen” and “slaves” from whom the labour for the construction of the wall must have been obtained through forced labour.

Inferences could be made from the defensive walls that the area must have experienced a complex economy with natural resources attractive to other neighbouring areas, for instance, the area has fertile soil for agriculture which attract human settlement. The walls were built not only as a defensive mechanism but also as a protective measure for the peaceful development of the community.

House Foundations: Stone structures were identified, and arranged in a circular form on the site. The nature and arrangement of these stones suggest a sedentary settlement and the fact that the site was once inhabited by humans in the past. The difference in the sizes of the house foundation suggests that some of the foundations with smaller diameters were used as storage facilities while those with larger diameters were used for shelter. Similarly, it could also be inferred that perhaps the differences in diameter may suggest social stratification as found in many complex societies in the past. Stratification is also visible in the new Ashehu community suggesting a cultural continuity from the past community.

Conclusion

The availability of these features in Ashehu shows a high degree of technical innovation and prowess in harnessing the physical environment at its disposal for productivity among the past inhabitant of the site. This is manifest in their ability to build and fortify their defensive wall for security purposes from the available soil in the environment which symbolizes power and authority and the use of plants in their environment for dying of textile to suit their atheistic taste. Ashehu most probably could have been a well-organized, stratified complex society in the past.

Recommendations

Our study area, Ashehu, has a lot of historical significance; this research has been able to figure out the importance of this area. Further research on this historical site is imperative and is expected to cover dating and other scientific laboratory analysis as this will provide answers to the sequence of occupation, dates and other aspects of the site.

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ORAL INFORMANTS

S/N	NAME	AGE	OCCUPATION	DATE OF INTERVIEW
1	Muhammad Haruna	65	Village head	07 – 02- 2009
2	Abdulkareem Haruna	40	Tafidan Ashehu and Civil servant	07 – 02 – 2009
3	Usman Ishaq	52	Imam of Ashehu	12 – 02 – 2009
4	Abdullahi Idris	60	Farmer	12 – 02 – 2009
5	Umar Magaji	41	Farmer	21 – 02 – 2009
6	Shuaibu Yahya	50	Tailor	21 – 02 – 2009



An Archaeological Investigation of Iyafe Sinta Abandoned Settlement Site in Gurara Local Government Area, Niger State, Nigeria

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Abstract

The presence of archaeological features in Iyafe Sinta as well as the historical account of the people prompted this archaeological survey that revealed a sedentary lifestyle of the Iyafe Sinta people. Iyafe Sinta had a diversified economy and a stratified society which have risen, peaked and then fall to the superior firepower of the white slave raiders in the early 19th century. Through Oral History, this paper traces the history of the Iyafe Sinta people, their migration as well as their cultural adaptation to the ever-changing environment. Methods such as archaeological surveys and Oral Tradition helped in documenting the cultural history of these unique people that once occupied this Sinta site in Central Nigeria. This paper recommends further research that would place the Iyafe Sinta site in chronological order through age determination.

Keywords: Archaeological Survey, Iyafe Sinta, Oral Tradition

Introduction

Iyafe Sinta is an ancient abandoned settlement originally occupied by the Gbagi speaking people. The site is located at the eastern part of Suleja with the coordinates: Latitude 9^o 11'102'' N Long 7^o 07' 435'' E with an elevation of 268 meters above sea level. It is approximately 7 rekilometres from Suleja along Garki garage to Gurara local government area of Niger State. The tradition of the people has it that the first set of people to harmoniously lived in this area were mostly the Jemsun, Bahago, Panaga and Mijin Zaria who organized themselves and made the ancient Iyafe Sinta known to the outside world. The people of Iyafe Sinta were led to this place of abode firstly by their heads namely Jemsun, Bahago, Panaga and Mijin Zaria and with an overall district head known as Musa Quara. Back in ancient times, the Iyafe Sinta had its own Headquarters called Buyi, which was under the leadership of the king himself. The king served as a director of all affairs in his domain. He solved and resolved any contending and arising issues that affected his people and territory. The first ruler of Iyafe Sinta Musa Quara until his death was said to be a Christian which simply means that Christianity predated Islamic religion in the area. Subsequently, one of his sons Ayuba Quara took over the mantle of leadership and his famous touristic visit to Macca which later proved to be the reason he became a Muslim. On his arrival, he introduced the practice of Islamic religion in the community and out of the strict obedience to the throne, the people accepted Islam and the ideology rapidly spread to almost every household in the community. Thus, Islam became the dominant religion with still some adherents of the Christian religion in Iyafe Sinta community of today. The

tradition of the people has it that, Iyafe Sinta was the first and the original home of Jemsun, Bahaga, Panaga, and the Mijin Zaria before people from various areas joined them and the place became expanded. Farming, rearing of animals, weaving of mat, pottery making, and hunting, amongst others, were the predominant occupations in the area (Damladi, Personal Comm, 2020).

Traditional boxing which was usually complemented with drum beating and dance was said to be the only festival practised at the early period. At the present, however, Islamic festivals such as Sallah celebrations (EduL-Fitr) and (Eidul-Adha) which come twice a year now dominate the social activities in the area under study. The ancient Iyafe Sinta site was abandoned as a result of a series of conflicts with the white slave raiders and the subsequent taking over of the entire surrounding by the colonialists after their unsuccessful resistance. These slave raiders got to the community in full force and disorganized their political and socio-cultural ways of life. During the early period of the white invaders into this ancient territory. Thus, the people of Iyafe Sinta succumbed to the superior firearm of the invaders which led to the death of their then ruler. These frequent attacks led to the abandonment of the ancient settlement of Iyafe Sinta at around late 1800 AD to the present Iyafe Sinta located about 4km east of the ancient Iyafe Sinta abandoned settlement site with the people establishing other areas such Kurmin Kora, Gwajipe, Ushapa, Gaji, amongst other.

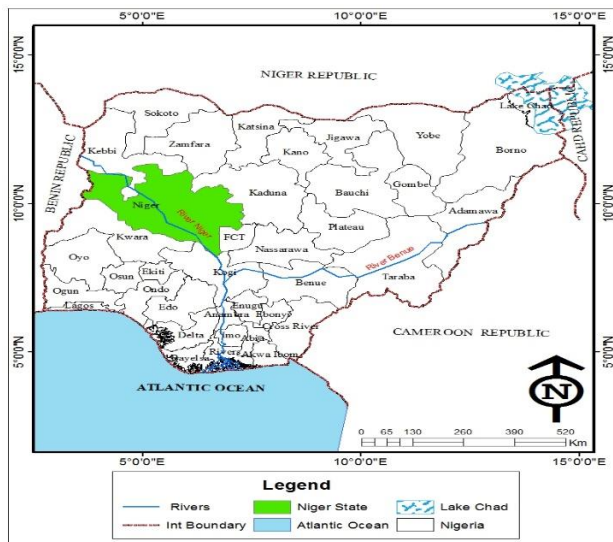


Figure 1: Map of Nigeria in Nigeria State.
Source: GIS 10.3 Software

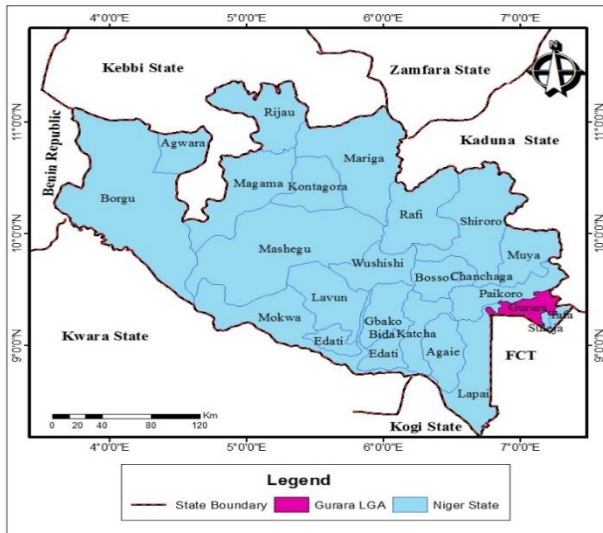


Figure 2: Map of Niger State in Gurara LGA.

Source: GIS Lab Department of Geography Using Arc GIS 10.3 Software.

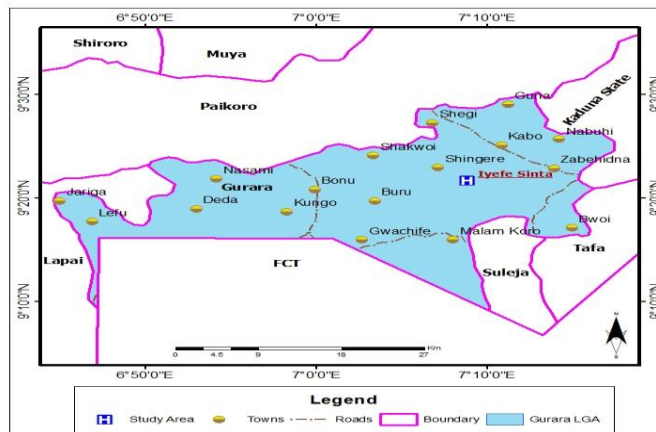


Figure 3. Map of Gurara LGA in the Study Area.

Source: Arc GIS 10.3 Software.

This research aimed to document an aspect of the culture and history of the ancient settlers of Iyafe Sinta abandoned settlement site with the following objectives:

1. Documenting the history of the people through oral tradition
2. Carrying out an archaeological survey to show the spatial distribution of finds and features
3. Analysing and interpreting the finds that represent the ancient people of iyafe Sinta

The Geographical Features of Iyafe Sinta

Climate: The climate within the region is controlled by the movement of two air masses: The tropical continental air mass and tropical maritime air mass. The tropical maritime air mass which is moist and originates from the Atlantic Ocean influenced and controlled the rainy season. The tropical continental air mass which is dry originates from the Sahara Desert and brings dry season as it blows from the northeast across the Sahara Desert carrying with it; the Harmattan dust (Adamu, 2006). Ancient Iyafe Sinta was characterized by four distinct seasons: A dry and cool season which lasts from around mid-November to the end of March and is characterized by the harmattan winds, a dry and hot season which is a short transitional period between the harmattan season and the wet season from March to about mid-May characterized by the warmest temperature of the year, a wet and warm season follows the hot season and ends in mid-October during which over ninety percent of the annual rainfall is received, a dry and warm season (which is the shortest season last from about the end of October to mid-November. The temperature of Ancient Iyafe Sinta range between 28⁰c to 38⁰c, it lies within the guinea savannah region, which has a mean annual rainfall of about 700mm to 1000mm (Ishaku, 2011 & Idowu, 2014).

Vegetation: The vegetation of the area is semi-arid Savanna situated at the transition zone where the guinea Savannah gave way to a drier Sudan savannah. The trees in the area have a considerable wide canopy and are dispersed across the landscape. Most of the trees are resistant to drought and have been suggested to have been available as part of the vegetation resources in the West African Savannah for two to three thousand years (Adamu, 2006).

Trees commonly found in the area are Locust bean tree *Parkiaclappertoniana* (Dorawa), Baobab tree *Adansoniadigitata* (kuka), Acacia *Acaciaalbida* (Gawo), Shea butter tree (*Kadanya*), Tamarind *Tamarindusindica* (*Tsamiya*), Deleb Palm *Borassusaethiopum* (*Giginya*) and Mango *Mangiferaindica* (*Mangwaro*) Locust beans *Parkoafilicoudea*(*Dorawa*) among others. On the other hand, the grasses that grow both during the dry and wet season include Tingernut grass *Cyperusrotundus* (*Aya-aya*), Elephant grass *Pennisetumpurpleum* (*Tofa*).



Plate I: Vegetation

Geology, Topography and Soil: Ancient Iyafe Sinta abandoned settlement shares the same geological components with that of the larger geology and topography of Gurara, Shiroro, Suleja, and kuta areas. According to Garba and Muhammed (2011), the parent material of the soil is Pre-Cambrian rocks usually on the highlands and the loose sandstones/alluvial soils on the lower slopes and river valleys which makes the entire area susceptible to gully erosion. The area is also underlain by gneiss, migmatite and meta-sediments of the Precambrian age which have been intruded by a series of granitic rocks of late Precambrian to Paleozoic ages. The oldest rocks are represented by a series of older meta-sediments and gneiss believed to be Birrimian in age and older. These rocks have been variably metamorphosed and granitized through at least two tectono-metamorphic cycles, so that, they have been largely converted into migmatite and granite-gneiss.

Ancient Iyafe Sinta in particular is underlain by crystalline complex gneiss, and intrusive into the basements complex rocks are intermediate acidic migmatites. The soil in the area is generally tropical sandy-loam, with a mixture of permeable and friable particles of different sizes. The nature of the soil is ferruginous and has a fine texture with medium fertility suitable for growing crops like millet (*Pennisetumglacum*), maize (*Zea mays*), beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*), groundnut (*Arachishypogaea*), and sorghum (*Sorghum bicolor*). The colour of the soil ranges from light brown, and reddish to dark brown. The soil of Iyafe Sinta ancient settlement is endowed with rich soil, particularly loamy and clay fine texture with fertility suitable for agriculture. This fertile soil has contributed immensely to increase in their farm produce since time immemorial as well as being used in the construction of mud houses and pots making, and other ceramic objects (Garba & Muhammed, 2011).

Economy: The predominant and primary economic activity in the ancient Iyafe Sintawas farming. The types of crops produced include Millet (*Pennisetumglacum*), Maize (*Zea mays*), Beans, Groundnut (*Arachishypogaea*), Sorghum (*Sorghum bicolor*), Ginger, and yam. They purposely produce these crops to feed their family, and the surplus is usually sold in the market. Other forms of economic activities carried out in the area include, intra-trading, and rearing of livestock; almost all domestic animals found are reared in the area while others may wish to render services to mostly farmers and get paid (Interview, Damladi, 2020).

Settlement Pattern: Settlements in the area over the years have shared similar characteristics between the ancient Iyafe Sinta and that of Gaji (Maryam, 2014). The settlement pattern of ancient Iyafe Sinta is linear (Idowu, 2014). The architectural pattern is rectangular with the walls erected with mud and mostly has zinc roofing while others were roofed with thatch. However, other houses were built with modern blocks and cement roofed with zinc.

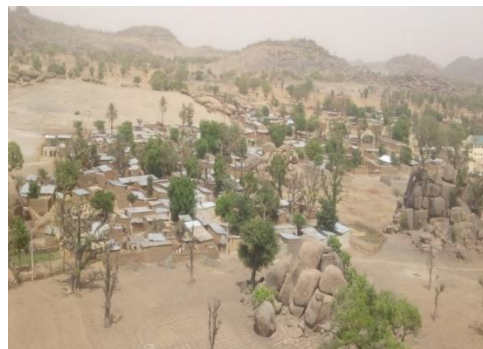


Plate II: Settlement Pattern

The Site: The physical terrain of the Iyafe Sinta site is plain. The ridges appear to be running from south to north others from east to west. The texture of the soil on site is generally loamy while the colour of the soil slightly varies. The soil appeared darkish at the western part of the site. But at the centre as well as the south-eastern parts, the colour is light brown. Some of the site's features include graves, treasure sites, granary foundations, upper and lower grinding stones, and source of water.

Trees like Baobab tree (*Adansoniadigitata*), Acacia (*Acacia albida*), Tamarind (*Tamarindusindica*), Deleb Palm (*Borassusaethiopum*), and Mango (*Mangiferaindica*) are as well found on the site. Potsherds appeared to be the only finds on the site and 51 of them were randomly collected within the site using the principle of transverse.

The Features

Lower Grinding Stone

One fragment of lower grinding stone was identified on the site. It is located at the eastern part of the site. It was found within a circular stone arranged to house this lower grinding stone. It has a 1.5m diameter and the length was 2m.



Plate III: Lower grinding stone

Grave

Located at the western part of the site is a grave believed to be that of one of the rulers of the ancient Iyafe Sinta people. Although the name of the king is not known. The grave is irregular in shape different from the present style of burial. It has a length of 14cm.



Plate IV: Grave

Treasure Area

According to the guides, this hip of flat stones was carefully arranged to cover the treasure belonging to the community. Although this practice was common among the ancient people all over the world where some valuables are kept and sometimes even completely forgotten. The tradition of the people has it that, this was a place where the ancient people of Iyafe

Sinta kept their valuables such as pieces of jewelry, and other valuable materials for safety purposes. The treasure area was not allowed to be opened. The extent of this area was taken to be 42cm and the breadth was 30cm.



Plate V: Treasure site

Granary Foundation

Three granary foundations were identified from the site covering the eastern and the western parts of the site. These were the places that housed ancient Iyafe Sinta. This is clearly not a house foundation as they appeared too small. A place like this served as the warehouse for agricultural produce.



Plate VII: Granary Foundation

Upper and Lower Grinding Stones

Upper and lower grinding stones were identified at the western side of the site. The coordinate reading was taken together with the weight and diameter. The upper grinding stones were placed on the lower and were mostly used for the grinding herbs, millet and other edible food.



Plate IX: Upper and Lower Grindings Stone

Depression

This was also identified at the eastern part of the site. A place where the ancient people of the ancient Iyafe Sinta sourced clay-sand for building houses as well as making ceramic objects. It is evidently clear that the people carried out some form of activities in this place as p o t s h e r d s w e r e recovered there. The soil texture of this place is dark brown and quite different from that of the s u r f a c e .



Plate V: Depression

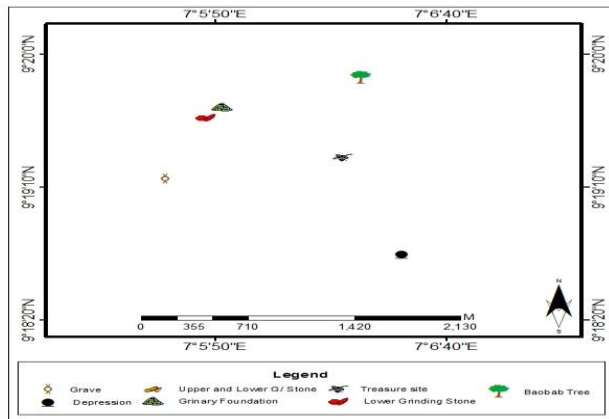


Figure 4: Map of Iyanfe Sinata Abandoned Settlement Showing Various Archaeological features.
Source: GIS Lab Department of Geography, ABU Zaria, Using ARC- GIS 10.3 Software

TIN Section Analysis Result

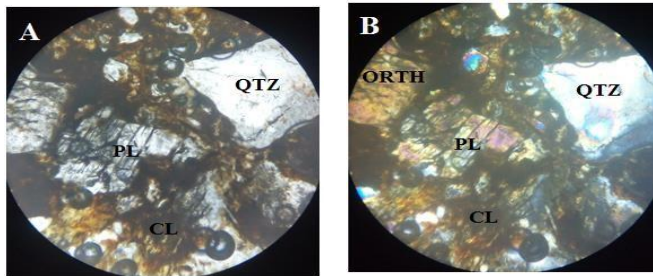


Plate I: Photomicrograph of potsherd 1 (A), under Plane polarized light (PPL) and Crossed polarized light (XPL) showing quartz, clay, orthoclase and plagioclase, Diameter of view= 4.0mm. Mag. =X40

Petrographic study potsherd 1 consists of; quartz, clay, orthoclase, plagioclase feldspar and they display the following characteristics; Orthoclase displays the largest crystal, it is colourless in PPL with a rectangular shape, it also has parallel cleavage and it is twinning. Orthoclase mineral crystal grains are about 1.7 cm in length. Quartz displays small to large grain crystal that is subhedral in shape and other minerals are cemented by the clay matrix. Plagioclase has a grey colour in XPL and is colourless under PPL. Plagioclase is not strongly pleochroism with a blocky subhedral crystal shape and is about 0.5 cm in size. Clay is the cementing matrix within the mineral crystals. This potsherd is generally inorganic in texture and of the igneous protolith.

