

ZAMFARA JOURNAL OF POLITICS AND DEVELOPMENT

**Official Publication of the Department of Political Science
Federal University Gusau, Zamfara State – Nigeria.**

ISSN: 2756-6633 (Online)

ISSN: 2756-6668 (Prints)

**Vol. 4 No. 3
December, 2023**

**Published by Department of Political Science,
Federal University Gusau, Nigeria**

Website: www.zjpd.com.ng

Email: zjpadfugus@gmail.com

Copyright Notice

ZJPD is an *open access journal* with [CC By Attribution 4.0 License](#). All papers published by the journal are free immediately upon publication to be reused without permission so long as proper citation of the original publication is given. Peer-reviewed articles are freely available without subscription or price barriers; and articles are immediately released in open access format (no embargo period). Please be aware that certain content, including tables, figures, and text in articles, may come from other sources. In this situation, you should find out whether this content is reusable by contacting the original copyright holder (often the original publisher or writers).

EDITORIAL BOARD

Dr. Adamu Mohammed	Editor-in-Chief
Dr. Aminu Idris	Editor
Molmela Umaru	Marketing Editor
Muhammad Abdullahi	Corresponding/Managing Editor

EDITORIAL CONSULTANTS

Prof. Rauf A. Dunmoye – *Department of Political Science, Federal University Gusau.*

Prof. Suleiman Y.B. Kura – *Department of Political Science, Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto.*

Prof. G.B. Mohammed – *Department of Political Science, Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto.*

Prof. M.A.I.L. Bin Abdalah – *Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government, Universiti Utara Malaysia*

Prof. Kamilu Sani Fagge- *Department of Political Science, Bayero University, Kano.*

Prof. Isma'ila Shehu- *Department of Political Science & International Studies, Ahmadu Bello University,*

Zaria

Prof. Everisto Benyera- *Department of Political Sciences, University of South Africa*

Prof. Victor A. Kolawole- *Department of Political Science, IBB University Lapai*

Prof. Usman A. Tar- *Department of Defense & Security Studies, Nigeria Defence Academy, Kaduna*

Prof. Habu Mohammed- *Department of Political Science, Bayero University, Kano*

Prof. Toba Alabi- *Department of Political Science and Defence Studies, Nigeria Defence Academy,*

Kaduna

Prof. Makodi Biereenu-Nnabugwu - *Department of Political Science, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka*

Prof. Toyin Abe Gabriel - *Department of Political Science, Ekiti State University.*

Prof. Ibrahim M. Umara - *Department of Political Science, University of Maiduguri.*

Prof. Abdulmalik Auwal - *Department of Political Science Bayero University, Kano.*

Prof. Abubakar Abdullahi - *Department of Political Science, Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto.*

Asst. Prof. Hussaini Jibrin - Department of History and War Studies. Nigerian Defence Academy.

Dr. MM Nurudeen - Department of Political Science & International Studies, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

Dr. Aliyu Mukhtar Katsina - Department of Political Science Umaru Musa Yaradua University (UMYU) Katsina.

Dr. Kabir Umar Musa - Department of Political Science and International Relations Umaru Musa Yaradua University (UMYU) Katsina.

Dr. Ruqayya Aminu Gar - Department of Political Science, Bauchi State University (BSU) Gadau, Bauchi State.

Dr. Abubakar Musa Kalgo - Department of Political Science, Federal University, Gusau (FUGUS) Zamfara.

Dr. Linus Akor - Department of Sociology, Federal University Gusau

Dr. Omeiza David Moveh - Department of Political Science & International Studies, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

ABOUT THE JOURNAL

Zamfara Journal of Politics and Development is a Bi-annual double-blind peer-reviewed and research driven journal devoted to providing intellectual platform for the dissemination of empirical and critical research in the areas of Political Science, Political Theory, Political Economy, Development Studies, Comparative Politics, Public Policy, International Relations, Security and Strategic Studies and other related areas. The Journal is a Publication of the Department of Political Science, Federal University Gusau, Zamfara State, Nigeria.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND THE CHANGING ROLE OF STATES IN THE GLOBAL SYSTEM	1
ECONOMIC CRIME AND NATIONAL SECURITY IN NIGERIAS FOURTH REPUBLIC: AN APPRAISAL.....	15
NEW MEDIAS, YOUTHS AND PARTICIPATORY POLITICS: AN EXPLORATION OF UMMARU MUSA YARADUA UNIVERSITY, KATSINA STATE	35
PARTY-POLITICS, DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA	49
NON-STATE ACTORS AND THE MANAGEMENT OF LIBERIAN REFUGEES IN ORU-IJEBU REFUGEE CAMP IN NIGERIA, 1990-2007	79
THE THEORETICAL APPRAISAL OF GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES OF THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS (MDGS).....	104
POLITICAL ISLAM AND STATE RECONSTRUCTION IN AFRICA.....	116
CORRUPTION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: AN APPRAISAL OF NIGERIAS FOURTH REPUBLIC.....	132
STATE AND INDUSTRIALIZATION IN NIGERIA: THE RISE AND COLLAPSE OF ZAMFARA TEXTILE INDUSTRIES	146

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND THE CHANGING ROLE OF STATES IN THE GLOBAL SYSTEM

ADAMU, MOHAMMED PHD

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCES, FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL SCIENCES, FEDERAL UNIVERSITY GUSAU, ZAMFARA STATE. | mohdshiwidi@gmail.com

OGAH, M.A PHD

ogahsond@gmail.com

IBRAHIM, A.

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, FEDERAL UNIVERSITY LAFIA | ibrahimfulafia@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the shifting landscape of international security and how state roles have evolved in response to these changes. States now face an interconnected and interdependent security environment that requires cooperation and coordination beyond national boundaries. The paper also highlights how state power and influence in the global system have been redefined in the recent time. While states remain important actors, their dominance has been challenged by the rise of non-state actors, such as multinational corporations, non-governmental organizations, and transnational criminal networks, who have the ability to impact international security dynamics. Relying on secondary source of data as a veritable means of data collection, the paper adopted the theory of constructivism as its theoretical underpinning in explaining international security and the changing roles of states in the global system. The paper found amongst others, that the complex interplay of geopolitical shifts, emerging technologies, regional dynamics, and global trends has reshaped the traditional notions of state sovereignty and security. It's also found out that the international security challenge is of course, multifaceted in nature. Based on the findings above, the paper recommended as thus; the need to conduct an In-Depth Analysis of Geopolitical Shifts of the current and anticipated geopolitical shifts in future, including changes in power dynamics among states, regional dynamics, and global trends and also, the need to adopt a holistic approach to address the multifaceted nature of the international security challenges associated with diplomacy, multilateralism, responsible use of technology as a sure ways to international peace, order and stability.

Keywords: Security. Peace, State and Global System.

Introduction

International security has been a crucial issue in the global system, with states playing a central role in shaping security dynamics. However, the changing nature of international relations has led to a shift in the role of states in international security. This work examines the evolving role of states in the global system in the context of international security. The traditional understanding of state-centric security, where states are seen as the primary actors responsible for ensuring their own security through military power and alliances, has been challenged by various factors. Globalization, technological advancements, and the emergence of non-state actors have transformed the international security landscape, leading to a re-evaluation of the role of states (Hoeffler, 2004).

In today's rapidly evolving global landscape, the concept of international security has undergone significant changes, reshaping the role of states in the global system. Traditional notions of state sovereignty, national security, and the monopoly of power have been challenged, as new actors and threats emerge, and as states grapple with the complex interplay of global challenges. This work explores the changing

role of states in the global system in the context of international security, examining how states are adapting to new realities and redefining their roles to address emerging challenges. Historically, states have been the primary actors in the international system, wielding power and authority over their territories and populations. The principle of state sovereignty, enshrined in the United Nations Charter, has long been considered the cornerstone of international relations, granting states the exclusive right to govern their territories and determine their own domestic and foreign policies. However, this traditional understanding of state sovereignty has been challenged in recent years, as non-state actors such as multinational corporations, non-governmental organizations, and transnational criminal networks have gained significant influence in global affairs (Alexander Wendt, 2014).

The rise of non-state actors has disrupted the traditional power dynamics of the international system, as they operate across national borders, often without regard for state boundaries, and wield considerable economic, technological, and social influence. For example, multinational corporations, with their transnational

operations and vast resources, can shape global economic policies, environmental regulations, and labor practices, affecting the well-being and security of states and their populations. Non-governmental organizations, with their advocacy and humanitarian efforts, can influence state policies on human rights, development, and security. Transnational criminal networks, with their illicit activities such as drug trafficking, human trafficking, and cybercrime, pose threats to states' security and challenge their ability to maintain law and order within their borders (David Krieger,2022).

As a result, states have had to adapt to this changing landscape and reassess their roles in the global system. One key trend has been the increased emphasis on cooperative approaches to address global challenges. States are recognizing that many of the transnational challenges they face, such as climate change, terrorism, and pandemics, cannot be effectively addressed by any single state acting alone. These challenges require coordinated efforts and collective action among states, often through international organizations and multilateral agreements. For example, the Paris Agreement on climate change, the United

Nations Security Council resolutions on countering terrorism, and the World Health Organization's efforts to combat global pandemics all reflect the growing recognition that states need to work together to tackle common threats.

In addition, states are also leveraging regional and sub-regional organizations to address security challenges. Regional organizations, such as the European Union, the African Union, and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, among others, have emerged as important actors in the global system, with mandates to promote regional security, economic cooperation, and political stability. These organizations provide platforms for states to coordinate their efforts, pool their resources, and develop joint strategies to address regional security challenges, such as conflicts, migration, and terrorism. They also facilitate dialogue and diplomacy among member states, helping to manage tensions and conflicts, and promoting regional stability.

Another significant shift in the role of states in the global system is the changing nature of warfare and security threats. Traditional notions of warfare, characterized by inter-state conflicts, have evolved to encompass a wide range of non-traditional security

challenges, such as cyber warfare, terrorism, transnational organized crime, and asymmetric warfare. These new security threats often require different responses and strategies, beyond conventional military means. States are now required to develop capabilities to counter these non-traditional threats, which may include building cyber defenses, conducting intelligence and surveillance operations, and developing strategies to counter violent extremism. In many cases, states are also collaborating with non-state actors (Scott D, 2017)

Statement of the Problem

As the global system undergoes significant shifts in political, economic, and technological dynamics, the traditional roles and responsibilities of States in ensuring international security are evolving. In today's interconnected world, States face a complex array of security challenges that transcend national borders, including terrorism, cyber threats, climate change, and pandemics, which require new approaches to address effectively. Additionally, the rise of non-state actors, such as multinational corporations and international organizations, has further challenged the traditional notion of State sovereignty and its role in maintaining global security (Regan, 2002).

This work aims to investigate and analyze how the changing role of States in the global system impacts international security. It seeks to identify the key drivers behind the changing role of States, including shifts in power dynamics, economic interdependence, technological advancements, and changing norms and values. This work will also explore the implications of these changes for traditional State-centric approaches to international security, such as military power, diplomacy, and alliances, providing a clear direction for examining the evolving role of States in the global system and its implications for international security. By addressing this problem statement, this work aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the changing landscape of international security and the implications for State roles and responsibilities in the contemporary global context.

The Shifting Landscape of International Security

The international security landscape has been constantly shifting, with various changes and challenges that have shaped the roles of states in response. Some of the key shifts in the international security landscape include:

a. Changing power dynamics: The global balance of power has been shifting with the rise of new powers such as China, India, and Brazil, and the relative decline of traditional powers like the United States and Europe. This has led to a reconfiguration of the international system and has affected states' roles in shaping security dynamics. Rising powers have sought to assert their influence and challenge existing power structures, while established powers have tried to adapt to these changes and maintain their dominance.

b. Non-state actors and asymmetric threats: Non-state actors, such as transnational terrorist organizations, cyber criminals, and organized crime networks, have emerged as significant security threats. These actors do not conform to traditional state boundaries and can operate across borders, posing challenges to states' ability to address security threats. Asymmetric threats, including cyber warfare, hybrid warfare, and terrorism, have also evolved, requiring states to adapt their roles and strategies to effectively counter these threats.

c. Multilateralism and global governance: There has been an increasing recognition of the need for multilateral approaches to

address global security challenges, such as climate change, pandemics, and migration. States have had to cooperate and collaborate through international organizations and institutions to find collective solutions to these challenges. This has led to the evolution of states' roles from traditional sovereignty-based approaches to more cooperative and multilateral approaches to security governance.

In response to these changes, states have adapted their roles in various ways. This includes engaging in diplomatic efforts to build alliances, participating in multilateral forums, developing new strategies to counter asymmetric threats, investing in technological capabilities, and addressing evolving norms and values. However, there are also challenges and tensions as states navigate these shifts in the international security landscape, including issues related to sovereignty, competition for resources, conflicting interests, and power struggles. The roles of states in international security will likely continue to evolve in response to these changes, requiring flexibility, cooperation, and adaptation to effectively address the complex security challenges of the 21st century.

How States Power and Influence in the Global System Have Been Redefined

States power and influence in the global system have been redefined in several ways in response to changes in the international security landscape. Some key aspects of how states power and influence have evolved include:

a. Multi-polarity and the rise of new powers:

The global system has shifted from a unipolar or bipolar system to a more multi-polar system, with the rise of new powers such as China, India, and Brazil challenging the dominance of traditional powers like the United States and Europe. This has redefined the power dynamics among states, with new powers gaining economic, political, and military influence, and traditional powers needing to adapt to a more distributed global power structure.

b. Economic power and interdependence:

Economic power has become a key source of influence for states in the global system. States with strong economies, robust trade relationships, and investment capabilities are able to wield significant influence in international relations. Economic interdependence among states has also increased, with global supply chains and financial networks creating dependencies

that can affect states' power and influence. This has led to the redefinition of power beyond military capabilities to include economic strength and interdependence.

c. Soft power and influence through ideas and values: Soft power, which refers to the ability of states to attract and influence others through ideas, values, and culture, has gained prominence in the global system. States that can project appealing ideologies, cultural values, and norms can enhance their influence and shape global discourse. This has led to a redefinition of power beyond military and economic capabilities to include the power of ideas and values in shaping international relations.

Overall, the redefinition of states power and influence in the global system has been shaped by changing dynamics in the international security landscape, including the rise of new powers, economic interdependence, and soft power influence of non-state actors, technological advancements, and multilateralism. States' power and influence are no longer solely determined by military capabilities, but also by economic strength, soft power, technological prowess, and ability to engage in multilateral efforts to address global challenges. Adaptation to these changes and

strategic agility are critical for states to effectively navigate the evolving dynamics of power and influence in the global system.

The Changing Dynamics (Collier,P & Hoeffler, A, 2004) (Gleditsch,N.P & Wallenstein,P, 2002)(P.M, 2002)(Fortna V, 2008) of State Behaviour In The Global System.

The dynamics of state behavior in the global system have been changing in response to various factors. Some key changes in state behavior include:

a. Shift from competition to cooperation: While competition among states for resources, influence, and power remains a fundamental aspect of international relations, there has been a growing recognition of the need for cooperation to address global challenges. Issues such as climate change, pandemics, terrorism, and transnational crime require collective action, and states are increasingly engaging in cooperative efforts through regional and international organizations to address these challenges. This shift towards cooperation reflects a growing understanding that global issues cannot be effectively tackled by individual states alone.

b. Emphasis on diplomacy and negotiation: Diplomacy and negotiation have gained renewed importance in state behavior in the global system. States are recognizing the need to engage in diplomatic efforts to resolve conflicts, prevent escalation, and achieve their interests through peaceful means. Diplomatic initiatives, negotiations, and dialogue are being prioritized over military force as a means of resolving disputes and promoting cooperation among states.

c. Focus on non-traditional security challenges: Non-traditional security challenges such as cyber threats, transnational crime, pandemics, and environmental issues are increasingly shaping state behavior in the global system. States are realizing that these challenges require collaborative approaches and are extending their engagement beyond traditional security concerns. Cooperation, coordination, and information-sharing among states have become essential in addressing these non-traditional security challenges.

Overall, the changing dynamics of state behavior in the global system are characterized by a shift towards cooperation, diplomacy, and engagement with non-state

actors, emphasis on non-traditional security challenges, multilateralism, norms and values, and the evolving role of technology. These changes reflect the complex and interconnected nature of today's global challenges and the need for states to adapt their behavior and strategies accordingly (Gleditsch, 2022)

Theoretical Framework

The theory of Constructivism in international relations has been developed and advanced by various scholars over time. While there is no single individual who can be identified as the sole proponent or originator of constructivism, several influential scholars have contributed significantly to its development. One of the major proponents of Constructivism is Alexander Wendt, a political scientist who has made significant contributions to the field of international relations. In his influential book "Social Theory of International Politics" published in 1999, Wendt argues that states behavior in international relations is shaped by social norms and shared understandings, rather than solely by material interests. He emphasizes the role of ideas, norms, and beliefs in shaping state behavior and the dynamics of international relations. Other

notable scholars who have contributed to the development of constructivism include Martha Finnemore, Kathryn Sikkink, Friedrich Kratochwil, and Nicholas Onuf, among others. They have furthered the constructivist perspective by examining how norms, ideas, and identities shape state behavior, international institutions, and global governance.

It's important to note that constructivism as a theoretical framework in international relations has evolved over time and continues to be developed by various scholars. The theory has been influential in challenging traditional theories that emphasize material interests and power dynamics, and it has provided insights into how social constructs shape international behavior and interactions among states.

International Security and the Changing Role of States in the Global System can be analyzed through the lens of constructivism, which is a theoretical framework in international relations that emphasizes the role of ideas, norms, and identities in shaping international behavior.

According to constructivism, states and other international actors do not simply act based on material interests, but are also influenced by social constructs such as

norms, values, and identities. These social constructs shape the way states perceive and interact with each other, and they play a crucial role in shaping international security dynamics. In the context of International Security and the Changing Role of States in the Global System, constructivism would highlight how states' perceptions of security are shaped by their ideas about the changing role of states in the global system. This could include how states view their own identity, their relationship with other states, and their understanding of norms and values in the international system. For example, constructivism would emphasize how states' perceptions of security may be influenced by their evolving role in the global system. As the global system undergoes changes such as shifts in power, changes in norms and values, and transformations in the nature of threats, states may reassess their own identity and interests, and adjust their behavior accordingly. States may also be influenced by the ideas and norms prevalent in the international system, such as the changing views on state sovereignty, human rights, and global governance.

Constructivism would also highlight how the changing role of states in the global system can influence their interactions with other states. States may form alliances,

cooperate, or compete based on their perceptions of the changing role of states in the international system. Constructivism would emphasize the importance of social constructs such as norms, values, and identities in shaping state behavior, and how these constructs can evolve and change over time, influencing the dynamics of international security.

Therefore, constructivism analyzes International Security and the Changing Role of States in the Global System by examining how states' perceptions of security are shaped by social constructs such as norms, values, and identities, and how the changing role of states in the global system can influence their behavior and interactions with other states.

Empirical Review

International peace and security are fundamental concepts in international relations and global governance. Maintaining peace and security among nations is crucial for the stability and well-being of the international community. In this empirical review, we will examine key literature and empirical studies related to the concept of international peace and security. Many empirical studies have explored the causes and consequences of conflicts, as

well as the factors that contribute to peace. For example, Collier and Hoeffler (2004) conducted a widely cited study on the economic causes of civil wars, finding that factors such as low income, inequality, and natural resource dependence are significant predictors of conflict. Other studies have examined the role of political, social, and cultural factors in influencing the likelihood of conflicts and the prospects for peace (Gleditsch et al., 2002; Regan, 2002).

United Nations Reports on Peacekeeping Operations: The United Nations (UN) plays a critical role in international peace and security through its peacekeeping operations. Empirical studies based on UN reports have examined the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations in preventing conflicts, protecting civilians, and facilitating post-conflict reconstruction. For instance, Fortna (2008) conducted a quantitative analysis of UN peacekeeping missions and found that peacekeeping operations with robust mandates and larger troop deployments tend to be more effective in reducing violence and preventing the recurrence of conflicts.

Global Indices on Peace and Security: Several organizations, such as the Global Peace Index (GPI) and the Institute for

Economics and Peace (IEP), have developed global indices to measure and rank countries based on their level of peace and security. These indices use a range of indicators, including levels of violence, political instability, and militarization, to assess the peacefulness of countries and identify trends over time. Empirical studies utilizing these indices have examined the relationships between peace, security, and various socio-economic, political, and environmental factors (Kucera & Barrett, 2017; Morgan et al., 2018).

International institutions, such as the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the European Union (EU), play a crucial role in maintaining international peace and security. Empirical studies have examined the effectiveness of these institutions in addressing conflicts and promoting peace. For instance, Diehl and Druckman (2010) analyzed the decision-making process of the UNSC in responding to international crises and found that factors such as power relations among member states, the presence of veto powers, and regional dynamics influence the council's ability to act decisively in maintaining peace and security.

Arms control and disarmament efforts are central to promoting international peace and security. Empirical studies have explored the impact of arms control agreements, such as the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), on reducing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and conventional weapons. For example, Hultman et al. (2014) conducted a quantitative analysis of the impact of arms control agreements on reducing the use of force and found that such agreements can contribute to enhancing security and reducing conflict escalation.

Challenges to International Security

The topic of international security and the changing role of states in the global system present several challenges that researchers, policymakers, and practitioners need to consider. Some of the challenges include:

a. Complex and Evolving Nature of International Security: International security is a multifaceted and dynamic concept that encompasses various traditional and non-traditional security threats, such as terrorism, armed conflicts, cyber warfare, climate change, and pandemics. Analyzing and understanding the complexity and evolution of international security

challenges require interdisciplinary approaches, in-depth research, and up-to-date knowledge.

b. Shifting Power Dynamics among States: The global system is characterized by shifting power dynamics among states, with emerging powers challenging the dominance of traditional powers. This change in power dynamics impacts the role of states in international security, as it influences their ability to shape global security policies, engage in strategic alliances, and project influence. Understanding the changing power dynamics and their implications for international security requires careful analysis and geopolitical awareness.

c. Multilateralism vs. Unilateralism: States may adopt different approaches in addressing international security challenges, ranging from multilateralism, where states cooperate through international institutions and agreements, to unilateralism, where states pursue their interests independently. Balancing between multilateralism and unilateralism can be challenging, as it involves navigating complex diplomatic relations, addressing conflicting interests, and managing issues of sovereignty and national security.

Thus, the topic of international security and the changing role of states in the global system present several challenges that require interdisciplinary analysis, geopolitical awareness, ethical considerations, and global cooperation. Navigating these challenges is crucial for policymakers and practitioners to effectively address international security threats and ensure global stability and peace.

Solutions to International Security Problems

Addressing the challenges related to international security and the changing role of states in the global system requires comprehensive and multifaceted solutions. Some potential solutions include:

a. Interdisciplinary Approaches: Given the complexity of international security challenges, interdisciplinary approaches that draw on various fields such as political science, international relations, law, economics, sociology, and technology can provide a more nuanced understanding of the issues at hand. Encouraging collaboration among experts from different disciplines can lead to more informed policy decisions and effective strategies.

b. Geopolitical Awareness: Understanding the shifting power dynamics among states

and their implications for international security requires geopolitical awareness. Policymakers and practitioners need to closely monitor global trends, geopolitical developments, and regional dynamics to adapt their policies accordingly. Engaging in constructive dialogue, diplomacy, and strategic alliances can help manage power shifts and promote stability.

c. Balanced Approach between Multilateralism and Unilateralism: Striking a balance between multilateralism and unilateralism is crucial in addressing international security challenges. States need to cooperate through international institutions and agreements while also safeguarding their national interests. Promoting inclusive and cooperative multilateralism, building consensus, and finding common ground among states can foster effective global governance and cooperation.

Addressing the challenges related to international security and the changing role of states in the global system requires comprehensive and proactive approaches that involve interdisciplinary analysis, geopolitical awareness, ethical considerations, and global cooperation. By adopting such approaches, policymakers and

practitioners can work towards ensuring global stability, security, and peace in the evolving international security landscape.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the evolving landscape of international security and the changing role of states in the global system pose significant challenges that require careful consideration and strategic responses. The complex interplay of geopolitical shifts, emerging technologies, regional dynamics, and global trends has reshaped the traditional notions of state sovereignty and security. As states navigate this changing landscape, it is crucial to recognize the multifaceted nature of international security challenges and adopt a holistic approach that includes diplomacy, multilateralism, responsible use of technology, and addressing root causes.

Recommendations

Based on the challenges and potential solutions identified above, here are some recommendations for further research and policy considerations on the topic of international security and the changing role of states in the global system:

a. Conduct In-Depth Analysis of Geopolitical Shifts: Researchers and

policymakers should conduct in-depth analysis of current and anticipated geopolitical shifts, including changes in power dynamics among states, regional dynamics, and global trends. This can help in developing informed policies and strategies to adapt to the changing landscape of international security.

b. Foster Interdisciplinary Research and Collaboration: Encourage interdisciplinary research and collaboration among experts from various fields, including political science, international relations, law, economics, sociology, and technology. This can provide a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the complex challenges related to international security and the evolving role of states in the global system.

c. Promote Responsible Use of Technology: Emphasize the responsible use of technology in the context of international security. This includes developing regulatory frameworks, promoting cybersecurity, addressing the challenges posed by emerging technologies, and fostering international cooperation on cyber issues.

d. Strengthen Multilateral Institutions and Agreements: Support efforts to strengthen

multilateral institutions and agreements as important mechanisms for global governance and cooperation. Encourage states to engage in inclusive and cooperative multilateralism, build consensus, and find common ground to address international security challenges.

e. Foster Dialogue and Diplomacy: Promote dialogue, diplomacy, and constructive engagement among states as essential means to manage conflicts, build trust, and find peaceful resolutions to international security challenges. Encourage states to prioritize diplomatic efforts and seek diplomatic solutions to disputes.

References

- Alexander, W. (1999). *the social theory of international relations*. london: lynx publishers.
- Collier, P & Hoeffler, A. (2004). Greed and grievance in civil war. *journal of conflict resolution* , 56(4), 536-595.
- Fortna V, P. (2008). Does peacekeeping work? *A review of Economics and statistics* , 90(4), 672-685.

- Gleditsch, N.P & Wallensteen, P. (2002). Armed conflict 1964-2001. *Journal of peace research* , 39(5), 615-637.
- Kucera, D. &. (2017). the global peace index and negative peace. *journal of peace research* , 54(2), 192-206.
- Morgan, S. (2014). *Benefits of peacekeeping*. london: hilton publishers.
- Diehl, P.F. (2010). *The effects of the united nations security council* . chicago: dealva prints.
- Regan, P.M. (2002). Third party interventions and the duration of intrastate conflicts . *journal of conflict resolution* , 46(1), 55-73.
- Morgan, T.C. (2018). *the global distribution of militarized interstate dispute*. london: ft publishers.

ECONOMIC CRIME AND NATIONAL SECURITY IN NIGERIAS FOURTH REPUBLIC: AN APPRAISAL

ABUBAKAR AHMED

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, FEDERAL POLYTECHNIC BIDA, NIGER STATE | nmaa058@gmail.com

ABUBAKAR SALISU CHARANCI

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCES, UMMARU MUSA YARADUA UNIVERSITY, KATSINA, KATSINA STATE | abusalisucrc1@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION

Crimes in the Nigerian society are getting incessant, as more people are indulging in criminal activities daily. People are getting more desperate and determined through the means of technological advancement and sophistication in imbibing criminal activities (Otto & Ukpere, 2012). Previous military administrations did not witness laudable crime rate, as there were strict sanctions accrued to criminal acts, especially financial crime, crime however reduced and people who imbibe this act, did with utmost discretion (Otto & Ukpere, 2012).

Economic crimes had always existed right from the colonial era to the post-colonial era. Before the discovery of oil in commercial quantity at Oloibiri in 1956, the scale and operadus of economic crimes was smaller such as embezzlement, electoral malpractices, and more in comparism to recent times especially with the

globalization of the world and the use of science and technology (Tamuno & Edoumiekumo, 2012). The discovery of oil as the main-stay of the Nigerian economy ushered new forms of crimes as kidnapping for ransom, pipeline vandalism, and more (Tamuno & Edoumiekumo, 2012).

The issue of economic crimes can be likened to corruption which is at the foundation of Nigeria's myriad of challenges visible in both the private and the public sectors. For instance, Africa illegally siphons about \$60 billion annually; over 60 per cent of this percentage comes from Nigeria only (Onuoha, Ichite, & George, 2015). As well, looking at the Haliburton \$180 million scandal, the \$15 billion concerning the customs scandal in 2011, the N74 billion Aids Fund scandal between 2003 and 2009, the River Basin Development Authority N30.6 million salary scam in 2008, the N5 trillion unremitted funds fraud issue raised

in 2009, the N12. 5 billion ghost pensioners scam issue in 2011, the Alaoji pipeline fraud (N1.3 billion), the power sector \$16 billion scam, as well as the more recent \$2.1 billion arms deal also known as the “Dasuki Gate” are evidences of the corrupt state of Nigeria (Aje & Felix, 2009).

1.2 Statement of the Problems

Economic crime has been in existence since colonial times. Initially limited in scope and accorded little importance, economic crimes started generating public concern in Nigeria from about 1984 when a decree specifying among others, the death penalty for drug traffickers was promulgated and backdated.

Economic crimes such as embezzlement, tax evasion, fraud, money laundering, illegal oil bunkering, arms and human trafficking and pipeline vandalism soon escalated. The World Bank estimates that as much as \$200 billion has been lost to corruption and mismanagement in Nigeria since independence in 1960 (Zero Tolerance, 2008:17). In 2007, Ribadu, then EFCC chairman, said on the floor of the Senate that 31 out of 36 governors were indicted for acts of embezzlement of public funds (Newswatch, 2007:6). Increase in economic crimes has also taunted Nigeria's image in

international relations. This has led to the backsliding of Nigeria by the USA for not doing enough to curb the involvement of Nigerians in economic crimes. In July 2020 for instance, Nigeria was decertified and Americans were advice to be wary of transacting business with Nigerian's (Sule 2004: 4).

1.3 Research Questions

1. What is the relationship between economic crimes and national security?
2. What are the effects of economic crimes on national security in Nigeria?
3. What measures has Nigeria taken to combat economic crimes?

1.4 Objectives of the Paper

1. To examine the relationship between economic crimes and national security.
2. To ascertain the effects of economic crimes on national security in Nigeria.
3. To examine steps taken by taken by Nigeria to combat economic crimes.

1.5 Scope of the Paper

In view of the vastness of the economic crimes, this study paid particular attention to fraud and drug trafficking as they affect national security with emphasis on Nigeria's experience from 1999 to 2010. Fraud and drug trafficking were particular chosen for study because of their very security. Nigerians are often suspected and treated as criminals at international ports of entry into other countries just for being Nigerians.

1.6 Significance of the Paper

This study is significant because it seeks to provide the Federal Government of Nigeria policy makers and anti-corruption agencies with a vivid understanding of economic crimes. Furthermore, it will assist informed policy formulation and the instructions of more effective measures against economic crimes. It also seeks to enrich the existing body of knowledge, provoke further discussions and raise more public awareness on the menace of economic crimes to the society. It will provide scholars and researchers with new basic reference material for further research work on the subject matter.

1.7 Limitation of the Paper

The study faced significant limitations, including inadequate record-keeping practices in many agencies and institutions, which hindered access to crucial and up-to-date information. Additionally, confidentiality issues surrounding documents posed challenges, and some government officials were reluctant to grant interviews, further constraining the research.

1.8 Methodology

The study is centered on Nigeria, a Federal Republic situated in West Africa, consisting of 36 states, the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, and an estimated population of 154.7 million people. Geographically, Nigeria shares land borders with Benin, Chad, Cameroon, and Niger, and its southern coast borders the Gulf of Guinea on the Atlantic Ocean. The nation is characterized by three major ethnic groups: Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba, and it practices Islam and Christianity as the predominant religions.

In terms of research design, the plan and strategy for investigation, as outlined by Kerlinger (1973:45), are crucial in obtaining answers to research questions while controlling variance. The study adopts both primary and secondary methods for data collection. Primary data, acquired firsthand

from respondents, involves the administration of questionnaires and personal interviews. Secondary data, representing expert opinions, is sourced from related literature in various libraries, including private, professional, and academic resources.

The population under scrutiny in this research comprises approximately 120 workers from the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in Nigeria. To determine the sample size, the researcher employed Yaro Yamane's formula, factoring in a level of significance of 5%. The formula yielded a sample size of 120 respondents for the study.

1.9 Method of Data Collection

The research employed questionnaires and interviews as the primary methods for data collection. The questions, encompassing both close and open-ended formats with multiple answers, underwent scrutiny and corrections from the supervisor to ensure alignment with the research topic. The questionnaires were structured with two sections, the first focusing on demographic characteristics like sex, age, and educational level, while the second delved into pertinent aspects of the study.

In addition to primary methods, secondary data were gathered from various sources, including libraries, textbooks, journals, newspapers, conference and seminar papers, and relevant literature reviews.

For the presentation and analysis of data, the researcher utilized the chi-square test of independence. The chi-square formula was applied, where X^2 represents the chi-square, o is the observed frequency, and e is the expected frequency. The degree of freedom (df) was determined based on the number of rows (r) and columns (c) in the table.

In deciding the validation of hypotheses, the rule stipulated that if the computed chi-square value (X^2_c) exceeded the critical chi-square value (X^2_t), the null hypothesis (H_0) would be rejected in favor of the alternative hypothesis (H_1). Conversely, if the critical chi-square value was greater than the computed value, the null hypothesis would be accepted, and the alternative hypothesis rejected.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Concept of Economic Crimes

The United Nations view economic crimes as any “non-violent crime that results to a financial loss.” As well, she views economic crimes as that group of offences frequently

committed in conjunction with legitimate economic activities and largely by offenders of a certain social status who enjoy considerable amount of respect in the communities (as cited in Agu, 2009, p. 389).

Mehta (2004) stated that economic crime is likened to white-collar crime which is often committed by a person of a peculiar social class during the duties of his occupation. In committing economic crimes, the criminal employs the aid of technology and communications to carry out these unlawful transactions and the victims of such actions are often times unaware they have been cheated. Economic crime is a crime that generates economic gains or profits either for the individual or group of individuals involved, whereby damaging existing laws in administering the economic functions of government (Arowosaiye, 2015).

However, a precise and widely accepted definition of economic crime has been difficult to attain. This is as a result of the magnitude and the complexity of these crimes. On economic crime, (Ribadu, 2004) posited that they are human activities that involve breaking economic laws of Nigeria or illegal and immoral acts of persons adversely affecting the economy of Nigeria that is punishable by law (as cited in Agu,

2009, p. 389). Culprits of economic and financial crimes scarcely consider themselves to be carrying out criminal offences but rather see themselves and are seen by the general public as sharp, quick, astute and sly nationals who have possessed the capacity to maximally and gainfully abuse the accessible economic opportunities, although these crimes do not have the tag of social reproach attached to them (Okogbule, 2005). These offences include bribery, fraud, embezzlement of public funds, breach of public trust, money laundering, illegal arms deals, misappropriation of public funds, illegal oil bunkering, tax evasion, kidnapping, currencies forgery, goods smuggling, etc. (Okogbule, 2005).

There is a thin line of difference between economic crimes and financial crimes as the crimes stated above could be viewed as both economic and financial crimes (Ribadu, 2005). Such crimes serve as financial crimes because of the monetary value involved, since economic crimes always affect the revenues of the government of a state. On the other hand, financial crimes in addition to economic crimes could also include crimes within a corporation as regards to the revenue or assets of the corporation in question as it is on this note that, according to the International Compliance Association,

financial crimes are those activities that untrustworthily creates riches for those occupied with the lead being referred to (Ribadu, 2005). In addition, these crimes involve wrongdoings that do not include the deceptive taking of an advantage, yet that secure an advantage that has of now been gotten or to encourage the taking of such advantage.

2.2 Concept of National Security

National security traditionally, reflected military strength which was viewed from the realist perspective where the referent object of security is the state as it is assumed that the greatest hindrance to national security is external threat (Nwanegbo & Odigbo, 2013). The concept of national security has over the years had arguable perspectives from various scholars from the definition of concepts which is rarely definite and to the study of the level of analysis. Still two basic perspectives have surfaced to explain the various definitions of national security by different scholars (Nwanegbo & Odigbo, 2013).

The first views national security from the strategic definition which aligns with the realist perspective of the notion as it explains national security in the terms of amassing arms to deter aggression. The

second views national security from the non-strategic definition which encompasses the socio-economic factors as it explains that there are other threats to human existence other than aggression from external forces (Okechukwu, & Anyadike, 2013).

Therefore, for the purpose of this paper, analysis of national security is based on the state level and at the internal security of the state. In addressing internal security of the state, focus is based on the effects rather than the causes, therefore security is perceived from the ‘criminality of the people and not what turns them into criminals’ in other words the greater emphasis is placed on the effect rather than the motive of these actions (Igbogo, 2015).

The concept of national security encompasses a broad range of facets, all of which encroach on the non-military or economic security of the state and the values espoused by the national society (Nwanegbo & Odigbo, 2013). Hence it is possible to liken national security as the goal in a game by other team players which constitutes all other aspects of national security like food security, health security, arms security, ideation security. The contemporary thought of national security imagines assurance of the state as well as the individual’s

wellbeing from a wide assortment of existential dangers, for example, hunger, infringement of human rights, wrongdoing and culpability, political flimsiness and strife, environmental degradation, poverty, among others (Agwai, 2014). Onuoha views national security as “the capacity of a state to pursue and promote the fundamental needs and vital interests of man and society and to protect them from threats which may be economic, social, environmental, political, military or epidemiological” (as cited in Agu, 2009, p. 396) hence the theory of national interest is embodied in the dictum: *salus populi est suprema lex* interpreting that the safety of the nation is the supreme law (Agu, 2009).

2.3 Nexus between Economic Crimes and National Security

Economic crimes make it essential for the personal interest of the citizen to supersede the public interest in the distribution of public resources by the workers, in this manner restricting the capacity of the government in the allocation of resources and delivery of services which also leads to frustration and deprivation among the citizenry hence making the country precarious and prone to all manner of internal aggressions (Agu, 2009).

Economic crime also known as white-collar crime is a crime which occurs as a diversion from the culprit’s occupational role or in the course of legitimate duties and transactions which involves the criminal stealing of large sums of money as with no use of violence and employs technology to take out these unlawful commercial transactions as the victims of such crimes are naïve about these transactions (Mehta, 2004). Such crimes are very costly to the Nigerian state. These crimes are mostly perpetrated by the educated class of the society which is worse in terms of magnitude as against the violent crimes usually carried out by the uneducated class of a society and targeted at certain individuals (Okogbule, 2005). Crimes which involve the educated class of a society within a nation shows great danger to the national security of the state as this class of the society is supposed to interpret the national values of the state thereby promoting the values of the state as in contrast to shrinking the national values of the state (Akwara,, Akwara, Enwuchola, Adekunle, & Udaw, 2013). This in turn leads to more frustration and resentment from the uneducated youth. The result of such tension within a state leads to insecurity of individuals and groups within

the state which is an example of the Niger Delta crisis as indigenes are crying out to the Nigerian government at the generation of environmental hazards in their communities. Taxation is one of the sources of revenue for the government used to finance and support basic socio-economic responsibilities like better security, social amenities and better welfare packages for the society. However, most of the elite Nigerians do not pay taxes (Arowosaiye, 2015). This in turn leads to shortage of revenue accrued to the government.

Economic crimes as well hinder the capacity of the government to protect and bring development to the mass of the Nigerian people by making their standard of living unappreciated. The poor and deteriorating governance co-existing with economic crimes leads to the collapse of socio-economic welfare of the people. Consequently, economic crimes have distorted and tarnished the image of Nigeria, and highly placed people in the private and public sectors of the economy are being charged and prosecuted in the courts as a result of it (Agu, 2009; Arowosaiye, 2015; Nwanegbo & Odigbo, 2013).

2.4 Corruption

Corruption is very widespread in Nigeria and it manifests itself in virtually all aspects of national life. Nigeria was some time ago rated by the Transparency International Index as the most corrupt country in the world. Corruption is a worldwide phenomenon, which has been with societies throughout history. It has caused political and economic instability in societies and, depending on the scale, it has led to social conflict and violence, as competing groups vie for state power which is the source of distribution of resources and other amenities in society. (Ibrahim 2001, Adenuga 2001).

Otite (1986) described corruption as “the perversion of integrity or state of affairs through bribery, favour, or moral depravity. He stated that corruption takes place when at least two parties have interacted to change the structure or processes of society or the behaviour of functionaries in order to produce dishonest, unfaithful or defiled situations.

The United Nations is of the view that corruption in government increases poverty in many ways. Most directly, it diverts resources to the rich people, who can afford to pay bribes and away from the poor, who cannot. Corruption also weakens a

Government and lessens its ability to fight poverty.

2.5 Money Laundering and Online Banking

Many financial institutions are now providing banking service through the Internet. Most of these are established financial institutions that offer only part of their services online. The concern with respect to money laundering, is that there is no face-to-face contact between the customer and financial institution. The customer accesses his or her account on the website of the financial institution by providing a password. Since no face-to-face contact is required, the financial institution has no means of verifying the identity of the individual. Moreover, a customer can access her account from anywhere in the world. In addition, as access is gained through an internet service provider, the institution has no way of verifying the location from which the account was accessed.

2.6 Cyber crime

Online computers via the internet can be used to plan and co-ordinate activities, and to facilitate illegal acts, as well as to distribute tools for committing crimes. Instructions for building bombs and deadly weapons and instructions for building “red

boxes” used in stealing telephone services, have all been found on the internet. Software for hacking into other computer systems is also available online. Pirated software, child pornography, scams and offshore tax evasion schemes are all available or operated via the internet (Redpath, 2001).

Internet crimes are raising international concern. Every terrorist organization has its own internet website “to propagate it, recruit manpower, purchase firearms and even sell children for sexual purposes”. Cyber-crimes are serious sophisticated crimes like swindling, embezzlement and money laundering. These crimes are being committed all the time and often traces are covered up or erased instantly, making the police unable to track them (Radpath, 2001).

2.7 Human Trafficking

Human trafficking, according to Article 3a of the United Nations Protocol is defined as the “recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring, or receipt of persons by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve

the consent of a person having control over another person for the purpose of exploitation. The trafficking in persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration Act (2003), defines trafficking as all acts and attempted acts involved in the recruitment, transportation within or across Nigerian borders, purchases, sales, transfer, receipt or harbouring of a person involving the use of deception, coercion or debt bondage for the purpose of placing or holding the person, whether for or not involuntary servitude (domestic, sexual or reproductive) in forced or bonded labour, or in slavery-like conditions”.

Victims of human trafficking include the poor, weak powerless, ignorant, desperate and vulnerable adults mostly women, youth and children. Human trafficking can be either internal or external. Human trafficking is internal when it takes place within a country, while it is external when it takes place across international boundaries.

2.8 Assassination

As the world advances and the stakes in political clashes or will continue to grow on a global scale, the number of assassinations concomitantly multiplies. Assassination is the deliberate killing of an important person,

usually a political figure or other strategically important individuals. An assassin is the person who carries out an assassination (Wikipedia, 2006).

Assassins have a wide range of reasons for their action. Reasons for attacks include: to achieve notoriety or fame, to avenge a perceived wrong, to end personal pains; to be killed by law enforcement agent, to bring national attention to a perceived problem, to save the country or the world, to achieve a special relationship with the target, to make money, to bring about political change and to settle scores.

It has been found that no assassins or attackers communicated a direct threat about their target to him or to a law enforcement agency before their attack. Many writers on assassinations asserted that most assassins have been mentally ill. Some say that mental illness is the cause of assassination. Others argued that mental illness is a key factor in understanding assassination behaviour. Many scholars such as Freedman (1966), Goode (2002) and Madunagu (2006), are of the opinion that political assassinations are failure of the political system. Inability to penetrate the ruling class frequently results in political assassinations of public figures connected with politics. Failure in politics

carries high costs often in relation to loss of human lives. Political assassination occurs when people want to settle scores.

2.9 Crimes and Development

Criminal victimization in Nigeria has far-reaching consequences for individuals and society, undermining aspirations for democracy, development, human rights, and a high standard of living (Odekunle, 2005). Despite measures introduced by successive regimes over the past two decades, the country continues to witness high rates of crime that defy management efforts.

The costs and consequences of the crime problem are multifaceted. Beyond material loss and personal distress resulting from criminal victimization, there is a substantial yet unquantifiable expenditure of energy and scarce resources by the population on anxious fear and precautionary measures against potential victimization. This reflects feelings of insecurity and helplessness, indicating a perceived hopelessness in the situation. Notably, considerable amounts of money and energy are spent on securing homes and vehicles, particularly in urban areas, leading to inconveniences and restricted freedom of movement.

The government faces costs as well, impacting its credibility. Public confidence in the government relies, in part, on its effectiveness in preventing and controlling criminal victimization. The government's ability to provide security is crucial, as it is one of the primary functions of the state. A failure to protect the lives and properties of citizens jeopardizes public loyalty and signifies a step toward becoming a failed state.

3.0 Theoretical Framework

The relationship between the pattern of production, distribution, exchange and consumption on one hand and social phenomena such as state, religion and law on the other hand has been a subject of profound intellectual interest among philosophers, social scientists and scholars generally. This is the thrust of political economy. It stresses the relatedness of both the economic and political categories in social analysis³. The idea is traceable to Marxist jurisprudence and that of his later followers. Karl Marx, employing Hegel's dialectic, asserted that economic relations in

human society determines the nature and character of all other social phenomena including law which he called the superstructure. In the words of Engels, his fellow ideologue.

All the social, political and intellectual relations, all religions and legal systems, all the theoretical outlooks which emerge in the course of history...are derived from the material conditions of life.

In this theoretical framework, the state is viewed as an instrument of class domination and oppression, serving to maintain order and legitimize the oppression of one class by another. While Marx and Engels did not explicitly connect social conditions to crime, the emphasis on "class oppression" suggests a belief that crime stems from poverty. The application of Marxist thinking in sociological studies links crime and social alienation to economic inequalities.

Marxist scholars like Karl Renner highlight the intricate relationship between law and the manipulation of material conditions, deviating from Marx's perspective that economic relations determine law as part of the superstructure. Renner metaphorically sees the base-superstructure division as

illustrating societal divisions. Other social scientists, including Quinney and Taylor, Walton, and Young, argue that criminality is politically, economically, and socially induced by material forces, asserting a connection between law and the means of production.

Expanding on Marxist theory, it is proposed that crime primarily results from "surplus populations" without a genuine role in the means and relations of production, such as the unemployed and unemployable. However, this thesis fails to explain crimes committed by the affluent working class.

4.0 Data Presentation and Analysis

This devoted to the presentation, analysis and interpretation of the data gathered in the course of this study. The data are based on the number of copies of the questionnaire completed and returned by the respondents.

The data are presented in tables and the analysis is done using the chi-square test.

4.1 Bio Data of Respondents

Table 1 Gender of respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	80	66.7	Percent	
	Female	40	33.3	66.7	66.7
	Total	120	100.0	33.3	100.0
				100.0	

Source: field survey, 2023

Table 1 above shows the gender distribution of the respondents used for this study. 80 respondents which represent 66.7percent of the population are male. 40 which represent 33.3 percent of the population are female.

The educational background of the respondents used for this study. Out of the total number of 120 respondents, 20 respondents which represent 16.7percent of

the population are OND holders.42 respondents which represent 35.0percent of the population are HND/BSC holders.40 respondents which represent 33.3percent of the population are PGD/MSC holders.10 respondents which represent 8.3 percent of the population are PHD holders8 respondents which represent 6.7percent of the population had other types of certificate.

**Table 2 Based On Research Question
Economic crime has significant effect on the growth and development of Nigeria**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agreed	70	58.3	58.3	58.3
	Agreed	30	25.0	25.0	83.3
	Undecided	10	8.3	8.3	91.7
	Disagreed	5	4.2	4.2	95.8
	Strongly disagreed	5	4.2	4.2	100.0
	Total	120	100.07	100.0	

The table reflects respondents' opinions on the impact of economic crimes on the growth and development of Nigeria. Notably, 70% of respondents strongly agreed that corruption has a significant effect on the country's growth and

development, while 30% agreed with this view. A smaller percentage, 10%, remained undecided on the matter. Conversely, 5% of respondents disagreed with the notion that corruption significantly affects growth and development, and an additional 5% strongly disagreed, particularly emphasizing the situation in Kaduna state.

Money laundering have significant effect on future leaders in Nigeria

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agreed	60	50.0	50.0	50.0
	Agreed	45	37.5	37.5	87.5
	Undecided	10	8.3	8.3	95.8
	Disagreed	5	4.2	4.2	100.0
	Total	120	100.0	100.0	

The above table indicates respondents' perspectives on the impact of money laundering on future leaders in Nigeria. Notably, 60% of the respondents strongly agreed that money laundering has a significant effect on future leaders in the country, while an additional 45% agreed

with this viewpoint. A smaller percentage, 10%, remained undecided on the matter. In contrast, 5% of the respondents disagreed with the idea that money laundering has a significant effect on future leaders in Nigeria.

EFCC participation in the fight against money laundering have significant effect on economic development of Nigeria

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agreed	80	66.7	66.7	66.7
	Agreed	40	33.3	33.3	100.0
	Total	120	100.0	100.0	

Table 4

The above table outlines respondents' opinions regarding the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission's (EFCC) role in mitigating money laundering and its impact on the economic development of Nigeria. Notably, 80% of respondents strongly agreed that EFCC's participation in alleviating money laundering has a significant effect on the economic development of Nigeria. Additionally, 40% of respondents agreed that EFCC's involvement in combating money laundering has a substantial impact on both the economic development of Nigeria and specifically on Kaduna state.

4.2 Research Hypothesis

Hypothesis to be Tested

TABLE 5: Test Statistics

	EFCC participation in financial accountability has significant effect on economic development of Nigeria.
Chi-Square	71.667 ^a
Df	3
Asymp. Sig.	.000

H₀: There is no significant effect of EFCC participation in financial accountability in Nigeria.

H₁: There is significant effect of EFCC participation in financial accountability in Nigeria.

Level of significance ($\alpha=0.05$)

Decision Rule: reject H₀ if the p-value is less than the level of

Significant, otherwise accept the null hypothesis.

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 30.0.

Table 6

Since the p-value is less than 0.05 which is the level of significance, we reject the null hypothesis and conclude that there is significant effect of EFCC participation in the financial accountability in Nigeria.

5.0 Conclusion

No doubt, the issue of economic crime is a big challenge in Nigeria's effort in developing and in sustaining her image as the big brother of the African continent. It is therefore evident that, economic crimes affect every sphere of national security and if security is not assured deprivation, frustration and tension are heightened which result in clashes among the groups within the state.

To this end, national security encompasses other issues besides the amassing of arms and ammunition to deter aggressions internally and externally. It comprises food security,

environmental security, health security, and more. Most of the internal aggressions that arise within the state are due to fears, insecurities and tensions among the different groups. The lack of basic needs and tension created among these groups makes them to resort to clashes in expressing their fears as against the opposing group. It is therefore the duty of the government to make these groups feel more secured. Some scholars are of the view that as long as the defence expenditure increases at the detriment of other various sectors, the insecurity syndrome would continue to persist. By so doing, the government should review her allocations to the defence sector as well as other sectors as these sectors if not well funded can instigate insecurity crisis in the country. In as much as no nation can review her allocations for the defence sector downwards, what is important is the

transparent and effective management of the funds because even where the budget is low, that does not stop corrupt practices. Hence a transparent procurement process in the award and the procurement of arms and ammunitions is highly recommended because this will help to check fraud. Moreover, the issue of whistle-blowing policy of the federal government should be incorporated to the dealings of addressing corruption at all levels in the society because this is a powerful tool to check economic crimes in the military and other aspects of the nation's existence.

5.1 Recommendations

Nigeria should reduce her spending on peace support operations especially towards countries where she has no strong economic interest. This fund would then be reinvested into the economy of the country to tackle some of the prevailing issues stirring up pockets of violence in the country (Ezeani & Ezeibe, 2011).

The Nigerian state must emphasize on the use of electronic means in the transfer of funds as against the cash transactions. This would enable these transactions to be monitored. Transparency in all of governments' biddings as well as both the private and the public sector should be encouraged. Lack of transparency is often times the first seed of sowing corruption within the system. Mr Ribadu, a former chairman of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission also opined that "education is important to this process. Citizens need to be sufficiently educated to be able to sieve right from the wrongs and demand for what is right" (Ogundipe, 2016). By so doing, the stake that economic crimes hold on this state would gradually weed off.

The Bank Verification Number (BVN) is making it difficult for the 'siphoners' to deposit these hard currencies and the amounts into their accounts hence they choose orthodox means of securing these

funds such as in overhead water tanks, ceilings in the homes, graves as well as underground bunkers for storing yams and potatoes (Oseni & Sanni, 2016).

REFERENCES

- Ukpere, W. L. & Otto, G. (2012). "National Security and Development in Nigeria." *African Journal of Business Management*, 6(23), 6765-6770. doi: 10.5897/AJBM12.155 ISSN 1993-8233
- Tamuno, S. O. & Edoumiekumo, S. G. (2012). "Nigeria in the Niger Delta: An Allegory of the 'Legs Tying the Hands'." *International Review of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 4(1), 113-120.
- Onuoha, F.C., Ichite, C.M. & George, T. A. (2015). Political, Economic and Security Challenges facing President Buhari. Retrieved from <http://studies.aljazeera.net/mritems/Documents/2015/9/21/201592151141266734President%20Buhari.pdf>
- Aje, O. & Felix, C. (2016). "The Logic and Illogic of the 'Doctrine of Change' in Nigeria's Fourth Republic." *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Reviews*, 6(2), 156-163.
- Ribadu, N. (2005). "Sanitising Nigeria's Business Environment for Direct Foreign Investment." Paper presented at the Annual Patriots' Club of Nigeria Luncheon, Johannesburg, South Africa. Retrieved from <http://www.nigerianlawguru.com/articles/company%20law/SANITISING%20NIGERIAN%20BUSINESS%20ENVIRONMENT.pdf>
- Agu, O. B. (2009). Economic Crimes and National Security: Nigerian Perspective. Retrieved from <http://nials-nigeria.org/pub/OkayBenedictAgu.pdf>
- Mehta, D. (2004). Economic Crime in a Globalizing Society: Its Impact on the Sound Development of the State- An Indian Perspective.
- Arowosaiye, Y. I. (2015). The Devastating Impact of Money Laundering and other Economic and Financial Crimes on the Economy of Developing Countries: Nigeria as a Case Study. Retrieved from <http://unilorin.edu.ng/publications/arowosayeyi/The%20Devastating%20Impact%20of%20Money%20Laundering%20and%20other%20Economic%20and%20Financial%20Crimes%20on%20the%20Economy%20of%20Developing%20Countries%20Nigeria%20as%20a%20Case%20Study.pdf>
- Okogbule, N. S. (2005). The Regulation of Economic Crimes in Nigeria: Old Problem, New Challenges and Responses. Retrieved from <http://www.nigerianlawguru.com/articles/criminal%20law%20and%20procedure/THE%20REGULATION%20>

- OF%20ECONOMIC%20CRIMES%20IN%20NIGERIA,OLD%20PROBLEM,%20NEW%20CHALLENGES%20AND%20RESPONSES.pdf
 Accessed 15th august, 2016
- Nwanegbo, C. J. & Odigbo, J. (2013). "Security and National Development in Nigeria: The Threat of Boko Haram." *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 3(4), 285- 291.
- Nwanegbo, C. J. & Odigbo, J. (2013). "Security and National Development in Nigeria: The Threat of Boko Haram." *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 3(4), 285- 291.
- Okechukwu, E. I. & Anyadike, N. (2013). "Security Challenges and Security Votes in Nigeria, 2008-2013." *Kuwait Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review*, 2(8), 10-28
- Igbogo, E. J. (2015). "National Security and National Development: A Critique" *International Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 4(2), 1-14. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/ijah.v4i2.1>
- Agwai, M. L. (2014). *Collective Approach to National Security*. Abuja: National Defence College Printing Press
- Okogbule, N. S. (2005). *The Regulation of Economic Crimes in Nigeria: Old Problem, New Challenges and Responses*. Retrieved from <http://www.nigerianlawguru.com/articles/criminal%20law%20and%20procedure/THE%20REGULATION%20OF%20ECONOMIC%20CRIMES%20IN%20NIGERIA,OLD%20PROBLEM,%20NEW%20CHALLENGES%20AND%20RESPONSES.pdf>
 Accessed 15th august, 2016
- Akwara, A.F., Akwara, N.F., Enwuchola, J., Adekunle, M., Udaw, J. E. (2013). "Unemployment and Poverty: Implications for National Security and Good Governance in Nigeria." *International Journal of Public Administration and Management Research*, 2. Retrieved from <http://www.rcmss.com>
- Mehta, D. (2004). *Economic Crime in a Globalizing Society: Its Impact on the Sound Development of the State-An Indian Perspective*.
- Mironovich, K. (2015). *The Dansuki Arms Deal Case Is A National Embarrassment*. *Naij*. Retrieved from <https://www.naij.com/667525-opinion-dasuki-arms-deal-case-national-emabarrassment.html>
 accessed 24th august, 2016
- Muhammad, B. A. (2014). *Defence Funding and Combat Readiness: An Appraisal of the Nigerian Army*. Abuja: National Defence College
- Nnebe, M. (2013). "Squandering of Riches in Nigeria." *Nigeriaworld*. Retrieved from <http://nigeriaworld.com/feature/publication/nnebe/052713.html>

Nnebe, M. (2013). "Squandering of Riches in Nigeria." *Nigeriaworld*. Retrieved from <http://nigeriaworld.com/feature/publication/nnebe/052713.html>

NEW MEDIAS, YOUTHS AND PARTICIPATORY POLITICS: AN EXPLORATION OF UMMARU MUSA YARADUA UNIVERSITY, KATSINA STATE

ABUBAKAR AHMED

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, FEDERAL POLYTECHNIC BIDA, NIGER STATE. | nmaa058@gmail.com

KABIR UMAR

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCES, UMMARU MUSA YARADUA UNIVERSITY, KATSINA, KATSINA STATE | Kumari4life19@gmail.com

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Before the turn of the millennium, the world majorly relied on the mainstream media for information. Dissemination of news was not instantaneous as it is now because some of the technologies available now were missing then. Correspondents had to travel several miles to and fro news beats in order to relay information making some news stories to be published weeks or months after their occurrence. Gone are the days when you write a letter to your friend living abroad and he receives it in possibly three months and you also have to wait as long as that to get his reply.

However, the revolution in the technological industry that started with the launching of the Internet in the mid-1990s paved way for social media and micro-blogging sites since the 2000s. The social media and by extension the internet, allows for instantaneous dissemination of news.

Sending and receiving information can no longer be limited by space and time, a huge break in the communication barrier that has stood since the beginning of space and time.

According to Ayankoya, Calitz and Cullen, (2015), the social media concept involves the use of internet based applications and services for communication, collaboration, creation and exchange of contents by individuals and groups. The main focus of social media is the communication that takes place, how the communication takes place and the relationships that develop based on these communications. Social media allows individuals and groups to develop, maintain and stay connected to a network of other individuals and people with common interests (Ayankoya et al., 2015).

Statistics show that 2.38 billion people visit Facebook monthly (zephoria.com, 2019). Further studies have shown that Facebook users spend 33% of their online time on

Facebook and that generally individuals spend about 25% of their online time on the different social media platforms that are available. Social media is thus a very important platform for businesses and organizations to utilize in order to reach their target audiences (Ayankoya et al., 2015).

According to Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (2012, cited in Adedeji, 2015), the 2011 elections in Nigeria witnessed a remarkable use of the social media as a tool for political communication. It was used for campaigns via personal websites, blogs, all social media applications, and several other media. Aside from this, the social media was equally used as a weapon to undermine and even destroy the image of other political parties, especially the People's Democratic Party and All Progressives Party.

In the 2015, 2019 and 2023 general election, the social media became a more potent tool and even a more lethal weapon. There are releases in the form of videos, voice notes, headlines, and broadcasts that made and mar many political parties and individuals. For example, a publication on Senator BurujiKashamu almost marred his political ambition and eventually his swearing in. A hate video was broadcasted on both General

Muhammadu Buhari and Senator Bola Tinubu. Ordinarily, these videos might have ended the political ambitions of these individuals in some other places (Adedeji, 2015).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Social media has served as a specialized platform of modern human communication and is now part of the political culture of most democratic nations across the globe, Nigeria inclusive. Usage of social media is one of the most dominant forms of communication between politicians and the electorate, and it is massively and strategically exploited by the politicians across the globe to achieve their targeted goals as regard projecting positive images, retaining offices, and maintaining relationships with their publics. Social media has been useful in aiding exchange of information between the political candidates and electorate; it helps citizens to be informed and influence their political choices, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviour towards certain political candidates (Victor, Ikechukwu, Gerald & Chinedum, 2017).

Incidentally, in Nigeria, the everyday use of social media by politicians, and the manner in which the user-citizen interacts with the social network sites/pages of politicians has

received rather less attention. Essentially, politicians expect the communication relationship to be positive and of benefit to them, thus, political gladiators of all shades of opinions, ideologies, intents and goals use the media with the belief that political communication through them might exert pressure or have an influence on people's perception and behaviours. This conception of the effect of social media is akin to the historical and cultural dominance of print and electronic media and the perceived hypodermic needle effect of mass media messages. In view of the perceived impact of the media whether from the 'maximalists' or 'minimalists' perspective, profit driven mentality of competition for political space has given rise to both ethical and unethical political communication using all available platforms of interpersonal and mass communication (Victor et al., 2017)

1.3 Objectives of the Paper

1. To determine the impact of the social media on youths participatory politics in the 2023 Nigeria general elections.
2. To examine whether or not the social media influences the perception of youths on politics and politician image on social media.

3. To recommend measures on improving proper and safe use of new medias in political process in Nigeria

1.4 Research Questions

1. What are the impacts of social media on youth political participatory politics in the 2023 Nigeria general elections?
2. Do the social media influence the perception of youths on politicians and political matters in Nigeria.?
3. What are the measures to be adopted in securing usage of social medias in Nigeria.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study will be found in the gap it fills by answering its research questions. It will also be of immense benefit to politicians, political parties, media consultants, electoral umpires and government across all levels as it will help them to know and appreciate the gains and efficacy of using social media tools and how best to handle it for projecting the image of their clients and increasing awareness of the political candidates.

1.6 Methodology

The study employs a quantitative research design, specifically utilizing the survey research method. This approach is chosen to collect and analyze data for describing,

evaluating, or comparing current practices, events, and occurrences.

The research method is centered on surveys, aiming to gather data from a large population to establish relevant relationships among variables. The population of interest consists of the undergraduate students of Umaru Musa Yar'adua University Katsina (UMYUK), a state government-owned university in Katsina, Nigeria. UMYUK comprises 7 faculties, various units, and departments, with a total undergraduate population of 12,257 according to the information obtained from the Registry Unit.

The research will focus on UMYUK undergraduates, considering the 7 faculties within the institution. The sampling approach is stratified random sampling, indicating a systematic method for selecting participants from different strata within the university's undergraduate population.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 History of Social Media

The roots of social media stretch far deeper than we might imagine. Although it seems like a new trend, sites like Facebook are the natural outcome of many centuries of social media development (Drew, 2013).

There are ongoing debates on whether e-mail could be considered a part of social media. The predominant reasons why e-mail is not considered a social medium are because (i) E-mail is a distribution mechanism whereas social media is a collective mechanism and (ii) Mass communication is different from mass collaboration. But e-mail certainly qualifies if we go by the simple definition that “social media is conversations that happen online”. Though the debate goes on, we cannot ignore the fact that the introduction of e-mail marked the beginning to the much more collaborative social media years later. (Sajithra & Patil, 2013).

In the 1990s, the world was evolving rapidly to the connected forefront. Personal computers had evolved in popularity in developed nations, and people started realising the potential that a connected world may have. Hence rose the Internet Relay Chats (IRCs) in 1988 which became popular in 1990. This was a rudimentary form of text messaging and instant communication, and not until 1997 did we see the first full-blown social medium come into being (digit. in, 2019).

2.2 Political Participation

Participation means ‘sharing in’ or ‘wrap oneself with’ every dimension of life, of culture or of economy, our educational system, our political system, our decision-making process. But there is less than a complete agreement among the scholars about the meaning of the concept ‘Political Participation’. Political participation is the involvement of the citizens in the political system (Falade, 2014). The citizens form the crux of any society and it is important they are part of the political process. According to Akamare (2003, as cited in Falade, 2014), political participation is an aspect of political behaviour and it focuses on the way in which individuals take part in politics. It is a voluntary activity and one may participate directly or indirectly. The various ways by which the people can be involved in the political system include selection or election of political leaders, formulation of policies, community activities and other civic engagements.

2.3 Social Media

Social media is the term often used to refer to new forms of media that involve interactive participation, (Eg, Facebook, X, Instagram). Often the development of media is divided into two different ages, the

broadcast age and the interactive age. In the broadcast age, media were almost exclusively centralized where one entity such as a radio or television station, Newspaper Company, or a movie production studio distributed messages to many people. Feedback to media outlets was often indirect, delayed, and impersonal. Mediated communication between individuals typically happened on a much smaller level, usually via personal letters, telephone calls, or sometimes on a slightly larger scale through means such as photocopied family newsletters.

With the rise of digital and mobile technologies, interaction on a large scale became easier for individuals than ever before; and as such, a new media age was born where interactivity was placed at the center of new media functions. One individual could now speak to many, and instant feedback was a possibility. Where citizens and consumers used to have limited and somewhat muted voices but now they could share their opinions with many. The low cost and accessibility of new technology also allowed more options for media consumption than ever before – and so instead of only a few news outlets, individuals now have the ability to seek information from several sources and to

dialogue with others via message forums about the information posted. At the core of this ongoing revolution is social media. The characteristics, common forms, and common functions of social media are explored here (Manning, 2014).

2.4 Social Media and Politics

With every advance in technology comes impact on everyday life. This holds true especially for advances in media technology. While the media is a pervasive aspect of life on a day to day basis, a time when it really becomes important is in regards to government and political information (Baker, 2009). The use of social media in recent elections, worldwide, has significantly intensified, especially among young adults. Of interest for this particular age group is the rise of social media use for political information, creating user-generated content and expressing political views. As answer to the growing political use of social media, researchers have investigated these media's effects on political behaviour such as political participation (Muntean, 2015).

The popularity of getting political news from social media platforms is greatly increasing. A 2014 study showed that 62% of web users turn to Facebook to find

political news. This social phenomenon allows for political information, true or not, spreading quickly and easily among peer networks. Furthermore, social media sites are now encouraging political involvement by uniting like-minded people, reminding users to vote in elections, and analyzing users' political affiliation data to find cultural similarities and differences (Udoka, 2015). Recent years have seen a decline in non-profit community participation such as political party membership. Also, there are several challenges when it comes to engaging people in party politics. Contrary to popular expectations, the rise of the Internet did not result in increased levels of public participation. On top of that, manpolitical parties are afraid to lose control over their message when they delegate power and authority to the public (Effing, Hill ergersberg&Huibers, 2011)

2.9 Nigeria General Elections and Youth Participation

The 2023 Nigeria general election was the seventh general election to be conducted in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. It featured elections for the position of President and governorship elections in 29 of the 36 states of the Federation. Also, elections were held

to determine members of the federal and state legislatures.

Total number of registered voters for the elections was 84,004,084 (premiumtimesng.com, 2019) while the number of registered voters whose ages were between 18 and 35 was 42,938,458 or 51% (allafrica.com, 2023). However, only 28,614,190 or 34.75% of total number of registered voters came out to vote during the presidential election (pulse.ng, 2019). This represents the lowest turnout of voters in Nigeria's election history (saharareporters.com, 2023).

Prior to the elections, electoral observers described Nigerian youths as being key to the success of any political candidate at the elections as they represented 51% of the total number of registered voters, but on election day, there was a reported high rate of voter apathy evident in the turnout of registered voters.

3.0 Theoretical Framework

The beginning of **Agenda-Setting Theory** can be traced as far as 1922, when Walter Lippmann expressed his concern on the vital role that mass media can do in influencing the setting of certain image on the public's mind. In portraying the influence of mass

media, Lippmann gives an example of individuals who supposed to be enemies while their countries are at war. Instead of becoming enemies, without having access to information about the war through media, those individuals are able to live harmoniously in a secluded island. Lippmann indicates on how mass media can set a particular agenda which can influence the opinions of the public. However, he never used the term 'agenda setting theory' in his book. Nevertheless, he did generate the foundation for the agenda setting theory (Nor, 2014).

3.1 Sampling Procedure

When random sampling is used, each element in the population has an equal chance of being selected (simple random sampling) or a known probability of being selected (stratified random sampling). The sample is referred to as *representative* because the characteristics of a properly drawn sample represent the parent population in all ways.

This procedure known as stratified random sampling is also a form of probability sampling. To stratify means to classify or to separate people into groups according to some characteristics, such as position, rank, income, education, sex, or ethnic

background. These separate groupings are referred to as subsets or subgroups. For a stratified random sample, the population is divided into groups or strata. A random sample is selected from each stratum based upon the percentage that each subgroup represents in the population. Stratified random samples are generally more accurate in representing the population than are simple random samples. They also require more effort, and there is a practical limit to the number of strata used.

Copies of the questionnaires will be randomly distributed to registered undergraduates in the 7 faculties of the institution.

Table 1: Table showing the distribution of questionnaires based on sample size

Faculty	Population	No. Of questionnaire shared
Agriculture	157	5
Education	4730	30
Humanities	1212	10
Law	218	12
Medical Sciences	102	5
Natural and Applied Sciences	3662	23
Social and Management	2176	15

Sci.

Total Population **12257** **100**

3.2 Data Collection Process

The data collection process involved administering questionnaires at Umaru Musa Yar'adua University in Katsina during February 2023. Students from various faculties provided the required information through the distributed questionnaires. The researcher ensured proper distribution, clarification, and collection of the questionnaires, with respondents returning filled copies either immediately or at their convenience.

In terms of data presentation, the raw data collected underwent processing for application. Data analysis, employing descriptive statistical methods such as percentages, frequency count, pie-charts, and tables, played a vital role in interpreting the data and addressing the research question. The gathered information was coded and organized into the IBM SPSS 21 App data processing template for comprehensive analysis, contributing to informed decision-making across academic, commercial, industrial, and professional contexts.

4.0 Analysis of Data

A total of 100 questionnaires were distributed to Umaru Musa Yar'adua University Katsina undergraduates. Of these, 97 were returned fully completed, indicating a commendable response rate of 97%. However, 3 questionnaires were rejected due to incomplete or invalid information.

The demographic profile of respondents includes 65 males (63.05%) and 32 females (31.04%). The majority of respondents fell within the age group of 20-24 (44.6%), followed by the age group of 15-19 (44.4%), and the age group of 25-29 (11%).

Examining faculties, the Faculty of Education had the highest representation with 29 respondents (28.13%), while the Faculty of Medical Sciences and Agriculture had the lowest with 5 respondents each

(4.85%). Other faculties include Social and Management Sciences (13.58% - 14 respondents), Humanities (8.73% - 9 respondents), Law (11.64% - 12 respondents), and Natural and Applied Sciences (22.31% - 23 respondents).

Considering study levels, 400-level students constituted the highest portion with 50.4% (52 respondents), while 100-level students had the least representation at 5.8% (6 respondents). This comprehensive study provides valuable insights into the demographic distribution of respondents at Umaru Musa Yar'adua University Katsina.

4.1 Analysis of Research Questions

RQ1: Impact of Social Media on Respondents' Political Participation in 2023 Elections

Table 2: Table showing results garnered from the first research question

Social Media Use (N= 381)	Level of Agreement (%)				Mean	S.D	Overall %
	1	2	3	4			
I followed political news on social media during the electioneering period.	23.1	49.1	14.7	13.1	2.19	.956	54.75

I became aware of political news through the social media.	22.6	56.7	12.6	8.1	2.11	.895	52.75
I share political news on social media.	13.9	36.2	26.0	23.9	2.62	1.018	65.5
Social media helped me to become more politically active during the elections.	27.8	33.6	17.3	21.3	2.28	1.05	57
I commented and participated in political discourses on social media.	13.1	34.9	23.9	28.1	2.63	.988	65.75
Total					2.37	0.98	

***Scale: 1 = Strongly Agree. 2 = Agree. 3 = Disagree. 4 = Strongly Disagree**

In Table 2, the data reveals that 27.8% of respondents strongly agreed that social media impacts their political participation (Mean = 2.37, S.D. = 0.982). Specifically, respondents acknowledged following political news on social media during election periods (Mean = 2.19, S.D. = 0.956) and being aware of political developments through these platforms (Mean = 2.11, S.D. = 0.895). Moreover, respondents agreed that social media played

a role in increasing their political activity (Mean = 2.28, S.D. = 1.053). This indicates a significant perception among respondents regarding the influence of social media on their political engagement.