**Table I: Mineral composition and characteristics of the potsherd 1**

MINERAL	ANALYSIS
Quartz	Colour; Colourless in PPL and cloudy to light grey in XPL Shape; Subhedral Relief; Moderate relief Extinction; Undulose extinction
Orthoclase	C o l o u r; Colourless in PPL and pinkish in XPL Shape; Subhedral Relief; Low relief Twining; Carlsbad twining
Plagioclase	C o l o u r; Colourless in PPL and grey in XPL Shape; Subheral Relief; Low relief Cleavage; poor Birefringence; low Twining; Albite twining
Clay	C o l o u r; Brown in PPL and dark brown in XPL Shape; Anhedral Relief; Moderate Pleochroism; Highly pleochroic Cleavage; Good Birefringence; High

Table II: Estimated Modal Mineralogical Composition of the Potsherd 1 under Microscope

Mineral	Visual Estimation %	Status
Orthoclase	23	Essential
Plagioclase	15	Essential
Quartz	27	Essential
Clay	38	Essential

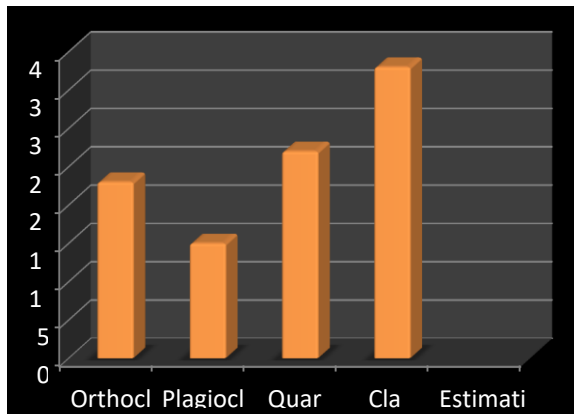


Fig. 5: Bar chart showing estimated modal mineralogical composition of potsherd 1 under the microscope

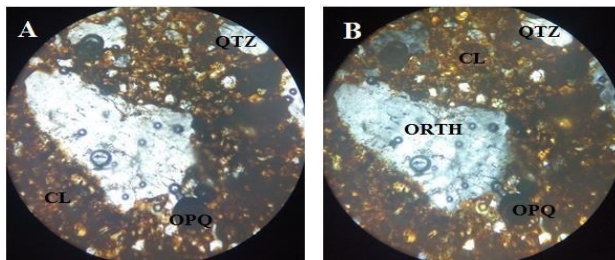


Plate II: Photomicrograph of potsherd 1 (B), under Plane polarized light (PPL) and Crossed polarized light (XPL) showing (QTZ) =quartz, (CL) =clay, (ORTH) =orthoclase and (OPQ) =Opaque Diameter of view= 4.0mm. Mag. =X40

Petrographic study Potsherd 1 revealed the following characteristics of the minerals observed below. Quartz displays small to medium mineral grains averagely about 0.5mm, anhedral crystal form, and low relief. Quartz crystals display no pleochroism or cleavage, it is light to light brown in colour (weak birefringence), and exhibit a characteristic phenomenon known as undulose extinction in cross-polarized light (XPL). Orthoclase display cloudy to ash-grey colour in XPL and colourless in PPL. It exhibits low birefringence (first order), and oblique extinction in cross-polarized light. Orthoclase exhibits subhedral crystal, with moderate relief in plane-polarized light (PPL) and the size of the crystal is about 4.3cm phenocryst. Clay exhibits irregular crystal shape and displays pleochroic haloes which possibly are a result of the presence of alteration. The minerals are majorly inorganic and possible protolith is igneous or sedimentary in nature.

**Table III:** Mineral composition and characteristics of the potsherd 2

MINERAL	ANALYSIS
Quartz	Colour; Colourless in PPL and cloudy to light in XPL Shape; Subhedral Relief; Low Extinction; Undulose extinction
Orthoclase	Colour; Colourless in PPL and ash-grey in XPL Shape; Subhedral Relief; Moderate relief Twining; Carlsbad twining Extinction; Oblique extinction
Clay	C o l o u r; B r o w n i n P P L a n d d a r k b r o w n i n X P L Shape; Anhedral Relief; Moderate Pleochroism; Highly pleochroic Cleavage; Good Birefringence; High
Opaque	C o l o u r; D a r k i n P P L a n d X P L Shape; Anhedral Relief; Low relief Cleavage; No Birefringence; low

Table 1V: Estimated Modal Mineralogical Composition of the Potsherd 2 under Microscope

Mineral	Visual Estimation %	Status
Quartz	28	Essential
Clay	41	Essential
Orthoclase	25	Essential
Opaque	6	Accessory

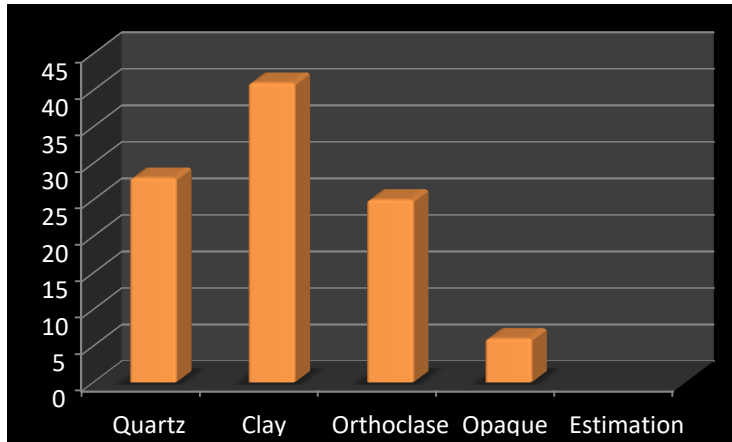


Fig. 6: Bar chart showing estimated modal mineralogical composition of potsherd 1 under the microscope.

Discussion

The Orthoclase displays the largest crystal, it is colourless in PPL with a rectangular shape, it also has parallel cleavage and it is twinning. Orthoclase mineral crystal grains are about 1.7 cm in length. Quartz displays small to large grain crystal that is subhedral in shape and other minerals are cemented by the clay matrix. Plagioclase also has a grey colour in XPL and is colourless under PPL. The following characteristics; Orthoclase displays the largest crystal, it is colourless in PPL with a rectangular shape, it also has parallel cleavage and it is twinning. Orthoclase mineral crystal grains are about 1.7 cm in length. Quartz displays small to large grain crystal that is subhedral in shape and other minerals are cemented by the clay matrix. Plagioclase has a grey colour in XPL and is colourless under PPL. And also the following characteristics of the minerals are observed above. Quartz displays small to medium mineral grains averagely about 0.5mm, anhedral crystal form, and low relief. Quartz crystals display no pleochroism or cleavage, it is light to light brown (weak birefringence), and exhibit a characteristic phenomenon known as extinction in cross-polarized light (XPL).

Conclusion

Archaeology as a discipline focuses more on the interpretation of finds that are left behind by the extinct people of a particular area. It is the responsibility of the archaeologists to give meaning to these artefacts. Some of these artefacts could be the remains of potsherds, bones, stone tools and as well charcoal samples that resulted from deliberate fire among others. Most of the finds collected from the Iyafe Sinta site are potsherds of different sizes and shapes as well as decorations. The scientific result from the laboratory analysis presented above shows great similarities between the soil and the clay source which suggests that the raw material used for the manufacture of the pots was sourced from the area. The technological advancement of these ancient people can be seen in the way they fashioned some of these natural materials from their surroundings into different tools



used in their daily activities. The upper and lower grinding stones on the site which must have been used for grinding some grains and herbs as well as the remains of granary support the oral tradition of the people which states that the ancient people of Iyafe Sinta engaged in agricultural practice and the people also must have had some form of knowledge of medicine as well as a preservation method. This further showed the relationship between the people and the environment.

The social-political organization of the ancient people of Iyafe Sinta stands out as evident in the peoples' unquestionable loyalty to their rulers as well as respect for the elderly. This loyalty was tested during the era of the slave trade in which efforts were made to resist the raiders. Just like most of the African societies during the colonial era, Iyafe Sinta fell to the powerful white slave raiders that later ushered in the colonization of the entire area. This research has been able to reconstruct the lifeways of the extinct people of the Iyafe Sinta site through the materials found on the site. It recommends that further research be carried out in this area inform of excavations and the date the material remains in order to reveal the age of the site and the time the Iyafe Sinta site was occupied.

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**APPENDIX II****The Co-Ordinates Readings of Finds and Features of the Site**

S/N	Feature	Latitude	Longitude
1	Upper and Lower Grinding Stones	9°11'068'' N	7°07'471'' E
2	Lower Grinding Stones	9°11'632''N	07°7'46.188''E
3	Grave	9°11'100'' N	7°07'4065'' E
4	Treasurer Site	9°11'072'' N	7°07'472'' E
5	Baobab Tree	9°11.112' N	7°07.457' E
6	Granary Foundation	9°11'103'' N	7°07'573
7	Depression	9°11'057'' N	7°07'485. E

APPENDIX III
LIST OF INFORMANTS

S/N	NAME	AGE	GENDER	OCCUPATION	INFORMATION	DATE OF INTERVIEW
1	Alh. Danguda Musa	50	Male	Farmer	General Information	3rd Jan. 2020
2	Sani Danladi	57	Male	Farmer	Oral Tradition	22 nd Jan. 2020
3	Nura Idris	56	Male	Farmer	General Information	11 th Jan. 2020
4	Muhd Tanko	60	Male	Hunter/Farmer	Oral Tradition	7 th Feb. 2020
5	Sani Idris	45	Male	Civil Servant/Farmer	Oral Tradition	8 th Feb. 2020
6	Musa Sarfilu	30	Male	Farmer	Oral tradition	9 th Feb. 2020
7	Sa, adu Jibirin	56	Female	Nil	Oral tradition	2 nd March 2020
8	Sadiya Sani	48	Female	Farmer	Oral tradition	3 rd March 2020
9	Amina Idris	50	Female	Nil	Oral tradition	5 th March 2020
10	Salamatu Mohd	58	Female	Nil	Oral Tradition	6 th March 2020



Federalism, Insecurity and Community Policing In Nigeria

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Abstract

There is a crisis in how federal arrangements could be used to solve the challenges of insecurity in Nigeria. Community policing is being presented as a viable option for resolving this challenge. But there are fears in certain quarters that these regional complimentary security outfits could be converted to ethnic militias thereby posing a greater threat than the ones experienced at present. The essence of centrally controlled security apparatus and the helpless situation experienced by governors and regional grouping of administrative heads of the second tier of governance which pushed them to suggest alternative or complementary security outfits is the central focus of this paper. The paper is preoccupied with theoretical issues on federalism, community policing as a strategy for addressing challenges of insecurity, and the threats and challenges of adopting regional security outfits in Nigeria. This article in five parts has an introduction, a review of literature on theoretical issues on community policing via regional security outfits, the consequences of degeneration into ethnic militias and the prospects of complimenting the central control of security apparatus in Nigeria, and the conclusion/recommendations. Secondary data were generated and analysed in themes. The study concludes that the use of alternative security outfits as community policing infrastructure could serve as a vehicle for managing Nigeria's insecurity challenges like insurgency, kidnapping, cattle rustling and armed banditry. The paper recommends that the central government has to put legislation in place to accept regional security outfits as community policing infrastructure and should work out a partnership that would ensure vigilance among members of communities and reinforce conflict resolution mechanism. This will address grievances that could be explored by criminal elements in the name of agitation for regional autonomy or perpetration of criminal activities

Keywords: Federal arrangement, Insecurity, Community policing, Conflict resolution, Complimentary security outfits

Introduction

Challenges of insecurity have once again ignited the debate on the limitations imposed by the federal arrangement in Nigeria. State governments in the fourth republic have made known their inability to control the security apparatus in their domain because they are controlled by the centre. The police and other paramilitary organisations have a central command in Abuja. If Abuja fails or refuses to send security personnel to trouble or crime zones the state governor usually watches helplessly the massacre or kidnapping of their people without having an alternative. The challenge is how would powers be devolved in order to cede a percentage of authority to state governors for taking swift action when the communities in their areas are in distress? What model of federal arrangement



would give room for the kind of security outfit that would help state governors to take swift action whenever communities in their domain are in distress?

Kidnappers and insurgents are becoming a nuisance because of the illegal funds that they are realising from payment of ransom by families of their abductees and from the government that pays ransom on behalf of parents whose children were abducted in boarding schools. The communities where these criminal elements usually operate are being infiltrated by the informants of (these bandits and insurgents). This raises the question of the roles that the communities too should play in curbing the activities of these criminal elements by being vigilant. The communities seem not to have roles to play in the security architecture.

Community policing is a form of architecture expected to serve as a link between the government and the people devoid of the controversy between the centre and the components in the struggle for the control of the security apparatus of the state. This framework means different things to different people. This is a knotty issue that the federal arrangement is supposed to take care of but Nigeria is still grappling with the ways the arrangement is expected to be made.

Conceptual/theoretical issues

Policing

Policing is concerned with social control. It is the administration of measures put in place for the maintenance of law and order. Thomas (2018:48) posits that "Policing refers to measures and actions taken by a variety of institutions and groups both formal and informal in society to regulate relationships and practices to secure the safety, the norms and values of society". This conception of policing is centred on three elements, namely, norms, values and safety of people in a community. Policing has to do with surveillance and suction aimed at checking social deviants. State agencies and community groups are bestowed with the responsibility of policing. The police and other agencies of the state have specific policing functions. In the communities, individuals do volunteer to perform the function of surveillance and arrest of criminals but do not have the power to detain them. They hand over the suspect to the official policing agency.

Wong (2010:90) posits that the police "Is a depository and coordinator of social resources. Police is an all-purpose emergency problem solver who is authorised to use "legitimacy" and "coercive" resources to solve people's problem in a domestic situation and during the peaceful time". This conception of policing is all about the legitimacy of the control of firearms in the society. The police have the power and authority to apprehend the criminal elements in the society. This instrument helps them to coerce social deviants that do not want to obey law and order.

Again, policing is concerned with preventive measures that could help avoid challenges that lead to the breakdown of law and order in communities. The failure of preventive measures like the gathering of intelligent information has led to the incidence of insecurity. There are instances of the failure of surveillance function of the police and other policing services in Nigeria and this has emboldened social deviants who were supposed to have been checked before carrying out their criminal acts that have now constituted nuisance to citizens in various communities experiencing incidences of insecurity. The intelligence units of the Nigeria Police and other policing services have challenges in relating with the communities where they operate. This is why different kinds of police public relations activities are springing up in the country. State agencies are now co-opting



community groups with policing responsibilities with code names like Police Public Relations Committee (PPRC), Community Accountability Forum (CAP) Police/Vigilante Community Leaders Coordination Meeting (PVCLCM). Communities act on volunteering capacity in order to help the police carry out their functions diligently.

Community Policing

As a concept community policing according to Okeshola and Mudiare (2013:134) is

Anchored on a systematic relationship between the police and the entire citizenry. police roles and functions are not simply law enforcement but also include tackling a huge range of community problems... Community policing is a paradigm shift that seeks to focus on constructive engagement with people who are the end-users of the police service and renegotiate the contract between the people and the police thereby making the community co-producers of Justice and equality police service.

Hills (2011) broadens the concept of community policing with the position that policing is a problem-solving exercise. It involves groups that are not profit-oriented, they could be neighbourhood-based, state or federal government-sponsored. The major objective is to facilitate justice or security which is preferred by them. Yusuf (2018) posits that community policing is a strategy and philosophy which is centred on the creative proactive partnership, consultation, cooperation and collaboration established between the police and the society. These two entities come together in order to address situations of impending danger, fear or all forms of threat which could cause a breach of safety and security in the social environment.

The people in the society are the end users of policing services. They co-produce equality police service and justice. They are involved in a creative proactive partnership aimed at addressing the impending or actual threats to security or safety in their environment. Community policing is thus a mutual relationship between the police and the community for the safety and security of all citizens within a community.

Vigilante groups, hunter groups and community heads are being used as alternative security outfits for the maintenance of law and order in the communities where policing services are inadequate in Nigeria. They are a source of the intelligence reports, like any other citizen they have the power to arrest suspects, but not detain them. It is only the police and prisons that have the capacity to detain suspects within 24 hours and through court orders respectively.

Federalism as a framework

Federalism is a concept and practice that has evolved over time as such defining it is a task that has to be handled with care. The concept according to Friedrich in Burgess (2006:35):

Federalism can be, and often has been a highly dynamic process by which emergent composite communities have succeeded in organizing themselves by effectively institutionalising 'unity in diversity'... A conception of federalism in dynamic terms... fits the notion of constitutionalism as process, and understands the relations between the inclusive community and the component communities as a system of regularised restraints upon the exercise of governmental power so as to make power



and responsibility correlate with the structure of a composite and dynamic community, its interests and needs.

Friedrich's definition is swayed by the idea of constitutional backing that specifies regulations, responsibilities and restraints in the process of sharing powers between and within tiers of governments. Another definition will help in clearing the fog of meaning.

Burgess (2006: 40), in an attempt to explain further, posits that:

...there are enormous variations of the federal principles rather than one simple pattern. These include institutions, the distribution of authority, the scope of the functions assigned to each tier of government, degrees of the institutional arrangements for the protection, amendment and administration of distribution of functions and for the organisation of central legislations and administration, as well as the organisation of government within the component territorial units. These lead to new forms of adaptations of federal government.

Burgess's (2006), explanation dwells more on central legislation and administration and the degree of institutional arrangements for the protection and amendment of how functions are distributed in a federal system. This is for the smooth running of component units within their territory. The central legislation and the executive must lead in the protection and amendment of powers if the federation must not be stagnated.