RQ2: What are the perceptions of youths about Nigerian politician’s image on social media?

Table 3: Table showing results garnered from the second research question

Social Media Use	Level of Agreement (%)				Mean	S.D	Overall
	1	2	3	4			
(N= 381)							
Social media influenced my choice of political candidate.	21.8	34.4	26.5	17.3	2.49	1.104	54.75
Social media influenced my choice	17.8	33.1	28.9	20.2	2.60	1.085	65

of political party.

Social media was an avenue for politicians to boost their image to the public.

I believe political candidates who were not active on social media to be unserious about their ambition.

I would vote for a politician who is

on social media instead of one who is not.

Total

2.43 1.006

***Scale: 1 = Strongly Agree. 2 = Agree. 3 = Disagree. 4 = Strongly Disagree**

In Table 3, respondents' perceptions regarding the image of politicians on social media are highlighted. A substantial 31.8% Strongly Agreed that social media influences their perception of politicians (Mean = 2.43, S.D. = 1.006). They specifically concurred that social media plays a role in shaping their choice of political candidates during elections (Mean = 2.49, S.D. = 1.104) and influencing their selection of political parties (Mean = 2.60, S.D. = 1.085). Furthermore, respondents acknowledged social media as a platform for politicians to enhance their public image (Mean = 1.93, S.D. = 0.819). Additionally, respondents believed that political candidates not active on social media might

be perceived as unserious about their ambitions (Mean = 2.43, S.D. = 1.028). This collective insight provides a comprehensive view of how social media influences the perceptions of youths regarding politicians and electoral choices.

4.2 Discussion

The findings of this study revealed some interesting facts based data gathered through the research instrument. Discussion of the study's findings will be done in line with the objectives of the study and more specifically the research questions.

This study is centered on exploring the impact of social media on the level of political participation of undergraduates of

the University of Ilorin, Ilorin. Resting heavily on the agenda-setting theoretical paradigm, the study presents findings that are in tandem with what other scholars have found in related studies.

Respondents agreed that social media had an effect on their level of political participation, especially in the 2019 general. 23.1% of the respondents 'Strongly Agreed' that they followed political news on social media and 49.1% 'Agreed' to it. 22.6% of respondents 'Strongly Agreed' that they became aware of political news through the social media and 56.7% 'Agreed' to it and 27.8% of respondents 'Strongly Agreed' that social media helped them to become more politically active in the 2019 elections while 33.6% 'Agreed' to it. This findings is in tandem with the findings of Akinlade (2016) who found that social media influenced Nigerian youths respondents in South-East Nigeria during the 2015 Nigeria general election. These statistics prove that the social media did have an impact on youths' political participation in the 2019 Nigeria general elections.

To answer the second research question, questions 15, 16, 17 and 18 from Section D of the questionnaire were analysed. 21.8% of respondents 'Strongly Agreed' that social

media influenced their choice of political candidates in the elections while 34.4% of respondents 'Agreed' to it. 17.8% of respondents reported that social media influenced their choice of political party while 33.1% of 'Agreed' to it. 31.8% of respondents 'Strongly Agreed' that the social media was an avenue for politician's to boost their image in the eyes of the public while 49.1% 'Agreed' to it. 21% of respondents 'Strongly Agreed' believed that politicians who were not active on social media were unserious about their political ambition and 34.1% 'Agreed' to it. These statistics show that the social media projects a positive perception of politicians to youths.

5.0 Conclusion

Social media did have a positive influence on youths participation in the political and electoral process, especially the 2019 Nigeria general elections. Social media influenced youths' choice of political candidate and party but, quite amazingly, did not actually guarantee that youths voted for any political candidate just because he or she has a social media account. Youths also regard social media as a credible medium for political discourses and majority also testified to the social media has making

them become more politically active. This does not come as a surprise if one considers how often and how much time youths spend on social media daily.

5.1 Recommendations

The Federal Government of Nigeria should strengthen its efforts in Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in every sector of the country. More and more Nigerian youths are gaining access to the internet every day and ensuring the information flow on the internet is uninterrupted is key to the information flow of the country.

The National Information and Technology Development Agency government should monitor what goes onto the social media as many people will believe what they read/see on it and the consequences wrong or misleading information can only better imagined.

Political parties, politicians, governmental agencies and ministries should create a robust and effective social media presence to inform and educate youths, especially on social media platforms which has a high concentration of Nigerian youths who believe political news on social media and regards them as credible. This will help

reduce the low turnout of voters on election days and reduce the spread of fake news.

In future elections, the Independent National Electoral Commission, (INEC), should adopt the electronic voting system in order to allow youths who may not go out to vote physically do so online. 97.4% of respondents in this study claim to have an accessible device with 50.5% spending between 1-6 hours on social media daily while 35.4% spend above six hours daily.

REFERENCES

- Adedeji, S.O. (2015). *Social Media Participation and Pollution of the 2015 General*
- Ayankoya, K., Calitz, A.P., & Cullen, M. (2015). *A Framework for the use of Social Media for Political Marketing: An Exploratory Study*. Retrieved December 12, 2018 from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/28244199>.
- Dimitrova, D. & Bystrom, D. (2013). *The Effects of Social Media on Political Participation and Candidate Image Evaluations in the 2012 Iowa Caucuses*.
- Drew, H., (2013). *Complete History of Social Media: Then and Now*. Retrieved from <https://smallbiztrends.com/2013/05/the-complete-history-of-social-media-infographic.html> on June 13, 2019

- Effing, R., Hillergersberg, J. &Huibert, T. (2011).*Social Media and Political Participation: Are Facebook, Twitter and YouTube Democratizing Our Political Systems?* Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/221353460> on 13-02-2019.
- Falade, D., A., (2014). Political Participation in Nigerian Democracy: A Study of Some Selected Local Government Areas in Ondo State, Nigeria. *Global Journal of Human-Social Science*
- Manning, J. (2014). *Social media, Definition and Classes Of*. In K. Harvey (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of social media and politics*. Thousand Oaks, CA. Sage
- Maste Baker, M. (2009). The Impact of Social Networking Sites on Politics. *The Review: A Journal of Undergraduate Student Research*.
- Muntean, A. (2015). *The Impact of Social Media Use on Political Participation*. Unpublished
- Nekola, M., (2014). Political participation and governance effectiveness : does
- Nor, R.M.Z. (2017). *Agenda Setting Theory*. Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/321698436> on 15-03-2019. participation matter? Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/200446012>. on February 14, 2019. Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/273590319> on December 31, 2018.
- Sajindra, K., &Patil, R. (2013). Social Media – History and Components. *Journal of Business and Management*.
- Udoka, A., (2015). *The Political Consequences of Low Youth Participation in Contemporary Democracies*. Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Thesis. Central European University, Budapest.
- Victor, O., Ikechukwu, U., Gerald, N., Chinedum, O (2017). Effects of the Social Media in the Marketing of Political Candidates in Nigeria. *British Journal of Marketing Studies*. European Centre for Research Training and Development.

PARTY-POLITICS, DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA

MANSIR NASIR

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, AL-QALAM UNIVERSITY, KATSINA

ABSTRACT

This paper titles “Party politics, democratic consolidation and good governance in Nigeria”. The paper was aimed at examining the nature of African politics and governance and specifically Nigeria’s political development looking at the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial experiences. Again, the paper also attempted to analyse the impacts and consequences of deviation from the actual democratic principles, tenets, traditions and values which underpinned sustainable democracy and democratic consolidation in Nigeria in particular, and Africa in general. The paper used secondary source of data collection that includes published works of scholars and internet source. The study was based on the causal research design that linked development and democratic peace or decay. The paper adopted context dependent and perspective dependent approaches to explain the precarious party politics, democratic consolidation and good governance in Nigeria with reference to prevailing activities of political actors due to their arbitrary selfish and self-serviant prebendalism that characterised Nigeria and African politics. The paper was aimed at exploring the vicious cycles that impede internal party democracy that underscores party politics in Nigeria and further undermines democratic consolidation and good governance characterised in the current political realities in Nigeria. The paper adopted Democratic Peace Theory propounded by Immanuel Kant and further modified by Michael Doyle to explain development, peace and stability in the context of liberal or republican democratic political system of governments. The paper discovered that no effective party-politics, democratic consolidation and good governance would be achieved without realistic development in the context of peace and democratic theory. The paper recommended that human development ought to be given top priority to ensure popular legitimacy and stability despite the existing political realities such as diversities in Nigeria.

KEYWORDS: *Democratic Consolidation, Good Governance, Nigeria, Party-Politics*

Introduction

In the liberal democratic context, party-politics and good governance are among the most important pillars upon which democratic consolidation is predicated. Other pillars include strong governance institutions, competent and credible leaders, a thriving democratic political culture, good democratic governance, ‘universal’ human rights, and stable political and economic development. Democratic consolidation is necessary for, and aspired by citizens of, virtually all countries which have embarked on transition to democracy at various gradations. However, party-politics, to a large extent depends on how well established, structured, organised and functional political parties rooted in respect for internal democracy.

In the African context, party-politics, democratic consolidation and good governance are being remarkably constrained, if not obstructed, by evident weaknesses and obtuse nature of these pillars upon which consolidation of democracy is established. Remarkable improvements to satisfy the aspirations of citizens for desirable consolidation of democracy would therefore require, first, the deconstruction and as well as the

reconstruction of the current nature and character of African and Nigerian political parties, in addition to repositioning their roles and responsibilities in candidate recruitment and selection and inter-party engagements in the political and governance arenas. And, secondly, sustenance and enhancement of internal party democracy, good governance and rule of law in order to down scale the tendency of military coups and political decay evident from the prevailing political and economic malaises.

In a nutshell, for a durable, effective and viable democratic consolidation and continuity in Africa, West Africa and Nigeria, the following issues need to be adequately addressed such as political-patronage, money politics, politics of personal ambition and party interests over collective and national interests. Thus, political actors must not undermine freedom and independence of government institutions to exercise their constitutional responsibilities. Prevailing internal dynamics of party-politics in Nigerian context, historically and contemporarily affect the national political parties’ efficacy and effectiveness looking at how political parties are formed, shaped controlled and directed by so-called ‘moneybags’ and ‘godfathers’ with negative consequences on

the overall political development in terms of social justice, fairness, capacity building, and participation which would substantially foster greater confidence and support of the citizens to democratically consolidate a constitutional democracy in Nigeria.

Conceptual Clarifications

Party politics refers to strict adherence to the politics, ideologies, guidelines and principles of a political party regardless of the public interest; partisan loyalism. Party politics involves commitments, devotion and partisan loyalty towards one's political party alone rather than to the state or good of the general public (Jega, 2022). Party politics is somewhat vague and politically incorrect to be allowed permeate a political system of a democratic state. Party politics involves commitments, devotion, and partisan loyalty towards one's political party alone rather than to the state or to the good of the general public. However democratic consolidation refers to regime continuity and to nothing else. Thus, for a regime to be deeply rooted must ensure free competition and fair elections; citizens' rights to express their opinions and make independent choices must be guaranteed and backed by legal framework. Nigeria's political development has since been slowly arrested in its delivery

with the activities of protracted impacts of the political actors who have failed to endure to accept the legitimacy of democracy and rule of law (Jega, 2023).

Therefore, the Nigeria's political development is still confronted with institutional, structural, systemic and attitudinal changes which must be improved to ensure a consolidated democracy, good democratic governance and a harmonised polity as opposed to a pattern of centrifugal forces that undermine the corporate existence of Nigerian state controlled by politics of prebendalism (Jega, 2023).

Good governance encompasses the general ideals and practices of rule of law, democratisation and adherence to the democratic norms and values while at the same time involves politics of inclusion specially to drive home a sustainable and consolidated democracy and more so institutionalise the culture of unity in diversity.

Good democratic governance involves both theory and practice of governance from the standpoints of leadership strategy and initiatives for good democratic governance by the government to the citizen overall utility of a good life and stable polity accomplish through holistic governance.

Good democratic governance upholds both guide and practical relevance for the upliftment of highest ideals as noble character and as a development policy on governance (Merriam Webster Dictionary, 2023).

Bentham believed that private interest had to be guided if it were to served public interest; he argued that the pursuit of one's private pleasure would coincide with the greatest happiness of the great numbers. Thus, the most of confusing and complex socio-ethnic and cultural pluralism has been India, Japan, China, Yugoslavia etc. are perhaps the most confusing and complex societies in the world full of a number of contradictions while Mahatma Gandhi Mao Zedong Lee Kwan Yew, Gaddali, Mandela Jawaharlal Nehru amongst others conceived good democratic governance as an evolution of suitable political institutions such as the centralised nation state as the best means to achieve the same goal and the principal instrument of social change. Good governance is linked to rule of law, democracy and constitution (Author, 2023).

Principles of Good Democratic Governance

1. Properness
2. Transparency

3. Participation

Thus, good democratic governance is a result of hollowing out of the state, related not only to reform for modernising administration but also to the process of globalisation and the increasingly transitional dimension of regulation and policy making.

Modern society and the state are undergoing tremendous changers because of the fusion of public sector modernization with regulatory reform movements, as well as trends such as globalisation and the knowledge-based society. These changes are involving new legal perspective to provide more instruments for effective government action. Traditional structures may be replaced by new regulatory models to steer different decision-making processes with a focus on citizens' needs and efficiency.

For this reason, the trend constitutes a call for the incorporation of governance trends in law.

Because of its intrinsic qualities: a solid piece of furniture, solid scholarship, a solid education, etc. In democratisation studies nobody ever speaks of a "solid democracy." Perhaps, this would sound too much of an overstatement in any empirical case. Yet the

terms “consolidating democracy” and “consolidated democracy,” though more modest in appearance, do carry the double meaning of stability and soundness. In most of academic literature, a “consolidating democracy” is meant either to remove the threat of democratic breakdown or to move towards some higher stage of democratic performance (or both things together). And a “consolidated democracy” is meant to be either a crisis-proof democracy or a high-quality democracy (or both things together). In the following we will argue that five competing concepts of DC circulate in academic literature, which all are compatible with the minimum semantic constraints the term implies: They all start from some type or other of democratic regime. And they all head toward some normative goal which either reads democratic survival or democratic progress.

Avoiding the Breakdown of Democracy

Once a transition from authoritarian rule in a given country has reached a point where (more or less) free, (more or less) fair, and (more or less) competitive elections are held, democratic actors often cannot afford to lean back, relax, and enjoy the “bounded uncertainty” of democratic rule. More often than not, regime threatening “unbounded

uncertainties” persist and the democrats’ fundamental anxieties do not recede but only shift from establishing democracy’s core institution to securing what they have achieved. For these actors, consolidating democracy means reducing the probability of breakdown to a point where they can feel reasonably confident that democracy will persist in the near 12 (and not so near) future. This preoccupation with regime survival describes, so to speak, the classical meaning of DC. In its positive formulations, this branch of consolidation studies speaks about the goal of reaching democratic continuity, maintenance, entrenchment, survival, permanence, endurance, persistence, resilience, viability, sustainability, irreversibility. By contrast, negative formulations invoke the necessity of moving beyond states of “non-consolidation,” beyond democratic fragility, instability, uncertainty, vulnerability, reversibility, the threat of breakdown. For all differences in nuance, the unifying purpose beneath this multifaceted vocabulary is straightforward. In biological metaphors: It is basically preoccupied with keeping democracy alive, with preventing its “rapid death” (O’Donnell 1992). In accordance with its focus on coup politics, the central issue this first notion of democratic

consolidation (DC 1) is concerned with deviant actors, anti-system actors, who sponsor antidemocratic activities or else, harbor antidemocratic motives. In principle, the range of actors who actually or potentially fall into this category of dangerous elements is unlimited. Given Latin America's recent history of bureaucratic-authoritarian regimes, in the region, fears of democratic breakdown have tended to focus on the professionals of state violence as well as on the business class who too in the course of time has acquired a solid antidemocratic reputation (until the latest cycle of democratisation). But in fact the list of (either suspected or 13 convicted) assassins or gravediggers of democratic rule is much longer. It includes private men in arms (guerillas, drug cartels, violent street protesters), elected presidents who stage military backed autogolpes, and also a disenchanted population who, as many fear, some day may become tired of a democracy that in some cases, in material terms, has not delivered much more than economic hardship and social inequality (see, for example, Gunther et al. 1995; Huntington 1991; Linz and Stephan 1996; Mainwaring 1986).

Avoiding the Erosion of Democracy

As students of DC have been rapid to recognise, focusing on the military and on classical coup politics as privileged objects of research may be morally, politically, and empirically questionable as it diverts attention from other pressing issues. Moreover, it may even turn out to be a misleading, misguided perspective that looks for danger at the wrong places, and therefore overlooks real threats that hide elsewhere, at less traditional and less obvious sites. Many new democracies do face the quasi-traditional threat of illegal or pseudo-legal overthrow by antidemocratic forces. But in addition to the risk of breakdown, of dramatic, sudden, and visible relapses to authoritarian rule, many neo-democracies have to manage the danger of decay, of less spectacular, more incremental, and less transparent forms of regression to semi authoritarian rule. While the former provokes a radical discontinuity at the central front stage of democratic politics (leading to open authoritarianism), the latter implies a gradual corrosion at its backstage (leading to fuzzy semi-democracy, to some hybrid regime somewhere in the middle of the road between liberal democracy and dictatorship). The former stands at the center

of our first concept of democratic consolidation, the latter forms the normative core of our second one, its dominant concern, and its defining horizon of avoidance. It was Guillermo O'Donnell who at the end of the 1980s put forward the first explicit formulation of this extended understanding of DC. In his seminal essay "Transitions, Continuities, and Paradoxes" (O'Donnell, 1992) he drew attention to the threat of silent regressions from democracy to semi democratic rule and built the withering away of related concerns into his (broad) definition of democratic consolidation (see *ibid.*, 48). Emphasising the temporal dimension of his observation, he proposed to distinguish between "rapid deaths" and "slow deaths" of democracy.

Together with their rising concern about the dangers of democratic erosion, students of DC have improved their knowledge about different routes "slow deaths" of democracies may take and about different destinations (hybrid regimes) they may arrive at. The reassertion of military supremacy emphasised by O'Donnell is only one possibility, even if a very real one. Other forms of erosion ¹⁷ attack other institutional pillars of democracy. For example, state violence as well as state absence may subvert the rule of law; the rise

of hegemonic parties may suffocate electoral competition; the decay of electoral institutions may affect the honesty of vote counting; incumbents may use their privileged access to state resources and to mass media in ways that violate minimum standards of electoral fairness and equal opportunity; or exclusionary citizenship laws may run against democratic norms of inclusiveness.

Institutionalising Democracy

The two concepts of democratic consolidation I have discussed so far DC 1 (avoiding democratic breakdown) and DC 2 (avoiding democratic erosion) represent variants of "negative" consolidation. They both try to prevent democratic regressions towards a (negatively valued) horizon of avoidance. Symmetrically, the last two notions of democratic consolidation on my list of five DC 4 (democratic completion) and DC 5 (democratic deepening) represent varieties of "positive" consolidation. They both try to achieve democratic progress towards a (positively valued) horizon of attainment. Democratic institutionalisation is meant here to describe two things basically: all those approaches that identify democratic consolidation with actors becoming less and less conscious of the ¹⁸ contingency of

democratic institutions (“sociological institutionalisation”); and all those approaches that look beyond democracy’s basic rules of the game and equate DC with the construction of specific institutions on meso or micro levels (“sub-systemic institutionalisation”). The former perspective imports a sociological view of institutions into consolidation studies, and considers democracy to be consolidated when certain modes of perception settle in, or more precisely perhaps, when certain modes of non-perception settle in. According to this conceptualisation, in a consolidating democracy actors begin to perceive democratic institutions as part of the “normal” or “natural” order of things, as something familiar, taken for granted, beyond everyday reflection and concern, a simple element of practical knowledge. In an early formulation of this institutionalism perspective, Philippe Schmitter described democratic consolidation as a process “transforming the accidental arrangements, prudential norms, and contingent solutions that have emerged (during transition) into structures, i.e. into relationships that are reliably known, regularly practiced and habitually accepted” (Schmitter, 1998).

Completing Democracy

Liberal democracies face the “negative” challenge of preventing democratic erosion, the regression to semi-democratic rule. Semi-democratic “electoral democracies” face the symmetrical “positive” challenge of democratic completion, the attainment of full democratic rule. Students of such regimes often associate the notion of DC with this democratising task, with the telos of moving away from some “diminished subtype” of democracy towards a “non-diminished” democracy, or as Guillermo O’Donnell put it once, with the accomplishment of a “second transition” from a democratic government to a democratic regime (O’Donnell, 1992). In other words, when academic observers of hybrid regimes speak of DC they tend to think of the goal of completing a pending transition to democracy. In graphical terms, they tend to look not just backwards to the dangers of authoritarian regression; but also forwards to the promises of democratic progress. Which are the basic actors, conflicts, and sites of democratic completion? The answer is easy: It depends. It depends on the type of “electoral democracy” in place. In Latin America,

three configurations have been of special relevance. To begin with, there are those countries where the outgoing authoritarian regime was able to write certain authoritarian rules into the constitution. In such cases of constitutional defects, full democratisation required these formal authoritarian legacies to be removed. The prototypical Latin American case of constitutional semi democracy has been Chile after 1990. And the classical piece to model a general notion of DC along the Chilean fault lines was J. Samuel Valenzuela's "Democratic Consolidation in Post Transitional Settings" (1992). In his perspective, abolishing "tutelary powers," "reserved domains," and "major discriminations" in the electoral law, appeared as necessary ingredients of democratic consolidation. Since then, this notion of DC has received widespread attention. For instance, in their recent comparative volume, Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan extensively analyses this constitution-centered type of democratic completion under the heading of "constitutional consolidation" (Linz and Stepan, 1996). Another kind of semi democracies which have been raising peculiar challenges of democratic consolidation as completion is "hegemonic

party systems in transition." In the continent, the cases are Mexico and Paraguay. What is the problem here? In essence, the problem is how to tell at what point (authoritarian) hegemonic parties have become (democratic) dominant parties.

While the constitutional legacies of military regimes as well as the structural legacies of hegemonic systems pose formidable "threshold problems" to democratising agents, they nevertheless concern just a small handful of cases. In comparison, a third variety of democratic consolidation appears of more general relevance for Latin American countries: the transformation of "illiberal democracies" where the rule of law is biased and selective (or even elective) into liberal democracies which effectively guarantee basic political, civil, and human rights. With the notable (and debatable) exception of the three Southern countries, Latin America's contemporary "designer democracies" (Nodia,1996) have not followed western Europe's "organic" route of political development, the well-known historical sequence of state building, first, legal domestication of the state, second, and democratic domestication of the state, third. Instead, as with many other "third wave" democracies, the sequence has been inverted. Democracies have been conquered

on the top of states whose presence looks partial and precarious (in both spatial and social terms) and with judicial systems in place that often cannot do much more than to administer the rule of lawlessness.

Deepening Democracy

The notion of democratic consolidation just discussed completing the democratic transition and traveling from electoral to liberal democracy represents one progress-oriented “positive” version of DC. Moving further on the “continuum of democracy” by deepening liberal democracy and pushing it closer to advanced democracy represents another, a second one. When we compare Latin America’s contemporary democracies with (more or less rosy pictures of) established Western democracies, the former appear as faltering on many accounts. They appear to possess (or to be possessed by) “comparative disadvantages” in virtually any field of democratic politics. The list of presumptive structural deficits is endless. It covers fields as wide and diverse as governmental performance, public administration, judicial systems, party systems, interest groups, civil society, political culture, and styles of decision making. In all these and many other areas, most Latin American democracies look

“underdeveloped” by comparison. They fall short of standards set by “advanced democracies.”

Party-Politics and Institutionalisation in Nigeria

Political parties, according to Oladeji (2022) constitute the foundation of democratic government. In every political system, the functions of political parties are: political recruitment of potential candidates into the party membership; interest articulation; interest aggregation; political socialisation. Political education involves the training of political leaders, and political communication.

The operation of political parties and politicians since the return to democracy do not manifest convincing prospects for party institutionalisation, which is a critical criterion for democratic growth and consolidation. This unfortunate scenario, said to be one of the most crucial and yet least developed democratic institutions. There are currently in the words of Oladije, many registered political parties in Nigeria, most of which are an assemblage of people who share the same level of determination to use the party platform to capture power. As such, it is difficult to identify programmes or ideologies. The structure of political parties

is such that internal democracy is virtually absent. The political parties are weak and unable to effectively carry out political education and discipline.

Party-politics in Nigeria, particularly in the Fourth Republic, is faced with a plethora of bottlenecks which negate party institutionalisation. The way and manner political parties emerge in Nigeria, especially in the recent period, tends to negate their prospects for institutionalisation, and the ability to guarantee political stability and consolidate democracy. The activities of political parties that have been operating in the country since 1999 are diametrically opposed to those of the established democratic norms.

However, the way they evolved has no correlation with what we are familiar in the extant literature. The fluidity and unstable character of their composition portray them as mere vehicles of regime change from military governance to civilian rule, and obviously lack the capacity to resolve the persistent political issues tormenting the Nigerian state (Oladeji, 2022). An in-depth examination of the way the Nigerian political parties have performed since the beginning of the Fourth Republic shows that they are incapable of addressing the various

problems facing the country. Since 1999, political parties have been enmeshed in unhealthy completion with one another. Party factions are more in competition with themselves than with another party. The situation is so dismal to the extent that the three major parties that operated between 1999 and 2003 as well as 2015 and 2023 manifested ethno-religious inclination and regionalist tendencies, which was exhibited in the patterns electoral prospects. These tendencies make party institutionalisation a herculean task.

Furthermore, Nigerian political parties have failed to maintain a harmonious relationship at the intraparty and interparty levels. Intraparty squabbles have always threatened the parties to extinction or caused schism of disturbing magnitude. This situation compelled many of the party stalwarts to defect or remain ambivalent. Thus, internal party democracy and party institutionalisation has far-reaching implications for democratic consolidation. If these problems are not remedied, they will not be better positioned to make meaningful contributions to democratic stability and consolidation.

Moreover, the implicit pitfalls of the political parties to play politics to play

politics according to the rules in their internal affairs as well as the larger political entity, have led to the politically motivated killings across political divides. The consequences of such conflicts have been the perennial collapse of the political order, resulting in pervasive instability all over the country and the monumental loss of lives and property. Invariably, the focus of the government and its hard-earned resources has been wasted on conflict management instead of development agenda.

Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria

In the contemporary Nigerian context, a great dilemma would seem to confront democrats struggling for desirable democratic development and consolidation, and it requires incurable optimism and almost superhuman resilience to sustain the struggle towards attainment of desirable goals. The reckless Nigerian political class, having captured and bastardised the dominant political parties, and having captured the state and commandeered its resources, having governed so ineptly, thereby entrenching a profound crisis of economic growth and human development and security; they have now not only pauperised most of the citizenry, they have also made them disenchanted with

democracy and democratisation. As most citizens struggle for survival, using multiple modes of livelihood, honest and criminal, legal and illegal, they become apathetic and indifferent to demands for good democratic governance or political participation and voting in elections. Among the youth in particular, and many middleclass professionals, the preoccupation seems to be with opportunities to Japa! Most seem to care less, if at all, with engagements to reform political parties, or ensure the integrity of elections, or elect competent and credible people to bring about good democratic governance (Jega, 2022).

The increasing trend in vote buying since 2019, illustrates how reckless political class, are actively embarking on a project of total capture of citizens as voters and participants in the political and electoral processes.

However, drawing from theoretical postulations and global practical experiences, it would seem that positive changes for societal transformation occur much more easily, to contain state capture and reckless misrule, when a significant percentage of citizens are not totally captured; enabling their mobilisation by organised civil society groups for participation in the struggles to adequately

address vicious party-politics, state capture and bad governance. Given the developmentalist' scenario of development versus democratic peace and security, significant number of citizens are getting more conscious of their constitutional roles and political rights, demanding for what was hitherto being robbed by the political class.

Good Governance

Theoretical work on governance reflects the interest of the social science community in the shifting pattern and styles of governing. The traditional use of 'governance' and its dictionary entry defines it as a synonym for government. Yet, there is a redirection in its use and import. That may suggest why Stoker (1998) sees governance as 'a change in the meaning of government, referring to a new process of governing; or a changed condition of ordered rule; or the new method by which society is governed'. Allied to this, Committee of Experts on Public Administration (2006) opines that governance refers to the exercise of political and administrative authority at all levels to manage a country's affairs. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions, through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences. Moreso, the

United Nations Development Programme (2014) defines governance as a process of creating and sustaining an environment for inclusive and responsive political processes and settlements. It is worthy to submit therefore that governance involves the dynamics of transforming societal needs into concrete programmes. Put simply, governance means the development of governing styles in which boundaries between public and private sectors have become blurred and the needs of society increasingly met.

These days the adjective good has been added to the noun governance to form the concept 'good governance'. In fact, much discussion about the definition of good governance have centred on what makes institutions and rules more effective and efficient, in order to achieve equity, transparency, participation, responsiveness, accountability, and the rule of law. These aspects are crucial for human development and the eradication of abject poverty since ineffective institutions usually result in the greatest harm to those who are poor and vulnerable – children, women, the elderly and the infirm. Nigeria is rated low on the UN human development index (UNDP, 2014).

Without reference to a universal standard for governance, the notion of what is

good is thus defined by the desired outcome, which varies from one situation to another. Nonetheless, two broad governance issues can be discerned. The first pertains to institutions of governance, including public administration and public services connected, in particular, with the sound management of resources, delivery of and equitable access to public services, responsiveness to the views of citizens and their participation in decisions that concern them.

The second broad governance issue is concerned with concepts of democracy and the rule of law, including with rights-based claims to equality before the law, judicial independence, participation in the conduct of public affairs, electoral integrity, political plurality, freedom of expression and media independence (General Assembly Resolution 59/201). These claims include demands for gender equality and the inclusion of the elderly, youth and marginalised groups. Integral to effective execution is an informed and empowered citizenry engaged in transparent and accountable governance processes. Free and pluralistic media is considered essential to such ends as is the right to freely access information held by public bodies. Of course, citizens need information (data and statistics) from the government to help them advise the governing elites. No effort is to be spared

in insisting on good governance in a democracy. Nigerians have paid great price for democracy. Therefore, institutions of state must be up and running in meeting the needs of the people. Some of these institutions are here under reviewed.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Democratic Peace Theory was used to explain interplay of the citizens' hopes and expectations and the government performance in terms of driving development to the people or not. Proponents of the theory includes among others, Kant, Doyle, Diamond, Nodia and Fukuyama with slight modifications upon the earlier assumptions. The democratic peace theory argues that democratic states do not initiate war against one another and that democratic institutions discourage that initiation of conflicts. The theory further argues that there would be no conflicts or crises between democrats due to shared democratic identities of norms, cultures and traditions or common practices such as consensus, compromise, participation and negotiations mechanisms to resolve differences, if any. The theorists affirm that there is positive relationship between peace and development. Thus, any change whether better or vicious would affect the nature, pattern and character of the overall

political stability or otherwise to a given political entity. To domesticate the theory in the context of Nigeria, conflict is inevitable so long as leadership negligence or nonchalant attitude continue to trend on realistic development and rule of law. So, there is quite correlation between human development and peace and political stability in country such as Nigeria.

Therefore, political actors are obliged to uphold to democratic norms, principles and values to entrench a sustainable democratic culture, discipline and further consolidate electoral and or liberal democracy in Nigeria.

Political Party

Party politics is a key ingredient of representative government. It is the core or life line of modern politics. It is the key vehicle of popular participation in the political process and the means political elites maintain power and authority not just in democratic but also in many authoritarian or close regimes. Given the variety in its historical evolution, organisation, ideology, social base, objectives and strength, having a generally acceptable definition of political party may be a challenge. Nonetheless, what a political party's role should be in a democracy is known. Political theorists and Thinkers have advanced different

views on the subject. Burke as shown by Cone (1957) sees political party as a body of men and women who are united for the purpose of promoting, by their joint endeavours, the national interest upon some particular principles agreed jointly. In other words, a political party's existence is tied to involvement in political activities such as political socialisation, nomination and electioneering. Abeje (2013) identifies the major functions of political parties to include: nominating, electioneering, shaping opinion, mediating among groups (brokerage), managing government, and providing link between government and citizens. Salih (2001) expands these role further: they endow regimes with legitimacy by providing ideologies, leadership or opportunities for political participation; they act as a medium for political recruitment, thus creating opportunities for upward social mobility; they provide opportunities for the growing of coalitions of powerful political interests to sustain government, supervise policy implementation, and promote the political socialisation of people to undertake self-help activities; they promote political stability in societies that are able to absorb increasing levels of political participation by the new social forces generated by modernisation; they serve as major vehicle for agenda setting base on its

ideology.

In addition, liberal political systems, political parties provide the connection between the party system and government on the one hand, and between government and society on the other. 'Within a context of competitive party systems, political parties are multifunctional institutions; they can be put to almost any political or governmental purpose (Blondel, 1969). In a nutshell, the debate is no longer whether there should be political parties, but whether the party system should be pluralist or not that is two or multi-party system (Doorenspleet, 2003).

As far back as 1922 when the electoral principle was introduced into Nigeria body polity by the Sir Clifford, there was no intention to limit expression of interest to one party system. Hugu Clifford represented the Crown in the Nigeria overseas territory. On the agitation by Nigerians to be a part of the Executive and Legislative Councils, the Clifford Constitution introduced Elective Principle. It was a novelty on the African continent. Clifford expanded membership of the legislative council from 36 of the 1914 constitution to 46 in the 1922 constitution. Four Nigerians were subsequently elected directly into the legislative council on the ratio of 3:1 - three from Lagos and one from Calabar

(Okibe, 2001). Arising from the introduction of elective principle in 1922, the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) was transformed into and registered as Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP) in 1923. From small beginnings, party politics has come a long way in Nigeria. Colonialism that ended in 1960 influenced party politics in Nigeria. Since independence on October 1st 1960, party system has made progress though with long pauses by military regimes. This interregnum has limited political space, political maturity and speed with which party system would develop in Nigeria. Three republics have come and gone, Nigeria is in the fourth test currently in her 17th year obviously the longest single experiment in Nigerian history. One may ask, how has the party system fared?

At the birth of the fourth republic, Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), All Nigeria Peoples Party (APP) and Alliance for Democracy (AD) were the dominant national parties. Alignment and re-alignment mostly in preparation for general elections have led Nigeria to now have two national political parties- All Progressives Congress (APC) and Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). A review of the manifestos of both political parties show semblance in nearly every front. The PDP has 32 items while APC has 28

items. The single most visible variation of the APC manifesto from the PDP's is the inclusion of fight against corruption as an objective of the party. One is unable to place any of the political parties to the left. Both are centre right conservatives. PDP led Nigeria for 16 years at the centre and lost the presidency in 2015 to the APC. It is on this basis that the question comes, are the political parties in Nigeria playing the role expected of them? That is to say, are the parties supreme in Nigeria? Have political parties with commitment articulated and established a sustained faith in their ideologies presented in their manifestos? Political parties are widely seen as vehicles for contemporary democracies. The influence of political parties on the work of the legislature, executive and the conduct of its members is critical. It has largely been sanctioned by law, be it at the level of the constitution or laws or the parliamentary standing orders. But the real influence of the parties goes far beyond what is stated in the letters of the law. In general, it derives from the leading position of a political party to the country's political life. A government is expected to be driven by the manifesto of the party in power, be it left or right (Kędzia and Hauser, 2011).

At times, parliamentarians vote against party position. This contradiction

between disciplined voting in parliament or other forms of party discipline and the free mandate is no new phenomenon. The domestic constitutional orders often sanction this tension by setting forth the free mandate while situating political parties as the main actors of the parliamentary process. Heidar and Koole (2000) point to the fact that most parliaments constitutionally reflect the traditional, strong legitimacy of the individual MP (as the representative of the people) at the same time as they in practice give him/her a subordinate position to the effective power vested in the Party Parliamentary Groups (the caucus). In Nigeria, there exist now the PDP and APC caucus in the assemblies both national and states. Such groupings make for party unity. In cases where a legislator makes known that he or she will for some reasons defy the official party line, there is a strategy to promote party unity-both carrots and sticks. Party supremacy in Nigeria though threatened, can be redeemed if:

- Party leadership is separated from government.
- Party officials restraint themselves from greed;
- Funding of party comes from direct percentage deductions from elected members of the party and contract awards;
- Disciplinary measures are explicit and enforced on members

- without fear or favour and;
- Election of party executives is open and competitive.