Federalism is categorised into two places namely aggregative and disaggregative. Aggregative federalism compasses the coming together of sovereign nations to form a single entity which is known as a state or national state. The United States of America is an example of this type of federalism. Disaggregative federalism has to do with the merging of political entities to also form a single entity well-known as a nation or nation-states. Nigeria is as well an example of disaggregative federalism. Aggregative federalism tends toward voluntary action taken by component units to come together, while, disaggregative federalism serves as a binding agent for merging entities to forge a common front and in a long run to avoid disintegration (Odo, 2014).

The federal system allows for the decentralisation of powers and resources to the component units. The diversity of component units is respected in order to give a certain level of autonomy. The principle of compromise is promoted among the various components in a codified form as such a balance is expected. In Nigeria, the federal and regional governments had their powers and the regional governments had a much wider level of autonomy. Something has gone wrong and has discouraged people from expecting that the federal arrangement has failed in been used to solve the challenges of insecurity in Nigeria.

Security challenges in Nigeria

There are numerous security challenges experienced in Nigeria since the return of the fourth republic in 1999. The Niger Delta militant youths were inherited from the military regimes that preceded the fourth republic. The Boko Haram insurgency came up during the regime of President Umar Musa Yaradua. This insurgency took another dimension in the Northeast of Nigeria. In the Niger Delta and the Southeast there were cases of abduction of expatriates working in Oil companies and Nigerians in diaspora returning home during the Christmas festivities. Kidnapping for ransom



become a popular crime. The Boko haram insurgents also borrowed these tactics to perfection in the North East. The bandits operating in the North also took over this crime from the insurgents and made it an all-comers affair in the rural areas and now in cities in northern Nigeria, particularly the North West and North Central. The governors who are the chief security officers in their states have voiced their frustration to show that they were not in charge.

Table 1: Deaths recorded from 2019 to February 2021

S/No	State	No. of people killed
1	Borno	3,005
2	Kaduna	1,026
3	Katsina	879
4	Zamfara	845
5	Niger	236
6	Benue	219
7	Yobe	169
8	Taraba	160
9	Delta	156
10	Plateau	155
11	Adamwa	130
12	Lagos	127
13	Sokoto	126
14	Edo	106
15	Kogi	104
16	Rivers	60
17	Bayelsa	55
18	Anambra	53
19	Ebonyi	53
20	Ondo	52
21	Nasarawa	49
22	FCT	42
23	Enugu	36
24	Akwa Ibom	30
25	Kano	29
26	Osun	28
27	Imo	27
28	Abia	25
29	Ekiti	19
30	Bauchi	15
31	Jigawa	14
32	Kwara	14
33	Kebbi	3

Source: (Nwachukwu, 2021)

Table 1 above shows the number of people killed as a result of insecurity in Nigeria from 2019 to February 2021. This is a very moderate data. The killing by bandits and insurgents is still ongoing. Yet the state governors are complaining because of the federal arrangement in which the Nigerian



police and other policing agencies are directly under the central government which looks incapacitated due to a lack of personnel to adequate equipment and technical know-how.

The governors of Borno, Katsina, Niger and Kaduna States have at one time or the other pleaded to the federal government to come to their aid in defeating insurgents or bandits who pose major security challenges to innocent citizens. These governors cannot secure obedience from neither the military nor the police due to the central hierarchy of command in the federal system practised in Nigeria. These governors have been investing in the security apparatus controlled by the centre, yet the challenges still persist

There are also challenges of election violence that have bedevilled the polity from the first republic to date. The use of political thugs by the political party in power and even strong opposition during electioneering campaigns and during when voting was going on at polling booths. There were accusations against the government security forces supervising thugs who were backing thugs during elections. The political parties in opposition have shown how powerless they were when confronted with security breaches in their domain during the election. They could not secure obedience from the Commissioner of Police in their states. The police command at the centre does not take orders from the governors who are in the second tier of government.

Policing, federal arrangement and the maintenance of security

The president is the chief security officer of the Nation at the federal level the governor and the local government chairman and the chief security officers in their state and local government areas respectively. However, the Nigeria Police Force (NPC) is the organisation responsible for the security public order and safety of citizens and launch citizens and their property in Nigeria. Iweze (1990) observed that the responsibility bestowed on the police is a very difficult one to perform in any free society because the central command of the police resides with the inspector general of the police while the police commissioners at the state level are responsible for the performance of these duties the dilemma of carrying out these responsibilities is in the caveat that:

Where there is doubt in the mind of the police commissioner as to the efficiency of governor's instruction the commissioner will not be under the under any obligation to obey; it means that the governor has the chief executive of the state does not have absolute control of the police force within his state (Iweze 1990:240)

The provision empowering the police to carry out its constitutional duties resides in sections 194,195, (4) of the 1979 constitution and the police act (section 4). The implications of these provisions are that the governor is not likely to get obedience from the commissioner nearby causing delay in fixing challenges of security breaches that could need urgent intervention. From the foregoing position, the commentator will think that there is a lacuna in the exercise of powers as provided in the laws cited but contending positions would uphold the argument of the principle of checks and balances with a central control system.

The helpless situation experienced by governors

The former governor of Zamfara state Abdul Aziz Yari denounced his position as the chief security officer of his state because he was not in control of the state security apparatus. The action was to



call the world's attention to his state of helplessness in his inability to stem the tide of killing in his domain (Anaba, Kumolu, Abdullahi, Duru, Oke, Dania and Onuegbu, 2018).

Governors in Nigeria have expressed their displeasure in the manner in which the police ignore their orders in the name of waiting for orders from Abuja regarding issues that are related to crises or incidences of insecurity. The 8th national assembly try to tinker with the idea of passing a bill that will actualize the dream of states the least that governors have been clamouring for. But the bill could not see the light of the day or to the end of their tenure in 2019. According to the report.

The bill seeks to alter the provision of constitution to establish state and community police, change the names of Nigeria police force to federal Police service the Nigeria police service commission to national Police commission, the Nigeria police council to national Police council and other related matters (Anaba, Kumolu, Abdullahi, Duru, Oke, Dania and Onuegbu, 2018: para 11)

The helplessness of governors is depicted in the ways other governors have presented their misgiving about the federal arrangement of Nigeria's security architecture between the state and centre. The governor of Kaduna State Mal Nasiru El-Rufai declared that. "I am frustrated in my state. Many governors are frustrated in their states. We are called chief security officers only in name but we have no control over coercive instruments of state. We are all frustrated. We are almost helpless" (Nwachukwu, 2021: para 6).

The fallout of the challenges faced by governors in prevailing circumstances of insecurity has pushed governors in some regions in Nigeria to want to take the bull by the horns. This step is the centre of another controversy on the federal arrangement in Nigeria which is a subject of discussion in the subsequent section of this paper.

Regional security network (South West)

The idea of a Western Nigeria security network with the code name Amotekun was discussed in June 2019 by the governors of Southwest state in Ibadan during a summit on challenges of insecurity facing the region. The agency has been established by the governors and it is being funded jointly by the states in the region. There are controversies surrounding the constitutionality of the organization (Ojelu, 2020).

A legal practitioner who is a Senior Advocate of Nigeria, Mr Ebun-Olu Adegboruwa affirms that:

The initiative of South-West Governors on operation Amotekun is a welcome development. It is supported by law and in line with the manifestos of the APC. First, the primary purpose of government as stated in section 14 of the constitution is the security and welfare of the people. Thus, any steps taken in this direction is commendable (Quoted from Ojelu 2020 para: 6).

Second, by virtue of section 11 (2) of the constitution, the government should do its best stew secure the peace order and good governance of the people. This initiative is in furtherance of the agitation of restructuring and adoption of state police (Quoted from Ojelu 2020 para: 7).



Contrary to the position of the legal practitioner expressed in the preceding paragraph, Mr kabiru Akingbulu (Ekiti State Judicial Service Commission member) asserts that:

With this type of federation that we run, I don't think it is constitutionally right to setup such a body because it will rival the police the civil defence and other security outfit of the Nation. Although, without prejudice to the rights duties and obligations of the citizens. I don't believe it is a solution to the security challenges we face in Nigeria Quoted from (Ojelu, 2020: para 9).

Also the move becomes more worrisome in view of the security challenges being faced in the country and in southwest. This is because by this move, you are going to give lethal weapons or firearms to untrained individuals who are majority illiterate or vagabond, thereby fuelling the possibilities of breakdown of law and order or state of lawlessness and helplessness, when we are yet to overcome the perpetual danger of some gun trotting security personnel at whose instance many Nigerians have gone to early graves through either stray bullets or vindictive killing (Quoted from Ojelu, 2020: para 10).

The operation Amotekun can only wreak havoc than safeguarding the people. It is rather a catalyst to insecurity than guaranteeing security. And in all honesty no governor has the power to field such security outfit under any guise, an a fortiori, the south-west governors will only be acting ultra vires of their constitutional limitations, especially when we are running a regional government. It is a dangerous signal to national unity honestly. Thus it must be handled with care otherwise we will be sitting on a keg of gunpowder (Ojelu, 2020: para, 11)

Regional security network (South East)

Mr Dave Omehi the Governor of Ebonyi State who is the chairman of South East Governors in Nigeria asserts that.

What we have in the Southeast States is a joint security commute which trains neighbourhood watch and the vigilante groups or other local security architectures in different states in the region. if anybody tells you that there could be security personnel contributed from different states to form joint security for this region it is not a possibility. It is not what cable even if the constitution permits it (Quoted from Odu, 2021: para 5).

Every state is peculiar and so is their security challenges. The problem is that those complaining about the lack of joint security for the Southeast are not living in the region they don't have the knowledge of how security works in the region (Quoted from Odu, 2021: para 6).

The governors of south-east states are comfortable with the different security architectures and various states because the personnel are working very well. There is the problem of insecurity in the region but the issue is not peculiar to the region alone. It is a national problem (Quoted from Odu, 2021: para 7)

Governor Omehi argues further that:



The advantage of community policing is that it has the impetus to the law to arrest and detain suspects, but in our case in South East, we also have the state law which is very good in doing this. However, no section of the state law will run contrary to federal laws (Quoted from Odu, 2021: para 10).

We reject the template that the IGP brought to us at Enugu on community policing because it did not give the meeting the power to control the community police. It is being restructured to give the traditional rulers and local government chairman the power to control the system (Quoted from Odu 2021: para 11).

Mr Dave Omehi the Governor of Ebonyi State later announced the inauguration of EbubeAgwu as the centralized regional security of the South East. Thus the security architecture designed by Southwest, which is a source of controversy as discussed earlier is being repeated in the Southeast. This shows that governors of the states in the Southeast are also trying to resist the central command of the Nigeria Police in the alternative policing outfit that they have established. This will create a clash of functions between the Nigeria Police and those outfits because the Federal Constitution does not give them the powers to resist the authority of the Inspector General of Police who is being controlled from the centre. However, the south-east governors later adopted a regional approach to solving their security challenge with the model called Ebube Agu. The model is yet to help reduce crime and rebellion depicted in the way some youths are calling for the resuscitation of Biafra through violent means.

Regional security network (Northern Nigeria)

In the northern part of Nigeria, the governors expressed their interest in working with vigilante by passing laws that regulate their activities as part of the security architecture within each state. They have refused to establish a regional security network because they are aware it contravenes the laws of the federation. However, in Niger and Borno states, the vigilante and Civilian JTF are being empowered to carry firearms which were not within their jurisdiction. This decision was taken by the governors because of the inherent danger in their confrontation with bandits and insurgents who have more sophisticated firearms. The vigilantes in the North are established to work under the police or the military during operations. Except for special operations, they are under the Divisional Police Officers in their respective local government areas and ward.

Although there are incidences of exuberance from the vigilante or other alternative policing outfits in the North, but the governors are yet to give them support that will make them to refuse to subordinate their organisations to the supervision of the Nigeria Police in solving security challenges in their place of operation.

Threats and challenges of adopting regional security outfits in Nigeria

It is not constitutionally right to set up regional security outfits coordinated by regional-based officials. It is a parallel organization which will likely clash with the police in their line of duty. Lethal weapons or firearms are being given to untrained illiterates or touts who are likely to serve as political thugs during the campaign. They are likely to be used to fuel the breakdown of law and order and create a state of the state of lawlessness. They would wreak havoc on innocent citizens instead of safeguarding the people. It is rather a catalyst for incessant insecurity than guaranteeing security (Ojelu, 2020).



Another threat and challenge of adopting regional security outfits in Nigeria is that it could alter the federal arrangement and lead to the disintegration of the country if ethnic politics is eventually used in dividing the people during elections. The opposition could fuel the seed of hatred and the party in government would use the decentralized security apparatus in their domain to threaten or eliminate key figures in the opposition that usually antagonize them. The politicians are usually dreadful during the election. They usually employ thugs to snatch ballot boxes at pooling units or collation centres.

The central legislation in the Nigerian Federation is yet to consider the possibilities of amending the constitution to and the executive must lead in the protection and amendment of powers if the federation to accommodate the idea of policing outfit that could be under the direct control of the states. Attempts were made at the Senate in 2018 but the proposed bill could not scale through before the 2019 elections.

The executive arm of government does not want to consider devolving powers to the state in order to create an alternative policing outfit that would want to rival the one controlled by the centre. However, vigilante groups and local hunter groups are being used in places where the incidence of a security breach are prevalent. Although, the law does not permit them to carry arms but they were being licenced by the state to carry arms in order to confront bandits and other criminal elements who operate using firearms.

Conclusion and recommendation

Community policing by its philosophy and strategic usage is a very good framework for maintaining the federal arrangement that Nigeria has in the face of challenging security threats. It could bridge the gap between policing needs of the people within their community. The volunteering aspect of it will reduce the funds needed for securing communities thereby easing the burden of funding from the federal, state and local governments respectively.

The central government has to put legislation in place to accept alternative security outfits as community policing infrastructure while the Nigeria Police serves as the superstructure. The central government should work out a partnership that would ensure vigilance among members of communities and reinforce conflict resolution mechanisms.

Each state or community has its peculiar nature of incidences of insecurity as such the community could arrange with the police and other policing agencies to create community policing strategies that would best solve their problems creatively through consultations and collaborations. It will reduce the duplication and clash of functions among the alternative policing outfits and the Nigeria Police.

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Comparison of President Olusegun Obasanjo and Muhammadu Buhari Civil Administrations of Socio-Economic Affairs

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Abstract

The socio-economic development of any society is relatively dependent on the nature, character and pattern of its administrative leadership. Since its independence, Nigeria witnessed different administrations or regimes with their concomitant implications on the socio-economic development and well-being of its citizens. This paper examines the President Obasanjo's (1999-2007) and Buhari's (2015-date) administrations and their implications on socio-economic development in Nigeria. The data gathered are mainly from the secondary sources and analyzed using the content method of data analysis. The paper adopts the elite theory to serve as a theoretical foundation for the study. The comparative study revealed that socio-economic development remain part of the major challenges of leadership bedeviling both administrations in Nigeria. However, the Buhari's administration demonstrated much leadership inapt in addressing the socioeconomic challenges of Nigeria. Top on the scale are insecurity, corruption, pervasive poverty and loss of lives and properties, high level of crimes among others, which further affects the socio-economic well-being of Nigerians. The paper concluded that even though the fight against corruption and insecurity are on the front burner of both administrations, more proactive measures need to be put in place in tackling the menace headlong, and issues such as high levels of poverty, massive unemployment and the problem of immunity clause need to be revisited.

Keywords: Administration, Insecurity, Corruption, Development, Socio-economic development, Nigeria.

Introduction

Most African countries still struggle over the socio-economic development of their various societies. Although, this failure has been always related to bad leadership which mostly plays significant role at the expense of forces or factors that are more harmful to the growth and socio-economic development of these countries. The most prominent among is the inability of administrative leadership across these countries to tap, initiate and transform the societies in line with the resources (both human & Material) at their disposal within their geographical domain. In other words, the socio-economic development of any society is intemperately dependent on the nature, character and pattern of its administration. For instance; Freedom, Christian and Temilola (2015) noted that, in terms of resources, Nigeria is endowed with enormous natural and human resources sufficient to place it among the first 20 developed countries of the world. It is also the Africa's largest producer



of oil and the sixth largest oil producing country in the world. Yet, these have not been translated or reflected in the socio-economic conditions of the Nigerian citizens.

Since its independence in 1960 to date, Nigeria witnessed fourteen different administrations with their concomitant implications on the structure of socio-economic development and well-being of the citizens across the country, despite its abundant human and natural resources. The return of civil rule in 1999 gave Nigerian citizens a high expectation that the new era of socio-economic development and welfare of citizens has come to stay, but today these expectations were defeated by the high level of poverty, unemployment, corruption, insecurity among others that deteriorated the inferior social, economic and well-being of the common people in the country. On one hand, the current administration under President Buhari's leadership, during his campaign period vowed to end all the social and economic menaces if elected into office in 2015. On the other hand, many people believed that having assumed office he once occupied as a military officer and for which he contested four times, his administration is expected to urgently tackle several challenges that have besieged Nigeria over the last three decades (Freedom et.al, 2015). However, things are even getting worse than expected especially considering the massive number of unemployed youths that are roaming the streets which contributed to the high level of poverty and different sort of crimes across the country.

Therefore, the concern of this paper is to examine Obasanjo and Buhari's administrations and their concomitant implications on the socio-economic development in Nigeria. Some of the specific questions raised by the study include: what are the challenges making Nigerian leaders perform worse than expected particularly on the issues of citizen's welfare and socio-economic development of the country? Is there any effort put in place to improve the citizen's welfare and socio-economic development in the country? What are the successes or failures of such an effort, if any? Consequently, the paper is divided as follows: introduction which has been covered, conceptual issues, and theoretical discourse, challenges of President Obasanjo and Buhari's administrations, and their Implications on socio-economic development in Nigeria, and conclusion and recommendations.

Conceptual Clarifications

Administration

The term administration has been thoroughly defined by different scholars in the field. For instance, in the words of Gladden (1952), Administration means, to care for or look after people, and/or to manage society's affairs. For Marx (1959), Administration is a determined action taken in pursuit of a conscious purpose. It is the systematic ordering of affairs and the calculated use of resources aimed toward achieving societal goals. Administration has also been defined as the organism and use of men and materials to accomplish a purpose (Nigro, 1971). In the same direction, Simon (1947) maintained that administration is the activities of groups cooperating to accomplish common societal goals. According to Gullick (1937), Administration has to do with getting things done, with the accomplishment of defined objectives. Bercley (1991), conceptualized the term “administration” as a process involving human beings jointly engaged in working towards achieving common goals of society. Arising from the foregoing definitions, however, this paper adopts the meaning of the term or concept, looking at it, more, from the perspective of political administration. The term political administration is so crucial that it elicits broader discussions among scholars in recent times.