Party leadership has a bearing on the performance and perception of the party other things being equal. Composition and the nature of party structure are important. As all of this makes clear, parties have adopted a wide range of approaches to their internal organisation, and they are constantly experimenting with new structures and new procedures to cope with internal and external pressures (Udeh, 2016). So it is hard to generalise about how democratising membership will affect a party’s overall structure. However, using the ideas of inclusiveness, centralisation, and institutionalisation one can distinguish five common organizational models: (1) the leader-dominated party; (2) the party of notables, sometimes called the cadre party; (3) the party of individual

representation; (4) the corporatist party; and (5) the party built on basis of democracy (Scarow, 2013). These models help clarify some of the different challenges and internal stresses caused by democratising reforms. Some of these models have been more characteristic of certain historical eras than others, but none of them are entirely obsolescent: Elements of all the models can be found in contemporary parties in new as well as established democracies. While no individual party perfectly corresponds to any of these types, recognising a party’s general organisational starting point can give one some clues about the likely effects of organisational democratisation: Which groups are likely to benefit, and what types of structure may need to be strengthened or changed to make internal democratisation work?

Table-1.1. Selected Models of Party Organization and Organisational Tendencies

Type	Centralization	Inclusiveness	Institutionalization
<i>Dominant Leader</i>	High	Low	Generally low
<i>Party of Notables</i>	Medium (often stratarchical)	Low	Low to medium
<i>Individual Representation</i>	Medium to high	Medium to high	Medium to high
<i>Corporatist Representation</i>	Medium to high	Medium	Medium to high
<i>Basis Democracy</i>	Low to medium	High	Medium to high

Source: Adopted- Scarow (2013).

Political party leadership may equally influence membership. That's why is vital for a party to carefully review members who offer themselves for party offices. Functional democracies rely on the party as an eye on good governance, guide adherence to its ideology and manifesto, ensure internal party democracy, uphold party discipline and take responsibility for poor party performance. Participatory democracy is about the people. So the party should sale itself well with respect to its ideology, programmes, structure and leadership since they contribute to party success at the polls and performance in government.

Election Umpire

The origin of election commission in Nigeria goes back to the period before independence when the Electoral Commission of Nigeria was established to conduct 1959 general elections (Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), 2000). Following independence in 1960, Federal Electoral Commission (FEC) was established to conduct the immediate post-independence federal and regional elections of 1964 and 1965 under the chairmanship of Chief Eyo Esua. Military coup of 1966 saw the demise of FEC. Preparatory to the second republic, the regime of General Olusegun Obasanjo set up FEDECO under the

chairmanship of Chief Michael Ani to organize the 1979 general elections. FEDECO also conducted the 1983 general elections. In 1987, the military government of General Ibrahim Babangida established National Electoral Commission (NEC) with Prof. Eme Awa 1987-1989 and Prof. Nwosu H. 1989-1993. Under General Sanni Abacha, NECON was established to conduct elections in 1997 with Prof. Okon Uya and Chief Dagogo-Jack. NECON was dissolved by General Abubakar who replaced Sanni Abacha and established Independent National Electoral Commission in 1998. To her credit, INEC has conducted more elections than any other electoral commission in Nigeria. Justice Ephraim Akpata conducted the transitional elections 1998/1999. Dr. Abel Guobadia organised the 2003 general elections which observers say were -marred by widespread violence and other irregularities (Human Rights Watch, 2003) Prof. Maurice Iwu chaired INEC during the 2007 general elections in Nigeria which witnessed unprecedented irregularities (Bassey, 2010). Prof. Attahiru Muhammadu Jega chaired INEC which conducted the 2011 and 2015 general elections in Nigeria having been appointed by the Jonathan administration on June 8th, 2010. Prof. Mahmud Yakubu

is INEC incumbent Chairman. INEC is a creation of the constitution. Section 153 of the Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999) (as amended constitution, 2010) recognises INEC as the electoral umpire for Nigeria.

Organisational Structure and Functional Responsibilities of INEC

Organisational structure is important as a tool of understanding communication channels and power relations. It is the structures that specify flow of authority and obedience. At the apex of the Commission is the Chairperson who is appointed by the president subject to the approval of the senate (CFRN, 1999). Directly below the Chairperson are the 12 National Commissioners. Next in authority are the 37 Resident Electoral Commissioners (RECs) representing the 36 states of the federation and the Federal Capital Territory Abuja. Each of the 774 local government councils is headed by an Electoral Officer (EO). This structure puts INEC in a right frame to deliver her responsibilities as spelt out in the CFRN (1999) and Electoral Act (2010) as follows:

1. Organise, undertake and supervise all elections in Nigeria to the offices of the President and Vice President, the Governor and Deputy Governor of a state, and to the membership of

the Senate, the House of Representatives and House of assembly of each state of the Federation;

2. Register political parties in accordance with the provisions of the 1999 Constitution and the Electoral Act 2010.
3. Monitor the organisation and operation of political parties in Nigeria, including their finances;
4. Arrange for the annual examination and auditing of the funds and accounts of political parties and publish a report of the audit for public information;
5. Arrange and conduct the registration of persons qualified to vote and prepare, maintain and revise the register of voters for the purpose of any election under the Nigeria 1999 constitution;
6. Ensures that Electoral Commissioners, Electoral and Returning Officers take and subscribe to the oath of office prescribe by law;
7. Delegate any of its assigned powers to any Resident Electoral Commissioner; and
8. Carry out other duties in the 2010 Electoral Act (Electoral Act, 2010).

For INEC to successfully carryout these functions, her independence is critical. Proactively, the 1999 constitution provides for her independence by stating inter alia... and the

Independent National Electoral Commission shall not be subject to the direction or control of any other authority or person (1999; 188 (1)). So far, INEC has conclusively conducted five general elections in Nigeria. The score card is not perfect. For instance, the conduct of the 1999 and 2003 elections as reviewed by Ogbeidi (2003) shows that some staffers of the umpire connived with unruly politicians to rob would be winners of the elections. To be fair, INEC has made progress. A report by the USA Institute of Peace vetted by Bekoe (2011) on the 2011 general elections observes:

Nigeria's 2011 general elections in particular the presidential elections were seen widely as being fair. This was especially important given the poor conduct of the 2007 elections. A number of factors contributed to ensuring that Nigeria's 2011 elections were successfully administered. They include the fact that the voters register was the most accurate, and there was also adequate training and fielding of election observers. The chair of the Independent Nigerian

Electoral Commission (INEC), Prof. Attahiru Jega, was well regarded and judged independent from the government. And, the parallel vote tabulation used by domestic observers allowed poll monitors to concurrently record the results of the election along with INEC as a means to provide a check on the official results. Additionally, ordinary Nigerians were encouraged to report, via calls or texts, any incidents of fraud or violence that they witnessed or experienced.

Violence that was noticed following the declaration of the result was at best ethnic and is understood in Nigeria context where elections are often a do or die affair. The 2015 general election was even more plausible. For the first time in Nigeria history, a seating president lost election, congratulated the winner and conducted peaceful transition. Credit goes to INEC for the courage to conduct in the opinion of majority of Nigerians and the international community a credible election. The PDP and Dr.

Goodluck Jonathan also deserve commendation to relinquish power freely.

Judiciary Independence

Government power showcases itself in three forms: legislation, administration and judicial decision. It is important to the theory of the organisation of government to determine whether, and to what extent, these powers should be combined in the same persons or body of persons, or should be entrusted to three separate agencies, coordinate and mutually independent (Appadorai, 1975). Early in the modern era, Jean Bodin in the book *The Republic* published in 1576 pointed out that some separation was essential. The Prince (Head of Government) he reasoned, should not administer justice in person, but should leave such matters to independent judges. From that early conception, judiciary independence has grown to be widely accepted especially in free democratic societies. Simply put, judicial independence can be defined as the ability of a judge to decide a matter free from pressures or inducements. The Judiciary as an institution, judicial independence means the ability of the Judiciary to be independent by being separate from

government and other concentrations of power (Daudu, 2014). The principal role of an independent Judiciary is to protect the rule of law and to ensure supremacy of the law. So, regarding appointment, promotion, remuneration, retirement or dismissal, the judiciary should operate independent of the executive or legislative influence. In close regimes like the military, the judiciary is hardly allowed to function independently as articulated. The degree of state influence at the time of the appointment and security of office may decrease the autonomy of justice which is key variable used by Feld and Voigt (2003) to measure the *de facto* independence of the judiciary. Has the judiciary enjoyed independence in Nigeria? The situation is mixed.

For instance, General Yakubu Gowon compulsorily retired Chief Justice Elias in 1970 for alleged fear of disloyalty (Sani, 2011). Also, court pronouncements are routinely disregarded. That's why Justice Oputa's condemnation of executive lawlessness as captured by Sani (2011) is apt:

I can safely say that here in Nigeria even under a Military Government, the law is no

respector of persons, principalities government, or powers and that the courts stand between citizens and the state alert to see that the state or government is bound by the law and respects the law... The court system cannot be maintained without the willingness of parties to abide by the findings and orders of a competent court until reversed on appeal. This means that no party and no court of subordinate or even coordinate jurisdiction can say: I do not like the order made and I will not obey it. And that is exactly what the Lagos State Government is doing in this case.

And that posture has to be condemned in the strongest of terms if we are not to say goodbye to the rule of law.

Similarly, in the *Obeya Memorial Hospital V. Attorney General of the Federation* another instance of executive lawlessness, the Supreme Court was *ad idem* in tutoring the executive on propriety in relation to extant judicial decisions (Oyebode, 2005). However, history cannot forget easily judges who have not exhibited any signs of timidity in the interpretations of the law. The forthright stance adopted by the

Supreme Court was poignantly captured in the celebrated case of *Governor of Lagos State V. Ojukwu* where Eso JSC in his lead judgment had observed.

It is a serious matter for anyone to flout a positive order of a court and proceed to taunt the court further by seeking a remedy in higher court while still in contempt of the lower court. It is very serious when the act of flouting the order of the court... is by the Executive... Executive lawlessness is tantamount to a deliberate violation of the constitution... the essence of the rule of law is that it should never operate under the rule of force or fear. To use force to effect an act and while under the marshal of that force, seek the court's equity is an attempt to infuse fear into court and operate a sabotage of the cherished rule of law. It must never be.

Flouting of court pronouncements was prevalent under the military regimes. The return to democracy has recorded partial observance of judiciary pronouncements. Courts have removed many who illegally got to power. Professor Osonbo, Dr. Chris Ngige, etc were removed as elected Governors of Edo and Anambra States respectively. Not to be forgotten is the fact that the Court of Appeal President Justice Isa Ayo Salami was removed by

President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan for alleged impropriety. Though Justice Uwais' panel set up by the Chief Justice of the Federation found Justice Salami not guilty and criticised Justice Katsina-Alu in his capacity as CJN for not defending his colleague, President Jonathan refused to re-instate Salami. This was a major infringement on judiciary independence by the executive.

For Nigeria's democracy to be at par with those of the liberal states of the West, judiciary independence must be respected. No one is saying that the judiciary cannot err. No. But until a present decision is set aside, it should be respected. Recall that recently the Supreme Court of Nigeria had to set aside the decision of the Court of Appeal which sacked three elected governors- Udom Emmanuel, Nyesom Wike and Okezie U. Ikpeazu of Akwa Ibom, Rivers and Abia States respectively. Room for appeal which these Governors enjoyed should be utilised by others any time they feel wronged by a court pronouncements. The temple of justice *must not* be reviled by anyone, big or small.

No judge should allow himself or herself to be influenced to deliver face serving judgment. Testing of hypothesis and filling of frivolous objections to delay cases have become common place in

Nigeria. The judiciary eyes must be open to this rhetoric.

The Public Service

The public service constitutes the machinery for the delivery of public goods and development to the people. The delivery processes include habitual and efficient performance of duties by public employees. At the primary level, the public service is set up to execute policies of government, furnish government with data and statistics (inputs) needed for decision-making, regulate activities of individuals and organisations and ensures continuity of public administration (Udeh, 2015). Since the political component of government (political office holders) come and go, the public service is the permanent administrative structure which outlasts any government in power. Essentially, the functions of the public service include:

- (i) Contribute to translating the dreams and plans of the political/ruling class into concrete reality through the formulation of far-sighted policies and programmes and executing same loyally, conscientiously and effectively;
- (ii) Provide continuity between administrations;
- (iii) Serve as unifying force by

- bringing together people from all sections of the federation and providing effective and adequate social services;
- (iv) Advise the government on the full implications of various policy options open to it;
 - (v) Execute governmental policy loyally;
 - (vi) Protects public interest, as custodian of public conscience;
 - (vii) Manage government data (information) system optimally so as to facilitate availability of data for government decision-making;
 - (viii) Operate an open, humane and sensitive system which upholds the rule of law;
 - (ix) Operate a personnel management system which ensures high professionalism, significant specialisation, excellent motivation and high morale;
 - (x) Ensure prompt, effective and satisfying service delivery.

Whatever decision government makes, it is the personnel of government that will translate it to concrete programmes. In fact, what the people see is programme which helps them make meaning of what the politicians say. The public service therefore is vital to the attainment of goals and objectives of any government in power.

Code of Ethics

Ethics here means a sound culture, based on principles. A public servant should ensure compliance with the principles of law and the implementation of judicial decisions. He should perform his duties properly, efficiently, display professional discipline, integrity, equity, fairness, public spiritedness and courtesy. He should ensure at all times that public property under his responsibility is managed in the most appropriate and official manner. His conduct shall be deemed to be appropriate only when he behaves in a manner that enhances public confidence and promotes the image of the service. In addition, public officers are to observe the following as noted by Ekaidem (2007).

- i) Political neutrality and confidentiality: A civil servant should not use his post, functions or responsibility for political or partisan gains, which may be detrimental to the interests of the civil service. He should respect the confidentiality of official information to which he is puny (subordinate) by reason of his professional activities, even after leaving office, except where the law, the legitimate authority or the interest of justice requires otherwise. He should not, on the basis of his political affiliation or ideological

beliefs, seek to influence or change the policies, decisions or actions that the administration has decided to define, adopt or implement.

- ii) Integrity and Moral Rectitude: A civil servant should refrain from any activity that is inimical with ethics and morality, such as misappropriation of public funds, favouritism, nepotism, and discrimination, influence-peddling or administrative indiscretion. He should not accept, solicit or receive, directly or indirectly, any payment, gift or other advantages in kind, in return for performing or refraining from performing functions or obligations. It shall be reprehensible for a civil servant to give gifts or other advantages that might influence in his favour or in the favour of his family members and friends, the judgment or decisions of another person. A civil servant shall, under no circumstance, misuse public property or prevail upon subordinates to perform activities other than those falling within the scope of their functions or mandate.
- iii) Conflict of Interest: A civil servant should not take up function or position, engage in transactions or have any financial, commercial or material interest that might be

incompatible with his functions, responsibilities or duties. Without prejudice, to the incompatible activities already established in the laws or regulations, He should, to the extent required by his office, declare any financial and commercial interests he might have or through family members, if such interests or activities are likely to trigger conflicts of interests. In the event of any potential or actual conflict of interest between his professional status and private interest, a civil servant shall terminate activities likely to give rise to such a conflict (source).

- (iv) Professionalism and Discipline: A civil servant must be well disciplined. Regulations should be adhered to and the interests of the service should be paramount. Senior officers should prescribe code of conduct which they themselves can and should comply with. Those who wish to lead others should always remember that effective leadership involves exemplary character, hard work and integrity. Good conduct is one of the criteria for promotion. Junior officers must be familiar with Government Regulations and Rules regarding good conduct. They must learn to comply with lawful orders

and constituted authorities.

Participatory democracy as practiced in Nigeria today is people oriented. When good governance is mentioned, it is based largely on the manifestations of the programme of government as delivered by the civil service. In plain language, the success or otherwise of government is seen in the bureaucracy. When one sees for instance, the orderly movement of traffic in Uyo Capital City, the timely construction of roads in Akwa Ibom, arrest and trial of treasury looters in Nigeria, it tells of a working public service. Also, tales of an ineffective public service equally abounds which is why the nation as a whole has refused to move.

Conclusion

Internal party democracy and good governance are vital ingredients to consolidation of modern democracy and stability. The Bill of Rights domesticated in Nigeria's constitution is to guarantee and expand the reach of liberty, justice, transparency and the rule of law for all. Citizen's view of the government is based largely on what they see and less of what is heard. Since government comes and goes, the public service must be effectively mobilised to deliver

government programme to the people. This work has also shown that institutions such as the political party, the judiciary, INEC and security services are pivotal in the deepening and sustaining democracy in Nigeria. The independence of the judiciary becomes an essential democratic ingredient, but perhaps of greater import is the integrity of the judges. Also, government must respect positive pronouncements of courts even if it involves a member of the opposition political party.

Nigerians love democracy and have sacrificed for it. Politicians must eschew traditional greedy material accumulation of needless wealth. Remember that in an open free contest such as Nigeria is beginning to have political party to be judged on concrete deliverables not on sentiments. The ground must be hit running with people oriented programmes geared towards eradication of poverty in Africa's most populous democracy and Nigeria in particular. With corruption and stolen mandate addressed, only candidates with track record of success will win the people' mandate moving forward.

Recommendations

The paper recommended that the following needs to be established to foster

unity, peace, stability and developments in Nigeria:

- i. To entrench respect for citizens' rights and choices to electing their leaders.
- ii. To establish independent democratic institutions with significant powers to exercise their constitutional roles.
- iii. To shun partisan politics of sentiments, selfish-ambition with corporate politics of collective interests.
- iv. Money-bag and patron-client politics of God-fatherism ought to be dramatically down played to allow for realistic socio-economic delivery to the citizens.
- v. For a viable democratic society, access to opportunities, capacity building and justice guarantees development.
- vi. Politics of zero-sum game or winner-takes-all tendencies need to be adequately reduced to the background in order to allow for consensus and compromise between contestants and opposition parties in the overall interest of the nation.

References

- Abeje, A., 2013. Party system institutionalization and the prospect of democratic consolidation in Ethiopia. *European Scientific Journal*, 9(23): 315-328. *View at Google Scholar*
- Appadorai, A., 1975. *The substance of politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Attahiru M. Jega March 15, 2023. A lecture delivered at the AIG Public Leaders Programme Closing Ceremony at Freser Suites, Abuja; titles "Public Sector Leadership in Time of Crises".
- Attahir M. Jega November 29-30, 2022. *Political Parties, Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria: Emerging Issues and Needed Interventions*, a Lecture delivered at Transcorp-Hilton, Abuja; organised by NIPSS-PPLPDC
- Attahiru M. Jega December 9, 2022. *Convocation Lecture Delivered at Al-Hikima University Ilori by H.E Ambassador Ibrahim A. Gambari*; titles "Democratic Transition and Challenges of Good Governance and Human Security in Nigeria.
- Bassey, E., 2010. *Electoral administration in Nigeria, A diagnostic and prescriptive analysis 1999 -2008*. Unpublished M. Sc. Dissertation, University of Uyo, Nigeria.
- Bekoe, A., 2011. *Nigeria's 2011 elections: Best run, but most violent*. Washington, D.C: United States Institute of Peace. Blondel, J., 1969. *Comparative government: A reader*. Manchester: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Committee of Experts on Public Administration, 2006. The nature of public administration. Lagos: Concepts Publication. pp: 37. Cone, C.B., 1957. Burke and the nature of politics. London: Prentice Hall.
- Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999. Third schedule par(14) as amended. Lagos: Federal Government Press.
- Daudu, J.B., 2014. The independence of the Nigeria Judiciary in the light of Emerging Socio-Political: 1. Retrieved from <http://www.nba.org.ng/web/theindependenceofthenigerianjudiciary> [Accessed 5/7/2014].
- Doorenspleet, R., 2003. Political parties, party systems and democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa. In Salih, M. A. (Ed), African political parties: Evolution, institutionalisation and governance. London: Pluto Press. pp: 169-187.
- Ekaidem, M., 2007. Performance of the public sector in Akwa Ibom State: An appraisal of the first eight years of democracy in the Fourth Republic. Eket: Grace Point Publications. pp: 19-21.
- Electoral Act, 2010. Electoral act 2010 as Amended. Lagos: Government Press. pp: 7.
- Feld, M. and F. Voigt, 2003. The Independence of the Nigeria Judiciary in the light of Emerging Socio-Political and Security Challenges: 1. Retrieved from <http://www.nba.org.ng/web/theindependenceofthenigerianjudiciary> [Accessed 5/7/2014].
- Gunther, E., Rothenberg et al. 1995. An Irrepressible Conflict. A Review Article of ' War in History', July 1995.
- Heidar, K. and R. Koole, 2000. Parliamentary party groups compared. In: Heidar, K. and Koole, R. (Ed.). Parliamentary Party Groups in European Democracies: Political Parties behind Closed Doors. London: Routledge.
- Human Rights Watch, 2003. Nigeria: Political violence increasing before election [N1]. [Accessed October 25, 2012]. Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), 2000. Independent national electoral commission (INEC) act. Lagos: Government Press. pp: 3.
- Huntington, S., 1991. The Third Wave: Democratisation in the Twentieth Century. Volume 2, Issue 2, in the Journal of Democracy.
- Kędzia, Z. and A. Hauser, 2011. The impact of political party control over the exercise of the parliamentary mandate. Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union.
- Linz J. and Stepan A., 1996. Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Mainwaring, S., 1986. Social Movements, Party System and Democratic Consolidation, in Brazil Kellogg Institute: Working Paper no. 84, October.
- Merriam Webster Dictionary, 2023.

- Nodia, G., 1996. "Democratisation and Inter-State War": in *Journal of Democracy* Volume 7, Issue 4.
- O'Donnell, G., 1992. "On the State, Democratisation and some Conceptual Problems, a Working Paper at the Kellogg Institute for International Studies.
- Ogbeidi, M.M., 2003. A culture of failed elections: Revisiting democratic elections in Nigeria, 1959-2003. *Historia Journal*, 21(1): 43-56. *View at Google Scholar*
- Okibe, H.O., 2001. Political evolution and constitutional development in Nigeria: 1861-1999. Enugu: Marydan Publishers. Oyebode, A., 2005. Law and nation-building in Nigeria: Selected essays. Enugu: The African Press. pp: 17.
- Oladeji, F. 2022. Party-Politics and Institutionalisation in Nigeria: in the *Punch Paper*, November 1st.
- Salih, M., 2001. African democracies and African politics. London: Pluto Press.
- Sani, R., 2011. Has the judiciary failed Nigerians? Ibadan: Alpha Press. pp: 23,24.
- Scarrow, S., 2013. Political parties and democracy in theoretical and practical perspectives: Implementing intra-party democracy. Washington DC: NDI.
- Schmitter C., Philippe, January 1998. Three Temporal Dimensions to the Consolidation of Democracy. In the *Journal of International Political Science Review*, Volume 19, Issue 1.
- Stoker, G., 1998. Governance as theory: Five propositions. Massachusetts: UNESCO.
- Udeh, G.N., 2015. Job satisfaction and attitude to work: Implications for Akwa Ibom State Civil Service. *Global Journal of Political Science and Administration*, 3(4): 10-24. *View at Google Scholar*
- Udeh, G.N., 2016. Political architecture, Electoral dynamics and public delivery of Nigeria's Fourth republic: An assessment. *International Journal of Asian Social Science*, 7(2): 41-51. *View at Google Scholar*
- United Nations Development Programme, 2014. Human Development Report 2014. New York; USA.

NON-STATE ACTORS AND THE MANAGEMENT OF LIBERIAN REFUGEES IN ORU-IJEBU REFUGEE CAMP IN NIGERIA, 1990-2007

OLUSESAN ADEWUNMI OSUNKOYA

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & DIPLOMATIC STUDIES, TAI SOLARIN UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, IJAGUN |
sesanosunkoya@gmail.com / solaade2007@ymail.com

ABSTRACT

This paper critically interrogates the role of the non-state actors in the management of Liberian refugees Oru-Ijebu Refugee camp in Nigeria between 1990 and 2007. Nigeria was one of major host countries of Liberian refugees in West Africa in particular and Africa in general during this period of study. The non-state actors played significant roles in the management of Liberian refugees in Oru-Ijebu refugee camp. Through effective collaboration with the Nigerian government as well as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee (UNHCR), the non-state actors succeeded in managing Liberian refugees in Oru-Ijebu refugee camp in Nigeria. The main non-state actors that played significant role in the management of Liberian refugees in Oru-Ijebu refugee camp in Nigeria during this period were Nigerian Red Cross Society (NRCS), Justice Development and Peace Commission (JDPC) and African Refugee Foundation (AREF). These non-state actors provided necessary humanitarian assistance to the Liberian refugees who were housed in Oru-Ijebu Refugee camp in Nigeria during this period. The methodology adopted in the study was historical, thematic, qualitative and quantitative utilizing both primary and secondary sources of data collection.

Keyword: Liberian Refugees, Management, Nigeria, Non-State actors, Oru-Ijebu Refugee camp

Introduction

Generally, the displacement of innocent people out of their homeland both within and across the borders is one of the most dramatic episodes in the contemporary world. Although this humanitarian crisis is not a new phenomenon, it took a new dimension since the birth of the 21st century in different continents of the world majorly

caused by violent conflicts and environmental challenges such as climate change, desertification and so on. Several scholars and researchers have interrogated population displacement from two major perspectives. They are religious perspective and secular perspective (Osunkoya, 2022:1). The religious perspective of the forceful displacement of people has its origin in the

Holy Scriptures (the Bible and Quran). For instance, the Holy Bible is full of stories of forcefully displaced people occasioned by famine, natural disaster/climate change, persecution and violence. They included Abraham and Sarah displaced by famine (Gen.12:10); Hagar and Ishmael displaced by persecution (Gen.21:14-16); and all of Israel displaced by oppression (Exo.12:41, 2Kings17:23 and 2 Kings24:14-15) (Revised Standard Bible). Also, the Holy Quran reveals evidences of how people were forcefully displaced. For example, Prophet Mohammed (SAW) and his faithful were forced to take refuge in Medina due to religious persecution. The *Hijra* of Prophet Mohammed (SAW) from Mecca to Medina in AD 622 could be regarded as an act of seeking refuge (Holy Quran). The term “refugee” was first coined in 1573, when it was used to describe Calvinists, who fled political repression in the Spanish-controlled Netherlands with their co-religionists and sought refuge in France. However, these refugees were not only defined as victims of persecution; they were also seen as individuals with political, religious, economic or other affiliations that aroused solidarity among those supporting similar interests in other countries and a

corresponding sense of responsibility towards them (Osunkoya, 2017:12).

The secular perspective of population displacement dates back to the earliest days of humanity and continues up till today. There were several examples of forced population displacement in different parts of the world. The initial form of population displacement was majorly caused by violent conflicts, which were both intra and inter-violent conflicts. Russian refugees of the 1917, the Jewish refugees of the 1930s; and those of post-1945 like the Hungarian refugees of the 1950s, the Vietnamese refugees of the 1970s, the Rwandan refugees of the 1990s and the Zimbabwean refugees, dawn to the twenty-first century phenomenon (Osunkoya, 2022:3). One of the violent conflicts in the contemporary times that led to mass population displacement was the Liberian civil war.

We are not interested in the detail analysis of the Liberian Civil War as this has been thoroughly discussed in the literature. Indeed, a number of scholars have interrogated the course and causes of the Liberian Civil War (Ellis, 1995: 165). Our area of interest here is to examine one of the major consequences of the war, that is, the

production of refugees in West Africa. The Liberian Civil War occurred in two major phases. The first phase lasted from 1989 to 1997; while the second phase occurred between 1999 and 2003. During these two phases, a large number of Liberians and nationals of other countries living in Liberia became refugees mostly in West Africa. According to Omeje, the Liberian civil war was the first major regionalised war in the post-colonial West Africa. Within a few years, the war directly and indirectly affected the rest of the Mano River Union (MRU –Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea) and accentuated the destabilisation of the sub-region beyond the Mano River states (Cote d’Ivoire inclusive), making the sub-region a zone of high intensity conflict (Omeje, n.d). Liberia was plunged into its first phase of violent civil war in December 1989 as a result of the invasion of the country by the Charles Taylor’s led National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) through the northern Ivorian border. Taylor’s rebellion, led to the overthrow of the autocratic and repressive rule of then President of Liberia, Sergeant Samuel Doe and his eventual ascension to power in the 1997 after the conduct of the democratic elections (Vinck et al 2011). The restoration of peace to the country in 1996 was the

result of the activities of the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). Following the successful peace keeping operations of the ECOWAS in Liberia, violence abated leading to the establishment of a ceasefire agreement between the warring factions. Although there are conflicting figures with respect to the number of refugees produced by the war, Cain observes that during this phase of the war, about 750, 000 refugees and more than 1.2 million internally displaced persons were recorded (Cain, 1999:265-307). Similarly, Dick and Boer argue that, the seven years of violence and bloodshed in Liberia caused the death of about 200,000 people out of a pre-war population of 2.8 million, while more than half of the country’s population was forced to flee their homes. Approximately 1.2 million persons were displaced within Liberia, while about 700,000 refugees fled Liberia to neighbouring countries (Dick and Boer, 2001). Also, the UNHCR estimated that 160,000 Liberian refugees were in Cote d’Ivoire, 235,000 in Guinea, 14,000 in Sierra Leone and 17,000 in Ghana at the end of 1996 (UNCHR, 2003).

Nevertheless, the cease-fire of 1996 was short-lived as longstanding and simmering ethnic tension, corruption, persecution and

abject poverty of the people threw the country back into a second civil war in 1999 barely; two years after Charles Taylor was elected as Executive President (Kieh and Klay, 2009). During the five-year civil war (1999-2003), widely described as the country's second phase of civil war, Liberia was besieged by violent confrontations as Taylor's NPFL, the Liberian United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) struggled for power. The LURD and MODEL were the two major rebel groups formed in the country to force Charles Taylor out of office. The second phase of Liberian civil war caused by these rebel groups produced more refugees, who fled the country to escape the repeated skirmishes between the rebel groups and Charles Taylor's army (Levitt, 2005). The crisis continued until the signing of a Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2003, which led to the attainment of appreciable peace and stability in Liberia (Vinck et al, 2011). According to the estimate of the US Committee for Refugees in 2002, about 80,000 Liberians were internally displaced at the end of 2001 (US Committee for Refugee, 2002). By February 2003, another 6,000 Liberians had fled from Liberia to Sierra Leone, while 30,000 internally

displaced people (IDPs) sought refuge near Monrovia (UNHCR, 2003). During the 14-year civil war in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Cote d' Ivoire, Nigeria and Ghana were host countries of Liberian refugees. The brutal war in Liberia created a humanitarian crisis that threatened the security and stability of the whole sub-region. For example, by November 1990, the number of Liberian refugees in neighbouring countries in West Africa could be seen in the below table.

Table 1: Host Countries of Liberian Refugees in West Africa as at November 1990

S/N	Host countries of Liberian Refugees	Number of Liberian Refugees
1	Guinea	311,000
2	Cote d'Ivoire	193,000
3	Sierra Leone	130,000
4	Ghana	34,000
5	Nigeria	6,000
	Total	674,000

Source: Maxwell Owusu. (2000). Reluctant Refugees: Liberians in Ghana. *The Journal*, Vol.7, Issue 3,

It is against this backdrop that this paper is divided into four major sections. Section one introduces the discussion and the methodology adopted for the study. The

second section focuses on the emergence of Liberian Refugees and the Establishment of Oru-Ijebu refugee camp in Nigeria. The third part critically examines the non-state actors and the management of Liberian refugees in Nigeria. The last section is the conclusion.

Methodology

The methodology adopted in this paper is historical, thematic and analytical. Sources of data collection are primary and secondary. The main primary source used in this paper was oral interview. Intensive oral interview was conducted with key informants, which comprised officials of Oru-Ijebu Camp and important personalities in Oru-Ijebu community. The secondary sources include books, journal articles, government publications, newspapers and magazines which were obtained from University Libraries at Lagos, Ago-Iwoye, Ijebu-Ode, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and research websites online. Data collected were subjected to historical analysis.

Discussions

The Establishment of Oru-Ijebu Refugee Camp and the Emergence of Liberian Refugees Nigeria, 1990-2007

The problem of refugees in West Africa was one of the major issues that dominated the Nigerian Foreign Policy for the sub-region. From 1990, Nigeria's foreign relations in West Africa took a new dimension. Under the auspices of the ECOMOG, Nigeria has had to intervene again and again in other member states beginning with Liberia in 1990. The first phase of Liberian civil war, which lasted from 1990 to 1997, became a turning point in Nigeria's refugee policy. The bloody insurgency, which quickly degenerated into a vicious civil war was accompanied by mass killings of innocent people, gross violation of human rights, large scale internal displacement and huge flow of refugees across the West African region and beyond. Nigeria became one of the host countries of Liberian refugees in West Africa. It was this development that informed the enactment of Decree (later Act) on 29 December, 1989 aimed at protecting refugees in Nigeria. The primary refugee policy governing refugees in Nigeria is contained in the Federal Government Decree of 1989. In that year, the Federal Government under the leadership of Gen. Ibrahim Babangida issued Decree 52 of 1989 (Act 1989, Cap 244 Laws of the Federation in 1990). The Act incorporated the 1951 United Nations Convention

relating to the Status of Refugees, the 1967 Protocol and the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee problems in Africa. The Act prohibited the refusal of entry, expulsion, extradition or return of persons seeking refuge, until the determination of their status. Indeed, Section 1, sub-section 3 stipulates that: No person, claiming to be a refugee within the meaning of this Act who has illegally entered into or is illegally present in Nigeria, shall be expelled, extradited or returned merely by reason of his illegal entry or presence in Nigeria or any part of Nigeria pending the determination of his application for a refugee status.

It was this Act that led to the establishment of a body known as the National Commission for Refugees (NCFR), charged with the responsibility of safeguarding the interest and treatment of persons, who are seeking to become refugees in Nigeria or persons seeking political asylum in Nigeria and other matters incidental thereto. In other words, the NCFR Act provided the legal and administrative framework for refugee management. It also set out guidelines for application and determination of refugee status in Nigeria (NCFR Act). Nigeria successfully domesticated international and

African refugee conventions through the enactment of the NCFR Act. The introduction of the refugee Act in Nigeria contributed largely to the emergence of Liberian refugees in the country from the 1990s. Prior to the enactment of the Act, Nigeria had hosted immigrants from other countries in the sub-region and other parts of Africa, most especially from Benin Republic, Niger Republic, Cameroun, Chad (her immediate neighbours) and Ghana. Although Nigeria was a major host country of Liberian refugees in West Africa, she had few population compared to other countries such as Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast (now Cote d' Ivoire) and Sierra Leone. One major reason responsible for this was that Liberia is not an immediate neighbour of Nigeria unlike Guinea and Sierra Leone (who are members of Mano River Union with Liberia). The largest number of displaced Liberians was found in Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, and Sierra Leone (Ranard, 2005); with significant few in Nigeria. According to Nmoma, the bulk of Liberian refugees fled in large numbers to Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Sierra Leone, while Nigeria, Ghana, Mali, and Gambia hosted smaller numbers (Nmoma, 1997). There are conflicting figures in the total number of Liberians that became refugees in West

Africa during the 14-year civil war (1999-2003) in Liberia. For instance, while Ranard observes that the Liberian refugees in West Africa swelled to 700,000, **Nmoma argues that** the civil war initially produced 800,000 Liberians as refugees in West Africa (Nmoma, 1997). According to the report of UNHCR about 325,000 of the refugees sought asylum in Guinea, 300,000 in Cote d'Ivoire, 125,000 in Sierra Leone, 8,000 in Ghana, and 1,500 in Nigeria (UNHCR, 2003). UNHCR reported that at the height of the war, 700,000 people fled the country out of an estimated pre-war population of 2.4 million. In addition, an undisclosed number of Liberians were uprooted and displaced within the country (UNHCR, 1999).

The emergence of formal refugee camp in Nigeria was facilitated by the promulgation of Refugee Law in 1989 occasioned by the Liberian Civil War, which led to the influx of Liberian refugees to the country. Evidences from the existing studies reveal that before this time, there was no permanent settlement built for refugees in Nigeria. The need to set up a temporary refugee settlement mainly for the purpose of receiving refugees from West Africa in particular and Africa in general was facilitated by the outbreak of civil war in

Liberia in 1989. As a result of this development, the then Federal Military Government of Nigeria decided to establish a refugee camp (known as Oru Refugee Camp), mainly to receive Liberian refugees in 1990. Although there were Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) camps in some states in Nigeria, the Oru Refugee camp located in Oru-Ijebu, Ogun State was the only major refugee camp in Nigeria that received supports from the governments of Nigeria (Federal and State) as well as local and foreign or international agencies during this period of study. At its initial stage, the camp hosted refugees from Liberia. However, as time went on, especially following the outbreak of civil war in Sierra Leone in 1991, the camp began to host Sierra Leonean refugees. By 2006, the camp had housed about 5000 Liberian refugees, 700 Sierra Leonean refugees and a small group of displaced people from Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Chad Rwanda, Cote d' Ivoire and Central African Republic (The Guardian, 2006).