It hence, stresses the relation between politics and administration. Anderson, (2000), for instance, suggested that the level of politics should concentrate on the general political outlining (agenda setting) and entrust the remaining to the administration. It has been observed that politicians make their decisions based on single cases, which ought to be an administrative matter entirely.

For the purpose of clarity, political administration, as it applies to this paper, can be seen as the methodology and vision adopted by various leaders to address certain issues or problems, which no doubt, has a significant effect on the well-being of people and the overall socio-economic development of the country. For instance, Nigeria, under the administration of late former President Yar'adua, adopted the vision of the 7 Points Agenda, which was replaced with the Transformation Agenda by his successor Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, even though the program was not completed. While, the current administration under the leadership of President Muhammadu Buhari set to eradicate corruption and insecurity in Nigeria, which left the transformation agenda of former president Goodluck Ebele Jonathan abandoned.

Development

The concept of development is like other concepts in social sciences that cannot be subjected to a single definition. Todaro (1997) argued that development is a multi-dimensional process involving the re-organization and re-orientation of an entire economic and social system that involves radical changes in institutional, social, and administrative structures as well as in popular attitudes, customs, and even beliefs of people in the society. Development is, therefore, defined as a planned and comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process, which aims to continually improve the well-being of the entire individuals of a defined geographical area. The individuals would be actively involved in open, meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of benefits (Fritz, n.d). On one hand, Gboyega (2003) conceptualized development as an idea that embodies all attempts to improve the conditions of human existence in all ramifications. It implies improvement in the material well-being of all citizens, not the most powerful and rich alone, in a sustainable way such that today's consumption does not imperil the future, it also demands that poverty and inequality of access to the good things of life be removed or drastically reduced. It seeks to improve personal physical security and livelihoods and expansion of life chances. It is reasonable to know that development is not only an economic exercise but also involves social, economic and political issues and permeates all aspects of societal life (Lawal & Oluwatoyin, 2011). On the other hand, Gauba (1981) define development as a process in which a system or institution is transformed into stronger, more organized, more efficient and more effective form and proves to be more satisfying in terms of human wants and aspirations. Therefore, development is primarily a positive phenomenon. It stands for the improvement of human life in all spheres.

Urien (2014) further observed that development does not only means capital accumulation and economic growth but the condition in which people in a country have adequate food, job and income inequality among them is greatly reduced. This is because the major objective of development is to improve the level standard of people and provide the opportunity to develop their potential. Therefore, development in this context means the ability of political authority to combine both human and natural resources to improve the quality of people's lives through the provisions of security, quality education, adequate health facilities, constant water and electricity supply and all



other necessary infrastructural facilities that can provide a conducive atmosphere for the people to build up their abilities within the state.

Socio-Economic Development

Socio-economic development generally refers to the sustained or concerted actions of policymakers and communities aimed at promoting the standard of living and economic health of a specific area. Such actions include the development of human capital, critical infrastructure, regional competitiveness, health, safety, literacy and other initiatives (Ukpong and George, 2012). Olukayode (2014) asserted that socio-economic development is a product of development, thus, can be seen as the processes of both social and economic transformation in a society, which embraces changes taking place in the social sphere mostly of an economic nature. It is made up of processes caused by exogenous and endogenous factors which determine the course and direction of the development. To him, socio-economic development is measured with indicators, such as GDP, life expectancy, literacy, levels of employment and equality in one hand, and on the other hand, changes in less-tangible factors are also considered, such as personal dignity, freedom of association, personal safety and freedom from fear of physical harm, and the extent of participation in civil society.

Socio-economic development, therefore, refers to the various authoritative efforts, initiatives, policies and programmes aimed at improving the quality of social life and economic well-being of the majority members of the society. Skills acquisition, poverty alleviation programmes, equality, provision of quality education, health facilities, employment and security, constant water and electricity supply, roads, and agricultural facilities are the major factors that determine the level of socio-economic development of a country.

Theoretical Foundation

To explain and analyze the challenges of both administration and its concomitant implications on socio-economic development in Nigeria, the Elite theory could be more relevant and useful, because of its ability and strength to identify the character of those who actually ruled or administered the society. This theory originates from the writings of Gaetano Mosca (1858–1941), Vilfredo Pareto (1848–1923), Robert Michels (1876–1936), and Max Weber (1864–1920). Mosca (1939) for instance, emphasized the ways in which tiny minorities outorganize and outsmart large majorities, adding that “political classes” (i.e. political elites) usually have “a certain material, intellectual, or even moral superiority” over those they govern. Pareto (1968), postulated that in a society with truly unrestricted social mobility, elites would consist of the most talented and deserving individuals; but in actual societies, elites are those most adept at using the two modes of political rule, force and persuasion, and who usually enjoy important advantages such as inherited wealth and family connections. Michels (1962), rooted elites (oligarchies) in the need for large organizations for leaders and experts, in order to operate efficiently, as these individuals gain control of funds, information flows, promotions, and other aspects of organizational functioning that are geared toward the development of an organization, power becomes concentrated in their hands. Weber (1978) held that political action is always determined by the principle of small numbers which means the superior political manoeuvrability of small leading groups. In mass states, this element is ineradicable.



However, the term political elite can also be defined as a group of high stratum decision-makers in a concrete political structure which monopolizes political power, and influences major social, political and economic policies that are geared towards the socio-economic development and wellbeing of people in the various structure of society. Thus, the main duty of the political elite to the public as a whole is to reconstruct society by attempting to mobilize and tap available resources necessary for the socio-economic development of the state. Yet, the political elite class in Nigeria seems to assumed different dimension that is unusual of realistic functions in a development context. In other words, the formation and conduct of Nigeria's political elite group have not been translated into a source of socio-economic development in the country. This is in spite of the observation made by Purcell in Ojo (2006), that powerful initiatives from within the political elite groups are critically important for national development. Presently, the crisis of socio-economic development, induced by the political administrative elite, is the most serious problem facing Nigeria. The country has remained largely underdeveloped despite the presence of huge mineral and human resources. Six decades after the end of foreign domination, Nigeria is still fighting with problems such as a high poverty rate, lack of basic infrastructural facilities in all sectors of the economy, corruption, unemployment, high mortality rate, political crisis and insecurity of lives and property among others.

Olusegun Obasanjo Administration's Policy Agenda (1999-2007)

Following years of economic stagnation under military rule, with the coming of the fourth republic Nigeria embark on comprehensive reform programmes during the civil rule of President Obasanjo administration. The programmes were based on the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) and focused on four main areas; improving the macroeconomic environment, pursuing structural reforms, strengthening public expenditure management, and implementing institutional and governance reforms.

Extend reforms to the sub-national levels: the state governments adopted the same programmes known as state economic empowerment and development strategies (SEEDS) in line with NEEDS which was only adopted by a handful of states. Moreover, fiscal decentralization in Nigeria implies that states and local governments are responsible for half of government consolidated expenditures. Posing independence of their expenditures decisions for social services such as health and education. Though, corruptions, low capacity and weak institutions at the sub-national level hinder the ability to implement public policies for smooth achievement of set goals.

Focus on non-oil growth and employment generation: this involves movement from micro to macroeconomics stabilizations. By so doing we move from oil sectors to a more diversified economy, to reduce poverty, improve agricultural reforms, and solid minerals.

Improvement of domestic business climates: the administration gave a proper environment for small and large scale entrepreneurs. Survey shows that ranking increased marginally from 109 out of 175 in 2005, and 108 out of 175 countries in 2006. However, challenges such as computerizing land registration titles, and custom reforms, which doing business requires remain a priority in the future.

Infrastructures expansion and privatizations: Due to poor infrastructures such as poor roads and railways transportation and ports, power sectors, etc, government tried to ensure quality and



quantitative improvement of these sectors. Obasanjo tried to improve public-private partnership (PPP), and many organizations were privatized such as housing and power sectors, but efforts were aborted by one factor or another.

Strengthen domestic institutions: CBN is one of the strong domestic institutions that support long-term growth and development, by ensuring monetary policies are well achieved. The National Assembly in 2006 drafted legislation on fiscal responsibility bill to ensure budget transparency and fiscal reforms. The public procurement bill, the NEITI bills, various tax reforms bills, CBN/BOFI act amendment bill, the ports bills, anti-trust bill/competition bills, and downstream gas bill as well as EFCC and ICPC.

Obasanjo's Challenges and Implications for Socio-Economic Development in Nigeria

Undoubtedly the bane of the Nigerian State is leadership. Nigeria has not been fortunate to have purposeful and visionary leadership that can help galvanize the country to the pinnacle of socio-economic and political growth and development. The situation is even more horrendous under the military jackboots that are not responsible to anybody but themselves. This is in addition to gross violation of the constitution, mismanagement of the national economy, misappropriation of public funds, and the centralization of a pluralistic country like Nigeria, scant regard for the rule of law, due process, judiciary and constitutionalism.

So, it was with joy and very high expectation that the Nigerian populace received the government of Obasanjo in 1999. It was thought then that, at least since democracy is a government of the people, for the people and by the people. It will be a government that is considerate and carry out programmes that will ameliorate the deplorable conditions of the Nigeria people and take the national economy out of the woods. It was expected that the government would be concerned about the needs, aspirations, desires, plights, expectations and concerns of the Nigerian people. All these have been nothing but a tantalizing mirage. Not only was misanthropic economic policies pursued, to the Obasanjo's government that the people amounts to nothing in its estimation. This was the period when there was constant friction between the legislature and executive occasioned by the autocratic nature of President Obasanjo, this is coupled with the ceaseless violation of the various provisions of the constitution and the systematic institutionalization of Ghana-Must-Go as an instrument of political settlement.

It will be recalled that in the first four years of the Obasanjo administration, Nigeria was in the wilderness, as the President kept gallivanting throughout the globe, not minding the multiplicity of encumbrances the country is enmeshed in. He is rather more interested in what the international community thinks about him. This is the real reason that the developmental dividends of democracy in Nigeria have not percolated to the people that actually needs them. Instead of setting goals and targets that can positively move the country, he plays the politics of divide and rule, ethnic sentiment, religious passion, exclusionist agenda and runs a- one- man- show.

In 2003, when he was re-elected and since he started his so-called reforms programmes, things have not dramatically improved for the Nigerian people. The price of petroleum products has been increased 11 times; as a result of the privatization programme hundreds of thousands of people have lost their means of livelihood. In fact, according to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2006) report, over 70 per cent of the entire Nigeria population lives on less than less than



\$1 per day. Indeed, when the economic programmes of the government were put together, it was hurriedly done without wide consultations. Today, in Nigeria many people don't know what NEEDS is, or what is in the NEEDS document? The various dramatis personae in the Nigerian economy do not know what NEEDS stands for. So, if people are not generally informed of these basic facts, how can they work in tandem with the government to bail Nigeria out of the protracted economic morass? That is why nothing is working in the country today. Today, in Nigeria, healthcare centers are worse than mere consulting clinics, education sector is in a shambles, agriculture is in a very pitiable state as Nigeria imports most of what it consumes, housing is just for the very affluent, roads are in a deplorable state of disrepair, solid minerals development is virtually not existent, power supply is terrible even after when over \$1 billion have been expended on the crucial sector, adequate water supply is still a tall dream, yet there is constant water and power supply when compare to neighbor states like Ghana, Benin Republic and Togo, the per capita income, GNP, GDP and industrial capacity utilization are abysmally low. So, what concrete things can the government point to as achievement, if it is telecommunications, for instance, it is a big rip-off, it would be recalled that Nigerians, fought tooth and nail before the per second billing system came on board, ditto the price of SIM cards, there is also the problem of network failures and other connectivity problems associated with telecoms in Nigeria, and we know what obtains in different countries of the world, why is Nigeria different.

It is instructive to note the 1999 constitution which Obasanjo swore on oath to uphold, gave specific instruction as to how the economy should be managed. For instance, section 16(1) b state very clearly that the state shall, "control the national economy in such manner as to secure the maximum welfare, freedom and happiness of every citizen on the basis of social justice and equality of status and opportunity". Section 16 (2) c stipulates that, "the economic system is not operated in such a manner as to permit the concentration of wealth or the means of production and exchange in the hands of few individual or of a group; and section 16(2) d explains that, "suitable and adequate shelter, suitable and adequate food, reasonable national minimum living wage, old age care and pensions, and unemployment, sick benefits and welfare of the disabled are provided for all citizen". The government has failed to do any of this, yet democracy is predicated on the rule of law and constitutionalism.

It is unfortunate that government points to the re-consolidation exercise of banks from N2billion to N25billion, but the fact is that the people of Nigeria have not been empowered enough to stabilize and propel the internal dynamics of Nigeria's productive force. And, are the banks actually re-capitalized? Again, why has a lot of local or domestic companies' closed shop in Nigeria? Why has the so-much talked about foreign investment eluded the country? Yes, the government of the day (Obasanjo regime) said alot about having so much cash in the foreign reserve, but these are monies generated as a result of increase in oil prices in the international market, and not because of the propensity of the domestic manufacturing sector to produce massive and compete at the world market. In any case, why stockpile cash, when there are different area of the economy begging for attention?

Thus, poverty and unemployment became the order of the day, corruption writs large and many things seemed not to be working. Unfortunately, this is the same government of president Obasanjo that wants to sit-tight, until the third term agenda was roundly defeated in the National Assembly.



Now, the same self- government and the Ahmadu Ali led garrison politics wanted to impose a candidate on the Nigerian people. Certainly this is not the type of government and people Nigerians bargained for. Nigerians deserve a better deal. Nigerians have never had a true democratically elected government in the real sense of the word, as the polity has been highly militarized. What it has done since the commencement of Obasanjo’s administration reform programme is to implement policies as churned out by the international financial organizations and donor agencies, however none of this policies can effectively guarantee organic development, what it has done is to encourage the development of underdevelopment, as well as promote capital flight while making the Nigerian economy perpetually subservient or eternally tied to the apron strings of the international finance capital.

Impact of Obasanjo’s administration on socioeconomic development

During the 8 years of Obasanjo’s administration, the government was dominant of dictatorship and maladministration. However, it was able to make a lot of achievements in telecommunication, aviation and other transportations; management of Niger Delta restiveness, oil and gas sectors, agricultural sectors, labour and industrial relations, police reforms, manufacturing sectors, tourism, solid minerals, sports, child trafficking, pension, employment and jobs, inflations level, poverty reductions, ethnic and religious harmony, etc.

Thus, the administration made some other outstanding achievements: Paying off our suffering sovereign debt to Paris and London clubs of credits nations. Which was champion by indefatigable World Bank vice president in Washington USA and later become minister of finance Mrs, Dr. Ngozi Okonjo Iweala. So also, foreign debt/debt services, telecommunication sectors, power sectors, postal services, armed forces and internal security, housing and urban sectors, banking and financial sectors, foreign investment, trade, ratting and investment, drugs control and NAFDAC, Drugs control/NDLEA, human and child trafficking, anti-corruption war and good governance/EFCC and ICPC, human rights records, foreign affairs, and domestic debts payments among others.

Muhammad Buhari Administration’s Policy Agenda (2015-2022)

1. Public declaration of assets and liabilities by all political appointees.
2. Inaugurated the National Council on Procurement as stipulated in the Procurement Act. The Federal Executive Council, which has been turned into a weekly market for government contracts, will concentrate on its principal function of policymaking.
3. Review and implement audit recommendations by Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI).
4. Work with the National Assembly towards the immediate enactment of a Whistle Blower Act.
- 5 Work with National Assembly to strengthen EFCC and ICPC by guaranteeing institutional autonomy including financial and prosecutorial independence and security of tenure of officials.
- 6 Ensure that all MDAs regularly comply with their accountability responsibilities to Nigerians through the National Assembly.
- 7 Work with the leadership of the National Assembly to cut down the cost of governance.
- 8 Present a National Anti-Corruption Strategy.
- 9 Make the Financial Intelligence Unit (FIU) an autonomous and operational agency.



10 Encourage proactive disclosure of information by government institutions in the Spirit of the Freedom of Information Act.

11 End all private jet and first-class foreign travel for government employees, construction of roads as well as train stations, youths' empowerment, and anchor borrowers among others.

However, there are numerous challenges under Buhari's administration from 2015-2022 ranging from Insecurity such as banditry, Corruption, maladministration, immunity of prosecuting political office holders, Pervasive poverty and massive unemployment, etc.

Buhari's Challenges and its Implications for Socio-Economic Development in Nigeria

As a matter of fact, every regime or administration in Nigeria has always been accompanied by many challenges that have implications, which can either be positive or negative, progressive or deteriorative on the socio-economic development of citizens. As noted by Lawal and Oluwatoyin (2011), the nature of leadership in Nigeria has not been able to engender any meaningful national development, in spite of her huge resources endowment. This has greatly affected her quest to improve the quality of life of her citizens. Poverty, unemployment and starvation still pervade the nook and cranny of the country associated with the socio-economic development of the country.

Insecurity

Even though the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria has been weakened down by the Nigerian Military Forces in the North-eastern Nigeria (Nigerian Bulletin, 2016), but other crimes such as banditry and kidnapping, militancy in the Niger Delta, herdsman/farmer crisis, armed robbery, cultism, domestic violence, assassination and hooliganism, and rape among others persist, threatening the lives and properties of people vis-à-vis affecting their social and economic lives across the country. For instance; Nigerian Bulletin (2016) recorded some of the people that have suffered from the issue of kidnapping, in fact, some were even killed since the inception of 2016. Among include; Senator Iyabo Anisulowo in Ogun State, Colonel Sama'ila Inusa who was kidnapped and later killed by his abductors the same day in Kaduna state, the Permanent Secretary of Osun State Ministry of Finance, Budget and Economic Planning, Mrs Adebimpe Ogunlunmade, her driver and a Director from the same Ministry Mr Tajuddeen Badejoko who accompanied her were kidnapped in Kogi state. While, in the same state, a female lecturer in the Department of Biological Sciences at the Federal University of Agriculture Makurdi was also abducted and killed after collecting the ransom from her family. Again, kidnappers abducted and killed the newly appointed transition Committee Chairman of Jos East Local Government Area of Plateau State, APC Chieftain in Rivers State, Elyon Ntiro Elijah and Chief Ibibia Walter were reportedly kidnapped a few hours to the commencement of the state's re-run elections, Nancy Keme Dickson who is a sister of Bayelsa State Governor, Seriake Dickson was also Kidnapped in December 2015. Also, the Lagos Command of the Nigerian Police recorded 51 and 25 kidnapped cases in 2016 and in 2017 respectively (Vanguard, 2017).

On the other hand, the issue of banditry and the herdsman/farmer crisis today have taken a new dimension, threatening security and also affecting the socio-economic life of people across the country. Therefore, the issue of insecurity is one of the major challenges of the current administration which if not tackled decisively would continue to have negative effects on the social and economic well-being of the people across the country.



Corruption

Nigeria has been consistently rated among the most corrupt countries in the world by Transparency International in its Corruption Perception Index. As part of his top priorities, immediately after the inaugural ceremony, President Muhammadu Buhari set up a Presidential Adversary Committee Against Corruption (PACAC) headed by Prof. Itse Sagay and among the mandate of the committee was to formulate a strategy and co-ordinate the anti-corruption war of the administration, ensuring that all sectors of the Nigerian society are involved (Igbuzor, 2016). Due to the commitment of the administration to fighting corruption, between 29 May 2015 and 25 May 2016 alone, President Buhari recovered N3.4 trillion, including recoveries under interim forfeiture (Cash & Assets) (This day, 2016). And again, through the new Whistle blowing Policy introduced by the Federal Ministry of Finance, about \$160m and another N8 billion stolen government funds were recovered within its first two months of operation (Leadership Newspaper, 2017).

However, there are cases of corruption under President Buhari's administration committed by some prominent politicians and administrators. For instance, N270 million to allegedly clear grass for IDPs was diverted by the former secretary to the federation Babachir Lawal. At the states level, the corrupt practices accompanied by the lack of accountability and transparency in spending public funds remain the order of the day, particularly among the state governors. As matter of fact, in some states, paying worker's salaries alone became a headache, not to talk of even infrastructural or socio-economic development and well-being of the state's members. In line with this, Budget (2017) observed that the allocation, utilization and spending of public funds remain unclear, uncoordinated, and brazen, given most of the state government's inability to acknowledge the presence or wishes of the same Nigerians who voted for them and in whose names these funds are disbursed. All of these indicated that most of the state governments do not concern much about the welfare and socio-economic well-being of their people, but are rather interested in diverting the public funds into their private affairs, particular due to their selfish nature, motivated by corrupt mindsets, lack of accountability and transparency within the system, thereby making life difficult for common men across the states and the country as a whole.

Non-adherence to Rule of Law

One of the major ingredients of democracy anywhere in the world is its adherence to the rule of law which gives both rulers and ruled the opportunity to determine their destiny with the stipulated law of the state. However, since the return to civil rule in 1999, there were many breach of law particularly by those that occupied or holds political power. Lawal, Imokhuede & Johnson (2012) observed that the leaders in Nigeria do not show respect for the rule of law, especially, judicial decisions. This hampers the judiciary from effectively discharging its duties. The political executives still undermine the independence of the judiciary through patronage appointments, and judicial administration is characterized by weak enforcement capacity. Adeyanju (2017) further pointed out that the rule of law has suffered some setbacks presently, which need to be properly addressed for the entrenchment of sustainable socio-economic development in Nigeria. Immunity of prosecuting political office holders is another leadership challenge facing the present administration of President Buhari, with its accompanying negative effect on the socio-economic development of this country. Consequently, the immunity clause had created an umbrella for some top government officials (e.g state governors) to tamper with their state resources, thereby leading to infrastructural decay and underdevelopment at the state levels (Daily Post, 2016).



Premium Times (2013) noted that the immunity clause in the constitution provides the president, vice president, governors and their deputies, with protection from prosecution of offences they commit while in the office. However, in his commitment to fight corruption and to ensure offenders face the full wrath of the law, President Buhari assured Nigerians that no stone will be left unturned in the fight against corruption, not even an immunity clause will aid the escape of anyone who is fingered and found guilty by the law, but many of the corrupt political officials have neither been convicted nor jail. Even the attempt by the President Buhari to freeze the account of the Ekiti State Governor, Ayodele Fayose, was actually shattered by serious arguments as to whether those under the category of sitting Presidents and governors as well as their deputies, can face investigation, which includes freezing of their accounts (The Guardian, 2016).

In line with the facts above, Saidu (2015) makes it clear that one of the weaknesses of Nigeria's constitutions is the provision of an immunity clause to political office holders so long as one is occupying a political seat of power, that person is too big to go to jail or court until his/her administration is over. This new emerging trend constitutes a serious threat to the promotion of welfare and socio-economic development of Nigerian citizens as a whole. Therefore, it is a reality that the immunity clause itself, is a gross ambiguity and huge contradiction, which calls for all hands to be on deck to curb the menace.

Pervasive Poverty and Massive Unemployment

Pervasive poverty and massive unemployment in Nigeria have become the greatest challenges facing the administration of President Buhari. Although these problems are not only peculiar to the present administration, because even the previous administrations suffered the same problems, what differs from them is the effort made to reduce the repercussions of these challenges. For instance, according to the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), the unemployment rate in Nigeria increased to 14.2% in the last quarter of 2016 from 10.4% same quarter of 2015. It is the highest unemployment rate since 2009. And it rose from 14.2% to 18.8% in 2017 (Vanguard, 2017).

However, in late 2016, the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) also reported that about 112 million Nigerians (representing 67.1%) of the country's total population of 167 million are living below the poverty level (Vanguard, 2016). As a matter of fact, poverty is a product of unemployment and inequality on one hand, and it is also a parent of all crime in the society on the other hand. This is what we are witnessing today in Nigeria because the jobless youths are frustrated and retaliating back to the system that created and rendered them unemployed. In line with this, Jombo (2014) observed the following trend; 'The Niger Delta youths, the Movement for Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), the Oduduwa People's Congress (OPC), and the Boko Haram insurgents comprised the young people of Nigeria without salary-earning jobs. The incidence of suicide bombing, terrorists' attacks, kidnapping, destruction of lives and properties, armed robbery, vandalization of corporate facilities, (such as the power holding installations and oil pipelines), car-snatching, drug abuse, and other criminal acts are unlawful activities associated with these groups (Jombo, 2014: 33).

Therefore, this indicated a direct relationship between unemployment, poverty and the high rate of insecurity of lives and properties in Nigeria, meaning that the increased wave of crimes and violence is a result of pervasive poverty and massive unemployment among the Nigerian youths. To find solutions to some of these issues, the current administration introduced an unprecedented social



investment programme known as the N-Power initiative aimed at creating jobs for the youth but, the problem remains unsolved because of high unemployment rate across the country with over 200 tertiary institutions producing more than 200,000 graduates per annum (Freedom, et.al, 2015).

Conclusion and Recommendations

This paper established the fact of both administrations experienced insecurity, corruption, non-adherence to rule of law, immunity of the political office holders and pervasive poverty and unemployment as part and parcel of the major challenges of the administrations. Although these challenges are not different from those faced by the previous administrations, however, the way and manner they were handled differ. As a matter of fact, many public office holders today are extra careful to be associated with the issue of corruption, unlike what was obtained in the last administration, this is by no means to say that the scourge (corrupt practices) does not exist among the present sets of political office holders in the country, who hide under the canopy of the so-called immunity clause, in breach of the extant laws of the land. On the other hand, the issue of insecurity particularly the Boko Haram insurgency in the northeast and the militancy in the Niger-Delta has minimised to the barest minimum, if not defeated. However, other security challenges as mentioned earlier in the paper still persists, which can be traced to pervasive poverty and massive unemployment that lingers among the teeming population of our youths, and by implication, threatening the lives and properties of the mass of the people, vis-à-vis their social and economic well-being across the country. Even though the fight against corruption and insecurity are on front burner of both administrations, more proactive measures need to be put in place in tackling the menace headlong, while issues such as high level of poverty, massive unemployment and the problem of immunity clause need to be revisited.

Consequently, the paper suggested the following recommendations:

- a. The fight against corruption should be comprehensive and holistic regardless of political affiliations, ethno-religious inclinations or any other ties. The officials of antigraft agencies must be objective enough and sincere, as well equip and independent, to enable them carry out their duty without fear or favour.
- b. The security agencies should imbibe the habit of quick response to emergency situations that have to do with crime, particularly by exploiting modern communication gadget and detective device measure to intercept crimes before they occur. And even where the crime is successfully committed, both the perpetrators and sponsors should be identified and brought to book.
- c. Both leaders and the citizens at all level of governance in Nigeria must adhere to the rule of law, necessary for the evolution and establishment of a just and egalitarian society.
- d. As a matter of fact, the Buhari administration must do the needful, by sponsoring an executive bill, in respect of the amendment of the immunity clause, if the fight against corruption and overcoming the ills of socio-economic development is to be achieved in Nigeria.
- e. Finally, as a matter of urgency, the Buhari's administration must expand and improve upon its social intervention programmes to ensure the creation and provision of jobs to both skills and un-skilled citizens of the country. This would go a long way in reducing poverty, and thereby minimising the rate of crimes and criminalities in Nigeria.



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Effect of Credit Control on Account Receivables and Profitability of Some Selected Manufacturing Firms in Nigeria

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Abstract

This study sought to establish the effect of credit control on account receivables and the profitability of selected manufacturing firms in Nigeria. The study adopted an ex-post facto design which involves events that have already taken place in the past. The study comprises all manufacturing firms in Nigeria for which the purposive random sampling technique was used to select five accountants from five manufacturing firms in Nigeria. The study adopted secondary data that were extracted from the annual reports of audited financial statements of five (5) manufacturing firms for the period 2013 to 2017. Data collected were analyzed with the use of Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient (PPMC) and Multiple regressions at a 0.05 level of significance. The results showed that account payable and account receivable are related and credit control has a significant effect on the profitability of manufacturing firms in Nigeria, hence it was recommended that account receivable must be properly managed and credit control must be put in place to ensure firms' profitability.

Keywords: Credit Control, Control Account, Account Receivables, Account Payable, Profitability

Introduction

Credit facilities remain the most important and powerful engine for economic growth, it transforms the economic structures of countries from simple growing activities to a more vibrant and improved economy. The need for proper management of accounts receivable and account payable cannot be over-emphasized because it is the breakdown of the organization existence. Receivable are a large investment in firms which are like capital budgeting project measured in terms of their net present value, receivable helps to stimulate sales because they assist the customers in assessing the quality of the product before paying. Kelonzo, Manba and Njeru (2016) citing Berry and Jarns (2006) assert that a firm setting up a policy to determine the optimal amounts of accounts receivable must take into account the trade-off between securing sales and profits and the amount of administrative and the opportunity cost of increasing accounts receivable. The aim of account receivable therefore is to reach an optimal balance between cash flow management components. Ability to efficiently manage accounts receivable will enable the firm to improve its profitability by reducing the transaction costs of raising funds in case of a liquidity crisis.



Accounts receivable is a dynamic financial management process and its effectiveness is directly correlated with a firm's ability to realize its mission, goals and objectives (Sherman, 2010). Despite the role cash flow management plays, many firms have not implemented effective cash flow management practices and the results can be dire (Ahmet, 2012). Even profitable firms can go bankrupt if they fail to manage their accounts receivable effectively, particularly, if they operate in rapid-growth or seasonal industries (Preere, 2010). For a credit policy to be effective, it should not be static but requires review periodically to incorporate changes in a firm, strategic direction and risk tolerance as well as to ensure that the firm operates in line with competition to ensure sales and credit departments are benefiting (Eliots, 2009).

Szabo (2012) notes that due to the speed at which technology is changing and the dynamics in business caused by changes in the internal and external environment, how businesses are conducted today differ significantly from yesteryears. The competitive nature of the business environment requires firms to adjust their policies and strategies frequently for survival and growth (Kathleen, 2010). Although a credit policy ensures the decision making process is logical and simplified it is based on pre-determined parameters at a historical period in time which may not hold at the current time (Venancio 2013). Filbeck and Krueger, (2005) argue that a credit policy being the most important medium of managing and regulating accounts receivables requires frequent reviewing to ensure a firm maintains an optimal investment in accounts receivable while minimizing costs associated with credit and at the same time maximizing the benefits from accounts receivable.

Extending credit to customers is a decision based on the credit management and policy of a firm. Granting credit exists to facilitate sales. On the other hand, Al-Mwala (2012) states that sales are pointless without due payment and therefore the sales and accounts receivable functions must work together to achieve the objective of sales maximization within a minimum length of time. Owalabi and Obida (2012) note that credit sales are a sign that a firm can maximize its sales and improve its financial performance. According to Sushma (2007), an increase in the level of accounts receivables in a firm increases both the net working capital and the cost of holding and managing accounts receivable and both lead to a decrease in the value of the firm. Firms that pursue an increase in the accounts receivable to an optimal level increase their profitability resulting from the increased sales and market share. To extend credit to customers is a result of the decision of the management and their policy. Large inventories and generous credit policy can lead to high sales and at the same time helps reduce the risk of stocking out while stimulating sales at the same time. To delay payment of an account payable to suppliers also allow firms to access products and services which can be an inexpensive and flexible source of financing.

Overdue accounts receivable is delayed payment by customers and is a potential ground for bad debts and subsequent low profitability. Although the extension of Credit as stated by Gill (2010) should only be based on customers' creditworthiness to minimize the level of default and bad debts, firms that use a lenient credit policy tend to give credit to customers on very liberal terms and standards that credit is granted for longer periods even to those customers whose creditworthiness is not well known (Krueger, 2005). Gitau (2014) states that the purpose of credit control is to ensure that trade debts are recovered early enough before they become uncollectible and a loss to the business. Dunn (2009) states that a firm seeking to pursue overdue accounts may remind the debtor through a politely worded letter, a strongly worded letter, send a representative and eventually contemplate a legal action or writing off the debt altogether. Collection efforts may involve



reminding the debtor through a demand note and if no response is received, progressive steps using tighter measures are taken (Pandey, 2008). Gitau (2014) assert that a creditor should use litigation as a last resort to collect a debt that is bad and when there is a major breakdown in the repayment agreement resulting in undue delays and legal action is required to effect collection.

Finally, a debt may be written off when the creditor feels that it is uncollectable. It is honourable to write off bad debt from the books of accounts to give a true and fair view of the firm's financial position. The purpose of this study was to determine the effect of credit control on accounts receivable and the profitability of some selected manufacturing firms in Nigeria.

Statement of the Problem

There are many problems encountered by manufacturing firms as a result of poor credit control. It was observed that there is a high rate of bad debts because some corporations take advantage of the credit that is extended to them and find themselves not able to pay debt later. The poor level of trade credit control is reflected in the liquidity and profitability position of the firm. Also, the inability of business policymakers to certainly say how effectively, credit control makes or mars the performance of the business in terms of profitability and failure to comply with the agreed terms of agreement with the firms when paying the debt constituted a problem for manufacturing firm's profitability. On this note, the study is set to investigate the effect of credit control on account receivables and profitability of manufacturing firms in Nigeria.

The following research questions guided the study:

1. Is there any relationship between account payable and account receivable of manufacturing firms in Nigeria?
2. Is there any relationship between credit control, account receivable and profitability of manufacturing firms in Nigeria?
3. Is there any effect of credit control on account receivables and profitability of manufacturing firms in Nigeria?

The following hypotheses are tested at a 0.05 level of significance.

1. There is no significant relationship between account payable and account receivable of manufacturing firms in Nigeria.
2. There is no significant relationship between credit control, account receivable and profitability of manufacturing firms in Nigeria.
3. There is no significant effect of credit control on account receivables and profitability of manufacturing firms in Nigeria.

Literature Review

Account Receivable of Manufacturing Firms

Account Receivables as a component of cash flow has a direct effect on business profitability. Extending credit to customers is a decision based on the credit management policy of the firm. Although granting credits exist to facilitate sales, on the other hand, Ahwala (2012) asserts that sales are pointless without dues payment and therefore accounts receivable and sales functions must work together to be able to achieve the objective of sales maximization without the minimum length of time. Gill (2010) believes that the extension of credit to customers should be based based on customer credit worthiness to be able to minimize the level of default and bad debts. The main objective of account receivable is to reach an optimal at the balance between cash flow management



components (Gill, 2011). Efficient account receivable management affords a firm to improve its profitability by reducing the transaction cost of raising funds in case of a liquidity crisis (Ahmet, 2012).

In fact, profitable firms can go bankrupt if they fail to manage their accounts receivable effectively, for instance, if they operate in rapid growth or seasonal industries (Prerel 2010). Not only this Pandey (2008) opined that the average collection period determines the speed of payments by customers and delayed payment is a potential ground for bad debts which can have a negative effect on a firm's financial performance although many firms establish a credit period for their customers and offer discounts to encourage early payment. Maria (2014) asserts that dedication of debt collection resources ensures better timely collection and few instances of bad debts but that when sales are on credit a monitoring system is important to avoid the potential build-up to excessive levels of accounts receivable which would erode set profits. Padachi (2006) corroborates this and states that a collection resource is a control process which ensures that bad debts are recovered early enough before they become uncollectable and thereby become a loss to the organization. It, therefore, means that if there is a delayed payment by a customer which leads to overdue account receivable, it is a potential ground for bad debts which will inadvertently result in subsequent low profitability. Weston and Copeland (2009) state that there are six C'S of credit that credit managers should consider when extending credit, character, capacity, capital, collateral condition and contribution. This will help firms to decrease their default rate as they get to know their customers also information on the six C'S can be obtained from the firm's prior experience with the customers, financial statements for previous years, credit reporting agencies and the customer's financial institutions.

Profitability of Manufacturing Firms

Many of the current asset management models that are found in financial management literature assume book profit maximization as the basic financial purpose. The small and medium enterprise value maximization strategy is executed with a focus on risk and uncertainty. An increase in the level of accounts receivables in a firm increases both net working capital and the costs of holding and managing accounts receivables. Both of these decrease the value of the firm, but a liberal policy in accounts receivable coupled with the portfolio management approach could increase the value (Mavutha, 2010).

Achieving excellence in managing receivables is critical to realizing and optimizing the profits and cash benefits from increased revenue. According to Salek (2005), there are three measures of receivable management which can unlock greater profitability, these include: having a proper strategy of receivables management which supports the overall company strategy; having a fast and effective dispute resolution process which release money tied up in disputed invoice as fast as possible and lead to increased cash flow and accurate order fulfilment and invoicing. In addition to improving cash flow, accurate order fulfilment and invoicing enhance a company's image as a total quality supplier and improve productivity. Without profits, a firm cannot attract outside capital; moreover, present owners and creditors would become concerned about the company's future and attempt to recover their funds. Owners of the firm, creditors and management pay close attention to boosting profits due to the great importance placed on earnings in the marketplace (Owele & Makokeyo, 2015).



Theoretical Framework

This section presents the various definitions of credit management theory theories by different research scholars and then reviews the theoretical framework of the study. The transaction theory, portfolio theory and information theory are the main theory used in this study, as the theoretical framework to analyse more on the effect of credit management on firm profitability.

Transactions Costs Theory

First developed by Schwartz (1974), this theory conjectures that suppliers may have an advantage over traditional lenders in checking the real financial situation or the creditworthiness of their clients. Suppliers also have a better ability to monitor and force repayment of the credit. All these superiorities may give suppliers a cost advantage when compared with financial institutions. Three sources of cost advantage were classified by Petersen and Rajan (2014) as follows: information acquisition, controlling the buyer and salvaging value from existing assets. The first source of cost advantage can be explained by the fact that sellers can get information about buyers faster and at a lower cost because it is obtained in the normal course of business. That is, the frequency and the number of the buyer's orders give suppliers an idea of the client's situation; the buyer's rejection of discounts for early payment may serve to alert the supplier of a weakening in the creditworthiness of the buyer, and sellers usually visit customers more often than financial institutions do.