The Oru-Ijebu Refugee Camp was established in 1990 at Oru-Ijebu, via Ijebu-Ode in the then Ijebu North Local Government Area of Ogun State. Oru-Ijebu is one of the Ijebu speaking communities in

Ogun state. The camp was set up by the Federal Government of Nigeria, but managed by the National Commission for Refugees (NCR), which functioned directly under the presidency. This site, where the Liberian refugees were settled at Oru-Ijebu was formerly used as a teacher training college. The infrastructures available were rehabilitated in order to provide adequate comfort for the refugees. The camp compound was surrounded by barbed wire, and non-threatening armed personnel guarded the gate. The refugees were housed in dormitories, classrooms and other available building spaces on the camp (Ugwuegbu, 2001:2-3). As time went on refugees from Sierra Leone, DR Congo, Sudan, Rwanda, Ivory Coast, Cameroon were later brought to Oru camp. According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), as at January 2007, there were 8,768 refugees and 676 asylum seekers in Nigeria. Out of these figures 4,158 lived in Oru-Ijebu camp while others were scattered across the nook and cranny of Lagos State. Of the 4,158 refugees in the Oru-Ijebu refugee camp, 3,289 were Liberians, 800 were Sierra Leoneans and 69 were nationals of other African countries (UNHCR, 2007).

The first batch of Liberian refugees to Nigeria arrived by sea via Lagos in 1990. They were later taken to the camp set up at Oru-Ijebu village, via Ijebu-Ode in Ogun State (Ugwuegbu, 2001:1). According to the Nation newspaper, close to 10,000 refugees between 1992 and 2006 flocked Oru-Ijebu refugee camp (Akioye, 2014). A detailed examination of the establishment of the camp is treated later in this chapter. Since the passage of the Refugee Law in 1989, Nigeria has become an important destination country for migrants in the West African region in particular and Africa in general. Although the influx of refugees into Nigeria actually began in the 1990, occasioned by the civil war in Liberia, they were later joined by refugees from Sierra Leone (which was also engulfed in civil war that started in 1991). According to the National Population Commission, available figures indicate that the number of immigrants (refugees inclusive) residing in Nigeria has more than doubled in recent decades, from 477,135 in 1991 to 971,450 in 2005 (NPC, 1991 and Osunkoya, 2017). However, immigrants make up only 0.7 per cent of the total population of Nigeria. The majority of immigrants in Nigeria are from ECOWAS countries specifically from Benin, Ghana, Mali, Liberia and Sierra

Leone. Of the overall number of immigrant stock in the country as at 2007, the refugees constituted a small proportion of 0.9%, with Liberians as the majority (Afolayan, 2009:3).

Findings

The Non-State Actors and the Management of Liberian Refugees in Oru-Ijebu Refugee camp

The role of non-state actors in the management of Liberian refugees in Oru-Ijebu refugee camp during this period cannot be overemphasized. The major non-state actors that partnered with the UNHCR as well as the Nigerian government in the management of Liberian refugees during this period of study in Nigeria were the Nigerian Red Cross Society (NRCS), the Justice and Development Peace Commission (JDPC) and the African Refugee Foundation (AREF). Each of these non-state actors as well as their activities in the management of Liberian refugees at Oru-Ijebu Camp would be discussed.

The Nigerian Red Cross Society (NRCS) and the Management of Liberian Refugees

The Nigerian Red Cross Society (NRCS), a major non-governmental humanitarian organisation, was the main

operational partner of UNHCR for the care, maintenance and management of Liberian refugees in Nigeria between 1990 and 2007. Historically, the organization was established by an Act of Parliament of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in 1960 as an auxiliary of government responsible for disaster management, health care, first aid, youth development, organizational development programmes, social welfare and alternative to violence (This Day, 2008:1). The NRCS became the 86th Member of the National Society of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (now known as International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies) on 4 February 1961 (Bola-Solarin, 2007). Its headquarters was formerly in Lagos, but was moved to Abuja, following the relocation of the Federal Capital territory from Lagos to Abuja since 1991. The NRCS, which is a member of International Red Cross (that is now actively working for humanity in 188 countries of the world and regarded as the world's largest humanitarian organization), has over 500,000 volunteers and 300 permanent employees in Lagos; and 36 branches in the country as at 2015 (Onwe, 2015:46-52).

Generally, the mission of NRCS is to assist victims of disaster, implement health and

social welfare programmes and promote humanitarian programmes in Nigeria. Its activities range from emergency interventions during outbreaks of violence and disasters to providing First Aid and assistance to displaced persons, and to providing long-term programmes aimed at improving the situation of the most vulnerable. It acts as an auxiliary to the Nigerian Government in emergency situations. According to Onwe (2015), the driving principles of NRCS are based on humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service, unity and universality. He further highlighted the core tasks of the society among which are to:

- Monitor compliance of warring parties with the Geneva Conventions;
- organise nursing and care for the wounded on the battlefield;
- supervise the treatment of prisoners of war and make confidential interventions with detaining authorities;
- help with the search for missing persons in an armed conflict;
- organize protection and care for civil populations; and
- act as a neutral intermediary between warring parties (Onwe, 2015:46-52).

The NRCS participated actively in the management of Liberian refugees in Oru-

Ijebu refugee camp between 1990 and 2007. In fact, her activities began with the inception of Liberian refugees on the Nigeria's soil in 1990. Following the arrival of Liberian refugees at Apapa port, Lagos, it was the NRCS that arranged for their evacuation from the port to Oru-Ijebu (NRCS, 2004:2). The location where the refugees were taken to at Oru-Ijebu in 1990 was identified by Mr Yinka Fashina (Adebanjo, 2016). Following the arrival of the Liberian refugees in Oru-Ijebu camp, there was shortage of accommodation. This development forced some Liberian refugees to use classrooms within the camp as rooms. The major role played by the Nigerian Red Cross Society towards addressing the challenge of inadequate accommodation for Liberian refugees at Oru-Ijebu camp was that they provided 35 big tents and 38 rolls of plastic sheeting for the construction of shelters for the refugees (NRCS, 2004:2). Also, the activities of NRSC were more visible in the areas of the distribution of both food and non-food items; as well as provision of health services to the refugees. The active involvement of NRCS in the management of Liberian refugees in Oru-Ijebu camp was facilitated by the formal agreement between the Society and the UNHCR. As stated in the previous chapter

of this work, a written agreement was signed between the two organisations over the management of Liberian refugees in Nigeria in 1990. The agreement stated the respective agencies' areas of responsibilities to the refugees. For example, while the NRCS was charged with the responsibility of the distribution of food and non-food items, health care services among others, UNHCR comprised funding, shelter and protection. Their activities were reviewed and renewed annually, especially between 1990 and 2007 ((NRCS, 2004:2 and Osunkoya, 2017)

In the area of distribution of food and non-food items, the NRCS received a request from the UNHCR in June 2003 to render assistance to Liberian refugees who sought for asylum in Nigeria (Osunkoya, 2017:24). In that year, a total of about 1,986 Liberians/asylum seekers arrived in Nigeria. These asylum seekers, which included 858 women, 564 children and 564 men were accommodated at the Oru-Ijebu refugee camp (NRCS, 2004:2). Following their arrival, the Lagos office of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies received a letter from the UNHCR office in Lagos, requesting the Federation to assist with food and non-food items for the initial two months of the arrival of the

Liberian refugees. Similarly, on 19 June 2003, in a separate letter sent to the Nigerian Red Cross Society, the UNHCR office in Lagos made an appeal to the National Society to assist some 2,000 Liberian refugees with food and non-food items for a period of one month. NRCS responded positively by undertaking a one-time distribution of non-food items to about 2,000 Liberian asylum seekers at the Oru-Ijebu Camp (NRCS, 2004:2). Notable among major non-food items provided for the Liberian refugees at the Oru-Ijebu camp by the NRCS were first aid kits (20 units); tents (100 big and small size); stretchers (100); plastic sheeting (100 rolls, size 30m x 10m); disinfectant (24 tins/4 liters for watsan); and dressing materials (10 boxes) (NRCS, 2004:2).

In the area of health services, the role of NRSC was significant. The NRSC collaborated with the NCFR to run the only clinic in the camp, which was set up by the Federal government. Aside the provision of health education programmes to the refugees within the camp, the agency was in charge of the administration of the clinic. The NRCS had a nurse (who was also a member of the organisation) who worked at the clinic (Opeyemi, 2016). Also, the NRCS had two

or three members of staff (mostly medical attendants) on ground at the clinic for the purpose of assisting the resident Corps medical doctor and the Red Cross nurse (Adebanjo, 2016). Chronic health issues such as caesarean operation that could not be handled at the clinic were referred to Ijebu-Igbo General Hospitals or Ogun State University Teaching Hospital (OSUTH), Shagam (now known as Olabisi Onabanjo University Teaching Hospital-OOOUTH) or Military Hospital Lagos for better treatment (Orebiyi, 2016).

Justice, Development and Peace Commission (JDPC) and the Management of Liberian Refugees

Justice, Development and Peace Commission (JDPC) is another major non-governmental agency that partnered with the UNHCR in the management of Liberian refugees at Oru-Ijebu Refugee Camp. The role of JDPC in the management of Liberian refugees in Oru-Ijebu refugee camp during this period of study could be seen in the areas of education and skill acquisition (Odumosu et al, 2009). Historically, the JDPC is an arm of the Catholic Church set up by the Catholic Bishops Conference of Nigeria (CBCN). The origin of the commission could be traced to January 6,

1967 when Pope Paul VI inaugurated the Pontifical Commission with a definite mandate to carry on the mission of the Church in preaching and working for peace among humanity (Etchegaray, 2002:9). This led to the establishment of the Pontifical Commission at the international level. Following this development, a Pan-African Justice and Peace Conference was held in Lesotho from May 29 to June 3, 1988, where thirty resolutions were passed. Prominent among the resolutions was on the urgent need to establish permanent justice and peace structures at national and regional levels by the different episcopal conferences, especially for those where there were none or where the structures were weak (Etchegaray, 2002:9).

The mandate for the establishment of a Justice and Peace Commission was made more emphatic by Pope John Paul II (1995: 9), in his Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation on the Church in Africa. It was in a swift response to these admonitions of the Holy Father that the issues of justice and peace became top priorities on the agenda of the Catholic Bishops Conference of Nigeria. Several conferences were held by CBCN geared towards the establishment of peace commission (Etchegaray, 2002:9).

Eventually, by the 1990s, a number of Catholic Dioceses (such as Ibadan and Ijebu-Ode Dioceses) decided to set up Justice, Development and Peace Commission. Prior to the year 2000, the JDPC was an independent department in the Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria, which also served as its national secretariat. Following reorganisation, the JDPC was brought under the Church's Department of Church and Society. The JDPC has a national secretariat (that is the Justice, Development and Peace Committee in the Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria (CSN)) and is headed by the Director of Church and Society. The secretariat/committee serves as the resource centre for the national JDPC activities and reports to the CBCN on its activities through its director. At the provincial level, the JDPC has a coordinator, while at the diocesan level, each Catholic bishop appoints a JDPC coordinator for the diocese to animate, mobilize, and keep the JDPC effective in the entire diocese. The coordinator could be a priest, a nun, or a lay faithful (Odoemene, A. 2012:51-76). Although there are other lower structures of the JDPC, our interest here lies in Ijebu-Ode Catholic Diocese. The JDPC's corporate mission in Ijebu- Ode Diocese is the "promotion of sustainable and integral

human development, through holistic empowerment approach and enhancing effective structural transformation of the society without any form of discrimination", as stipulated in Article I of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (JDPC Report, 2006).

Although the process of developing western education in the camp was started by the Liberian refugees themselves, it was later taken over by the JDPC. An informal nursery and primary school (which started in the form of private school) was initially developed by the refugees in 1991 (Sigbeku, 2016). The pupils usually gathered in a small room within the camp and were taught by about eight refugees as teachers. The JDPC took over and began the payment of salaries of the refugee teachers, which ranged between #300 and #500 per month. Aside the salary, the refugee teachers were also fed by the JDPC. They provided the pupils with some stationery like pencil, pen, ruler, eraser and exercise books (Ossai, 2016). As time went on, the UNHCR and the Ijebu North Local government approached the Ogun state government for the approval and taken over of the administration of the school. The school, named Liberian Refugee Primary School

was later approved by Ogun state government in 1998 and transformed into a public primary school. Following the taken over of the school by the state government, about five qualified teachers were recruited and posted to the school, with one Mr. Adesanya as the head teacher (Disu, 2016). Meanwhile, the eight initial refugee teachers that taught the pupils were subjected to

proper screening by the Ogun State Primary Education Board, Abeokuta for absorption. At the end of the screening exercise, only two of them were qualified, and were formally employed by the Ogun state government (Aladesua, 2016). The picture of the primary school snapped during field work is shown below.



Figure 1: Refugee Primary School, Oru-Ijebu Refugee camp

Figure 1 above is the picture of the primary school built at Oru-Ijebu Refugee camp by the government for the refugees' children. Following the laudable role of JDPC in the promotion of western education among the

refugees in Oru-Ijebu camp, the body was approached by the UNHCR, Nigeria to assist them in implementing some educational programmes designed mainly for refugees (Aladesica, 2016). One of these

educational programmes was the Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative (DAFI) Scholarship designed mainly for the support and training of interested refugees in higher institutions. The Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative Fund (German: Deutsche Akademische Flüchtlings Initiative or DAFI) refers to grants (in form of scholarships) giving to deserving young refugees at universities, colleges and polytechnics in their host countries. The programme has been sponsored by the government of Germany since 1992 (Martin, 2003:80). DAFI was the major higher education scholarship programme pursued in the host countries of Liberian refugees in West Africa. The DAFI programme enables young refugees to continue post-secondary education as well as helps to motivate refugee children to stay in school and succeed academically. The programme was initiated by the Government of Germany in 1992. Through the programme, the government of Germany provides annually almost 100% of the funds used for financing education of the refugees. The programme grants scholarships to interested young refugees at universities, colleges and polytechnics in the host countries, and to some extent, in their country of return. The

DAFI fund is almost the only available support for refugees to acquire tertiary education. The primary objective of the DAFI Programme is to contribute to the promotion of self-reliance of men and women refugees by providing them with a professional qualification towards a gainful employment in future. Generally, the DAFI Programme aims to encourage the development of qualified human resources for the future reconstruction of refugees' home countries upon repatriation, thus supporting greater peace and stability in the concerned regions (DAFI Policy, 2012-2016 and UNHCR, 2011:2). In a nut shell, The DAFI programme aimed to achieve the following:

1. Promote self-reliance and empowerment of the sponsored student and his/her family with the skills needed for gainful employment;
2. Develop qualified human resources and build the capacity and leadership of talented refugees in order to contribute to the process of reintegration in the home country upon repatriation;
3. Contribute to the refugee community pending a durable solution or repatriation (many graduates work in

- refugee camps, particularly as teachers and community workers);
4. Facilitate integration, temporary or permanent, and contribute skills to the host country, if repatriation is not or not yet possible;
 5. Provide a role model for other refugee students, particularly for girls to advance their education and demonstrate benefits of education (UNHCR, 2006 and 2007).

Also, in order to select degree programmes by the refugees, DAFI highlighted some criteria among which are:

1. The DAFI Programme in principle sponsors the first degree at a university level. Full medicine course of study as well as post-graduate studies are supported on an exceptional basis.
2. Priority should be given to studies relevant to the job market, with a high probability of gainful employment
3. Informal vocational and skills-training courses are excluded, with the exception of para-professional training provided at polytechnic institutions and higher technical colleges.

4. The granting of new scholarships should be limited to courses of four years in duration.

In the area of implementation, the DAFI programmes may be directly implemented by UNHCR offices, provided that the organisation has sufficient staff that can actualise. However, the implementation of the DAFI Programme is often supported by an NGO partner, working under the direction and supervision of UNHCR. Since the JDPC is a major partner of UNHCR's education programme in Nigeria, it is saddled with the responsibility of implementing DAFI programme in the country. The main reason why UNHCR decided to approach JDPC in implementing DAFI was because of her track record in the management of refugee education (most especially primary and secondary education) in Oru-Ijebu camp. The activities of JDPC in the management of DAFI programme in Oru-Ijebu camp included a uniform and equitable means for the dissemination of information on DAFI scholarships in refugee community, receipt of applications, the screening of applications, and monitoring of the performance of the operational partner (UNHCR, 2006 and 2007). In the area of application for DAFI

scholarship programme, the call for applications was issued through the UNHCR Branch Office Lagos and coordinated by the JDPC officials in Oru-Ijebu camp, where potential refugee candidates could be reached. The call for applications contained the number of scholarships available for male and female students as well as eligibility requirements. However, application and forms were distributed for free. With regards to the collection of applications, qualified applicants were usually told to obtain a letter of admission, or provisional admission letter from their proposed higher institutions of study. Also, the JDPC officials assisted the UNHCR to check and verify the school certificates of the applicants. After that, the forms were sent to the UNHCR office in Lagos where the screening of the applicants was carried out.

The screening was being carried out by a multi-functional selection team, constituted by the UNHCR, Lagos Branch. The terms of reference of the selection team as provided by the UNHCR, Lagos included:

- a) confirmation of the refugee status of the applicant by UNHCR Protection Unit,
- b) assessment the socio-economic status of the applicant's family,

- c) persons with special needs,
- d) camp-based/urban refugee,
- e) ethnic, religious and community balance.

The UNHCR equally provided certain minimum requirements for consideration. These include recognized refugee status, excellent academic performance, and socio-economic status. It also recommended that applicants should be 28 years for BA scholarship and 32 for MA scholarship, one scholarship per family, and priority for female candidates. Also, the applicant, when selecting tertiary institutions were required to focus on public universities that were accredited, possessing the proper resources and conditions for study. In other words, in selecting the universities of their choice, both cost and quality of the institution should be taken into consideration by the refugees. Private institutions should be considered in cases where public ones do not have slots or courses of study available for refugee students.

With respect to interview and final selection of qualified applicants, a committee known as Selection Committee was constituted by the UNHCR, Lagos. The Committee comprised:

- i) UNHCR (two staff members, at least one of whom is in the professional Community Services or Protection category)
- ii) the German Embassy (usually the Cultural Attaché),
- iii) a representative of the JDPC,
- iv) the Implementing Partner designated by UNHCR,
- v) German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) staff
- vi) a representative of the Federal Ministry of Education
- vii) two Representatives from Oru-Ijebu (UNHCR, 2006 and 2007).

After the successful conduct of interview with prospective applicants individually, the committee's final decision was submitted to the Director of UNHCR, Lagos Branch, who would then publicly have shared the outcome with other agencies and government parties engaged in educating refugees in Nigeria (like the Ogun State government and JDPC). The list of the new DAFI scholars was also shared with Headquarters (in Germany), with their bio-data, the newly assigned DAFI scholar registration code and all relevant information about the studies (such as course of study and institutions). According

to the report of Paul Tiao, of the 105 refugees who were selected after the interview, only five were able to secure admission into tertiary institutions in Nigeria on the sponsorship of the UNHCR, through DAFI (Tiao, 1992:3). Through JDPC, DAFI programme was successful in Nigeria between 1992 and 2006. Evidences from the literature showed that following the return of Liberian refugees and well as the winding off of Oru Refugee camp by the UNHCR in 2007, DAFI programme could not be implemented further (UNHCR, 2006 and 2007). A statistical analysis of the total number of refugees that benefitted from DAFI scholarship programme in Oru-Ijebu Refugee Camp in Nigeria is presented in the below tables and bar chart.

Table 3: Summary of Refugees that benefitted from DAFI Scholarship in Nigeria in 2006

Country Operation:	Nigeria
Office:	UNHCR Nigeria UN House Plot No 617/618 Diplomatic Zone Central Area District P.M.B. 2851, Garki Abuja +234 9 461 8569
Partner:	Justice and Development Peace Commission
Total number of	15

students	
Total number of Graduates	6
Percentage of Female students	47%
Total fund allocated	\$25,718

Source: UNHCR, 2006 Annual Report on the DAFI Programme, prepared by the Technical Support Section Division of Operational Services UNHCR Geneva 29 June 2007, p.47

Table 4: Breakdown of Refugees that benefitted from DAFI Scholarship in Nigeria in 2006

Country of Origin	Number of Students	Refugees (caseloads above 5,000 since 1995)
Liberian	10	6,100
Sierra Leone	4	(under 5,000)
Sudan	1	(under 5,000)
Total	15	-

Source: UNHCR, 2006 Annual Report on the DAFI Programme prepared by the Technical Support Section Division of Operational Services UNHCR Geneva 29 June 2007, p.47

The above table shows number of refugees in Oru-Ijebu Refugee camp that benefitted from the DAFI Scholarship in 2006. Of fifteen refugees in the camp, Liberian refugees recorded the highest securing 10, followed by Sierra Leonean refugees with 4, while Sudanese refugee had only one.

Table 5: Breakdown of Fields of Study of Refugees that benefitted from DAFI Scholarship in 2006 in Nigeria

Field of Study	Male	Female	Total
Law	1	-	1
Social and Behavioural Science	2	4	6
Commercial and Business Administration	1	2	3
Mass Communication and Documentation	1	1	2
Medical Science and Health Related	1	-	1
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery	2	-	2
Total	8	7	15

Source: UNHCR, 2006 Annual Report on the DAFI Programme prepared by the Technical Support Section Division of Operational Services UNHCR Geneva 29 June 2007, p.47

The table above shows the fields of study of refugees that benefitted from the DAFI Scholarship in 2006 as well as the sex of the beneficiaries.

Table 6: Details of Liberians that Benefitted from DAFI Scholarship

S/N	NAME	Nationality	Institutions
1	Michael Baysah	Liberian	University of Benin
2	Paul Raucy	Liberian	University of Benin
3	Cherub	Liberian	Ogun State

	Anderson		University
4	John Tehtch	Liberian	University of Lagos
5	Famo Kromah	Liberian	University of Ibadan
6	Abu Sheriff	Liberian	University of Benin
7	Mohammed Sacker	Liberian	University of Ibadan
8	Fatmata Koromah	Liberian	Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria
9	Austin Sarlimah	Liberian	University of Benin
10	Yusuf Sarnah	Liberian	Ogun State University

Source: Oral interview with Mr. Tayo Ogunjobi on 14 March, 2016

The table above shows the names of Liberian refugees that benefitted from the DAFI scholarship and the universities where they were admitted in Nigeria. While majority of the beneficiaries were admitted into the University of Benin, only one each was admitted into the University of Lagos and Ahmadu Bello University.

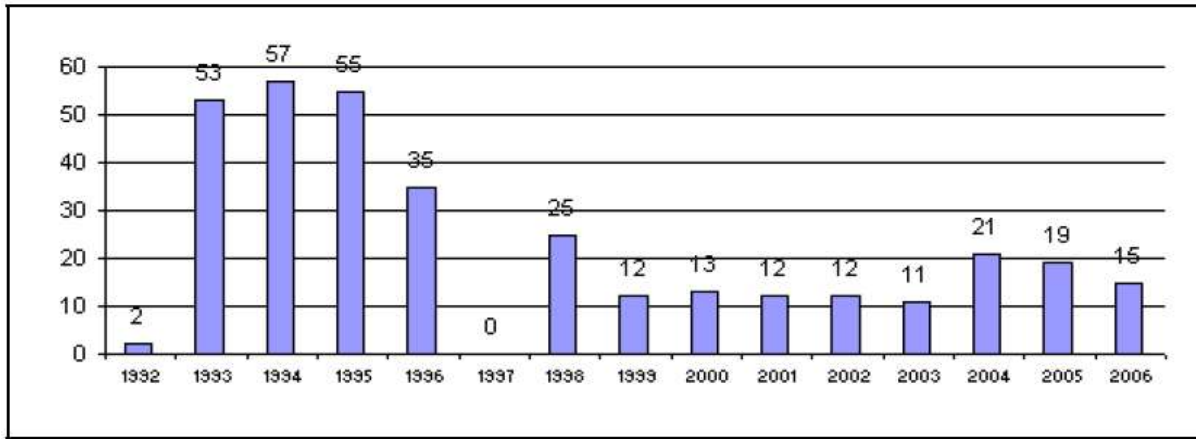


Chart 1: A Bar Chart Showing the total number of Refugees in Nigeria that Benefitted from DAFI Programme, 1992-2006 (Selected Years)

The above bar chart shows the total number of refugees at Oru-Ijebu camp that benefitted from DAFI programme between 1992 and 2006. From the bar chart, majority of the refugees benefitted from the DAFI programme in 1994, with 57 refugees. This was followed by 55 refugees in 1995. The least was in 1992, with just 2 refugees.

Similarly, the JDPC exhibited tremendous interest in terms of skill acquisition programme for the refugees in Oru-Ijebu refugee camp. A number of skill acquisition programme was developed by JDPC in the camp. According to Mrs Ossai, JDPC established a vocational training centre in the camp in order to make Liberian refugees to be self-reliant. Although majority of the

participants were female, the male Liberian refugees equally participated in the programme. The skill acquisition programme covered a number of activities such as hairdressing, tailoring, carpentry, home making/decoration and so on. Experts

from different aspects of this programme were invited by JDPC to educate participants (Ogunjobi, 2016). The figure 2 below shows the building using for various skill acquisition programme.



Figure 2: Skill Acquisition Building at Oru-Ijebu Refugee camp

Figure 2 above is a skill acquisition building built for refugees at Oru-Ijebu Refugee camp, where different kinds of skills such as tailoring, hairdressing and so on were being carried out.

The African Refugee Foundation (AREF) and the Management of Liberian Refugees

The African Refugee Foundation (AREF) is another major non-state actor that played a significant role in the management of

Liberian refugees in Oru-Ijebu Camp. AREF is an humanitarian, non-profit, and voluntary development organization set up in September 1993 by late Ambassador Olusegun Olusola, a former Nigerian Ambassador to Ethiopia. The organisation was saddled with the responsibilities of identifying the root causes of refugees and internal displacement, and managing the effects. Ambassador Olusegun decided to set up the organisation ostensibly to involve Africans and Nigerians specifically in the

management of refugees. While in Addis Ababa, he observed that many of the NGOs that were helping the African refugees were European and American based. Thus, having returned to Nigeria, he decided to set up the organization (Akin, 2002:61).

From the inception, AREF played a unique mediatory role in African refugee situation as well as developed various strategies to alleviate the plight of refugees and internally displaced persons all over the continent. With respect to Nigeria, AREF's major activities towards the management of refugees in Oru-Ijebu camp especially between 1993 and 2007 centred mainly on organising vocational training programmes for the refugees (Akin, 2002:61). The organisation also provided food items and relief materials such as clothing, utensils to the refugees (Lawrence, 2016). In 2007 when the UNHCR was planning to close the camp, the organization under the leadership of Ambassador Olusola organised programmes for the massive repatriation of Liberian refugees. They solicited for money from important Nigerian personalities, which would enable the refugees to become self-sufficient after returning to Liberia (Lawrence, 2016).

Summary and Conclusion

The foregoing has examined the significant role played by the non-state actors in the management of Liberian refugees in Nigeria between 1990 and 2007. It argued that the non-state actors were major stakeholders in the management of Liberian refugees at Oru-Ijebu refugee camp in Nigeria during this period. The non-state actors which comprised the Nigerian Red Cross Society (NRCS), Justice Development and Peace Commission (JDPC) and African Refugee Foundation (AREF) worked in collaboration with the UNHCR and the government of Nigeria in the effective management of the refugees. It submitted that these non-state actors helped the UNHCR as well as the government of Nigeria in achieving their goals towards effective management of the Liberian refugees during this period.

References

- Afolayan, A. 2009. Migration in Nigeria: A Country Profile. International Organization for Migration. Geneva, p.3
- Akin Iroko. 2002. *Segun Olusola: The Real Village Headmaster*. Lagos: Concept Publications Limited
- Akioye, Seun. (2014). The Nation Online: “Why we are still in Nigeria, by Liberian refugees”, March 05,
- Bola-Solarin, B. (2007). Thirty Years of the Protocols Additional to the Geneva Conventions: The journey so far. Patrick Bawa, Sheba Corti and Blessing Ejiofor (eds) The Humanitarian
- Cain, K.L.(1999). The rape of Dinah: Human Rights, civil war in Liberia and evil triumphant. *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol.21, No.2, pp.265-307
- Chapter 21 Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 2001
- DAFI Policy and Guidelines 4th Edition Education Strategy 2012-2016: UNHCR IOM/FOIM 055/056/2011
- Dick, S. and Boer, W. (2001) *The Spirits are Angry: Liberia’s Secret Cults in the Service of Civil War*, Books
- Ellis, S. 1995. Liberia 1989-1994, A Study of Ethnic and Spiritual Violence. *African Affairs*, 94:165–197
- Etchegaray, R. (2002). Witness to a Genesis.” In *Justice and Peace: An Ever Present Challenge*. Rome: Vatican Press
- Guardian, Sunday (2006): Nigeria’s Contribution to Refugees is Higher than those of other Donors’ -UN Envoy, April 30
- Information Bulletin of NRCS: Nigeria: Assistance to Liberian Asylum Seekers, 31 March, 2004
- Interview with Mr Adebajo, National Accountant, NRCS, on 10 April, 2016
- Interview with Mrs. Opeyemi, G. Representative of Nigerian Red Cross at Oru camp on 20 April, 2016
- Interview with Mr. Adebajo, National Accountant, NRCS on 16 April, 2016
- Interview with Mr Orebiyi, National Secretary, NRCS, on 16 April, 2016
- Interview with Mrs. Sigbeku, B, Nigerian Red Cross, Osogbo Branch on 6 April, 2016
- Interview with Mrs. Ossai, R, JDPC, Ijebu-Ode Branch on 6 May, 2016
- Interview with Mrs. Disu, I, JDPC, Ijebu-Ode Branch on 6 May, 2016
- Interview with Mrs. Aladesua, I, JDPC, Ijebu-Ode Branch on 6 May, 2016
- Interview with Mrs Yewande Aladesica, JDPC, Ijebu-Ode Branch on 6 May, 2016
- Interview Mr. Ogunjobi Tayo, Former Deputy Commandant, Oru refugee camp on 6 Marc, 2016
- Interview with Mr. Lawrence Tarlue, A Liberian refugee at Oru Ijebu on 11 April, 2016¹
- Justice, Development and Peace Commission (JDPC), Ijebu-Ode Catholic

- Diocese, Ogun State, Nigeria,” An introductory handbill
- Kieh, J and Klay, G (2009).The roots of the second Liberian civil war. *International Journal on World Peace*, 1
- Levitt, J.I. (2005). *The evolution of deadly conflict in Liberia: From paternalism to state collapse*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press
- Martin, Susan Forbes (2003). [Refugee Women](#). Lexington Books.
- National Population Commission (NPC), 1991 *International Migration Statistics*. Annual Summary, January–December 1991
- Nmoma, V. (1997). The Civil War and the Refugee Crisis in Liberia. *Journal of Conflict Studies*, Vol 17, No 1, Vol. XVII No. 1,
- Odoemene, A. (2012). Oiling the Frictions in Socio-political Conflicts: Faith-based Institutional Leadership of the JDPC in Grassroots Peacemaking in Nigeria. *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, Vol. 2, No. 2, West African Research Association Peace Initiative Conferences in Sierra Leone (2010) and Cape Verde (2011), Fall,pp. 51-76
- Odumosu, Olakunle, Rasheed Olaniyi, and Sunday Alonge. (2009). “Mapping the Activities of Faith-based Organizations in Development in Nigeria. Birmingham: Religions and Development (RaD).” *Working Paper* 38.
- Omeje, K. n.d. Conflicts in West Africa: Introduction: Conceptual Analysis
- Onwe, S.O. (2015). Appraisal of the Nigerian Red Cross Society’s Intervention on the Protracted Refugee Situations of the Displaced Bakassi People. *Journal of Culture, Society and Development*, pp.46-52
- Osunkoya, O.A. (2017). A Comparative Study Of The Management Of Liberian Refugees In Nigeria And Ghana, 1990-2007. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History and International Studies, Lagos State University
- Osunkoya, O.A. (2022). The UNCHR and the Management of Liberian Refugees in Nigeria, 1990-2007. *Wukari International Studies Journal*, Vol.6, No.2, pp1-23
- Owusu, M. (2000). Reluctant Refugees: Liberians in Ghana. *The Journal*, Vol.7, Issue 3,
- Ranard, D.A (ed). (2005). *Liberians: An Introduction to their History and Culture*. Washington DC: Center for Applied Linguistics
- This Day: “Nigeria: 500,000 Nigerians Displaced, Says Refugee Commission” 17 April 2008, pp. 1-2
- Tiao, P. (1992). The Status of Refugee Rights in Nigeria. A report of the Civil Liberties Organisation. Lagos.
- Ugwuegbu, D.C. (2001). Commentary: Mental Health Needs of Liberian Refugees in Nigeria. *The Journal of the International Institute*, Vol.8, Issue 3, Spring/Summer
- UNHCR Global Report 1999
- UNHCR 2003. Thousands Flee Liberia’s Conflict’-<http://www.unhcr.org/cgi>

UNHCR (2006) Annual Report on the DAFI Programme, prepared by the Technical Support Section Division of Operational Services UNHCR Geneva 29 June 2007

US Committee for Refugees, 2002 Country Report

Vinck, P, Pham, P N and Kreutzer, T (2011)
Talking Peace: A population-based

survey on attitudes about security, dispute resolution, and post-conflict reconstruction in Liberia. Berkeley, CA: Human Rights Center, University of California, Berkeley.

THE THEORETICAL APPRAISAL OF GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES OF THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS (MDGS)

SHEHU USMAN SANI¹, SHUAIBU MOHAMMED² & BASHIR YAHAYA³

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA
(+2348065503510), | shehusman79@yahoo.com ^{1&2}

NATIONAL BOARD FOR ARABIC AND ISLAMIC STUDIES, NBAIS ZONE VI IBADAN OYO STATE³

ABSTRACT

The Global world is a mixture of poverty and wealth, development and depression, exploitation and assistance that led to interdependence and extreme poverty in some societies. The economic disparity between North and South has existed for a long time. The issue is whether pragmatically it can continue much longer. This transcended to developing counties in Africa, Latin America and Asian. The Millennium Development Goals illustrates the failure of capitalism and markets which unfairly create and distribute wealth. Extreme poverty is the consequence of capitalism, and it cannot be eliminated through capitalism. The redistribution of wealth through market mechanism leads to corruption, incompetency, Lack of good governance, transparency, and accountability among recipient countries. Therefore, this paper examines global theoretical perspectives of the Millennium Development Goals. In order to achieve this, the paper relies on qualitative data generated from a desk review.

Keywords: Theoretical, Appraisal, Perspectives, MDGs

Introduction

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have been presented and advocated as an exemplary model to surmount the constraints of previous methodologies. Sachs (2005) acknowledges that the MDGs were amended commitments formulated by the global community throughout the years. For instance, the original strategy stipulated the attainment of universal healthcare by 1978 and universal education by 1990.

Consequently, the Millennium Development Goals were conceived for the "global family" as all nations are perceived to be part of the international community and the entire global society. As such, all nations are participants in this global family that aspires to achieve the MDGs. The MDGs are established upon a rejuvenated global alliance that unites all countries based on collective rationality. The fundamental solution to eradicate poverty is to establish

an interconnected global network that extends from destitute communities to the epicenter of global influence and affluence (Sachs, 2005). The impoverished nations of the world find themselves ensnared in a cycle of poverty that encompasses ailments, dire impoverishment, physical seclusion, environmental duress, and ecological deterioration. These countries are profoundly destitute and are unable to extricate themselves from extreme poverty autonomously. Therefore, the objective of eradicating poverty is driven by two aims: firstly, to strive for the cessation of extreme poverty, and secondly, to ensure that all individuals are afforded an opportunity to ascend the ladder of development through the realization of aid.

Sachs (2005) further argues that previous approaches to development have been unsuccessful due to their narrow focus and standardized advice, which neglected specific contexts. Furthermore, these approaches disregarded urgent issues related to poverty traps and placed the entire burden of poverty eradication on the poor countries themselves. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) aim to overcome these limitations by being quantifiable, driven by the people, and guided by a global partnership between wealthy and

impoverished nations. The MDGs are supported politically by both developed and developing countries, as well as civil society and other relevant development institutions (MDG Reports, 2005 & 2006).

The analysis of the successes or otherwise of the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have attracted a lot of discussion about who to be blamed; the internal problems inherent in the developing nations; the problem internal to capitalist development or the dependent nature of the international donor countries and organisations. Several studies were conducted empirically on the nature, implementation, and evaluation of the MDGs. Therefore, this article is theoretical in nature and relies majorly on qualitative data derived from the desk review conducted.

Millennium Development Goals in the Global World

At the World Summit in the year 2000, the participants of the United Nations (UN) established ambitious development objectives that require extensive international collaboration among all UN members and organizations. These objectives, known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), encompass

both conventional and critical approaches to development and adopt a more human-centric perspective. The primary aim is to eradicate extreme poverty by reducing the percentage of individuals living on less than \$1 per day and experiencing hunger by fifty percent, by the year 2015. The achievement of MDG 1 is contingent upon the success of MDG 2, which seeks to provide universal primary education for both genders. However, each objective is accompanied by a specific and measurable target (Peace, 2003). The ambitious objectives set forth at the Millennium Summit illustrate the UN's dedication to meeting the fundamental needs of the global population by 2015. For favorable outcomes, economic development must align with human development. There is a widespread agreement that these objectives are necessary and attainable, although there are differing viewpoints on the most suitable strategies. The World Summit in 2005 exemplified some of the disagreements surrounding the optimal approaches to achieving the MDGs. The United States sought to exclude any mention of the MDGs from the agenda, partly due to concerns about international and governmental intervention in the global economy. However, international protests compelled the US to retract its position.

Progress towards attaining the MDGs by 2015 has not been entirely encouraging. The UN Human Development Report (2005, p.18) states that the objective of the MDGs to decrease child mortality will not be successful, resulting in more than 4.4 million avoidable deaths in 2015. In the upcoming decade, the disparity between the objective and current patterns will lead to the demise of over 41 million children before their fifth birthday due to easily treatable illnesses, mostly caused by poverty. This is an outcome that presents significant challenges concerning the millennium. Furthermore, the discrepancy between the MDG objective of halving poverty and the projected results is expected to lead to an additional 380 million individuals in developing nations living on less than \$1 per day by 2015. Moreover, the MDG objective of achieving universal primary education will not be achieved, as 47 million children in developing countries are still devoid of schooling in 2015.

The MDG initiative has achieved a certain degree of success primarily due to the advancements made by China in terms of reducing poverty, promoting primary education, and attaining gender equality. The substantial economic growth and enhanced international trade of China have

positively influenced the lives of numerous Chinese individuals and have significantly impacted the statistics pertaining to MDGs. Nevertheless, Sub Saharan Africa and certain regions of South Asia have experienced deteriorating conditions. In 2008, the escalating prices of fuel and food aggravated the living and working circumstances of impoverished individuals worldwide. Consequently, individuals living in poverty and extreme poverty encountered difficulties in meeting their fundamental nutritional requirements due to inflation. The global fiscal crisis has resulted in wealthier nations being less generous in providing Official Development Assistance (ODA). Since 2005, the provision of ODA has declined and the current financial instability in advanced industrialized countries makes it unlikely for an increase in ODA to occur. Under the leadership of President Obama, the United States has embraced the MDGs as the primary means for implementing its multilateral approach to poverty alleviation and development promotion (Peace, 2003).

This clearly indicates that the MDGs in some developing countries, despite the promises and commitments in decades, the number of poor keeps on scaling up and yet it could not be able to achieve its target goals

for eradication of extremely rural poverty. As, several theoretical perspectives were advanced by scholars to analyse and evaluate the successes or otherwise of the MDGs. The next section of this paper presents the analysis of these perspectives.

Perspectives on Millennium Development Goals

Several perspectives were advanced to appraise the implementation of MDGs. Some perspectives look at the dependency nature of the goals while others look at obstacles that prevented successes of the implementation. Therefore, the perspectives (Dependency theory, Realism, Liberalism, Marxism, Constructivism, and Feminism) would be discussed in this section of the article.

Dependency Theory

Dependency theory emerged in the late 1950s with the guidance of Raul Prebisch, the Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America. The proponents of this theory were concerned by the fact that economic growth in the advanced industrialized countries did not necessarily result in growth in the poorer countries. They proposed that economic activity in the wealthy nations led to significant economic issues in the less

privileged countries. Dependency theory was seen as an explanation for the enduring poverty observed in Third World countries. According to this theory, persistent poverty is a consequence of capitalist exploitation. A related concept known as the World System Approach argued that poverty was a result of an unfair division of labor within the international political economy, which favored the advanced countries and disadvantaged the poor (Ferraro, 1996). The initial development of this theory took place in Latin America, particularly among social scientists such as Raul Prebisch, an economist from Argentina, who served as the Secretary to the UN Economic Commission for Latin America during the 1950s. The idea of dependency was further refined and expanded upon by other Latin American social scientists including Celso Furtado, Theotonio Dos Santos, and F.H Cardoso, as well as by Samir Amin from Senegal, Andre Gunder Frank from Germany, and Paul Baran and Immanuel Wallerstein. It is important to note that dependency theory is not a single, homogeneous theory, but rather a multifaceted approach. There are significant analytical variations within this school of thought. Nonetheless, dependency theory asserts that a comprehensive understanding

of the root causes of persistent global poverty cannot be achieved without considering the entire international economic system. Underdevelopment should not be seen as a static condition, but rather as an active process of impoverishment that is inherently connected to development. In other words, certain regions of the world remain underdeveloped because others have already achieved development.

The exponents of the dependency theory argued that the third world countries had remained underdeveloped because their social and economic development was being conditioned by external forces. Historically, these countries had remained colonies of the advanced capitalist nation; their looting and plunder by the metropolitan countries was the initial cause of underdevelopment (Gaub, 2003).

In summary, Dependency theory argues that relying on foreign aid rarely influences development. Therefore, the Millennium Development Goals, as an agency for promoting rural development in the African countries fall short of expectations. Its activities fail to promote sustainable livelihood among the poor masses.

Realist Perspective on Millennium Development Goals

The major proponents of Realism include Thucydides, Niccolò Machiavelli, and Hans Morgenthau. The realists posit the argument that international aid has a greater negative impact than positive (Easterly, 2006). The commendable efforts of the United Nations (UN) in attempting to fulfill the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) often result in failure. This failure is attributed to the inefficiency of international institutions in effectively administering the comprehensive plan for implementing the MDGs. The infusion of resources often leads to corruption and mismanagement within the UN and among aid recipient states. States that aim to support other nations in achieving the MDGs would be wise to allocate aid bilaterally in order to ensure proper management. An example of this approach is the establishment of the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) by the United States, overseen by the government corporation known as the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC). This initiative allows states that meet specific conditions of economic liberalization and good governance to apply for development aid (Peace, 2003). Furthermore, it is crucial to acknowledge

that China's development and progress cannot be attributed to the UN or any other global initiative. Instead, it is the result of China's ability to harness market forces for the country's development while maintaining its socialist government. The Chinese state took the responsibility of improving the lives of its citizens, even if it violated human rights domestically and engaged with oppressive regimes in Africa to secure access to raw materials and African markets. Nevertheless, if any progress has been made towards achieving the MDGs, it is largely due to China's efforts in improving the lives of its people. Meanwhile, African states are experiencing a regression.

The Realists posit the notion that the nature of humanity is not innately inclined towards benevolence, but rather towards self-centeredness and competitiveness. This particular standpoint, which is held by scholars including Thomas Hobbes, perceives human nature as being centered around the self (not necessarily driven by selfishness) and prone to conflict unless specific circumstances are present to enable coexistence among individuals. Due to the self-centeredness of nation-states in international relations, it will be difficult to

achieve international cooperation to the benefit of developing nations.

Liberal Perspective on Millennium Development Goals

The major proponents of liberalism are Adams Smith and David Ricardo among others. This perspective is premised on the notion that when states roll backward their frontiers and allow civil society organisations to intervene and contribute to the resources and expertise needed to implement the MDGs. The MDGs are attainable with the appropriate level of funding and the right economic policies. By drawing upon the ideas and resources of civil society, the international community can meet the basic human needs of the population. Neo liberals stress that the governments of the poorest states must be reformed if international efforts to meet the Millennium Development Goals are to be successful. Corrupt governments and their ill-concerned policies have contributed to the extreme poverty experienced by their citizens. The Monterrey Consensus involves good governance reforms in exchange for increased ODA. If states have failed or governments remain corrupt, then the international community can do very little (Peace, 2003).

Sachs (2005) argues that market forces are powerful; they are insufficient for reducing poverty in countries that are geographically challenged or suffer from poor infrastructure. Such countries tend to have populations that suffer debilitating diseases and have little or no access to health care. He argued that if wealthy countries increase their ODA to a combined \$150 billion, the international community could easily meet the MDG. Some liberals such as Collier (2007) argued the “bottom billion” people living in the poorest countries are slipping deeper into poverty. The MDGs may need to be refined to focus more on these individuals, 70% of whom live in Africa. Moreover, the provision of aid has a distorting effect on the economy. The ultimate solution to alleviating poverty lies in embracing free trade and open markets. Advocates of economic liberalism contend that free trade has the potential to lift countries out of poverty. In recent years, scholars and proponents of neoliberal economics have raised doubts about the efficacy of foreign aid. They assert that foreign aid does not contribute to economic growth in developing nations and the funds allocated to it are squandered. However, other experts argue that aid can indeed be beneficial in the presence of good

governance and is indispensable for saving lives in the least developed countries (Thayer, 2010 & Ibryamova, 2010). Furthermore, Sachs (2005) posits that certain countries are trapped in a perpetual cycle of poverty and foreign aid is crucial for their emancipation. In contexts such as disease prevention, humanitarian aid, and education, foreign aid can be a matter of life and death. The majority of aid proponents suggest that aid can be effective if it is targeted towards the appropriate objectives. Unfortunately, aid has often been directed towards misguided goals. Instead of focusing on the creation of physical and human capital, governments should utilize aid to establish high-quality institutions. This alternative perspective views aid as a facilitator of governance rather than merely an input for manufacturing, as the previous financial model suggested. By assisting in the development of effective institutions, aid plays a crucial role in creating the necessary infrastructure for individuals to make investments that drive economic development. In instances where governance is robust, aid is less likely to be misused by corrupt officials. Dollar, an official at the World Bank, argues that foreign aid primarily fosters the growth of high-quality institutions that empower the state to act

effectively. He contends that protecting property rights and ensuring that state bureaucracies are capable of providing essential services are vital components of this process (Qatley, 2010).

Others contend that the issue lies not in the specific aid targets, but rather in the structure of the foreign aid regime. Easterly (2006) posits that a central constraint on the effectiveness of aid lies in the multilateral organizations tasked with managing aid provision. Easterly focuses on what he terms the "foreign and cartel" phenomenon, arguing that the bureaucratic agencies responsible for delivering and administering aid prioritize projects that please their constituency over projects that would yield a greater return in developing societies. In order to achieve greater effectiveness, fundamental reform of the international organizations that oversee aid is necessary. These organizations must be answerable to their clients in developing countries. Introducing market competition in the distribution of foreign aid could foster accountability (Smith, 2011 and Farrands, 2011). The use of foreign aid as a tool for development has been the subject of extensive debate. Supporters of liberal ideology tend to advocate for aid as a valuable means of attaining development

objectives, particularly when it is targeted and well-managed. Neo-liberals and adherents of structuralism, on the other hand, criticize aid, arguing that it distorts market functioning (Hayter, 1971). Moyo (2009) in Adeyemi et al (2014) espouses a version of the established Washington Consensus in her rejection of most conventional foreign development aid practices, positing that aid distorts markets and undermines domestic capital formation, even in the absence of corruption.

The notions by scholars as implied, MDGs success is determined by proper utilization of resources, good governance, transparency, and accountability. With these enormous amounts of foreign aid, intervention given by the foreign donor development would be attained. But without that development in rural areas would be deepened. The other strand negates that developed countries must inject capital in addition to their commitment for developing countries to attain its development.

Marxist Perspective on Millennium Development Goals

The Marxists believe that the MDGs illustrate the failure of capitalism and markets which unfairly create and distribute wealth. Extreme poverty is the consequence

of capitalism, and it cannot be eliminated through capitalism. While Multinational Corporations (MNC) pay lip service to the MDGs, their participation in the Global Compact is more public relations than substantive action. MNC seeks policies that allow them to exploit raw materials, labour and market. China is one of the few success stories in part because the state is strong to regulate MNCs and its 1.3-billion-person market.

One of the targets of MDG 1 is to halve the number of people who suffer from hunger. Reaching the goal is complicated because of the dramatic rise in food prices in 2008. Marxist also stresses that IMF (International Monetary Funds) and World Bank policies eroded state investment in agriculture and state support for local farmers. The Marxists argue that socialist policies would redistribute wealth and resources and are the only way to meet the MDGs (Peace, 2003).

Constructivist Perspective on Millennium Development Goals

The constructivist theory shows how international organizations create norms and play an important coordinating role in poverty relief operations and in improving health. It was the UN that created the MDGs

and developed a system for achieving them. Throughout the 1990's, a series of development conferences were held by the UN, which brought together the State, NGOs, MNC and other actors to pursue and define the value of development. The MDG strategy revolves around the Millennium Project. The Millennium Project was commissioned in 2002 by their Secretary General Kofi Anan to develop action steps for achieving the MDGs. The project, headed by Sachs, sought to promote scholarly research efforts to tap innovative ideas for achieving the MDGs and for prioritizing operations. The project's main objective was to embed the MDGs in world activities (Peace, 2003)

Foreign aid may take the form of grants for social, economic, or military purposes; loans, particularly at concessionary interest rates reduced below market levels by donor country as a form of assistance. The American economists attempt to dispel what they considered to be some of the development debate. As with most authors within the development field, they begin with a discussion of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). They doubt, however, that cutting agricultural subsidies in wealthy countries or increasing foreign aid will help poor countries achieve the

MDGs. The main cost of subsidies they argue falls on consumers in wealthy countries, not poor countries. Moreover, given corruption in many recipient nations increasing aid will be wasted (Pevehouse and Goldstein 2008).

The year 2005 has emerged as a period of significant advancement. During the September gathering of the United Nations Millennium Summit, where leaders of affluent nations convened in New York, a notable emphasis was placed on their dedication to furthering debt relief and augmenting assistance initiatives for developing nations. The focal point of the conference, known as the Millennium Development Goals, advocated for a reduction of global poverty and hunger by half before the year 2015. The focal point of the summit will revolve around augmenting international aid to 0.7% of donors' gross national product in order to facilitate a twofold increase in aid transfers to regions facing acute need, particularly in Africa (Pevehouse and Goldstein 2008).

Feminist Perspective on Millennium Development Goals

The feminists applauded the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for including

gender issues among the goals. The United Nations (UN) acknowledges that women and girls tend to exist on the fringes of society, experiencing the greatest marginalization. They are also the least likely to reap the benefits of globalization and markets. The initial step towards progress lies in the elimination of the gender disparity prevalent in primary education. Remarkable advancements have been made by China in this particular context, while sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia seem to be moving in an unfavorable direction. This observation signifies that the reduction of agricultural subsidies, coupled with the pervasiveness of corruption in developing nations, will never lead to development in African countries. However, it is essential to note that feminist scholars have voiced their criticism regarding the absence of sexual and reproductive rights within the scope of the MDGs.

Conclusion

The disparities in progress are manifested mainly in rural areas, which require developed countries to fulfill their commitments for foreign assistance. This clearly indicates that the MDGs in developing nations despite its promises and commitment in decades, the number of poor

keeps on scaling up and yet it could not achieve its target goals for eradicating rural poverty among others. China was cited by liberal scholars as a good example of the benefactor of MDGs, but they failed to explain how China has improved the lives for so many of its people through dedication and good governance. The paper concludes that instead of foreign aid to rescue developing nations from underdevelopment, it led to continued dependence and exploitation as explained by Dependency and Marxian perspectives. The result of these is the increase in corruption, mismanagement, and poor governance.

References

- CDD (2014) The millennium development goals. Progress, prospects and policy implication. Abuja, Nigeria: Centre for Democracy and Development
- Easterly, W. (2006). *The white man's burden: Why the West's efforts to aid the rest have done so much ill and so little good*. New York: Penguin Press.
- Ferraro, V. (2008). Dependency theory: An introduction. In Giorgio, S. (ed.), *The Development Economics Reader* (pp. 58-64). London: Routledge.
- Frank, A.G (1967) *Crisis in the Third World*. New York: Holmes and Meier.
- Goldstein, J.S. & Pevehouse, J.C. (2006) *Readings in international relations*. London: Pearson Longman Inc

- Gauba, O. (2003) An introduction to political theory. India: Rajiv Macmillian India Ltd.
- Hyden, G. (2007). Governance and poverty reduction in Africa. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 104 (43), pp. 16751–16756. Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/5902334.poverty&hunger>
- Hayter, T. (1971) Aid as Imperialism. London: Penguin Book.
- Kolko, J. (1989) Third world development: The strategy debate. In Shiekh, R. A. (ed). Third world at the cross-roads. New York: Praeger. pp.13-24
- Moyo, D. (2010). Dead aid: Why aid is not working and how there is a better way for Africa. United States: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Oatley, T. (2006). Debates in international political economy. North Carolina: Pearson Education Inc
- Pease, K.S. (2003) International organization. Longman: Courier Companies Inc
- Rourke, J.T. (1991) International politics on the world stage. America: Dushki publishing Group Inc
- Sachs, J. (2005). The end of poverty: economic possibilities for our time. United Kingdom: Penguin Press.
- Smith, R. El-Anis, I. & Farrands C. (2011) International Political economy in the 21st Century: Contemporary issues and analysis. London: Pearson Education Limited.
- Thayer, B. A. (2016) Debate in international relations: London. Longman
- The Millennium Development Goals Report 2005. Retrieved from <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/mi/pdf/MDG%20Book.pdf>
- The Millennium Development Goals Report 2006. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/zh/millenniumgoals/pdf/MDGReport2006.pdf>

POLITICAL ISLAM AND STATE RECONSTRUCTION IN AFRICA

DELE ASHIRU, PHD

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS. | ashirudele@yahoo.co.uk, nashiru@unilag.edu.ng

ABSTRACT

Ever since the 1884/85 balkanization of Africa into Europeans spheres of influence at the now infamous Berlin conference, the state that was super imposed on Africa under colonialism, was merely inherited by the political elites rather than ensuring its transformation after flag independence. The state ever since has not and cannot work for the development of the African people. The state in Africa is often enmeshed in the crisis of legitimation. Not only does it alienate the people; it breeds violent conflicts, identity crisis, ethno-religious cleavages, social dislocation, political exclusion, wanton corruption, poverty, disease and squalor on the continent. This paper in a historical and analytical manner, examines the nature and character of the state in Africa. It observes that the state enjoys relative autonomy which makes it susceptible to imperialistic manipulations within a neo-colonial political economy. The paper argues that contrary to Western propaganda against Islam, political Islam has within its doctrine, socio-political and economic state reconstruction mechanisms that can alter the present socio-political formations in Africa for the benefit of the African people. The paper concludes that while not attempting to Islamize Africa, states on the continent can be reconstructed if the continent avails itself of alternative development paradigm within the Islamic tradition. These alternative paradigms include a more consensus orientated recruitment of state officials rather than the periodic acrimonious competitive election process, the interest-free banking system which guarantees the redistribution of social wealth in a more equitable manner and the poverty alleviation strategy which the Zakat institution offers amongst others.

Keywords: Cleavage, Ethno-religious, Poverty, Reconstruction

Introduction

With a few exceptions, the state in Africa as we know it today has its origin in colonialism. At the 1884/1885 infamous conference in Berlin, Africa was dubiously shared out into spheres of influence by European super powers. The agreement reached at the conference paved the way for

the long years of colonial domination and oppression of the various African states. During the years of colonialism, the states imposed on respective African countries were at the same time violently incorporated in to the world capitalist system as a weak and junior partner. This singular act facilitated the extensive exploitation and

expropriation of the huge mineral and material resources in the continent such as rubber, diamonds, gold, ivory etc.

The artificial boundaries created at Berlin have continued to have reverberating effects on the social, economic and political lives of the citizens of Africa. For example, European colonialism introduced and propagated Western education, religion, political and legal systems that not only supplanted indigenous African religion; African languages, education systems, customs and practices were also suppressed and in some instances abrogated. This amongst other factors paved the way for the perennial ethnic and religious conflicts, territorial disputes, and unbridled struggle for power which have continued to plague many African nations even after the so called flag independence, thereby hindering political freedom, social progress, economic growth, and regional cooperation on the continent.

Little wonder that the colonial state and its post-colonial variant are often compelled by their unique historical circumstances to act not in the interest of the African people but in the interest of their progenitor state based in Europe and other metropolitan centres. This perhaps explain why despite Africa's huge and abundant human, mineral and material resources, Africans are today one of the poorest citizens on earth, manifesting all the indices of underdevelopment such as hunger, unemployment, inequality, lack of portable water, squalor, collapsed infrastructure and spread of preventable diseases. Given the immensity and the

arbitrary powers of the state in Africa, the political elites are factionalized along ethnic and religious divide thereby engendering an acrimonious process of capturing and retaining political power. The situation has created authoritarianism, political and electoral violence, ethno-religious conflicts and sometimes internecine civil wars. What is incontrovertible is that the state as it is presently constituted in most African states is not working for the mass of the people.

The above assertion is supported by Amical Cabral (1976) when he succinctly opines that;

...some independent African states preserved the structures of the colonial state. In some countries, they only replaced a white man with a black man, but for the people it is the same. You have to realize that it is very difficult for the people to make a distinction between one Portuguese, or white, administrator and one black administrator. For the people, it is the administrator that is fundamental. And the principle is if this administrator, a black one is living in the same house, within the same gestures, with the same car, or sometimes

a better one, what is the difference? According to him, the nature of the state we have to create in our country is a very good question for it is the fundamental one (cf. R. C., 1976, p. 1)

He asserts further that ‘the problem of the nature of the state created after independence is perhaps the secret of the failure of African independence’. What then is the state? What are the conceptual and theoretical underpinnings of the post-colonial state? Why is the condition of the post-colonial state central to the present African condition? What are the imperatives of state reconstruction in Africa? How can political Islam intervene in state reconstruction in Africa? Our tentative assumption is that there are within Islam, political and economic doctrines that can help in the reconstruction of the post-colonial state in Africa in such a manner that the state would work for the generality of the people and not a few as we have it today. The rest of the paper is divided into four parts which are the conceptual and theoretical perspectives of the state, the state of the post-colonial state in Africa, state reconstruction in Africa: the political Islamic options and the conclusion.

Political Islam and the State: Conceptual and Theoretical Perspectives

Political Islam is a hugely contested and controversial concept, known within the

Arabic world as “al-Islam al-Siyasiyy”, or Islamiyya (Islamism). It refers to a set of ideologies which insists that Islam is not only a religion but also a political system. This suggests that Muslims irrespective of the rampaging modernity must be prepared to live within Islamic principles in its legal, social, economic, cultural and political undertakings. Political Islam as an idea refers to the belief that Islam has a guiding political doctrine and clearly stated injunctions about how state and society should be ordered.

Political Islamists are Muslims with avowed commitment and dedication to the establishment of an Islamically ordered society based on the principles of *Sharia*, to proselytize in order to reinvigorate the faithful as well as the conscious effort to establish a distinct unity of all Muslim communities called *Ummah* based on the example of the holy prophet of Islam and sustained by the *Khulafah Roshidun* (the four rightly guided Caliphs). Fuller (2003) avers that political Islam refers to the “support for (Muslim) identity, authenticity, broader regionalism, revivalism and the revitalization of the (Muslim) community. Pejoratively, it is understood as “an Islamic militant, anti-democratic movement bearing a holistic vision of Islam whose final aim is the restoration of the Caliphate” (cf. Fuller, 2003:21).

However, properly conceived for our own purpose, political Islam assumes an ideology that guides society as a whole and that state law must be in conformity with the dictates of the Islamic *Sharia* (Shepard, 1996:40). This conception is derived from the belief

that Islam is a total way of life and its laws should therefore guide social, economic, political and personal way of life of the people.

Flowing from this, Ayoob (2005), gave a precise and more analytically useful definition when he describes it as a form of instrumentation of Islam by individuals, groups and organizations that pursue political objectives. It provides, according to him, “political responses to today’s societal challenges by imaging a future, the foundations for which rest on re-appropriated, reinvented concepts borrowed from the Islamic tradition” (Ayoob, 2005:952). Indeed, adherents of political Islam are not in doubt as to the fact that Islam as a body of faith has something important to say about how politics, state and society should be ordered in contemporary Muslim world and implemented in some fashion (Ayoob, 2005:951).

The state just like political Islam is also a controversial and contested concept in the social sciences. Not quite a few agrees that the state is more of a mere conceptual abstraction such that Ake, (1985, p. 105) opines that the state ‘appears to become more elusive still with every attempt to clarify it’. However, Young (1998, p. 29) opines that ‘the state is not simply an inert abstraction; it is above all, a historical actor, a collective agent of macro-political process’ Dunleavy and O’Leary (1987, p.1) suggests that the state can be understood from the organizational definitions and functional definitions. Organizationally, the state according to them can be defined ‘as a

set of governmental institutions, of relatively recent historical origin. Government is the process of making rules, controlling, guiding or regulating’ Dunleavy and O’Leary (1987) further to identifies five characteristics of a modern state which according to them are that:

1. The state is a discernable separate institution or set of institutions, which is so different from the rest of the society and it creates distinctively identifiable public and private spheres.
2. The state is sovereign, or the supreme power, within its territory, and by definition the ultimate authority for all law, i.e. binding rules supported by coercive sanctions. Public law is made by state officials and backed by a formal monopoly of force.
3. The state’s sovereignty extends to all the individuals within a given territory, and applies equally, even to those in formal positions of government or rule-making. Thus sovereignty is distinct from the personnel who at any given time occupy a particular role within the state.
4. The modern state’s personnel are mostly recruited and trained for management in a bureaucratic manner.
5. The state has the capacity to extract monetary revenues (taxation) to finance its activities from its subject population. (Dunleavy and O’Leary, 1987, p. 2)

For the functional definition of state Dunleavy and O’Leary, (1987) avers two perspectives. The first is what they called the *ex-ante* approach which views the state “as that set of institutions which carries out particular goals, purposes or objectives and that any organization whose goals or purposes overlap with ‘state functions’ automatically becomes part of the state” The second is what they called the *ex post* approach “which views the state by its consequences, such as the maintenance of social order”. They opine that any institution of the society which can help the state in achieving any of its purpose can be considered as part of the state. In a more generic form, Young (1988) identifies hegemony, security, autonomy, legitimation and revenue as the major imperatives that shape the behaviour of states and that state behaviour is carried out through human agents.

However, in sharp contrast to the foregoing perspective, Ake (1985) argues that the state is essentially a capitalist phenomenon even though it may not exclusively be so. The state is a necessary phenomenon in societies where social life revolves around the norms of individualism, competition and class antagonism. Ake (1985, p.105) insists that the “state is a specific modality of class domination” in which it appears as an objective force standing alongside the society. He observes that behind the subordination of all by what manifest like a neutral force is actually the domination of human by human, the domination of capital over labour (Ake, 1985, p. 106). This was obviously the case as the colonial state in Africa privileged capital over labour and the

state only acted in the interest of its metropolitan masters. This is what Mamdani, (1976, p. 142-143) captures when he describes the colonial state as;

...a geographical extension of the metropolitan state... simply put, the colonial state represented an absentee ruling class, the metropolitan bourgeoisie, and it performed the functions of both state and ruling class in an “independent” nation. The colonial state created the structures of underdeveloped economy at both the levels of production and exchange... [it] destroyed entire classes

There are basically two contending paradigms about the theory of state. The liberal perspective assumes that the state is an ‘umpire’, a ‘referee’, a regulator and an arbiter of conflicting interests within a society. Contrary to this seemingly objective role of the state, the Marxian paradigm assumes that the state is only but an ‘instrument’ or ‘executive committee’ of a dominant class, while cynical realists have seen the state as an elitist organization of manipulators and/or parasites, using ‘political formulas’ to fool the citizenry. In spite of the pretensions of the liberal perspectives, what the evidence supports, is that the state in Africa has not acted in any

objective manner. When not acting as an appendage of the metropolitan master, it is engaging in activities that are antithetical to the collective aspirations of the African people such that even after independence, the post-colonial state behaviour is still largely parasitic and dependent.

In theorizing the post-colonial state Alavi (1982) opines that the state in post-colonial societies exhibits three inter-related characteristics which are that it is overdeveloped, it enjoys a distinct relative autonomy and that it intervenes widely in the economy. Concerning the idea of being overdeveloped, he argues that what is known as the state in post-colonial societies was inherited from colonialism. It then emerged as the most “modern” institution of society when compared with other socio-economic structures upon which it rests and operates with. Indeed, the “overdevelopness” stems from the fact that states in postcolonial societies represents and acts in the interest of class forces exogamous to the internal class struggles in postcolonial societies. In relation to the question of relative autonomy, the state several years after the so called independence is still not insulated from both domestic private capture and unnecessary subservience to their international collaborators. The state’s intervention in the economy is occasioned by the need for the state to advance the interest of the dominant classes especially by participating in the production process ostensibly for national development. Although this position of Alavi has been severally challenged, what is undeniable is that it has remained a raw

guide in the understanding of postcolonial states especially in Africa.

The failure of the political elites to transform the inherited colonial state soon ran them in to crisis such that the state became not only authoritarian but an oppressive force criminalizing all forms of opposition in the name of national development. Within a short period of time after independence, virtually all postcolonial societies in Africa were ran into one form of crisis or the other. In his seminal work, Beckman (1988) identified three distinct paradigms through which the crisis of the African state can be explained. The first approach is what he calls the neo-patrimonial theory where he hinges the crisis of the African state primarily on personal rule and tribalism. The second is the monopolistic theory in which case he underscored the monopolistic disposition of the political class and the bureaucracy in the economy and the commanding heights of the society is emphasised. The third is the Comprador theory which focuses on the distortion of the state occasioned by imperialist domination of the state and economy. It is important to note that none of the three explanations is mutually exclusive; indeed, the three perspectives are all self-reinforcing. What is clear is that in Africa, states are “overwhelmed by their own incoherence, indiscipline and shrinking fiscal base” (Sandbrook, 1985, cf. Beckman, 1988, p. 27).

The state of the State in Africa

In an attempt to understand the current situation in Africa there is a heated debate

amongst scholars in an attempt to understand the causes of the current African situation. This binary division is between those who think that the current African situation is externally induced, while others lay the blame of the current situation on internal dynamics. In the views of the externalists, the causes of African underdevelopment are external in origin and these include Africa's colonial legacies, western imperialism, the slave trade, an unjust international economic system, and exploitation by oligopolistic multinational corporations, among others. But the internalists dismiss these arguments on the grounds that, more than five decades of self-rule is enough to eradicate these colonial and imperial legacies and set Africa on the path of progress. They point to factors internal to Africa such as incompetent and greedy leadership, elite factionalization and lack of consensus, weak and disorganized state institution, docile citizenry, the establishment of defective political and economic systems which bear little or no relationship to Africa's own indigenous systems after independence.

The internalists insist that after independence, the nationalist leaders did nothing to dismantle and demobilize the authoritarian and exploitative colonial state structures; rather, they not only inherited its apparatuses, they strengthened and expanded its scope. Subsequently, they abused and misused the powers of the state to achieve their own selfish ends which led to the evolution of a "mafia state, a state that has been hijacked by vampire elites", hustlers, and gangsters, who operated with

their own notorious ethic of self-aggrandizement and self-perpetuation in power" (Ayittey, 1999, p. 27). In most countries in Africa, government is perceived by the ruling elites as a vehicle to be used to dispose, rob and terrorize the people. As observed by Edelman (1964);

The state benefits and it threatens. Now it is "us" and often it is "them". It is an abstraction, but in its name men are jailed, or made rich on oil depletion allowances and defence contracts, or killed in wars (Edelman, 1964, cf. Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987, p. 10)

It is no gainsaying that the African continent is blessed with abundant human and largely still untapped mineral wealth, but paradoxically, the same is mired in abject poverty, steaming squalor, misery, deprivation, suffocating corruption, underdevelopment, political instability, and avoidable intra and inter-state conflicts. Today, Africa has remained a theatre of internecine conflicts and several factors have been put forward to explain this. These factors include the arbitrary borders created by the colonial powers, heterogeneous ethnic composition of African states, inept political leadership, corruption, negative effect of external debt burden and poverty. Other factors include perceived exclusion from the political process for reasons of

personal, ethnic or value differences, lack of socio-political unity, lack of genuine access to national institutions of governance, reliance on centralized and highly personalized form of governance, perception of inequality and discrimination, etc.

Since flag independence in Africa, government has been perceived as the personal fiefdoms with which African leaders use to accumulate wealth for themselves, their families, and ethnic groups. Such leaders cannot be subjected to criticism by anyone, and everything they say must be obeyed without question. As a result, some countries have collapsed at one time or the other. For example Ethiopia (1985), Angola (1986), Mozambique (1987), Sudan (1991), Liberia (1992), Somalia (1993) and Rwanda (1994). Indeed, the United Nation Development Program (UNDP) once grimly predicted that nine other African countries were on the brink of complete social disintegration, these countries are: Algeria, Burundi, Egypt, Liberia, Mozambique, Nigeria, Sierra-Leone, Sudan, and Zaire (Ayittey, 1999) on account of this undemocratic behaviour.

Although, the continent is blessed with abundance but the people are abjectly poor. Poverty in Africa is in both relative and absolute terms. According to the World Bank, the International Poverty Line refers to those who have less than 1.25 US dollars a day to live, and thus live on the very edge of existence. Apart from the fact that majority are in Africa, in the year 2022 alone for example, the extreme poverty rate

in Africa stood at around fifty (50%) percent among the rural population. In the annual report on human development published by the United Nations (UN), Extreme poverty leads to hunger in Africa. More than a quarter of those who are hungry in the world live on the African continent. One fifth of people living in Africa are considered malnourished. This gives the continent the highest rate of malnourished people worldwide. This is because limited access to food leads to low health conditions which also result in increasing poverty. In addition, more than thirty (30%) percent of African children suffer from growth disorders such as stunting due to their chronic malnutrition. This disease causes physical and mental underdevelopment in children. Similarly, Sub-Saharan Africa is the region with the highest infant mortality. On average, one in eleven (11) children dies before their fifth birthday. Three of the four countries with the highest infant mortality worldwide are on the African continent: Ethiopia, Nigeria and Kenya. In addition to complications at birth and malnutrition, there are diseases such as pneumonia, diarrhea and malaria, which lead to the early death of many children. (UNDP Report, 2021)

Infrastructure in most African countries had decayed and crumbled such that roads, schools, hospitals and telecommunications systems are in shambles. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) sets various indicators in its Human Development Index (HDI) to measure poverty in Africa and all other countries in the world. This includes life expectancy at

birth, average school attendance period as well per capita income. In all of these indicators, majority of African countries are at the bottom. Giving the intellectual laziness, political recklessness and unbridled corruption prevalent amongst most African ruling elites, the continent is today unable to feed its people, meet its external financial obligations or pay for their ostentatious life styles rooted in importation of non-essential goods, protect its increasing population, prevent environmental degradation, nor make any meaningful impact in the international decision-making process.

According to a World Bank report, Africa's deepening crisis is characterized by weak agricultural growth, a decline in industrial output, poor export performance, climbing debt, and deteriorating social indicators, institutions, and environment" (World Bank 1989, p. 2). As a result, Africa has become unattractive to foreign investors and even to the donor community which suffers what is now referred to as "donor fatigue" after so many failures due to dwindling commitment, infidelity to debt obligations, mismanagement of programmes and outright embezzlement of donor funds.

For most African countries, the debt service ratio is not only unfair, it is exploitative and roguish; currently debt service obligations absorb about forty (40%) percent of government revenues, starving other critical sectors of the economy with funds, while in some instances the debt arrears are constantly being rescheduled. The situation has been further aggravated by what has been described as a "debt overhang". As one

of Nigeria's President, Olusegun Obasanjo once lamented;

...what we borrowed was under fifteen (\$15) billion dollars, we have paid \$15 billion dollars on debt service, yet we are still owing \$26 billion. The interest rate is skewed against us. (cf. Onimode 2000, p. 115)

In addition to the above, the total external debt of Africa was estimated at \$1.1 trillion in 2022 but this is expected to rise to \$1.13 trillion by 2023. Without doubt the anti-development environment that prevails in most African countries is characterized by inept and incompetent leadership that are kleptocratic, weak institutions, political and economic instability, selfish and senseless intra-ethnic wars, ethno-religious carnage, and capital flight.