Portfolio Theory

Since the 1980s, companies have successfully applied modern portfolio theory to market risk. Many companies are now using value at risk models to manage their interest rate and market risk exposures. Unfortunately, credit risk remains the largest risk facing most companies, and the practice of applying modern portfolio theory to credit risk has lagged (Margrabe, 2007). Companies recognize how credit concentrations can adversely impact financial performance. As a result, several institutions are actively pursuing quantitative approaches to credit risk measurement. This industry is also making significant progress toward developing tools that measure credit risk in a portfolio context. They are also using credit derivatives to transfer risk efficiently while preserving customer relationships. Portfolio quality ratios and productivity indicators have been adapted. (Kairu, 2009). The combination of these developments has vastly accelerated progress in managing credit risk in a portfolio context.

Traditionally, organizations have taken an asset-by-asset approach to credit risk management. While each company's method varies, in general, this approach involves periodically evaluating the quality of credit exposures, applying a credit risk rating, and aggregating the results of this analysis to identify a portfolio's expected losses. The foundation of the asset-by-asset approach is a sound credit review and internal credit risk rating system. This system enables management to identify changes in individual credits, or portfolio trends promptly. Based on the changes identified, credit identification, credit review, and credit risk rating system management can make necessary modifications to portfolio strategies or increase the supervision of credits in a timely manner. While the asset-by-asset approach is a critical component of managing credit risk, it does not provide a complete view of portfolio credit risk, where the term risk refers to the possibility that actual losses exceed expected losses. Therefore, to gain greater insight into credit risk management, companies increasingly look to complement the asset-by-asset approach with a quantitative portfolio review



using a credit model (Mason & Roger, 1998). Companies increasingly attempt to address the inability of the asset-by-asset approach to measuring unexpected losses sufficiently by pursuing a portfolio approach. One weakness of the asset-by-asset approach is that it has difficulty identifying and measuring concentration. Concentration risk refers to additional portfolio risk resulting from increased exposure to credit extension, or to a group of correlated creditors (Richardson, 2002).

Information Theory

Derban, Binner and Mullineux (2005) recommended that borrowers should be screened especially by banking institutions in form of the credit assessment. The collection of reliable information from prospective borrowers becomes critical in accomplishing effective screening as indicated by symmetric information theory. Qualitative and quantitative techniques can be used in assessing the borrowers although one major challenge of using qualitative models is their subjective nature. However, according to Derban, Binner and Mullineux (2005), borrowers' attributes assessed through qualitative models can be assigned numbers with the sum of the values compared to a threshold. This technique minimizes processing costs, and reduces subjective judgments and possible biases. The rating systems will be important if it indicates changes in the expected level of credit loan loss. Brown Bridge (1998) concluded that quantitative models make it possible to numerically establish which factors are important in explaining default risk, evaluating the relative degree of importance of the factors, improving the pricing of default risk, screening out bad loan applicants and calculating any reserve needed to meet expected future loan losses.

Empirical Review

Onuorah and Ifeacho (2017) investigated the effect of credit management on the profitability of manufacturing firms in Nigeria. The results of the study, which used some selected companies listed on the Nigerian Stock Exchange as a sample and covering the period from 2010 to 2014, show that credit policy and liquidity management are negatively correlated with return on assets. The authors, therefore, recommend that the sales department of a company ought to make use of an adequate credit policy for efficient operations. As is observed in the study by Sharma and Kumar (2011), the consequence of a financial crisis on receivables is of enormous relevance because, according to Bastor and Pindado (2012), a crisis causes trade credit contagion as a consequence of financial contagion between intermediaries.

Okpe and Duru (2015) investigated the effect of receivable management on the profitability of building materials/chemical and plant manufacturing firms in Nigeria. The results of the study show that accounts receivable have a significant and positive effect on the profitability of building materials, chemical and plant manufacturing firms in Nigeria at a 1% level of significance while debt ratio and sales growth rate have a negative and non-significant effect on these companies. Yazdanfar and Ohman (2016) carried out a study using a large cross-sectional panel data set covering 15,897 Swedish small-medium scale enterprises in five industrial sectors from 2009 to 2012 to find out the impact of trade credit on profitability among the SMEs. This was done using statistical techniques. The results indicate that the use of trade credit significantly and negatively affects firm profitability. After conducting a survey study to determine the effect of accounts receivable on the financial performance of firms funded by government venture capital in Kenya, Kilonzo et al, (2016) affirm a positive relationship between accounts receivable and the financial performance of firms funded by government venture capital.



In Ksenija (2013), he investigates how public companies listed in the regulated market in the republic of Serbia manage their accounts receivable during recession times. A sample of 108 firms was used. The accounts receivable policies are examined in the crisis period of 2008-2011. The short-term effects are tested and the study shows that between accounts receivables and two dependent variables on profitability, return on total asset and operating profit margin, there is a positive but no significant relationship. This suggests that the impact of receivables on a firm's profitability is changing in times of crisis.

The study by Baveld (2012) on 37 large firms in the Netherlands during the non-crisis period of 2004 to 2006 and the financial crisis of 2008 to 2009 found a significant negative relation between accounts receivable on profitability, Gill et al (2010) study of 88 American firms listed on New York Exchange for the period 2005 to 2007 found a significant negative relation on accounts receivables and profitability, Laziridis and Tryfonidis (2006) study on 131 companies listed in the Athens Stock Exchange for the period 2001 – 2004 found a significant negative relation on accounts receivables on profitability, Garcia-Teruel and MartinezSolano (2007) study on 8,872 Spanish SME's for the period 1996 to 2002 find a negative relation on accounts receivable on profitability, Mathuva (2010) study of 30 firms listed in the Nairobi Stock Exchange for the period 1993 to 2008 found a negative relation on accounts receivable on profitability. Contradicting evidence is found in this study and the study by Sharma and Kumar (2011) on 263 non-financial BSE 500 firms listed on the Bombay Stock Exchange from 2000 to 2008 which found a significant positive relation between accounts receivable on profitability.

Ramchandran, and Janakiraman, (2009), analyzed the relationship between working efficiency and earnings before interest and tax of the paper industry in India. The study revealed that cash conversion cycle and inventory days had a negative correlation with earnings before interest and tax, while accounts payable days and accounts receivable days related positively with earnings before interest and tax. Grzegor (2008) in his study of a portfolio management approach in accounts receivable management, used portfolio management theory to determine the level of accounts receivable in a firm. He found out that there was an increase in the level of accounts receivable in a firm increased both net working capital and the cost of holding and managing account receivables.

Jack and Matthew (1994) state in their article, management of accounts receivable that the simplest means of recovering your accounts receivable is to take active steps to avoid the process entirely. Venkata et al (2013) in their study impact of receivables management on working capital and profitability: a study of selected cement companies in India collected their data from the Annual Reports from the selected cement companies from 2001 -2010. The ratios which highlight the efficiency of receivables management viz, receivables to current assets ratio, receivable to total assets ratio, receivable to sales ratio, receivable to turnover ratio, average collection period, working capital ratio, profitability ratio have been completed using ANOVA statistical tool to know the impact of working capital and profitability of the selected cement companies. Working capital management and profitability were considered dependent variables. The investigation reveals that the receivable management across the cement industry is efficient and shows a significant impact on working capital and profitability.



Methodology

The research work focused on the effect of credit control on account receivables and the profitability of some selected manufacturing firms in Nigeria. The ex-post facto design was used because it involves events that have already taken place in the past. The study comprises all manufacturing firms in Nigeria out of which purposive random sampling technique was used to select five accountants from five manufacturing firms in Nigeria. The lists of the firms are Unilevel Nigeria Plc, Nestle Nigeria Plc, A.G. Leventis Nigeria Plc, etc. The study adopted secondary data that were extracted from the annual reports of audited financial statements of five (5) manufacturing firms. The data used proved to be more reliable since it complied with CAMD 1990 (Companies and Allied matter Decree 1990). Data collected was analyzed with the use of Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient (PPMC) and multiple regressions at a 0.05 level of significance.

Results and Discussion

Hypothesis 1: There is no significant relationship between account payable and account receivable of manufacturing firms in Nigeria.

Table 1: *Pearson Correlation Coefficient for the relationship between account payable and account receivable of manufacturing firms in Nigeria*

		Account Payable	Account Receivable
Account Payable	Pearson Correlation	1	.887**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.001
	N	5	5
Account Receivable	Pearson Correlation	.887**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	
	N	5	5

P < 0.05 (Significant)

The result presented in Table 1 revealed the relationship that exists between account payable and account receivable (0.887) is high. The P-value (0.001) is less than 0.05 level of significance. Hence, the hypothesis is rejected. This implies that there is a significant relationship between account payable and account receivable of manufacturing firms in Nigeria.

Hypothesis 2: There is no significant relationship between credit control (account payable & account receivable) and the profitability of manufacturing firms in Nigeria.



Table 2: Matrix Correlation Coefficient for the relationship between credit control and profitability of manufacturing firms in Nigeria

		Account Payable	Account Receivable	Profitability
Account Payable	Pearson Correlation	1	.887**	.623
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.001	.004
	N	5	5	5
Account Receivable	Pearson Correlation	.887**	1	.747*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001		.013
	N	5	5	5
Profitability	Pearson Correlation	.623	.747*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	.013	
	N	5	5	5

P < 0.05 (Significant)

The correlation matrix in table 2 revealed the relationship that exists between account payable & accounts receivable (0.887), account payable & profitability (0.623) and account receivable & profitability (0.747). The p-value (0.013) less than 0.05 level of significance indicated that there exist a significant relationship between account receivable and profitability of manufacturing firms in Nigeria. Thus, the hypothesis is rejected. Hence, there is a significant relationship between credit control (account payable & account receivable) and profitability of manufacturing firms in Nigeria as the P-value (0.004) was less than the 0.05 level of significance.

Hypothesis 3: There is no significant effect of credit control on account receivable and profitability of manufacturing firms in Nigeria.

Table 3: Multiple Regression Analysis Showing the effect of credit control on account receivable and profitability of manufacturing firms in Nigeria

Model	Raw Beta Weight	Std Error	Standardized Beta	T	Sig	Multiple R	Multiple R ²	Adj R ²	F
Constant	718273.85	2.6880		0.267	0.797				
Account Receivable	0.066	0.192	0.187	0.346	0.739	0.752	0.566	0.442	4.562
Profitability	0.634	0.374	0.913	1.693	0.134				



Table 3 presents the effect of credit control on accounts receivables and profitability of manufacturing firms in Nigeria. The result revealed that credit control has a significant effect on accounts receivable and the profitability of manufacturing firms in Nigeria ($F = 4.562$, $P < 0.05$).

The result of the model summary shows that all the independent variable (credit control) accounted for 56.6% ($R^2 = 0.566$) of the variability in the dependent variables (account receivable & profitability). The remaining 43.4.0% variance in the level of profit made could be attributed to other factors outside the regression model. There is a positive significant composite relationship between the predictor variables and profitability of manufacturing firms in Nigeria ($R = 0.752$, $P < 0.05$). The adjusted R^2 was at 0.442. This implies that the possible inclusion or removal of variable(s) from the regression model will lead to a corresponding decrease in the predictive strength of the independent variables to 55.8%.

Considering the contribution of each of the predictors to variation in profitability of manufacturing firms, credit control is the single best predictor of account receivable and profitability in the firm with a beta weight of 0.913.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Based on the finding of the study, it was concluded that there was a significant relationship between accounts payable and accounts receivable of manufacturing firms in Nigeria. There was a significant relationship between credit control, account receivable and profitability of manufacturing firms in Nigeria and there was a significant effect of credit control on account receivable and profitability of manufacturing firms in Nigeria. Hence, it was recommended that accounts receivable must be properly managed and credit control must be put in place to ensure firms' profitability.

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Border Porosity and the Perennial Challenges of Nigeria Borders and Frontier Security

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Abstract

This study seeks to highlight the challenges in Nigeria's international borderlines. The greatest challenge facing Nigeria today is international terrorism that is aided by religious extremism, the porosity of borderline and cross-border security challenges, and crime. Indeed, the existence of porous borders and cross-border and frontier activities in Nigeria has aided crimes and security challenges across Nigerian borders for a long without specific solutions. The problem of security as a result of these porous borders in Nigeria has become one of the most intractable challenges facing the country today. In recent times, the security challenges in Nigeria and its border crime are alarming, especially, the activities of the terrorist group known as "Boko Haram" in which lives and property are no longer secure. There are many speculations that the groups may have found their way through the porous borders. Therefore, the study probes into the nature of Nigeria borders using the analytical framework of assessment in the emerging trans-border crimes, and the causes and sources of insecurity of lives and property in Nigeria. The paper then revealed that the major criminal activities of Nigeria's serial borders are smuggling of contraband goods and illegal immigrants, trafficking in weapons and human parts, drug trafficking, vehicle crime, trafficking of illegally exploited natural resources, including the illicit trade in timber, oil, and diamond among others. The paper then suggests that much of the conventional wisdom regarding how best to address Nigeria's border crime and security is not only enacting a law but also creating proper national security awareness, involvement of new stakeholders in the security sector, and a strong institutional framework to checkmate the activities of trans-border crime.

Keywords: Border, Trans-Border Crime, Internal Security, Security Challenges, Nigeria

Introduction

The challenges facing African states to manage their borders are compounded by globalization which is tearing down traditional borders through advancement in technology and transformation of international relations. At the moment crimes are committed without crossing borders and huge amounts of goods are sold through cyberspace. The internet has not only made it more difficult to manage borders and combat cross-border crimes but has also effectively dismantled borders by



allowing imports without going through customs. Trans-border crimes are said to have manifested themselves with the coming of colonialism which regrouped states and communities into new nation-states with defined borders manned by law enforcement agents to protect the polity and its economy. Nigeria is a colonial creation whose final stage was the merging of the southern and northern protectorates in 1914. Nigeria came to share international land borders with Benin, Niger, Chad and Cameroon, totaling about 4745sq.km. Nigeria also shares maritime boundaries with Equatorial Guinea and Sao Tome and Principe. Like other partitioned areas in Africa, the territorialisation of Nigeria state poses some challenges that have affected the structure of interregional trade as a result of the colonial and post-colonial economic systems. Borderlands are both melting pots and security hot spots. Often neglected in the development strategies of postcolonial states, they are an arena for cross-border crime and represent a dynamic place of historically fostered cultural and socio-economic exchange at the same time.

However, ‘trans-border crime’ represents several illegal and notorious activities carried out by individuals and group across national and international borders, either for financial or economic benefits and also-political cum religious considerations. It is a set of criminal acts whose perpetrators and repercussions go beyond territorial borders. These would include humans. The transfer of criminal activity from one country to another is a spill-over effect of interrogation policies which loosen the borders for developing and enhancing great friendly balance crimes such as human trafficking, arms and drugs are seen to cut across one geographical area but the failure to check and properly control their various activities cause security issues especially the influx of arms around borders. Out of the 1978 entry points in the country only 84 are approved and 1894 illegal route lies around the country. Of a truth, the security system is greatly outnumbered by an expounded crime situation which in turn will lose its efficacy (William, 1998).

As organized criminal groups or individuals carry out their illicit activities using major technological tools such as information networks, financial systems and other sophisticated means. They also take advantage of differences in legislation, legal systems and traditions, which often seriously hamper state efforts to respond adequately to the threat of organised or trans-border crimes. Ortuno and Wiriychai (2009) have maintained that the past few years have been characterized by a significant increase in global criminal activities such as money laundering, trafficking in human and nuclear technology and material, and the trade in human organs and migrant smuggling. At the same time, emerging crimes such as modern piracy, trafficking in toxic waste, counterfeit medicines, precious metals or natural resources have been added to the list of traditional illegal activities such as prostitution, drug trafficking and arms trafficking.

Trans-border crimes which have been present in Nigeria, became more pronounced in the 1980s and by the 1990s, although without much empirical evidence, Nigeria is counted among the top ranking global syndicates (Bayard, et al, 1999; Williams, 1998). Most recently, transnational crime has grown in scope and is characterized by increasingly global reach, involved in multiple forms of criminal markets including large-scale financial fraud and cybercrime. And the syndicates are willing to protect their activities through violent and notorious organizational strategies to deter capture (Luna, 2008). When borders are opened (Trade liberalization), they facilitate the spread of criminal networks. The conditions favourable to crime include: the poverty in source countries and their drive to alleviate that poverty, the weakness of the new democracies, open borders, and lack



of appropriately educated law enforcement agencies and a lack of cross-national cooperation has been discovered mostly to be responsible for cross-border crimes.

Since the 1980s, Nigeria has also remained a major transshipment point for heroin and cocaine going to south Asia and Latin America respectively; indeed the sophistication of the mafias operation has reached the point that apprehended suspects have been discovered to swallow drugs in wraps to excrete them at destination countries. Lewis (1996) observed that while the country maintained the trade of the protection of top military brass, the syndicates, who had gradually moved their operations to third countries, laundered the proceeds from the trade through the domestic banking system, in conformity with the earlier alluded self-serving principle of “see no evil, hear no evil” (Dauda, 2010). Apart from drugs, the circumvention of the formal economy via the trafficking of contraband goods has also counted on local industries. At a pre-yearly general meeting with the media in July 2004, Nigeria industrialists under the aegis of the manufacturers association of Nigeria (MAN) declared that the country lost \$6.3billion (about N800 billion) to unwholesome trade practices of smuggling and products counterfeiting in 2003 (The Guardian, 2004, July 5). Against this backdrop, this research examines the issues of borderless Border and the Perennial Challenges of Nigeria's Borders.

The issue of the porosity of Nigeria's borders spanning a total land mass of 923, 768 square kilometres has remained a source of concern over the years (Ewetan & Ese, 2014). The porous borders contributed to and continued to encourage cross-border crimes, terrorist attacks, drug trafficking, and illegal trade such as the smuggling of contraband goods like shoes, frozen poultry products, duty non-paid cars and foreign parboiled rice (Akinyemi, 2013; Nwogu, 2013). This situation has also promoted the unrestrained influx of illegal migrants and cross-border criminality through her Francophone neighbours, which seemed to be posing serious challenges for Law Enforcement Agencies to contend with. Nigeria shares 773 kilometres boundary with the Benin Republic; 1,690 Kilometres with the Republic of Cameroun; 1, 497 Kilometres with the Niger Republic; 85 Kilometres with the Chad Republic and with the Republic of Guinea at the Gulf of Guinea (Salifu, 2013). Events at these border regions are crucial and fundamental in defining the nation's quest for security and socio-economic, cum political development (Asiwaju, 1996). Recent events of an increasing wave of insurgencies have further heightened anxiety about the efficacy of law enforcement across the country's borders. As it stands today, no Nigerian border can be described as truly watertight (The Nation, 2017) as the less than eighteen thousand (18,000) workforce of the Nigerian Customs Services, an Agency statutorily charged with responsibilities of anti-smuggling, revenue generation and security functions along Nigeria's land, air and sea borders are having challenges effectively policing the borders. Nigeria's poorly patterned borders and the lack of adequate personnel cum logistics to properly man the border have had a negative effect on the security of our national frontiers (Adeola & Fayomi, 2012; Akinyemi, 2013; Ewetan & Ese, 2014). Within a short space of eight months (precisely January 22, 2017, May 23, 2017, September 11, 2017 and September 21, 2017) a total of 2, 671 pump action rifles illegally imported into the country were intercepted by the Nigerian Customs Service, alongside other seizures with a total value of N12.7billion (Premium Times, 2018).