State Reconstruction in Africa: The Political Islamic Option

There have been several ideas and attempts to reverse the political and economic decay on the African continent. Specifically, there have been programmes and blueprints postulated from within and outside Africa. In what Ake, (1996) describes as 'a confusion of agenda' he identified the Africa's strategy for Development in the 1970's, the Monrovia Declaration on Guidelines and Measures for National and Collective Self-Reliance in Social and Economic Development for the

Establishment of a New International Economic Order 1979, The Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for Economic Development of Africa 1980, Accelerated Development for Africa 1982, the Declaration of Tripoli called Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for Action, Africa's Priority Program for Economic Recovery, 1986-90 (APPER), the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-90 (UNPAAERD), the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), and the African Alternative Framework for Structural Adjustment Programs for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation. (Ake 1996, p. 21-36) It is very clear that these attempts have neither birth development for Africa nor change its narratives of state failure, chaos and underdevelopment hence the need for the consideration of Islamic options.

The Islamic political system is based on three cardinal principles of *Tawhid* (Unity of *Allah*), *Risalah* (Prophethood) and *Khilafah* (Vicegerency). The concept of *Tawhid* means that only *Allah* is the Creator, Sustainer and Master of the universe and of all organic or inorganic elements that exists within in it. The sovereignty of the universe is vested only in Him. As for *Risalat*, the Prophet of Islam is the harbinger of the revelations in the Quran, the holy Book of Islam in which *Allah* has set out His laws, as well as the authoritative interpretation and exemplification of the Book by the Prophet, in his capacity as the representative of *Allah* (Ahmed, 2006). The Prophet, had also in

accordance with the intention of the Divine Book, given to Muslims a model for the Islamic way of life by implementing the laws and providing necessary details where such was required. The combination of these two sources of divine guidance is called the *Shari'ah*. The *Khilafat*, simply means 'representation'. Man, according to Islam, is the representative of *Allah* on earth, His vicegerent. In order words, given the powers delegated to mankind by *Allah*, the people are required to exercise *Allah's* given authority in this world within the limits prescribed by *Allah* in the *Quran* and *Sunnah* so that they can receive the blessings of this world and that of the hereafter.

It should be noted that the state in Islam is not intended for merely political and economic administration alone nor is it established for the advancement of the interest of one class over the other. Rather, Islam places a high ideal on the state for the achievement and advancement of the virtues of purity of soul and mind, socio-economic justice, eternal goodness, and the happiness of the people. The Islamic state is also expected to abhor all forms of suppression, exploitation and injustice. Meanwhile, Kamali and Kamali (1993) aver that the constitutional theory of Islam revolves around the ideas of *Ummah* (Islamic Community), *Shariah* (Divine laws), *Khilafah* (Vicegerency), *Shura* (Consultation) and *Bay'ah* (Pledge of allegiance). How can these ideas be deployed to assist in the reconstruction of the African state?

As indicated earlier, the intractable ethno-religious conflicts, intra-state as well as inter-state wars occasioned by the arbitrary boundaries created under colonialism can be ameliorated with the ideas of *Ummah* and the *Khilafah*, since Islam does not restrict the achievement of social justice and egalitarianism to within the Islamic state alone. The idea of one *Ummah* is enjoined in the Quran Suratul Al-Mu'minun, chapter 25 verse 52 where the Quran insists that "And verily this brotherhood of yours (Ummah) is a single brotherhood, and I am your Lord and Cherisher: therefore, fear me (and no other)." Also in Suratul Al-Baqarah, chapter 2:143 where it says that, "thus we have made of you an *Ummah* (community) justly balanced, that you might be witnesses over the nations and the Apostle a witness over yourselves"

Islam therefore insists on the observance of universal fundamental rights for humanity as a whole, which are to be observed and respected in all circumstances irrespective of whether a person lives within the territory of the Islamic state or outside it or whether the person is at peace with the state or at war it. The Holy Quran chapter 4 verse 59 admonish the Muslims thus;

O ye who believe!
Obey Allah, and obey
the Messenger, and
those charged with
authority among you. If
ye differ in anything
among yourselves,
refer it to Allah and His
Messenger, if you do
believe in Allah and the

Last Day: That is best,
and most suitable for
final determination
(Surah An-Nisa, 4:59)

Contrary to the pervasive narrative about Islam, the Islamic creed for example dictates that human blood is sacred and should not be spilled without justification; it is not permissible to oppress women, children, the old, sick or the wounded. The honour and chastity of women must be respected and defended in all circumstances while the hungry must be fed, the naked must be clothed, and the wounded or diseased must be treated promptly. These constitute some the few provisions that have been laid down by Islam, as fundamental rights to be enjoyed by every human being once an Islamic state has been instituted.

Under the *Khilafah*, the rights of citizenship in an Islam caliphate, are not confined to persons born within the boundaries of a particular state but are granted to every Muslim irrespective of his or her place of birth. A Muslim *ipso facto* becomes the citizen of an Islamic state as soon as he or she set foot on such a territory with the intention of living there. That Muslim must therefore enjoy equal rights of citizenship with those who are the citizens of the state by birth. The citizenship of a universal Islamic state is granted to citizens of all the Islamic states that exist in the world and a Muslim will not need a passport of entry or exit from any of them. In addition, every Muslim must be regarded as eligible for political positions including the highest position of authority in an Islamic state without any distinction as to race, colour or

class. This Islamic injunction and practice would eliminate the intractable intra and inter-state conflicts which have marred the progress of Africa.

For those who may be apprehensive about what happens to non-Muslims in such a state. Islam has instituted codified safeguards for the defence of the rights of non-Muslim who may be living within the boundaries of an Islamic state, and these rights must necessarily form part of the Islamic constitution. According to Islamic terminology such non-Muslims are called *Dhimmi* (those with whom the state has a covenant), implying that the Islamic state has entered into a covenant with them and guaranteed their rights and safety. Therefore, the life, property and honour of a *Dhimmi* are to be respected and protected in exactly the same way as those of Muslim citizens. The Quran chapter 49 verse 13 asserts that;

O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know each other. Verily the most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. And Allah has full knowledge and is well-acquainted (Surah Al-Hujuraat Chapter 49: 13)

Indeed, there should be no difference between Muslim and non-Muslim citizens in respect of civil or criminal law; because the Islamic state shall not interfere with the personal law of non-Muslims. They will have full freedom of conscience and belief and will be entitled to perform their religious rites and ceremonies as well as being able to practice their religion freely without hindrance. While they are entitled to criticize Islam, the civil law of the country has to be fully respected and all such criticisms must be made within the framework the law provides. These rights are irrevocable and non-Muslims can only be stripped of them if they renounce the covenant which grants them citizenship.

In order to reverse the leadership and governance challenges bedeviling the African state, the Shura (Consultative Assembly) system of governance is recommended, the consultative assembly would be elected by the people in accordance with the dictates of the law. As prescribed in the Quran in Suratul Al-Shurah chapter 42 verse 38 “those who hearken to their Lord, and establish regular Prayer; who (conduct) their affairs by mutual consultation; who spend out of what We bestow on them for sustenance; (those are the successful).” The administration of the state (government) in an Islamic state is vested in an Amir (leader) who may be likened to the President or the Prime Minister. All adult men and women who accept the fundamentals of the constitution are entitled to vote in the election of such a leader. The basic qualifications for election as an Amir are that; he should command the

respect and confidence of the largest number of people, be respected in knowledge and the understanding of leadership within Islam; he should possess the Islamic attribute of the fear of *Allah* (God); and he should be endowed with the attributes of a statesman. Islam also emphasizes the qualities of competence and virtue in the selection of an Amir. The *Shura* (consultative council) would then assist and guide the Amir. It is obligatory for the Amir to administer the country with the advice of his *Shura*. The Amir can retain office only in so far as he enjoys the confidence of the people, and must resign when he loses such confidence. Every citizen has the right to criticize the Amir and his government since public opinion must be freely expressed without any fear of repercussions.

In terms of legislation, the *Shariah* is the divine law in an Islamic state and all activities including religious and socio-economic behaviour must conform to the dictates of the *Shariah*. The legislature has no power to alter or modify anything the prescribed in the *Shariah*. They may however legislate on other matters not definitely prescribed in the *Shariah*. These may be done by *Qiyas* which refers to analogical deductions on some matters from the Quran and Sunnah or relying on *Ijmal* which refers to the consensus of opinion amongst those learned in and knowledgeable amongst the Islamic scholars. In Islam, the judiciary is not placed under the control of the executive. It derives its authority directly from the *Shariah* and judicial offices are answerable only to *Allah* (God). The judges are to be appointed by the state but, once

appointed they must administer justice impartially according to the laws of *Allah*. All the organs of state and state functionaries are not above the laws. The highest executive authority of the state should the need arise shall be liable to be called upon to appear in a court of law as a plaintiff or defendant. This is because rulers and ruled are subject to the same law and there can be no discrimination on the basis of position, power or privilege since Islam stands for equality and justice which must be strictly adhered to in all social, economic and political realms of life. As Allah commands in the Quran;

O ye who believe!
Stand out firmly for
justice, as witnesses to
Allah, even as against
yourselves, or your
parents, or your kin,
and whether it be
(against) rich or poor:
for Allah can best
protect both. Follow
not the lusts (of your
hearts), lest ye swerve,
and if ye distort
(justice) or decline to
do justice, verily Allah
is well- acquainted with
all that ye do (Surah
An-Nisa, Chapter 4:
135)

On the economic plane, Islam abhors greed, avarice and ostentatious lifestyles especially among the leaders within a society. In order to generate wealth for the benefit of the

masses, the *Shariah* prescribes the obligatory payment of *Zakat* (poor due) and *Sadaqah* (charity) by all able bodied Muslim who can afford it and are able to pay such dues in an Islamic state. Quran Chapter (2 verse 177) enjoins that;

It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces towards the East or West; but it is righteousness to believe in Allah and the Last Day, and the Angels, and the Book, and the Messengers; to spend of your wealth (substance), out of love for Him, for your kin, for orphans, for the needy, for the wayfarer, for those who ask, and for the ransom of slaves; to be steadfast in prayer, and practice regular charity; to fulfil the contracts which you have made; and to be firm and patient, in pain (or suffering) and adversity, and throughout all periods of panic. Such are the people of truth, the people who fear (Suratul Al-Baqarah, Chapter 2: 177)

The Islamic state is responsible for the well-being of every citizen and the people are entitled to the provision of basic necessities which would free them from abject poverty. The Amir (leader) is responsible for the collection of *Zakah* and *Sadaqah*. It is also the responsibility of the Amir to appoint honest and trustworthy men to assist him in

the collection and distribution of the proceeds in an equitable and just manner through the management of the *Baitul-maal* (National treasury).

Alms are for the poor and the needy, and those employed to administer the (funds); for those whose hearts have been (recently) reconciled (to Truth); for those in bondage and in debt; in the cause of Allah; and for the wayfarer: (thus is it) ordained by Allah, and Allah is full of knowledge and wisdom. (Suratul Taubah, Chapter 9:60)

This egalitarian arrangement of redistributing social wealth in a just and equitable manner would eliminate the corruption which has been the bane of development efforts in Africa. The Amir would also be at liberty to direct state policies in the national interest. The interest free banking system ordained by the *Shariah* would help the African continent free itself from the shackles of debt which they have been confined to since the flag independence from imperial colonizers and the neo-colonial forces of exploitation led by the International Financial Institutions (IFI) represented by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Conclusion

The African continent is arguably the richest continent on earth. It is a continent with huge deposits of mineral and material

resources. It is also blessed with competent and highly skilled manpower but paradoxically the African people are said to be the poorest in the world. Several reasons ranging from inept and incompetent leadership, ethno-religious conflicts, resource based conflict, intra-state and inter-state civil wars, dependent economy, kleptocracy and corruption, as well as debt overhang have combined to keep the continent perpetually underdeveloped.

From all indications the nature of state formation, the character of African ruling elites and their failure to transform the exploitative colonial state to a truly democratic one has continued to be the bane of development on the continent. It has become increasingly clear that unless there is a transformation of the state to a more functional and egalitarian one, which would work in the interest of the African people and not for a select class, all developmental efforts and programmes in Africa would remain a mirage. It is this realization that commends the Islamic option.

One overarching fundamental principle of an Islamic society is *Taqwa*, which literally means "love arching to fear of God". It is this consciousness of God amongst the people in an Islamic state that provides the enabling environment of self-discipline, self-control, self-restraint, self-evaluation and self-education which are important ingredients for the creation of an all-inclusive egalitarian society. This is in tandem with the Quranic injunction which states in Surah Baqarah, chapter 2 verse 102 that "O you who believe! Fear God as He

should be feared and die not except in a state of Islam,"

It is this Quranic declaration that gives expression to the ideas of *Ummah* (community), *Khilafah* (vicegerency), *Shura* (consultation) and *Bayah* (allegiance to constituted authority) upon which an Islamic society is based. In furtherance of the egalitarian objective of an Islamic society Quran chapter 3 verse 110 declares that "You (the Islamic *Ummah*) are the best community that has been raised for mankind. You enjoin good and forbid evil and you believe in Allah". This is why all spiritual and human engagements whether in politics, economics, social and international relations must conform to the dictates of the *Shariah*. It is this divinely ordained and codified prescription that can help tame the gregarious tendencies in most African leaders which compel the intemperate zero-sum winner takes all politics currently prevalent on the continent and can also ameliorate the ostentatious life styles of most African ruling elites based on foreign consumption which have left most African countries in a seeming perpetual state of crises.

References

- Ahmed, M. (2006). *Islamic political system in the modern age: Theory and practice*. New Delhi, Adam Publishers & Distributors
- Ake, C. (1996). *Democracy and development in Africa*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
- Ake, C., (1985). The future of the state in Africa. In *International Political*

- science Review*, Vol. 6, No1, pp.105 – 114.
- Alavi, H. (1972). State in post-colonial societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh, *New Left Review*, Vol. 1 No. 74, pp. 59-81.
- Alavi, H. (1982) State and Class under Peripheral Capitalism in H. Alavi and T. Shanin (eds.) *Introduction to the Sociology of "Developing Societies."* London: Monthly Review.
- Ayittey, G. (1999). *Africa in Chaos*, New York: St. Martin's Griffin.
- Ayoob, M. (2005). The future of political Islam: The importance of external variables. *International Affairs* Vol. 81, No 5, pp. 951-961.
- Beckman, B. (1986). The Post-colonial state: Crisis and reconstruction. In *IDS Bulletin*, Vol.19, No 4, Sussex: Institute for Development Studies, pp. 26-34.
- Dunleavy, P. and O'Leary, B. (1987). *Theories of the state: The politics of liberal democracy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fuller, G. (2003). The future of political Islam. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kamali, M. and Kamali, M. (1993). Characteristics of Islamic state. In *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Spring 1993), pp. 17-40.
- Mamdani, M. (1976). *Politics and class formation in Uganda*. New York: Monthly Review.
- Onimode, B. (2000). *Africa in the world of the 21st century*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.
- Quran, Chapter, 2 Verse 102.
 Quran, Chapter, 2 Verse 143.
 Quran, Chapter, 2 Verse 177.
 Quran, Chapter, 25 Verse 52.
 Quran, Chapter, 3 Verse 110.
 Quran, Chapter, 4 Verse 135.
 Quran, Chapter, 4 Verse 59.
 Quran, Chapter, 42 Verse 38.
 Quran, Chapter, 49 Verse 13.
 Quran, Chapter, 9 Verse 60.
- R., C. (1976). The state in Africa. In *Editorial: Review of African political economy*, No 5, (Jan-Apr.) Taylor & Francis, Ltd.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3997804>, pp. 1-3.
- Shepard W. (1996). *Sayyid Qutb and Islamic Activism: A Translation and Critical Analysis of Social Justice in Islam*, New York: E. J. Brill.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Report, 1999.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Report, 2020.
- Young, C. (2019). The African Colonial State and Its Political Legacy. In Rothchild, D. and Chazan, N. (eds.) *The precarious balance: state and society in Africa*, New York: Routledge, pp. 25-66.

CORRUPTION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: AN APPRAISAL OF NIGERIAS FOURTH REPUBLIC

YUSUF MOHAMMED

yusufmohammed425@gmail.com

MARYAM ABBA HABIB

umsultanhabib@gmail.com

UMMA ISHAKU JIBRIN

ummajibrin@gmail.com

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, COLLEGE OF ADMINISTRATIVE STUDIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES, KADUNA POLYTECHNIC, KADUNA.

Introduction

The issue of the upsurge of corruption in Nigeria is troubling. The menace of corruption is not new since it is a global phenomenon. However, corruption is pandemic in Nigeria. It cuts across the different tiers and arms of government and the private sectors. It has been identified as a major challenge to national development. Corruption in Nigeria is so pervasive that it is an existential threat to good governance, democratic processes and fair business transaction in a competitive environment (Akanbi, 2004). Studies have shown that the problem of bad governance in Nigeria is commonly attributed to poor leadership and corruption (Odinialu, 2010). However, as the World Bank (2012) admits the causes of corruption are rooted in particular political and economic conditions of each country and therefore its causes are as complex as the types of corruption are varied.

Corruption is universal and not a problem restricted to any region. In advanced countries like Belgium, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Japan, Italy, Russia, Spain allegations of corruption also play a central role in their politics (Klitgaard, 2018). As such corruption permeates all levels of government, the federal, state and local governments. According to Transparency International (TI)'s Corruption Perception Index (CPI), between 1995 and 2009, no country has a score of 10/10 on a 10-point scale, indicating that there is one level of corruption or the other in all countries worldwide (Mogue, 2010). It has on the socio-economic and political setting of a country can hardly be over emphasized. There has been a global cry and coordinated efforts to tackle this social evil through the creation and implementation of anti-graft laws and policies across nations. Some nations have been successful in their quest

to reduce the level of corruption while others are still lagging behind. In this light, Nigeria seems to be an example of a state that failed in combating corruption.

Grand corruption is a cancer that has eaten deep into the fabric of the Nigerian polity. The general global perception about graft in Nigeria is that it is a pervasive phenomenon. It is generally acknowledged that corruption and corrupt practices are endemic and systemic in both public and private sectors of Nigeria (Eme&Okoh, 2011). While corruption in the form of distortion of the government expenditures, pillaging of the State assets and bribery is widespread in the higher level of public offices, the grand corruption in politics such as sale of party tickets, office posts and public contracts remain a critical concern because politics has become the most remunerative career. Furthermore, in Nigeria, corruption exceeds the political arena and evidences shows that it abounds in several private and official conducts of even ordinary citizens. As such, corruption is a serious problem affecting the whole sphere of Nigeria. It has also constituted an impediment to the development of the country as leadership corruption has been one of the greatest concerns to all observers of the country's

socio political and economic development (Anazodo, Okoye&Ezenwile, 2012).

1.1 Statement of the Problem

In recent years, the agenda of sustainable development has become of paramount importance in Nigeria. This because there is a growing realization that for a nation such as Nigeria to grow and become an advanced economy, it must first experience sustainable development. However, the state of affairs is that Nigeria remains an underdeveloped country with majority of the citizens experiencing poverty and poor living conditions. Corruption has caused so many defects to the Nigerian society in terms of human capital development, unemployment, infrastructure and economic growth and development in general. Furthermore, corruption has caused other defects in the in Nigeria such as increase in crime rate, unemployment rate and social unrest. Von Hauff and Kruse (2014).

1.2 Research Questions

- i. What are the causes of corruption in Nigeria?
- ii. What are the factors influencing the sustainable development in Nigeria?

- iii. What is the relationship between corruption and sustainable development in Nigeria?

1.3 Research Objectives

- i. To determine the causes of corruption in Nigeria.
- ii. To determine the factors influencing sustainable development in Nigeria.
- iii. To determine the relationship between corruption and sustainable development in Nigeria.

1.4 Research Hypotheses

- 1 **H0₁**: There are no significant causes of corruption in Nigeria.
- 11 **H0₂**: There are no significant factors influencing sustainable development in Nigeria.
- 111 **H0₃**: There is no significant relationship between corruption and sustainable development in Nigeria.

1.5 Scope of the Study

This paper focuses on corruption and sustainable development in Nigeria's fourth republic. The scope of the study is current Nigeria's fourth republic and cover the period from 2010-2020.

1.6 Limitation of the study

Due to the nature of social science research, it is likely that a study of this nature, would be met by certain limitations and these limitations may be apparent in form of insufficient finances and lack of access to necessary data.

1.7 Significance of the Study

The study holds importance for Nigerian policymakers, offering guidance on addressing corruption and promoting sustainable development. It also proves valuable for International Organizations and Non-Governmental Agencies, providing recommendations for combating corruption in developing nations. Additionally, it serves as a valuable resource for researchers exploring corruption and sustainable development.

1.8 Methodology

The study focuses on Nigeria, a Federal Republic with 36 states and a Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, having an estimated population of 154.7 million people (UNDP, 2009). The research design adopted is a survey research design, collecting data from both primary (questionnaires) and secondary sources (journals, publications). The population comprises students and lecturers in the political science departments

of the University of Lagos, Lagos State University, and Babcock University.

Using non-probability sampling, the sample size consists of 240 Political Science lecturers and students from the three universities in the South West Region (University of Lagos, Lagos State University, and Babcock University). The research instrument is a structured questionnaire divided into two sections: one for biodata and the other for research variables. A 5-point Likert scale is employed for responses.

Data analysis involves frequency and percentage tables, along with regression and correlation analyses using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) for hypothesis testing.

Literature Review

2.1 Conceptual Review

2.2 Concept of Corruption

Corruption is a social phenomenon that is difficult to define, and it does not have a universally accepted definition. The definition varies depending on the inclination of the scholar and perception of the concept. Andrig and Fjelstad (2013) are of the opinion that corruption is a “complex

and multifaceted phenomenon with multiple causes and effects, as it takes on various forms and contexts” (p. 120). Similarly, Tanzi (2008) is of the view that while it is hard to define corruption, the crisis that is linked to corruption is not difficult to identify.

Azelama (2002) defines corruption as any action or omission enacted by a member of an organization, which is against the rules, regulations, norms, and ethics of the organization, and the purpose is to meet the selfish end of the member at the detriment of the organization.

(Agbu,(2003) observes that public office can be abused for selfish gain even if bribery does not take place. This implies that political corruption could be defined in the form of patronage, election rigging, and voters register manipulation, favoritism in the award of contract, procurement scam, tribalism and nepotism in recruitment and promotion, unfair punishment/sanctions for public officials.

Given the above definitions, corruption or political corruption implies any action that violates electoral rules/the formal duties of any public role, rules, or norms with regard to public trust.

2.3 Forms of Corruption in Nigerian Public Sector

Political corruption in Nigeria encompasses various forms, including bribery, embezzlement, conflicts of interest in contract awards, fraud, nepotism, and election rigging. Scholars like (Azelama, 2002; Ijewereme, 2013; Waziri, 2010). have identified these behaviors as key contributors to the widespread issue.

2.3.1 Electoral Corruption

This refers to intimidating opposition agents, obstructing election freedom, and engaging in ballot-related crimes like snatching and stuffing. These activities also include manipulating the voters' register, causing electoral violence leading to injuries and deaths, and fraudulent practices such as multiple thumb printing and false vote announcements, sometimes resulting in the reversal of election outcomes (Idada & Uhunmwuango, 2012).

2.3.2 Nepotism

This is a highly biased method of distribution of state resources where a public officer prefers his or her relatives and family members or friends in awarding contracts, job recruitment, promotion, appointment to public positions, thereby ignoring the merit principle; this may lead to the downgrading

of the quality of the public service (Amundsen, 1997; Commonwealth Association for Public Administration and Management, 2010). It also includes exemption of once relatives and friends from the application of certain punitive laws or regulations, and this may disrupt esprit de corps and trust. Nepotism provides room for “preferential treatment of one individual over another, without taking into accounts the relative merit of the respective individuals; this represents nothing but victimization of an individual or individuals” (Commonwealth Association for Public Administration and Management, 2010).

2.3.3 Favoritism

This is a form of corruption where a public servant gives undue preference or favor to his or her friends, family, and anybody close and trusted in recruitment, promotion, and so on.

2.3.4 Procurement Scam

This refers to over invoicing of government contracts or corruption related to purchases. That is, the purchase price of an item is inflated so that the difference between the inflated price and actual price is shared between the person who does the purchasing and the sellers or it is taken by the purchaser

alone with the seller conniving. (Azelama, 2002, p. 92)

2.3.5 Ghost-Workers Phenomenon

This is a practice where the management of a public organization deliberately inflates the payroll by including fictitious names to get more subventions for salary. The excess is siphoned by the members of management in connivance with some members of governing councils or boards (Azelama, 2005).

2.3.6 Budgeting Corruption/ padding.

This is a form of corruption where management of a public organization in connivance with governing council or board minister/commissioner bribes some members of the legislature to approve inflated estimate for the institution during budgeting. In a situation where the budget is already approved, the management is expected to give tips or gratifications to the government functionaries whose duty it is to release money to the institutions (Azelama, 2005).

2.4 Effects of Corruption in Nigeria

The effects of corruption in Nigeria are outrageous. The effects range from under development, absence of basic infrastructure such as potable water, good road networks,

misappropriation of national resources leading to massive poverty, mediocrity in leadership and cluelessness in professionalism, deficient leadership outputs, high unemployment and youth hopelessness, continuous widening gap between the rich and poor, and falling standard of education leading to production of low-quality graduates (Waziri, 2010).

2.5 Corruption in the Nigerian Public Sector

Corruption has significantly impacted the downfall of Nigeria's First and Second Republics. In the First Republic, Tafawa Balewa's government faced rampant looting of public funds without effective intervention (Ijewereme & Dunmade, 2014). The issue escalated with the onset of electoral corruption during the 1964 and 1965 elections, marked by rigging and violence, eventually leading to a coup in 1966 (Ajayi, 2008; Dudley, 1982).

Subsequent administrations, including those of Gowon, Shagari, and Babangida, grappled with varying degrees of corruption. While Buhari's administration demonstrated determination to eradicate corruption through the War Against Indiscipline (WAI) crusade, later leaders like Babangida engaged in large-scale corruption practices,

diverting funds and engaging in extravagant spending (Lawal & Tobi, 2006).

This trend persisted through Abacha's regime, Abdusalam's administration, and into the Fourth Republic under leaders such as Obasanjo, Yar'Adua, and Jonathan. Despite the establishment of anti-corruption institutions like the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC), corruption persisted. There were issues of selective prosecution, with influential figures often escaping accountability (Falana, 2012; Human Rights Watch, 2011).

The shift from an agrarian economy in the 1960s to total dependence on oil and oil revenue from the 1970s exacerbated corruption. This transformation, coupled with factors like poverty, personalization of public office, and political culture, has contributed to the ongoing challenges faced by Nigeria in addressing corruption (Lawal & Tobi, 2006).

In summary, the struggle against corruption in Nigeria has been multifaceted, involving historical events, political decisions, and economic shifts, as documented by various scholars and reports.

3.0 Theoretical Framework

The study adopts the Principal-Agent theory, examining organizational relationships between the "Principal" ((in this case, the Nigerian citizens)) and the "Agent" who providing it i.e. (the government officials, politicians, legislators, bureaucrats etc) (Batley, 2004:38). It explores how citizens (Principal) can manage the self-interest of agents like government officials, aligning it with desired goals. Corruption in public administration, vulnerable due to significant power, is a key concern (Hague, 1996).

Corruption is viewed as actions contradicting moral principles guiding official obligations, violating ethical rules (Adefulu, 2007). Achieving consensus on the causes and effective ways to combat corruption is challenging due to societal uniqueness and dynamic socio-political and economic interactions (Agubamah, 2009).

The modernization theory suggests that economic and political development in modernizing societies can lead to corruption (Huntington, 1968, cited by Adefulu, 2007).

In Africa, theories like patrimonialism, neo-patrimonialism, and prebendalism explain corruption as a consequence of grafting modern structures onto traditional socio-political systems (Adefulu, 2007).

Neo-patrimonialism describes officials treating bureaucratic positions as personal property, leading to corruption (Clapham, 1985, cited by Adefulu, 2007). Prebendalism sees corruption as a return for loyalty, with patrons rewarding supporters for personal or political gain (Agubamah, 2009; Okojie, 2005).

The paper relies on secondary data from various sources, employing content analysis to analyze the data. Overall, corruption is seen as a complex issue influenced by various theories and factors, making a consensus on its causes and effective solutions challenging.

4.0 Data Presentation and Analysis

Table 1 Analysis of General response rate

Number of Questionnaires administered	Number of Questionnaire received	Response Rate
240	196	81.9%

Source: Online Survey 2020

Table 3 Analysis of Bio data

Percentage distribution of Sex

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Female	61	31.1	31.1	31.1
Male	135	68.9	68.9	100.0
Total	196	100.0	100.0	

In carrying out this research, a total of 240 questionnaires were distributed, however 196 questionnaires were returned giving remarkable response rate of 81.67%.

Table 2 Preliminary Analysis Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	No of Items
.799	12

The table 2 shows the Cronbach alpha coefficient, which is used to describe the reliability of the research instrument. The higher the score, the more reliable the generated scale is. The reliability coefficient for the scale items is 0.799 hence seeing they are above 0.7 it can be concluded that the internal consistency of the scales is good and the research instrument is reliable.

Analysis of General Responses

Table 4 :Poor moral ethics in Nigerian society creates a culture of corruption among citizens

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Agree	95	48.5	48.5	48.5
Agree	63	32.1	32.1	80.6
Undecided	18	9.2	9.2	89.8
Strongly Disagree	11	5.6	5.6	95.4
Disagree	9	4.6	4.6	100.0
Total	196	100.0	100.0	

The table above shows the responses of the respondents to the hypothetical statement “Poor moral ethics in Nigerian society creates a culture of corruption among citizens”. From the table above it can be seen that 48.5 percent of the respondents

strongly agree, 32.1 percent of the respondents agree, 9.2 percent of the respondents are undecided, 5.6 percent disagree while 4.6 percent of the respondents strongly disagreed.

Table 5: Nigerians do not hold politicians accountable for corrupt practices

Valid	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	46	23.5	23.5	23.5
Agree	64	32.7	32.7	56.1
Undecided	36	18.4	18.4	74.5
Disagree	23	11.7	11.7	86.2
Strongly Disagree	27	13.8	13.8	100.0
Total	196	100.0	100.0	

The table above shows the responses of the respondents to the hypothetical statement “Nigerians do not hold politicians accountable for corrupt practices”. From the

table above it can be seen that 23.5 percent of the respondents strongly agree that, 32.7 percent of the respondents agree, 18.4 percent of the respondents are undecided,

11.7 percent disagree while 13.8 percent of the respondents strongly disagreed.

Table 6: The system of checks and balances in government is poor

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Agree	107	54.6	54.6	54.6
Agree	54	27.6	27.6	82.2
Undecided	12	6.1	6.1	88.3
Disagree	16	8.2	8.2	96.4
Strongly Disagree	7	3.6	3.6	100.0
Total	196	100.0	100.0	

The table above shows the responses of the respondents to the hypothetical statement “The system of checks and balances in government is poor”. From the table above it can be seen that 54.6 percent of the respondents strongly agree that there is there is absence of political violence, 27.6 percent of the respondents agree, 6.1 percent of the respondents are undecided, 8.2 percent disagree while 3.6 percent of the respondents strongly disagreed.

(89.8%), In addition, majority of the respondents agree that a lack of accountability of politician in Nigeria is a cause of corruption (56.1%). Finally, majority of the respondents agree that the system of checks and balances in the government is poor. As such, the result shows that most of the respondents agree that the major causes of corruption in Nigeria are poor moral ethics, poor parental guidance, a lack of accountability and a poor system of checks and balances.

4.1 Discussion of Findings

Research Question One: What are the causes of corruption in Nigeria?

The responded of this question agree that poor moral ethics in Nigerian society is a cause of corruption in the country (80.6%). Furthermore, most of the respondents agree that poor parental guidance is a reason for the prevalence of corruption in Nigeria

Research Question 2: What are the factors influencing the sustainable development in Nigeria? In answering this research question the regression analysis was adopted in order to test the factors suggested by respondents as influences on sustainable development in Nigeria

Respondents of this question agreed that (Functioning Government, Improved Infrastructure, Inclusive Government, Sustained Economic Growth) are making a significant contribution to the dependent variable (Sustainable Development). Furthermore, the beta co-efficient of the independent variables (Functioning Government, Improved Infrastructure, Inclusive Government, Sustained Economic Growth) is 0.917, 0.684, 0.709 and 0.347 respectively implies that 91.7%, 68.4%, 70.9% and 34.7%, of the dependent variable (Sustainable Development) is explained by the independent variables (Functioning Government, Improved Infrastructure, Inclusive Government, Sustained Economic Growth).

Research Question 3: What is the relationship between corruption and sustainable development in Nigeria?

In answering this research question the correlation analysis was adopted in order to test the relationship between corruption and sustainable development in Nigeria

The respondents agreed that the relationship between corruption and sustainable development in Nigeria was investigated using Spearman rank correlation coefficient.

There was a strong significant positive relationship between the two variables, $r=.890$, $n= 196$, $p <.05$ at significant level of (.000) with corruption and sustainable development significantly associated with one another. Furthermore, the correlation coefficient value is negative which indicates an inverse relationship between corruption and sustainable development. Thus the results indicate that an increase in corruption will lead to a decrease in the pace of sustainable development. This suggests that the presence of corruption is likely to slow down sustainable development in Nigeria. Therefore, we can conclude that corruption is a significant hindrance to sustainable development in Nigeria.

5.0 Conclusion

Corruption is no doubt a menace that disrupt the progress of society and the nation as a whole. The findings of the study show that major causes of corruption in Nigeria are poor moral ethics, poor parental guidance, a lack of accountability and a poor system of checks and balances. The study also found that an increase in corruption will lead to a decrease in the pace of sustainable development. Therefore, based on the findings of the study it was concluded that

corruption is a significant hindrance to sustainable development in Nigeria.

5.1 Recommendations

1. The legislative arm of the Nigerian government should institute a proper system of checks and balance to ensure that administrators and the executive branch of government is held accountable for their actions.
2. The powers and authority of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission should be broadened to deal with corrupt acts of governmental administrators and those in positions of power.
3. There should be a sensitization program led by the government and educational institutions to teach Nigerian youths regarding the dangers of corruption and the essence of integrity in day to day life.

REFERENCES

- Adefulu, J. A. (2007). Civil society and anti-corruption crusade in Nigeria's fourth Republic. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, Vol 13, 75-86.
- Agbu O. (2003). Corruption and human trafficking: The Nigerian case. *West African Review*, Vol 4, 1-13.
- Ajayi K. (2008). Election administration in Nigeria and the challenges of the 2007 elections. *Journal of Contemporary Politics*, Vol 1, 228-249.
- Akanbi, M.M.A (2004), "Current Policy Initiatives and Frameworks for Combating Corruption in Nigeria" *The Nigerian Social Scientist* 7 (1)
- Amundsen I.(1997). *Political corruption: An introduction to the issues* (Working Paper 99:7). Bergen, Norway: Chr. Michelsen Institute.
- Anazodo, R., Okoye, J. C., &Ezenwile, U. (2012). Leadership-Corruption: The bane of Nigeria development. *African Journal of Social Sciences*, 2 (3), 124 – 134.
- Andrig R ,Et all . (2013). Civil service reforms in Nigeria: The journey so far in service delivery. *American Journal of Social and Management Sciences*, Vol 3, 17-29.
- Azelama J. U. (2002). *Public enterprises management in Nigeria*. Benin-City, Nigeria: Ambik Press.
- Azelama J. U. (2005). *Administration of Nigeria tertiary institutions*. Benin-City, Nigeria: Ever-Blessed Publishers.