With government officials accepting that about 1, 479 illegal routes exist in Nigeria (National Daily, 2018) presupposing all manner of illegalities in the forms of illegal migration, drug trafficking, movement of contraband goods and its attendant implication exist at our national frontiers. Security



agencies the world over relies on both formal and informal information networks that could be converted into Intelligence reports to boost their operations. However, in the situation where borders are porous, they need to go beyond the formal information networks and interrogate the same alongside the informal information networks, towards securing the borders, becomes imperative. Also, with the increasing need to improve upon non-oil revenue, the Nigerian Customs Service which is also saddled with the responsibilities of revenue generation has been brought under pressure. This situation is made critical with the recessive economic growth that Nigeria is experiencing, hence, the Nigerian government prefers to spend their way out of recession thereby putting pressure on revenue-generating government agencies to generate more money into the coffers of the Federal government.

Consequently, this study sets to identify the inherent challenges militating against border security agencies with specific reference to the Nigeria Customs service. The specific objectives therefore include:

- i. To identify the major factors militating against maintaining border security by the Nigerian customs service.
- ii. To explore the implications of these factors for national security in Nigeria.

Conceptual Issues

Border Security

Border security is a factor of border management. International borders are a security issue for all governments. States are recognized under international law for their capability to maintain their boundaries, secure their territories, and protect their citizens (Atler (2018)). The ability to secure national borders is one of the criteria used to classify states as strong, weak and failed. A state has a primary responsibility of protecting its citizens from both internal and external threats to their livelihoods. It must be pointed out that the strategic location of a country determines opportunities for illegal activities that exist or can take place in its border areas. Some countries are more threatened by insecurities or mismanagement of other countries' borders than their own. Border Security means different things: border control, border management, border monitoring, border protection, etc. Usually, border security has been used to mean border control, which seeks to facilitate or limit the movements of people, animals, plants, and goods in and out of a country. Border control is divided into two main categories: securing borderlines (activities along the boundary), and controlling ports (harbours, border posts and airports) of entry.

Border Management

Border management: commonly defined as the government functions of immigration, customs and excise, and policing, to control and regulate the flow of people and goods across a country's border/boundary in the national interest (particularly economic development, security and peace). Border management also includes the maintenance of boundary beacons that mark the physical limits of the country's territory. Border management is a collaborative process between a country and its neighbours. It cannot be done unilaterally, and it is most effective and efficient when done regionally.



Border management has a number of stakeholders:

- Key government agencies (customs, immigration, police, armed forces, ministry of agriculture— quarantine purposes), who in most cases operate independently and without networking or exchanging information.
- Airlines
- Shipping companies
- Border local authorities
- International business companies and individuals
- Individuals (residents of the borders or travellers across boundaries e.g. traders, relatives, tourists or terrorists)

The perceptions that a government/state has of external threats/risks determine its responses to border insecurity and the border management system it puts in place. In other words, how a country/state/government manages its borders reflects its fears and comfort.

Indeed, border management is an expression of a state's sovereignty. A state's failure to manage its borders can undermine its domestic and international legitimacies. The legal status of a state/government depends on how it manages its borders. The Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States of 1933 identifies 4 criteria for state sovereignty: a permanent population; a defined territory; a government; and the capacity to enter relations with other states. In other words,

- Territoriality is equal to sovereignty
- Citizenship is defined by territory
- Territory is defined by borders
- Borders enable countries to engage in international relations
- Borders define the state-citizenship relationship

Transnational crimes

These are crimes that have an actual or potential effects across national borders and crimes which are intra-State but which offend fundamental values of the international community (Bonchuk, 2001). The word "transnational" describes crimes that are not only international (that is, crimes that cross borders between countries), but crimes that by their nature involve cross-border transference as an essential part of the criminal activity. Transnational crimes also include crimes that take place in one country, but their consequences significantly affect another country and transit countries may also be involved. Examples of transnational crimes include: human trafficking, people smuggling, smuggling/trafficking of goods (such as arms trafficking and drug trafficking and illegal animal and plant products and other goods prohibited on environmental grounds (e.g. banned ozone depleting substances), sex slavery, terrorism offences, torture and apartheid. Transnational organized crime (TOC) refers specifically to transnational crime carried out by organized crime organizations.

Transnational crimes may also be crimes of customary international law or international crimes when committed in certain circumstances. For example, they may in certain situations constitute crimes against humanity. The international community is confronted with an increasing level of transnational crime in which criminal conduct in one country has an impact on another or even several others. Drug trafficking, human trafficking, computer crimes, terrorism, and a host of other crimes can involve actors operating outside the borders of a country which might have a significant interest in stemming the activity in question and prosecuting the perpetrator. Contemporary



transnational crimes take advantage of globalization, trade liberalization and exploding new technologies to perpetrate diverse crimes and to move money, goods, services and people instantaneously for purposes of perpetrating violence for political ends. (Stigall, 2013)

Moreover, problems of weakened states and transnational crime create an unholy confluence that is uniquely challenging. When a criminal operates outside the territory of an offended state, the offended state might ordinarily appeal to the state from which the criminal is operating to take some sort of action, such as to prosecute the offender domestically or extradite the offender so that he or she may face punishment in the offended state. Nonetheless, in situations in which a government is unable (or unwilling) to cooperate in the arrest or prosecution of a criminal, the offended state has few options for recourse.

Concept of Security

Security is the degree of resistance to, or protection from, harm. It applies to any vulnerable and valuable asset, such as a person, dwelling, community, nation, or organization. As noted by the Institute for Security and Open Methodologies (ISECOM) in the OSSTMM security provides "a form of protection where a separation is created between the assets and the threat." These separations are generically called "controls," and sometimes include changes to the asset or the threat. National security is the requirement to maintain the survival of the state through the use of economic power, diplomacy, power projection and political power. The concept developed mostly in the United State after World War II. Initially focusing on military might, it now encompasses a broad range of facets, all of which impinge on the non-military or economic security of the nation and the values espoused by the national society. Accordingly, in order to possess national security, a nation needs to possess economic security, energy security, environmental security, etc. Security threats involve not only conventional foes such as other nation-state but also non-state actors such as violent non-state actors, narcotic cartels, multinational corporations and nongovernmental organizations; some authorities include natural disasters and events causing severe environmental damage in this category.

Nature of Border Routes in Nigeria

The major border countries with Nigeria are Cameroon (1,690 kilometres) in the east, Niger (1,497 kilometres) in the north, Benin (773 kilometres) in the west, and Chad (87 kilometres) in the northeast. Most of these border areas are either mountainous or in the jungle which makes effective surveillance in the borders very difficult (Mustapha, 2004).

In these major borders, there are over hundreds of illegal routes in Nigeria that link or lead to some neighbouring African countries. Nigeria's borders are massive with hundreds of footpaths crisscrossing to neighbouring countries of Cameroon, Chad and Niger with links to Mali, Libya and Sudan. From conservative estimates by locals, there are well over 250 footpaths from Damaturu/Maiduguri axis that link or lead directly to Cameroon, Chad or Niger. These paths are mostly unknown by security agencies, are unmanned, and unprotected and thus serve as leaky routes for arms and ammunition trafficking into Nigeria. It is disheartening and unfortunate that the "merchants of death" have since devised methods use to beat security agencies at the borders and through the footpaths. These methods include the use of camels, donkeys and cows to traffic arms, ammunition and drugs, like cocaine into Nigeria. The fact that the weapons are small, light and collapsible makes it easy to be concealed and moved on camels and donkeys' back in specially



crafted skin or thatched bags mainly meant for the illegal “expedition” unexpected, unsuspected and therefore undetected. Similarly, some cows and grains merchants in the North- East sub-region of the country, devices means of hiding cache of arms and ammunition in empty fuel tankers, under vehicles’ engines and inside bags of grains mostly undetected by security agencies at the affected border posts. The “grains” are transported in large numbers via trucks, trailers, Lorries and old model pickup vans and jeeps with little attention given to them by security agents, (Sagir Musa,2010). Further analysis on security challenges can be drawn from the series of a report on border criminal activities resulting from the outnumbered illegal route as against the Legal route which lacks adequate management coverage as illustrated below.

Table1. Showing the outnumbered illegal route as against the legal route in Nigeria.

Legitimacy	Routes	Activity
Legal	84	Majorly importation of goods and services (free market)
Illegal	1,978	Majorly illegal entry, smuggling of cars, arms Smuggling, exportation of drugs and Human trafficking.

Source: Osimen, (2017).

Nigerian informal cross-border trade is estimated at around 20% of its GDP and includes trade with all its neighbours, especially Niger and Cameroon. Many of these neighbour countries are dependent on the openness of the Nigerian (illegal) market. Nigeria has already taken advantage of this in the past by using its border policies to manifest its power. In 2003, when the border between Nigeria and the Benin Republic for instance was closed by Obasanjo, the Beninese economy found itself in high distress. A key commodity illegally imported to Benin is petrol. Cheaper in Nigeria, petrol is smuggled into Benin in large quantities. This contraband business is an important source of income for many of the border community members. In 2004, 73% of the Beninese market was satisfied by illegally imported petrol which is more readily available in remote regions and more affordable than the petrol offered by the state-owned stations. For some other commodities, such as agricultural goods, the volume of informal cross-border trade between Nigeria and its neighbours is estimated to be ten times higher than declared at customs. Informal cross-border trade can be seen as a positive or negative phenomenon, depending on the viewpoint taken. On the one hand, it is a manifestation of ancient solidarity between people that were separated by colonial borders. It can be seen as an expression of entrepreneurship and economic dynamism that is healthy for any economy and which secures the livelihood of many families. On the other hand, custom evasion deprives the state of important revenues which contributes to the weakening of public institutions and the state's legitimacy (Afrika & Ajumbo, 2012).

Informal trade, both legal and illegal is the most common form of trans-border activity in the region. Less common, but still important is a transnational organized crime (TOC), which has been growing in the region over the past few years. Despite increasing sub-regional and international cooperation, criminal cross-border activities remain a key variable of instability in the sub-region. It is only in recent years, that the complexity of TOC has steeply increased. This development has occurred parallel to an increased commitment toward the free movement of persons and goods in the ECOWAS region that is designed to stimulate growth and stability in the region.

**Table2.** Routes through which contraband goods are smuggled into and out of Nigeria

Routes of Smuggling	Items smuggled into Nigeria	Items smuggled out of Nigeria	Border
Idiroko Border	Rice, apple, frozen foods, second hand cloths, textile materials, used tyres, vehicles, vegetable oil, spirit, flours, arms and ammunitions	Petroleum products	Nigeria- Benin
Ilela	Wheat, flour, sugar, confectionaries, spaghetti/noodles, used vehicles, textiles, foot wears etc.	Milletts, maize, petroleum products, fresh fruits, cement	Nigeria-Niger (Sokoto)
Jibia	Rice, palm oil, spaghetti, macaroni, used vehicles and tyres	Cement, petroleum products, woods and furniture, groundnut oil, beans, yam, sugar, corn.	Nigeria-Niger (kastina)
Mfum	The presence of the military at the Bakassi Penninsula has temporarily led to diversion of smuggling from this area.		Nigeria-Cameroon border (Cross River)
Bele Sahoda		Petroleum product	Nigeria Cameroon border (Adamawa)
Gaboru-Ngala	Arms and ammunitions, rice, textile, beverages, used vehicles.	Petroleum product, grains, drugs/Indian hemp.	Nigeria-Niger (Borno)
Seme	Arms and ammunitions, used vehicles and parts, rice, textile and frozen food (turkey, chicken and fish).	Petroleum products	Nigeria-Benin (Lagos)
Coastal area	Textiles, arms and ammunitions and human trafficking.	With the withdrawal of subsidies in petroleum products, land smuggling in this product has been reduced. However, it is still lucrative through the creeks to other African countries.	Linkin up Cote-d'ivoire, Benin, Equatorial, Guinea, and Central Africa.

Source: Human Rights Watch (2003). *The Warri Crisis: Fueling Violence. Lagos Human Rights Watch. Retrieved from <http://www.hrw.org/sites/defaultfiles/reports/nigeria1103.pdf>*



Despite long-standing ECOWAS plans for a customs union, little progress has been made, largely because of Nigeria's unwillingness to participate. It has maintained one of the most protectionist trade policies in the world, with very high tariff spikes and a large number of import bans. Unlike Benin and Togo, Nigeria has relatively developed but often inefficient manufacturing and agricultural industries, with powerful interest groups favouring protection.

The highly discretionary application of policies is also notorious. Recently, some progress has been registered in ECOWAS's efforts to liberalise, with Nigeria participating in negotiations (World Bank, 2009). Nigeria had insisted on a fifth tariff band of 50 per cent. Whether or not an agreement will be reached and if so, how many products will be included in the fifth band and the extent of Nigerian implementation will be crucial for the future of Togo's and Benin's transit re-export trade. In October 2008, Nigeria removed 25 products from its list of prohibited imports, including some meat products, flowers, cassava, fresh and dried fruits, wheat, cocoa butter, biscuits, beer, some truck tyres, and selected textile products, and bicycle frames. In many cases, it eliminated import bans that had been introduced in the last few years, returning the situation to roughly what it was in 2004. The most important remained in place, however, including frozen poultry, textiles, clothing, footwear and used cars, although the allowed age for used car imports was extended from 8 to 10 years. In 2017, a new regulation has been made to domesticate all vehicles to custom clearance, which means that all incoming vehicles must pass through legal means and must have all the necessary documents for clearance. For a number of other important goods such as rice, cigarettes and sugar, high tariffs remain.

Border Management and Perennial Security Challenges in Nigeria

Border security is a factor of border management. International borders are a security issue for all governments. Border security and the management of borders in ways that promote national security have generally been given low priority in Africa and Nigeria in particular compared to the security provided for political elites and their assets in the national capitals and other urban areas far removed from the borders. While national security strategies of the country are left to be suffered. The negligence of border security and poor, border management in Nigeria have largely contributed to a prevalence of threats such as cross-border crimes; Nigeria's border security issues are distinctive when compared to the other countries of the world. Because of this fact, these borders are not monitored, patrolled or controlled. Consequently, these borders have become transit points for smuggling and other illegal cross-border activities (Martin, 2011). In other words, most, if not all the borders in Nigeria are transnational crime zones. The conundrum of national security in Nigeria has been compounded by the porous nature of Nigerian borders. When borders cease to function effectively, different forms of crimes prevail and the security of a state or region is put in serious jeopardy because borders constitute the most visible sign of the sovereignty of a State on its territory. Border management is therefore crucial to a State's involvement in the protection of its population against what it considers threats ranging from migration, international terrorism, and multiform trafficking as in human beings, drugs, raw materials or SALW (Jihan & Cedric, 2010).

Interestingly, Nigeria's border points especially in the North-east and North-west no longer perform their strategic functions but serve as channels for smuggling all sorts of illicit materials into the country. The current security challenges in Nigeria where the nation's Northern borders with Niger and Chad witness the unrestrained incursion of armed bandits to terrorize innocent citizens in towns



and villages on the Nigerian side of the border calls for the need to put in place a rather effective border control system (Makka, 1989)

Key Issues in Border Management in Nigeria

- i. **Human Trafficking:** The trafficking of children for the purpose of prostitution and some form of exploitative labour is a widespread issue in Nigeria. Foreign children trafficked to Nigeria come mainly from Benin and Togo (an estimated 96%, with 90% of that figure coming from Benin alone), Cote d'Ivoire and Niger. Children as young as five and six years trafficked from Benin have been found working in exploitive conditions in Nigeria mines in the Western part of the country. Trafficked girls are used for domestic services or street trading as well as commercial sexual exploitation while boys are generally forced to work on plantations or in commercial farming, construction, quarries and mines or engaged in petty crimes and the drug trade (UNDOC, 2006). With respect to women trafficked to Europe for the purpose of sexual exploitation, an estimated 94% are from Edo State while the remaining are from Delta, Kano and Borno State.
- ii. **Arms Smuggling:** Over 70% of about eight to 10 million illegal weapons in West Africa is in Nigeria. The high rate of illegal procurement and use of SALWs in Nigeria is indexed by the intermittent seizure of SALWs by security and border control officers, the frequency of deployment of these arms in conflict and crime scenes, and the level of human casualty and material damage recorded in the aftermath of its use in the country. For instance, the number of arms surrendered during the disarmament and demobilization (DD) phase of the Amnesty Programme for the Niger Delta militants in 2009 gave an idea of the quantum of SALWs proliferation in the country. The Amnesty initiative saw over 15000 militants surrender arms at the expiration of the DD phase of the Amnesty. Weapons recovered during the disarmament process included 2760 assorted guns, 287445 ammunitions of different calibre, 18 gun-boats, 763 dynamite sticks, 1090 dynamite caps, and 3155 magazines and several other military accessories, such as dynamite cables, bulletproof jackets and jackknives. It is widely believed that militants only surrendered a small fraction of their arms, as most of them doubted the government's genuine commitment to the amnesty. The regular interception of illegal arms trafficking within and across the borders by security agencies also reveals the worrisome dimension that arms proliferation has recently assumed in the country. (Wellington, 2006.)
- iii. **Drug Trafficking:** Drug trafficking has become a common phenomenon in West African countries like Nigeria, the Gambia, Ghana, Niger and Burkina Faso. The reason is not far-fetched. Profits from drugs and guns reportedly exceed that of human trafficking. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime alarmingly revealed that the volume of cocaine transiting the West African region is roughly 50 tons annually (United Nations, 2008). The commonly trafficked drugs include heroin, cannabis, cocaine and synthetic drugs. The drug menace became one of Nigeria's major security challenges right at the dawn of independence with discoveries of cannabis farms in the country, arrests of Nigerian cannabis traffickers abroad, and reports of psychological disorders suspected to be associated with cannabis use. In the early 1980s however, the problem of drug trafficking became a major problem following the alleged involvement of military personnel in heroin trafficking in Nigeria (Obot, 2004). Nigeria is a major source of heroin and cocaine.



Nigerian drug dealers use large numbers of small-scale smugglers, each carrying a tiny quantity of heroin, sometimes packed in condoms and then swallowed. The major routes of Nigerian traffickers are Ghana, the Ivory Coast, Senegal and South Africa for heroin and cocaine destined for Europe and the United States (Sabrina et al., 1998). Nigeria and Senegal are the sources of the greatest volumes of cocaine seized on commercial air flights (United Nations, 2008). The menace of drug trafficking in and out of the country had necessitated the enactment of several drug laws and policies. Drug abuse has become prevalent in the country amid daunting security challenges. The drugs come into the country as a result of the porous borders and poor security in the airports. According to official figures from the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), 37% of Kano State's population is drug abusers and the state also has the highest number of people arrested for illicit drug trafficking (Ogene, 2013).

- iv. Smuggling of Contrabands: (untaxed cigarettes and alcohol) is a common occurrence over most borders. The smuggling of contraband goods and undocumented aliens is usually done with the connivance of border personnel (customs & immigration). Auto theft—in Nigeria, is also a serious matter mostly along the Benin Republic is on a high side to the level that over 100 vehicles are usually stolen in Nigeria per month to neighbouring countries, mainly Land Cruisers, four-wheel drives, Mercedes-Benz, Toyota and BMWs. The criminals steal and smuggled these vehicles across the borders with Nigeria each month. This is done with the assistance of border communities who “hide the vehicles and provide information on local law enforcement patrols” for a fee of between \$150 - 200 and Naira as the case may be.

Conclusion

Border issues or boundary politics remains an integral part of citizens' livelihood, economic activities, movement of goods, regional cooperation and territorial integrity (sovereignty of any nation) and every approach to its management and proper settlement should take all the risks and benefits into account. Though it has been observed that interstate disputes may occur with or without reference to border disputes and that border disputes may occur as a result of border clashes without contention over border demarcations or as a result of conflicts over jurisdictions and control of off-shore islands which are not land boundaries, the fact remains that border activities have a great implication on a nation's integrity, even when it has little or no economic implication on its citizens. Cross-border crimes contribute significantly to the destabilization of political, economic and social activities in the ECOWAS sub-region. Transnational criminal activities in West Africa are rather one of the symptoms of larger underlying structural problems than the cause of insecurity.

Over the years, Nigeria has initiated measures to check firearm proliferation. The Firearms Act of 1959 (amended) spelt out prohibitions on use, exemptions, and licensing before possession, manufacture and sales of firearms, including punishment for offenders. There are also laws against robbery and the use of firearms for the same purpose as well as committees to check proliferation. Regional coordination has improved in many areas. For example, regarding small arms (Convention on small arms and light weapons, their ammunition and related materials, June 2006), human trafficking (Plan of action and declaration) and narcotics (the newly established ECOWAS Drug Control Unit). It has also focused on terrorism, under the auspices of ECOWAS, with the recent



adoption of the regional Counter-Terrorism Strategy and Implementation Plan. However, it results from the absence of significant improvement of these problems that “...the underlying factors contributing to the outbreak of these crimes as well as the complex linkages between them” have not yet been sufficiently addressed. This is necessary to achieve significant improvement of these problems. Nigeria’s borders are “very porous” and the current 20,000 customs personnel in the country are inadequate to police them.

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Friend or Foe: The Executive and the Legislature in Muhammadu Buhari Administration, 2015-2019

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Abstract

This paper investigates the relationship between the Executive and the Legislature in the regime of President Muhammadu Buhari Administration from 2015 to 2019. These two arms of government are the two pedals that wheel every developed democracy to its desired destination. Looking at the salient power struggle that manifests in the process of the Electoral Act amendment, the anti-corruption war and the late passage of appropriation bills, among other issues, it is evident that the executive and the legislature have not worked in harmony to move the nation forward as envisaged during the swearing in of the executive and inauguration of the seventh assembly in 2015. This has led to the disempowerment of the electorates and a high level of intolerance among citizens. Although conflict prevention measures are being taken by elder statesmen to douse tension between candidates, if there is no harmony between the two arms of government, the forthcoming general elections are likely to be violence-ridden because followers would likely use the discordant tunes sang by their principals to cause mayhem during or after the elections. The theoretical framework adopted is the doctrine of separation of power and elite theory. Secondary data is relied upon for evidence of power struggles among groups and a qualitative method is used to analyse the data. This paper argues that mechanisms must be put in place to check the overriding interests of groups that would always want to dominate political parties. The interest of the common people in the subsequent General Elections should be a priority to different arms of government for a sustainable democracy.

Keywords: Executive-Legislature Relationship, Separation of Power, Elite

Introduction

The executive and the legislative arms of government in the regime of President Muhammadu Buhari from 2015 to 2019 are supposed to be the two pedals that move the wheels of Nigeria's democracy to her desired destination. The executive arm of government initiates bills for consideration by the legislature. The budget appropriation bill is a major link between the executive and the legislature. This is a function that affects every sphere of the nation's economic social and political activities at the end of each year. But the legislature and the executive have always sung discordant tunes in this regard.

The amended Electoral Act given to the president for assent before the 2019 General Elections was put aside by the president for some obvious reasons of lack of trust. There were insinuations that



some provisions have been tampered with. This has created mutual suspicion on the part of the executive thereby making the president withhold his assent to the amended bill. The effort made at making changes to the Electoral Act in order to witness improvement in the conduct of the 2019 General Elections has been truncated. The legislature's labour on this amended bill is in vain in this regard.

The refusal of the legislature to confirm the appointment of the Chairman of the Economic and Financial Crime Commission slowed down the pace of performance of the regime in the anti-corruption war waged against corrupt public officials in the previous and present regime. The challenge of corruption allegations against some principal officers in the legislative arm of government and claims of these legislators that they were being witch-hunt by the executive set the stage for mutual mistrust.

Premise on the tripod of foregoing challenges, it is very clear that the executive and the legislature have not interacted in a harmonious relationship as envisaged during the swearing-in of the executive and inauguration of the seventh assembly in 2015 as such the consequences were to best imagined in this scenario. This paper examined the scenario that played out in this regard interrogating the doctrine of separation of powers.

Conceptual and contextual framework

The doctrine of separation of powers could be traced to the trinity theory of organs of government. Aristotle, Cicero, Jean Bodin and John Locke in their works on the system, forms or organs of government from the classical period to when Montesquieu clearly defined the doctrine show how these three arms must be separated to preserve liberty in the society (Johari, 2011).

Madison (1999:269) in *Federalist Papers* posits that "The accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive and judiciary, in the same hands, whether hereditary, self-appointed, or elective, may be pronounced the very definition of tyranny". Madison (1999:290) also observes that "If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary".

The fear of concentrating powers in the hands of a tyrant is what moved Madison to explore the alternative that could check the excesses of elected officials in the constitution of the United States of America. The experience of some African countries whose leaders refused to leave when the ovation is loudest has led to the usurpation of powers of other arms of government. The nature of man is to dominate others. This is to exercise control over others as long as they could not resist. A control system is necessary to check his/her excesses.

Premised on the tradition established by the scholars mentioned above the doctrine according to Montesquieu is all about the executive, legislature and the judiciary performing separate functions devoid of fusing one into another. This is to show that each arm of government has its functions and boundary that should not overlap. This is why constitutions usually spell out the functions of the executive in the president, the legislature in the assembly and the judiciary in the courts. These are precautionary measures put in place to serve as a mechanism to control the excess of one arm over the other in terms of harmonious relationships.



Whenever scholars espouse ideas on the executive-legislature relationship, what comes to mind is the foregoing theory. The executive, legislature and judiciary are presumed to be separate arms of government, but in actual sense, the separation may be problematic because of obvious reasons. Heywood (2005:315) posits that:

The purpose of the doctrine of separation of powers is to fragment government power in such a way as to defend liberty and keep tyranny at bay. In its formal sense, it demands independence, in that there should be no overlap of personnel between and branches. However, it also implies independence in the form of shared powers to ensure that there are checks and balances.

The theory of separation of powers is criticised on the following grounds

- a. That the three constitutionally declared powers entrusted on bodies or persons are not conclusive
- b. The notion of execution, legislation and adjudication are incapable of revealing precise definitions.
- c. The idea of separation is just a word that connotes physical separation but it is a construct that cannot show clearly the notion of separation of powers
- d. It does not show the necessity or appropriateness of transfer or delegation of these functions in case of legitimacy on branches of government (Johari, 2011).

Elite and political power

The doctrine of separation of powers alone cannot explain the challenge experience in making operational executive-legislature relations in Nigeria. The Marxist political economy could explain the reasons behind the inability of the executive to relate well with the legislative arm of government. According to Mato (2009), the Marxist Political Economy espouses ideas on how economic needs dominate the thoughts of men and action. Men place providence on the economics over religious, social and cultural aspects of life as such politicians either in the executive or legislative arm of government struggle for political power at all costs. They try to bend or brake rules in order to emerge victorious in the game of politics. Egwu (2014) argues that oil rent is the major source of motivation for the political elite who are fond of contesting politics. This implies that those seeking to be elected into either executive or legislative arm of government are concerned with how they could have access to oil revenue that accrues to the government of Nigeria.

Powers and functions of the executive

The executive consists of the public officials in-charge of applying authoritative policies and rules of a society. These officials carry out provisions of laws that are in statutes, constitutions, treaties or decrees. They carry out the following functions and have the following powers:

- a. The executive arm of government carries out legislative functions. It initiates bills to be considered by the legislature, delegates legislation (takes decisions on the line of action during emergencies)
- b. The executive arm of government carries out administrative functions. It directs, supervises and controls the execution of laws, appoints and removes administrative officials, controls the defence and security forces and coordinates foreign relations on behalf of the state.



- c. The executive arm of government carries out judicial functions. It issues pardons to offenders in form of release from prison, reduction of sentence or grant amnesty to offenders within the powers of the executive (Anifowose, 1999).

Powers and functions of the executive arm of government as outlined in the constitution

The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria section 5 (1) (a) and (b) executive powers

- (a) Shall be vested in the President and may, as aforesaid and to the provisions of any law made by the National Assembly, be exercised by him either directly or through the vice president and Ministers of the Government of the Federal Republic or Officers in the Public Service of the Federation;
- (b) Shall extend to the execution and maintenance of this constitution, all laws made by the National Assembly and to all matters with respect to which the National assembly has, for the time being, power to make laws.

The executive needs the support of the legislature to function well. It needs to cultivate continuous mutual cooperation. Hostility between them will frustrate the execution of policies (Anifowose, 1999).

Almond, Powell Jr, Strom, and Dalton (2007:104) observe that "Different presidential regimes provide their presidents with a variety of different powers over government appointments and policy-making, such as the authority to veto legislation or to make policy by executive decree under some conditions"

Pocket veto and override veto could be a major source of conflict between the executive and the legislature. Following the provisions of the 1999 constitution the two vetoes mention above, the president could in Nigeria withhold assent to a bill. He would object to or refuse to sign within thirty days (pocket veto). The legislative arm could also use the powers known as "override veto". Each House could pass the bill again by the two-third majority for it to become law (which means the assent of the president would no longer be required. The power to veto laws made by the legislature has rendered the sittings made by the national assembly in the bill passage process (from the first reading to the last stage) constitute a waste of time and other resources if there was no agreement before this arm of government set in motion the process of passing a bill.

Powers and functions of the legislative arm of government

The legislature is a statute-making body. It consists of the members of the upper chamber and lower chamber at the centre and only a single chamber at the units. They carry out the following functions and have the following powers:

- a. Statute making
- b. Electoral function
- c. Financial
- d. Executive
- e. Judicial
- f. Investigative
- g. Constitutional
- h. Representation



- i. Interest articulation and aggregation
- j. Supervision and scrutiny
- k. Control administration
- l. Informing and educating the public (Anifowose, 1999).

The list of functions that the legislature is given powers to carry out in the polity makes it an organ of government that has to check both the executive and the judiciary. But, how well could the legislature exercise these powers? The legislature has always investigated the activities of the executive organs and it stops at that. They cannot check the excesses in terms of implementing the annual budgetary spending. All the results of the investigation are just for the attention of the electorate.

The challenge of the supervision and scrutiny function is also threatened by the inability of the national assembly to allocate resources to carry-out this function. They usually asked the ministry or parastatals that they were to supervise or scrutinise to provide logistics to them. This means that the legislator could be influenced in the process of carrying out this function as such the function is compromised. The result will not be of benefit to the polity in a long run. Thus, this is not implementable.

Powers and functions of the legislative arm of government as outlined in the constitution

The 1999 Constitution gave the legislature powers categorised as

- a. Express powers
- b. Implied powers
- c. Assumed powers)

The express powers are in section 4(2)

Chapter one part II Section 4 states that the legislative power of the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be vested in a National Assembly for the Federation which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives. These powers empower the National assembly to make laws which are binding on the executive and all citizens. Except there was a call for interpretation in which the Judiciary shall be invited to interpret.

The following are the reasons why legislative powers are declining

- a. Complex and voluminous problems in public policy intervention
- b. Inability to act on emergencies due to the deliberative nature of the legislature
- c. Technicalities in law-making prevent them from functioning well as individuals
- d. Paucity of time
- e. Excessive party discipline
- f. Public opinion and pressure groups (Anifowose, 1999).

The legislature must play the role of a watchdog for democracy to be deepened in a developing country. To also manage the executive-legislature relationship the party administration must respect the doctrine of separation of powers to prevent abuse of powers, affirm the autonomy of each arm of government and keeps tyranny at bay (Jinadu, 2014).



Executive-legislature relationship: conflict and cooperation

The feud between the executive and the legislature is being given more attention when discussing the doctrine of separation of powers. Hardly could scholars recount areas of agreement between the two arms of government. In actual fact, if the feud is given more attention it portrays a negative image of the government in power. The areas of cooperation between the two arms are budget appropriation, budget for the 2019 general elections, and salary and wage increase.

No matter the period of delay in passing the appropriation bill from 2016 to 2019 the bills were usually passed. Although, the strain in the relationship had nothing to do with the interest of the citizens. The two arms of government in the long run still agreed on some of the issues they had disagreed on earlier. This shows that the two arms must cooperate no matter their differences. It is also evident that the criticism the physical separation of powers embedded in the theory of powers is not as tangible as expressed in the theory.

There was initial disagreement on the passage of the INEC's budget for the 2019 general elections but the issues were later resolved and the budget was passed in the interest of a free, fair and credible election. The citizens are moving toward making their votes count with the passage of this bill into law. This is another area of cooperative relationship despite the strain in the relationship between the two arms of government.

In the area of a cooperative relationship between the executive and the legislature, the two arms of government agreed on the approval of the new minimum wage of thirty thousand Naira. The National Assembly gave it a speedy passage and the president assented to it in good time. The electorates have also benefited from the interaction between the executive and the legislative arm again. This is also an evidence that the executive could work with the legislature even when their relationship is not very cordial.

In the area of conflict between the two arms of government in the regime of President Muhammadu Buhari from 2015 to 2019 are the refusal of the National assembly to approve the appointment of Ibrahim Magu as the substantive chairman of the Economic and Financial Crime Commission. Throughout the first tenure of President Muhammadu Buhari, the anticorruption crusade was led by an EFCC chairman whose appointment was not approved by the National assembly. This means that the mantra through which the regime came into power was side-lined by the legislature.

Another evidence of a conflictual relationship between the executive and the legislature is the pocket veto wielded by the President on the amended Electoral Act passed by the National Assembly before the 2019 General Elections. There were insinuations that the Presidency accused the legislature of tampering with some provisions in order to favour them during the 2019 General elections. The Minister of Justice had issues with the bill as such the president was not expected to assent to the bill.

There were also insinuations that the Presidency usually accused the legislature of tampering with some provisions in the annual budget appropriation bills from 2016 to 2019. Vocabulary 'budget padding' among others was developed in explaining the process of interfering with the provisions of the annual budget sent to the National Assembly for scrutiny.



There are consequences of the executive-legislature feud in Nigeria. These consequences are partly responsible for the challenges observed in the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria. Those consequences include:

- a. Abuse of rule of law
- b. Unnecessary delay in the passage of bills
- c. Poor budget preparation and implementation
- d. Promotion of party indiscipline
- e. Political crisis
- f. Instability and corruption (Tifiti, 2014)

The legislative arm in Nigeria too could not perform creditably well. The reasons for this are identified in the following:

- a. The executive attempted to bring the legislature under its control
- b. The domination of the legislative arm of government by inexperienced members created delays in the passage of bills. The turnover of legislators during annual elections is very high as such new members usually dominate the older members.
- c. A high premium is placed on personal interest above national interest as such legislators usually make a frantic effort at doing their jobs whenever they envisage personal gain in the activities they are involved in (Usman, 2010).

The attempt by the executive in bringing the legislature under its control and the high premium placed on self-interest above that of the commonwealth are evidence of how the elite conduct themselves while in the position of authority. The officials of the two arms of government want to be relevant in every regime. This informs why they all struggle to get hold of these arms of government within themselves.

There were consequences of conflictual executive-legislature relations in the 2019 General elections. These consequences are highlighted in order to guide against them in the second tenure of the Muhamadu Buhari Administration.

- a) The build-up to the 2019 General elections brought about defections from All Progressive Congress (APC) (the ruling party) to Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) (the opposition) and from the opposition to the ruling party. This affected the way the primaries were conducted in APC in trying to instil party discipline and not lose the majority in the National Assembly. There was outcry (from the legislative arm of government) that the executive arm of government usurping the powers of the legislature arm of government, but in actual sense, the officials in the two arms of government were in a struggle to control the party machinery in order to sustain their relevance in the two arms of government. The elites were playing on the intelligence of the masses by claiming that they decamped to other parties in the interest of their people.
- b) There was tension between supporters of the two major parties in Kano, Kwara, Kaduna and Rivers to mention but a few. Members of the ruling party in the legislature who defected to the opposition party almost turned the election into a battleground. People lost their lives in Kano and Rivers before and during the elections.



- c) There were accusations of a lack of improvement in the performance of INEC during the 2019 General Election. The notion of inconclusive elections and the attendant consequences on the credibility of the election was more pronounced than that of the previous elections conducted by INEC.
- d) There was an accusation of wastage of effort, time and funds used by the National Assembly in deliberation on the moribund amended electoral act 2019 that the president refused to assent to due to mutual suspicion between the executive and the legislative arms of government. The sitting allowances received and hard work put into making it a reality were not of any use because it was not put into use in the 2019 General elections.

Recommendations

Based on the findings, the following recommendations are expected to add to the retinue of suggestions made to the government on the issue in focus:

- a. In the cooperative working relationship between the executive and the legislature, there must be a proper understanding and mutual respect from both arms of government. They are expected to dialogue and correct each other's mistakes.
- b. Both the executive and the legislature there is need to be objective and sincere about the interests of moving the nation forward while not belittling the dignity of actors in the two institutions.

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