- Commonwealth Association for Public Administration and Management. (2010). *Ethical dilemmas in the public service*. Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. Available from www.capam.org
- Dudley B. J. (1982). *Nigerian government and politics*. London, England: MacMillan.
- Eme, O. I., & Okoh, C. I. (2011). The Role of EFCC in combating political corruption. *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review*, 1 (3).
- Falana F. (2012, December 16). Battle against corruption lost. *Punch*, p. 9.
- Human Rights Watch. (2007, January 31). *Chop fine*. Retrieved from <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2007/01/30/chop-fine-0>
- Idada W., Uhumwuangho S. O. (2012). Problems of democratic governance in Nigeria: The way forward. *Journal of Sociology and Social Anthropology*, Vol 3, 49-54.
- Ijewereme O. B. (2013). An examination of anti-corruption crusades in Nigeria: Issues and
- Ijewereme O. B., Dunmade E. O. (2014). Leadership crisis and corruption in Nigerian public sector: Implications for socio-economic development of Nigeria. *International Journal of Public Administration and Management Research*, Vol 2(3), 24-38.
- Klitgaard, R. (2018), *International Cooperation against Corruption Finance and Development* (March): 3–6.
- Lawal G., Tobi A. (2006). Bureaucratic corruption, good governance and development: The challenges and prospects of institution building in Nigeria. *Journal of Applied Sciences Research*, Vol 2, 642-649.
- Lawal, T. (2014). Local Government, Corruption and Democracy in Nigeria. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 12 (5).
- Mogae F. G. (2010), Botswana: Mogae Speaks on Corruption in Nigeria, being a text of speech delivered by former Botswanan President Festus G. Mogae in Nigeria on corruption, All Africa. Com,
- Odinialu, C. A. (2010). Corruption and governance in Africa: How do we break the cycle in Nigeria? Abuja: Clean Publication.
- Ogwuja I. (2014). Electoral violence and the prospects of democratic consolidation in Nigeria. In Onu G., Momoh A. (Eds.), *Elections and democratic cons*

- olidation in Nigeria*. Proceeding of the 23rd Annual Conference of the Nigerian Political Science Association.
- Sehinde, B. (2008). Need for a Review of Statutory Roles of Local Government for Effective Service. *Journal of Contemporary Politics*, 1(1), 102.
- Tanzi V. (1998). *Corruption around the world: Causes, consequences, scope and cures* (IMF Working Paper). Retrieved from <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/wp9863.pdf>
- Von H. Et al J. I. (2014). Dutch disease and Nigeria oil economy. *African Research Review*, Vol 6, 82-90.
- Waziri F. (2010). *Corruption and governance challenges*. Nigeria Conference Proceedings, Monograph Series, No. 7, CLEEN Foundation, Abuja, Nigeria.
- World Bank Independent Evaluation Group. (2022). *Engaging with fragile states: An IEG review of World Bank support to low-income countries under stress*. Washington, DC: The World Bank. Retrieved from www.worldbank.org/ieg

STATE AND INDUSTRIALIZATION IN NIGERIA: THE RISE AND COLLAPSE OF ZAMFARA TEXTILE INDUSTRIES

Muhammad Shehu

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, USMANU DANFODIYO UNIVERSITY, SOKOTO
muhammad.shehu2@udusok.edu.ng, mshehuamb@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This study examined the role of the state in the industrialisation process, using the Zamfara Textile Industries Nigeria as a case study. The study becomes necessary considering the critical role of textile production in any state's drive to economic development. Consequent upon this, the study investigated the extent to which the provision of efficient infrastructural facilities, legal and institutional framework as well as formulations of good industrial policies by the Nigerian state have led to the rise of Zamfara Textile Industry. The research also explored the extent to which problem of power supply, inadequate locally produced raw materials, manpower development, dependency on foreign technology, ineffective trade and industrial policies and low local patronage led to the collapse of Zamfara Textile industry. The framework of analysis adopted in this study is historical dialectical materialism considering the fact that the industry under study has collapsed and become a history. Both primary and secondary sources of data were used. The primary source included interview and personal observation. Key informant interview (KII) was used as the instrument of data collection. It was structurally designed to guide interface with stakeholders and other respondents deemed relevant to the study which were purposely selected. The secondary sources included documentary analysis of some literature and unpublished reports from the industry. The finding of the research revealed that the nature and character of the Nigerian state is largely responsible for the comatose status of the industrialization in the state. The study recommends for the creation and implementation of relevant policies to boot industrial development in the area.

KEYWORDS: Collapse, Industry, Industrialization, Rise, State, Textile

Introduction

Industrialization is a key component of any state's drive for sustainable development. It is a pivotal factor to growth and development. It serves as the bedrock for the development of all other sectors of the economy including employment generation, poverty reduction, and quality education and

health provision. In the same vein, Muhammad and Abubakar (2013) argued that industrialization also guards the state against total dependence on other state which perpetuates the problem of underdevelopment and exacerbates insecurity in the society. This suggests that industrialization is linked to economic

growth and sustainable development. In view of this, all states plan for industrialization and their development blue prints are normally anchored on industrialization.

Historically, the origin of modern industrial sector in Nigeria could be traced back to the late 1930s and early 1940s (Adebayo, 1993), when the major foreign trading companies which dominated the colonial economy modified their operations from commercial activities to import-substitution industrialization. By the end of the Second World War (1939 – 1945), the basic internal conditions necessary for local manufacturing in Nigeria had matured sufficiently. Not only had a significant number of Nigerians been separated from their means of production and were, therefore, available for employment as wage labourers, but also there was domestic market, large enough to absorb commodities manufactured locally (Adebayo, 1993). Furthermore, basic infrastructural facilities such as roads and rail networks as well as water and electricity necessary for supporting industrialization had been put in place by the colonial state. Moreover, by the 1940s, many of the colonial trading companies had accumulated sufficient capital for higher accumulation, concentration and centralization necessary for large scale industrialization. However, because of its complexities and policy requirements, only few succeeded. Following her independence in 1960, the Nigerian state through its various national development plans and policies made spirited effort towards industrialisation (Imevbore, 2010). Consequently, the Nigerian state started industrialization on a very solid foundation, albeit suddenly its industrial drive as contained in various development plans and policies and as spirited by the rapid development of local industries collapsed.

Thus, the state was thrown into industrial crisis.

The genesis of Nigeria's industrial crisis could be embedded in the early structures of manufacturing activities in the country. It could be argued that the trading companies that pioneered the industrialization process were the major cause of some of the distortions that were built into the import-substitution process from the outset. It is against this background that the research seeks to examine the role of the Nigerian state in industrialization with emphasis on the rise and collapse of Zamfara Textile Industries.

Research Questions

This study is guided by the following questions:

- i. What factors account for the establishment and development of Zamfara Textile Industry?
- ii. What was the role of the Nigerian State to the rise and collapse of Zamfara Textile Industry?
- iii. How could Zamfara Textile Industry be resuscitated?

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are to:

- i. Identify the factors that influenced the establishment and development of Zamfara Textile Industry.
- ii. Examine the role of the Nigerian State in the rise and collapse of Zamfara Textile industry.
- iii. Offer recommendations upon which Zamfara Textile Industry could be resuscitated.

Assumptions of the Study

The study is anchored on the assumptions that:

- i. The resources available to the Nigerian state enable it to embark on Industrialisation.
- ii. The rentier character of the Nigerian state determines both the rise and decline of Zamfara textile industry.

Research Methodology

This segment explains the techniques adopted by the researcher in carrying out the research. It includes the research approach, the sources and method of data collection and analysis.

i. Research Design

The approach adopted in this study is the qualitative approach. It is essentially the application of qualitative research technique in the thorough examination and interpretation of research data (Biereenu-Nnabugwu, 2006). The approach relies on the skills and the abilities of the researcher in a way that is not normally acknowledged or expected in quantitative research. By implication, rather than emphasize on the extent of objectivity and statistical manipulations, what is noteworthy, indeed critical, is that qualitative research is characteristically more involving.

ii. Sources of data

For the purpose of this study, data was generated from both primary and secondary sources. In-depth interview is the primary source while documentary source serves as the secondary which was used to complement and corroborate the primary data.

iii. Instruments of data collection

For the purpose of this study, interview was used. As a method of gathering data, interview involves a face-to-face, verbal and

non-verbal communication between the investigator and his or her sample/population (Biereenu-Nnabugwu, 2006). Interview as instrument of data collection gives the researcher an opportunity to administer, elicit and record information from and possibly about the respondent. The interview style is unstructured and conversational, and the questions asked are generally open-ended and designed to elicit detailed, concrete stories about the subject's experiences.

iv. Population of the study

In the case of this study, population was drawn from five (5) categories of respondents which included: (i) state's officials (ii) Managerial Staff of the industry; (iii) workers of the industry, (iv) The middle men (Licensed Buying Agents) (v) The cotton producers (farmers)

v. Sample and sampling method

In the course of carrying this research purposive sampling and snowball methods were used.

Purposive sampling is concerned with the selection of respondents advertently because of their roles or knowledge in the research problems. In line with this, respondents were purposively chosen using the criterion of level of rank. Considering the central objective of the study, the focus is on those that are being described as the major stakeholders (for example the Ex-Executive Director, the Ex-Administrative officer and some engineers) who were reached through snowball method. Some of the respondents with which the researcher could not have direct contacted were reached through snowballing method. As a method of sampling, snowball sampling is useful for gaining access to groups which would normally be out of reach of the researcher (McQueen & Knussen, 2002).

vi. Data analysis

Two sources of data were used in this study, namely in-depth interview and documentary analysis. Both of the data were analyzed using the same technique of data analysis (i.e. qualitative data analysis). As stated earlier, the most significant feature of qualitative research is the fact that it relies heavily on the skills, creativity and abilities of the researcher. By implication, qualitative analysis depends greatly on the researcher's own style of rigorous thinking, along with sufficient presentation of evidence and careful consideration of alternative interpretations. Thus, the analysis began with the transcription of the previously copious and scattered recorded data. The transcription was followed by the organization of the data in accordance with themes and sub-themes of the research. Thereafter, the data were analyzed by comparing it with the data obtained from other sources with a view to confirming the veracity of the information in order to arrive at accurate research findings.

Conceptual Exploration

The State

The Liberalists, contends that the state is a political organization of human society that comprises the organized attributes of contemporary institutions like the legislature, executive and judiciary. These are governmental institutions that make and enforce laws that are binding upon the people within a defined territory. Thus, Mahajan (2000) traces the origin of the authority of state to Machiavelli who expressed the idea as "the power which has authority over men" as cited in Shaapera (2013: 13). The state therefore has a central role to play in an economy.

In addition, Marxists' writings of how the state emerged maintain that the State is not a creation for the interest of all. It originated in conflict situation and operates as a form

of instrument of domination. Scholars who argued along the Marxian perspective like Karl Marx, Fredrich Engels, V. I. Lenin, Mao and Lukas, were great philosophers, revolutionaries and political thinkers who observed that the state neither evolved as a result of agreement, contract nor a gradual process. According to Marx, man is not a political animal as Aristotle claimed; rather, man is a social animal. Marx maintained that the forces of production in any given society constitute the basis of all social relationships while the state is founded upon economic conditions. Thus, the mode of material production in social life preconditions the general character of socio-political and spiritual processes in the society (Mahajan, 2000).

The Marxists therefore believe that the development of the productive forces in the capitalist society produced surplus value as a consequence of the appropriation of property for private use that necessitated the constituting of the state. Therefore, the state then turns into an instrument in the hands of a powerful dominant class for accumulation and exploitation of the dominated members of the society. The classical Marxists, acknowledge that the state sometimes enjoys some form of relative autonomy and ensures the goodness of all, not just a few, in a society.

In contrast to the above, the Capitalist description of state is not done on institutional terms. For example, in reference to parliament, bureaucracy, guaranteed property rights, etc. although those elements would be present in all or most capitalist states that could be found in history. The criterion of description of the capitalist state would rather be taken from the relationship between the state and the accumulation process (Claus, 1975). Central to the description are, therefore, not structural attributes to a sector of society

(state), but the way it is functionally related to and dependent upon the accumulation process. The elements for the description of a capitalist state as outlined in Claus (1975:126-127) are four:

First, the state has no authority to order production or to control it. Production/accumulation takes place in enterprises that are said to be free in the sense of *exempt from state control*. The basic prerogative of *free enterprises* is a negative one (i.e. the right not to produce unless production is at the same time accumulative, that is, not only production of useful things but simultaneously production of surplus values, or profit).

Second, the state has the mandate to create and sustain *conditions* of accumulation. There are different levels of specificity in which the function of creating and maintaining conditions of accumulation could be performed. For example, individual accumulating units, categories of accumulating units (industries, regions) and capital as a whole. There are also different categories of threats that cause problems of accumulation, that is, threats coming from other accumulating units (inter-firm, inter-industry, and international competition) and threats coming from non capitalists, as well as from actors engaging in deviant, criminal, or other kinds of behaviour that are considered incompatible with the orderly pursuit of surplus-value production. The third element of the description of the state is that, its very power relationships and decision-making power *depends* on (like every other social relationship in capitalist society) the presence and continuity of the accumulation process. In the absence of accumulation, everything, and especially the power of the state, tends to disintegrate. Considering the budgetary obligations of the state in advanced capitalist societies, its extensive reliance on resources created in

the accumulation process and through taxation from wages and profits becomes immediately clear. The three elements of the concept of the capitalist state mentioned above are sometimes described as the principles of *exclusion, maintenance and dependency*, respectively. Exclusion means, that the state is not a capitalist itself, that is, something that has its existence outside the accumulation process. Maintenance implies that this process could not perpetuate itself in the absence of this external being, that there are threats and possible disturbances to the process. Dependency means that this protective device itself would be threatened if it engages in policies inconsistent with its protective functions (Claus, 1975).

The fourth element in the description of a capitalist state is *legitimation*. In this regard, state could only function as a capitalist state by appealing to symbols and sources of support that conceals its nature as a capitalist state; the existence of a capitalist state presupposes the systemic denial of its nature as a capitalist state.

Industrialization

Industrialization is a process that fundamentally seeks to combine science, technology, capital, workers, and raw materials to produce goods that consumers would buy (Yaqub & Maikudi, 2014). Industrialization is also a process in which a country transforms from a primarily agricultural and handicraft society into one based on the manufacturing of goods and services (Ladan, Abdullahi, & Haruna, 2012). It is a period of social and economic change that transforms a human group from an agrarian society into an industrial one, involving the extensive re-organization of an economy for the purpose of manufacturing (Arthur & Steven, 2003). Industrialization also involves vast economic and social changes, being manifested in urbanization, a growing body of wage-earners, increased

technical and advanced education. Individual manual labour is often replaced by mechanized mass production and craftsmen are replaced by assembly lines. Industrialization is most commonly associated with the European industrial revolution of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Industrialization which is a deliberate and sustained application and combination of an appropriate technology, infrastructure, managerial expertise, and other important resources, has attracted considerable interest in recent developmental studies (Dazie, 2012) because of the critical role it plays in economic development. In fact, industrialization acts as catalyst that accelerates the pace of structural transformation and diversification of economies; enables a state to fully utilize its factor endowment and depend less on foreign supply and finished goods or raw materials economic growth, development and sustenance (Udah, 2010).

Theoretical framework of Analysis

In the case of this research, Historical Dialectical Materialism as a methodology within the discipline of Political economy is used as the framework of analysis. Political economy is concerned with the social relations into which human beings enter in the process of production, distribution, exchange and consumption of basic necessities of life. The relations that occur in the process of production are objectively predetermined by the level of development of productive forces within the social formation. The state of development of productive forces is so important (Ake, 1981) for it decisively influences social organisation, culture, the level of welfare and even consciousness. The organic unity of productive forces and social relations of

production constitute the economic system or the mode of production.

Discussion of the findings

A. The Rise of Zamfara Textile Industries

Industrialisation is an important process that evidently could transform any state's economic and social sectors. For example, it is an engine of technological advancement that radically impact agricultural development, ICT, manufacturing sector etc. This is why many states consider industrialisation as an important policy drive. In any case, industrialisation was and is still the driving force of economic stability and social prosperity of the West, US, Canada and Australia. Conversely, the underdeveloped character of Africa, Latin America, and many counties in Asia is highly attributable to industrial backwardness (Udah, 2010). Nevertheless, industrial development requires certain prerequisite factors such as availability of raw materials, improved transportation network, production technology, investment capital, frequent power supply and effective leadership. Basically, in every state, the establishment of a particular industry is dependent upon the kind of raw materials such state is endowed with. Thus, in the establishment of Zamfara textile industries, availability of cotton as a raw material was one of the fundamental factors. Cotton production in Nigeria dates back to 1903 with the British Cotton Growers Association taking the lead in the process until the establishment of Marketing Boards by the state. Some of the marketing Boards were located in areas like Funtua, Gusau, Kaura - Namoda among others (Olatunji, 2014). The cotton marketing Boards were the monopoly and institutionalised markets geared towards marketing cotton for local consumption by

textile industries, feed mills and for export. This development encouraged cotton producers to increase the volume of production bearing in mind that the Boards could absorb whatever quantity of cotton is being produced. Conversely, cotton became relatively available within the area. Availability of this cotton could therefore be one of the factors that propelled the establishment of Zamfara Textile Industries as rightly stated by Idris Koko as a respondent to the research that:

The Northern Regional Government have realized the availability of cotton and groundnut came up with a policy that: any business individual (indigenous or otherwise) who is willing to establish a business in the North will be given preferential treatment (Interview, 2016).

This policy gave an impetus for foreign investors to establish industries within the region. Not only this, the state also created an enabling environment for industrial development through the provision of road network that link industries to marketing boards where raw materials are sourced. The state also ensured relative water and power supply. Besides, New Nigeria Development Company (NNDC) and Bank of the North were also established by the state in Kaduna and Kano respectively to render financial assistance to the willing business individuals including the Licensed Buying Agents (L. B. A.). NNDC as an organisation was established in 1949 as a statutory corporation named, the Northern Regional Production Development Board (NRPDB) to contribute to the economic development of the then Northern Region of Nigeria. NNDC's portfolio of investments spans various sectors of the economy including industrialisation, solid minerals, consulting, Real Estate, construction etc. (www.nndcgroup.ng). The activities of these organisations contributed to economic development of the region and attracted

foreign investors from Asian countries like Japan, Pakistan and China which consequently led to the establishment of industrial estates in Kano and Kaduna. It was this development that also led to the establishment of Zamfara Textile Industries. Therefore, the state played a very vital role in the establishment of the industry. Specifically, the following factors were found to be responsible for the establishment of Zamfara Textile Industries:

Strategic location of Zamfara:

Zamfara state lies between latitudes 10° 50'N and 13° 38'N and longitudes 4° 16'E and 7° 18'E. The state is located in the Sudan Savanna ecological zone of Nigeria with a land area of 39,762km². Figures 3.1 and 3.2 illustrate the location of Zamfara State in the map of Nigeria and the local government areas in the state respectively. Zamfara state shares common borders with Sokoto and the Republic of Niger to the north, Katsina and Kaduna states to the east, Niger and Kebbi states in the south (www.zamfarastate.net, 2010). The state has a population of about 3,259,846 people in 2006 according to the National Population Commission (NPC.,2006). This is projected as population estimate in 2011 to be 3,838,160 people based on 3.2% annual growth rate in population (UNFPA, 2013).

The climate is essentially that of tropical climate. The climate is generally characterised by alternating dry and wet seasons. The rains usually commence in May/June and ends in September/October. The effective rainy season in the study area is restricted from July to mid September (Yakubu, 2005). The mean annual rainfall ranges from 969mm to 1,086mm. Relative humidity varies between 24% in January and rises to 85% in September. The mean annual

temperature also varies from 29oC to 37oC (www.zamfarastate.net, 2010).

Consequently, the suitability of the land for the cultivation of cotton makes it possible for the state to mobilize farmers to increasing the level of cotton cultivation for industrial use.

Employment Opportunity:

Before the Great Depression of the 1930s, the notion that state ought to be responsible for creating jobs would have seemed absurd. Today, however, it has become one of the cardinal objectives of every state to increase employment (Jordan, 2003). For instance, China's economy has drastically grown as a result industrial development and has led to an increase in the employment generation of its population. It could therefore be argued that the need to generate employment opportunities for the citizens was among the factors that necessitated the establishment of Zamfara Textile Industries. According to Umar (2016), the need for employment opportunities was one of the cardinal objectives for establishing Zamtex by the Northern Regional Government. He further stated that:

The Sardauna of Sokoto met with one of the major shareholders of the company (who was a Chinese national) in Kaduna and discussed the need for employment generation in the region. In the course of their discussion, his visitor (the Chinese national) agreed to set up an industry to be located in Gusau being a strategic place (interview, 2016).

This is borne out of the fact that, one of the priorities of any state is the creation of employment opportunities to the citizenry. Creation of jobs is a keystone of any economic recovery programme. Providing a job is vital on many grounds. Politically, employment opportunities give the population a stake in the peace process by providing young men and women with

alternatives to violence. Economically, employment provides income to poor families, revives domestic demands for goods and services, and stimulates overall growth. Socially, employment also promotes social healing, encourages the return of displaced persons and improves the social welfare in the long run. Moreover, a state intervenes in the industrial development for achieving one or several of the traditional economic objectives of government, namely, employment generation, stability, equity, growth and balance of payment (Dazie, 2012). The northern regional government therefore, provided necessary support for the establishment of industry with a view to providing job opportunities for the teeming population in the region. Consequent upon this, a significant number of employable populations were involved in the relations of production within the industry. According to Yawale (2016), apart from those who sell their labour for the industries, there existed other classes of individuals around the industry involved in other chain of production and business activities though not directly linked. He further stated that:

Previously, I knew Zamtex to have a workforce of at least more than 7000. It was an institution of its own. In fact, it has even gone to a level of establishing a mini market where food vendors and other small business people carried transaction on daily basis within the industry. Indeed, the collapse of the industry has immensely contributed to high level of unemployment in the region. A lot of people lost their jobs as you could hardly find a household in Gusau metropolis and its environs that did not had a member who worked with the industry (Interview, 2016).

It could therefore be argued that the establishment of the industry was borne out of the desire to decrease the level of unemployment within the region. The industries succeeded in involving a large

number of the working class (cotton farmers, licensed buying agents, labourers etc.) in the relations of production.

Market for Agricultural products

The introduction of the colonial policy which gave much emphasis on the production of cash crops as against food crops has fundamentally changed the pattern of agricultural production in Nigeria (Ilufeye & Baba, 2015). As a result, Zamfara was found to be very effective in the support of cash crops production due to its climatic condition. Establishment of an industry could therefore provide an ample opportunity for such products transaction. Moreover, agricultural production is accomplished and completed only if the product reaches the ultimate hand of buyers when consumption takes place.

In line with the above, the Nigerian state through the Northern Regional Government established Zamfara Textile Industries. The establishment of the industry created an avenue for the farmers to dispose their produce. In other words, the industry serves as a ready market for cotton. Farm produce from Gusau Metropolis and its neighbouring towns and villages served as the major source of the required raw materials for the production activities within the industries. According to Idris (2016), the establishment of Zamfara Textile Industries by the Northern Regional Government aided the successful transaction of farm produce (cotton in particular) in the region. The state established marketing boards and supported the Licensed Buying Agents with a view to absorbing cotton which could enable the textile industries to effectively perform production activities. He further stated that:

As part of the strategies to encourage cotton producers, an assurance was given by government that whatever amount of cotton they produce would be absorbed

by the industry. That farmers should ensure that they were paid equivalent of all what they offered to marketing Boards (Interview, 2016).

This policy by the state has immensely contributed in making available the needed industrial raw materials for the establishment and development of Zamfara Textile Industries.

Improved transportation system:

It is generally believed that any industrializing society needs to have an effective transport network, to enable the movement of heavy products and materials around in order to open up access to raw materials, reduce the price of these materials and the resulting goods, break down local monopolies caused by poor transport networks and allow for an integrated economy where regions of the state could specialize (Wilde, 2014).

In view of the above and having realized the importance of transportation in industrialization, the British colonialists linked some major cities and towns in the state with rail networks which aided the exploitation and evacuation of raw materials with which they serviced their industries. The British government began construction of a railway from Lagos Colony to Ibadan in 1896 and later extended to Minna where it met Baro – Kano railway. The railway reached its Northern terminus of Nguru in 1930. After Coal was discovered at Udi, the Eastern Railway was built to Port Harcourt between 1913 and 1916. This railway was extended to Kaduna in 1927, connecting the Eastern Railway to the Lagos – Kano Railway. The Eastern Railway was extended to its northern terminus of Maiduguri between 1958 and 1964 (Yakubu, 2005).

With the grant of independence to the Nigerian state by the British colonialists, the establishment of industries became mostly

dependent upon the linkage of those rail and road networks. As indicated in figure 4 above, Zamfara was among the locations linked with railway and road network by the Nigerian state for easy evacuation of raw materials (mostly cotton and groundnut) to seaports for export. The rail lines and road networks were later used for easy transportation of raw materials to the industry and finished products from the industry to the market. Furthermore, it was discovered by the researcher during the field work that the industry was located closely to the railway lines that passes to Kaura Namoda from Zungeru. It was with a view to easing the transportation of the industrial products to the market. Therefore, road network has equally contributed immensely towards the development of the industry. Not only this, a number of feeder roads linking different farm and village locations were also constructed by the state with a view to easing the evacuation of raw materials to industry. Examples of such feeder roads include those of Tsafe, Moriki, Kaura, Zurmi, Dansadau, Kiyawa, Nahuce, Wanke-Rijiya, and Magami. These feeder roads successfully aided the transportation of raw materials to industry.

Effective management

Competency-based human resource planning serves as a link between human resource management and overall strategic plan of an organization (Dubois & Rothwell, 2004). Competencies are defined as observable abilities, skills, knowledge, motivations or traits defined in terms of behaviours needed for successful job performance. Competency-based management supports the integration of human resources planning with business planning by allowing organizations to assess the current human resource capacity based on their competencies against the capacity needed to achieve the vision, mission and business goals of the organization. Targeted

human resource strategies, plans and programmes to address gaps (e.g., hiring and staffing; learning; career development; succession management; etc) are then designed, developed and implemented to close the gaps. Competency-based management solutions typically provide input into and drive all aspects of employee career development. This allows organizations to improve productivity in most areas of human capital management (Dubois & Rothwell, 2004). Improving the productivity of an organisation guarantees its development. According to Sani (2016), Zamfara Textile Industries enjoyed a very competent management as a result of which the industry was able to expand its production capacity. He stated that:

The industry enjoyed a hard-working and competent management staff whose aim was ensuring a maximized productive capacity of the industry. As a result, the industry was able to increase its installed capacity from 13000 – 32660 spindles and 256 – 1076 weaving looms with an average monthly production of two million meters of grey cloth (Interview, 2016).

The management of the industry was structured in such a way that it allows a harmonious relationship within and among the workforce. For instance, the industry was headed by a General Manager who served as the overall superintendent responsible for the performance of regular administration and management activities of the industry. He/she designs and executes development plans, annual action plans and investment, maintenance and expenses plans. It is also the responsibility of the General Manger to assign the investment of available funds which are not necessary for the immediate company operations and at the same time direct accounting processes.

In addition, the General Manager was assisted by a financial Controller, purchasing officer and Assistant General Manager Administration and production. The financial controller controls the revenue of the company realized through the sale of company's products and reports to the General Manager. The Purchasing Officer is charged with responsibility of the purchase of raw materials, machine equipments and other inputs for the company. Assistant General Manager (Administration) oversees the day-to-day administrative functions of the company and controls personnel management and security of the company on behalf of the General Manager. In the production section, which comprises of the ginnery, spinning and weaving sections, an Assistant General Manager also overlooks their activities and reports direct to the General Manager. These senior officers were assisted in carrying out their tasks by various categories of staff within their respective departments. This has aided the development of the industry

B. The Collapse of Zamfara Textile Industries

There is no gainsaying that the Zamfara textile industry had the potentialities of contributing profitably to human capacity development, revenue generation (through exports) as well as promoting the sustenance of the national economy. Unfortunately, the antithesis inherent in the establishment of the industry led to its eventual collapse. This section examines the factors responsible for the collapse of Zamfara Textile Industries and its implications for national growth and well-being of the Nigerian citizens. These factors include but not limited to irregular power supply, inadequacy of locally-produced raw materials, manpower development, taste and fashion for foreign textiles, dependency on foreign technology, inconsistent trade and industrial policies and

porous Borders which aided smuggling activities among others.

Problem of Power Supply

Electricity is a significant component of virtually any production process. As such, its limited supply by the state has the potential to directly and/or indirectly affect the economic activities of industries. One of the fundamental contributors to the large productivity gap between developed and developing countries are low quality infrastructure, and the starkest example of infrastructure failure is electricity supply. It is so because, electricity is an essential input - most industries could not produce anything without electricity for lights, motors, and machines - shortages could significantly reduce output (Alcott, Allan & Stephen, 2014). In line with this, Lineweber and McNulty, (2001) submitted that industries could technically suffer from two types of power disturbances: poor quality, and power outages. The first refers to the fluctuations in voltage, which could result in severe damage to machinery and equipment, and a corresponding high cost of frequent repair and replacement. The second relates to a complete loss of power, lasting from one second to hours.

It is imperative therefore, to note that setting an industry is one thing while its sustenance is another. Limited power supply was one of the major factors that led to the eventual collapse of Zamfara Textile Industries. This is so because; the Nigerian state through the Northern Regional Government established Zamfara Textile Industries but failed to take measures that could sustain the industry and guard it against lower productivity or eventual collapse and this is an apparent contradiction of the thesis that propelled the establishment of the industry. At its inception, the industry enjoyed relative

power supply, but measures that could sustain such condition were not put in place and eventually, the industry collapsed. In 1967 the industry first experienced greatest challenge of power supply when the ECN generator that supplies electricity to Gusau metropolis broke down for six months. Throughout the period, there was no production in industry and workers were paid fifty percent (50%) of their salaries while they stay away from their jobs due to the problem of power supply (Zamtex Report, 2004). As a result, the industry could not realize any surplus value but losing the capital base which adversely affected its developmental capacity. According to Iliyasu (2016) inadequate power supply was among the greatest challenges experienced by the industry which led to its eventual collapse. He stated that:

Power supply was our main challenge. I could still remember vividly well; the General Manager once told me that sometimes they had to use income from the ginneries to pay the whole of Zamtex's workers before they finally closed it. All as a result of underproduction due to inadequate power supply (Interview, 2016).

The industry being a capitalist oriented entity could not afford to lose its capital base when the production process was not favourable due to power shortage. As a result, it found it uneasy to keep the workforce idle and at the same time taking the brunt of paying them. This is because; the essence was to accumulate more capital. In a capitalist production system, those who sell their labour earn a living only when they partake in the production process and get their share based on contribution, they made in the production process. Epileptic power supply has therefore affected the quality and quantity of goods produced. In line with this, Iliyasu (2016) argued that sudden

power outage was also another fundamental problem that affected the industry and contributed its eventual collapse. He stated that:

Sudden power outage was another challenge faced by the industry, because it caused a lot of damages to the machines and even the product during production process (Interview, 2016).

This by implication compels the industry to produce more goods to replace the low-quality units, or discarded units. Consequently, production cost may further increase. As the production cost increase, the surplus values to be realized from the production process decrease which also affects the capacity of the industry to compete with other business entities in the market. Another fundamental way through which the problem of power affected the industry is the uncertainty channel. This is a situation where industry could not predict with any accuracy the occurrence of power outages. This situation translates into uncertainty in meeting deadlines, getting materials from suppliers on time, or profiting from new market opportunities. In the end, rendered the capital base of the industry to idle more capital and contributed to reducing the number of workers needed.

In an attempt to arrest the situation, the management of the industry wanted to insure it against power outages by acquiring generators, but the situation persisted. It could not solve the problem because; the generated power from the generators could not serve the whole industry, and as such, it was rotated among the Ginnery, Spinning and weaving sections simultaneously. Meanwhile, the industry needs a constant power supply all the time. This has drastically reduced the productive capacity of the industry there by rendering the

production process to be unprofitable. To buttress this, Musa (2016) stated that:

The industry purchased three generators with the capacity of 2000KVA each, with a fuel consumption capacity of 226.6 liters/hour (Interview, 2016).

This development further compounded the problems faced by the industry as the production by generators turned to be unprofitable because it was so expensive to run a generator and the production capacity using electricity outweighs that of generators. The diesel consumption capacity of each of the generators was 226.6 liters per hour and 13 drums of engine oil per month. Meanwhile, the price of a liter of diesel as at then was 22 Naira and a Drum of engine oil was sold at the cost of 8000 Naira. Below is a summary of cost of power used for the production activities in the industry:

As a result, the industry found it unbearable as the production becomes unprofitable which caused the industry to lose its capital, because all the production sections could not function together with the power from generators. Rather, it was rotated and the resultant effect was reduction in the productivity. Consequently, this led to the collapse of the industry as vividly captured in the Industry's Report that:

As the situation continues to bite hard of the market, electricity, and high cost of petroleum product which we use in production of our grey cloth, we have no option than, on 15th October 2004 close the production sector... (Zamtex Report, 2004:3).

To this end therefore, it could be argued that power failure serve as a deterrent not only to the industry but to the economic growth of Nigerian state. This stems from the fact that power outage causes a lot of damages to the household and the industries whose

activities will be limited due to non-availability of regular power to power the equipment and machine used in the process of production. In a nut shell, the problem of power supply has been identified to be the greatest challenge which contributed to the eventual collapse of the industry.

Human Resources Management and Labour Issues

A critical success factor in the realization of the lofty objectives of an organisation is a professional, competent and result-oriented workforce with the impetus to effectively discharge its catalytic role of facilitating successful conception, planning, execution and monitoring of the projects and programmes. Human resource management is therefore that part of the field of management which provides for effective utilization of human resources to achieve both the objectives of the organisation and the satisfaction and development of employees. It covers such diverse areas as human resource planning; job analysis; staffing; training and development; compensation and benefits; performance appraisal and management; industrial relations; staff welfare; disengagement etc. it is as such necessary to enhance the capabilities of employees and ensure that they possess the requisite level of competence, knowledge, skill and attitude which must be continually improved upon to increase productivity.

In the 1920s, textile industries in Nigeria employed and trained their factory staff on the job to satisfy the principles of manpower development which aimed at preparing an employee for a future, and well – defined job at a higher level. This helps in increasing productivity in an organisation. However, only expatriates (foreign experts) were usually allowed to man the sensitive sections of the industry in order to keep Nigerians

away from understanding the secret and basic technological workings and operations of the industry to the advantage of the colonialists (Ahmed, 2014) a situation which persisted even after independence. An Interview with an anonymous Staff of Zamfara Textile Industries indicates that, some important positions within the industry - General Manager and Financial Controller were exclusively reserved for foreigners (Chinese) for an undisclosed reason. Where indigenous people were employed, they had their freedoms censored while interactions curtailed, restricted or confined to just a particular section of the industry (mostly the production section). Most of the employees in the industry were the unskilled labourers. This is because; the exploitative nature of a capitalist oriented organisation requires a larger segment of the population that is ready to sell their labour to earn the basic necessities of life.

As the situation persists, there came a time when the workers union revolted and demanded an equal treatment with civil servant in the public sector. According to the civil service rule of the Nigerian state, a civil servant is expected to work from 8:00am to 4:00pm during the week days, but in the case of Zamtex, workers do not enjoy that leverage as most of the time, they spend the whole days of the week on the productive process. The workers therefore, realized the level of exploitation which they were subjected to by the industry and demanded for a share from the surplus values produced. The owners of the industry felt reluctant in granting the request of the workers as a result of which morale of the workers was reduced leading to low level of productivity in the industry. By implication, the inability of the state to influence the industry formulate and implement policies that could compel private organizations to provide favourable working condition for

the workers was among the reasons for collapse of the industries in the state.

Dependency on foreign technology

The textile industry is a labour intensive and thus, requires manpower and many technological devices, especially inform of machines and accessories for efficient operation of the production process. Some of the technological devices especially machines and equipments used in are usually imported and without required technical knowhow of repairing them. This practice becomes problematic and costly to the nation's economy due to high cost of importation of materials and tools. Non-availability of spare parts for the replacement of worn-out or damaged tools was also another problem. Consequently, these machines wear out with too long usage and age while the unserviceable ones are often cannibalized in an attempt to put the working machines in good shape (Ohiorhehuan, 2001). This invariably affects production and quality of products thus leads to abandonments of local textiles for the imported ones as better option.

Zamfara Textile Industries was also affected by this scenario as imported and installed machines within the industry became obsolete and difficult to repair. According to Umar (2016), a significant percentage of the machines installed in the industry later became obsolete and consumed a lot of power which was not readily available. He stated that:

The spinning and weaving machines are all there intact, but they are obsolete and outdated. They consume a lot power and their spare parts are difficult to find. (Interview, 2016).

From the above therefore, consumption of too much power coupled with its inadequacy and lack of spare parts to repair the worn-out

machines has invariably led to low productivity in the industry and low productivity adversely affects surplus value accumulation. It also made it difficult for the industry to supply the needed products to the UNTL Kaduna and other textile mills in Lagos, the resultant effect of which led to workers not being adequately paid their rewards due to short income.

Smuggling activities and Low Patronage

Smuggling could be described as the clandestine transportation of goods or persons past a point where it is prohibited, such as across an international border, in violation of applicable laws or other regulations (Ogundele, 2000). In textile trade, much smuggling occurs when enterprising merchants attempt to supply demand for a particular textile that is illegally or heavily taxed. Smuggling is an attritional problem, evidence of corruption, greed and 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. These factors make foreign textiles more marketable than the locally produced ones.

Furthermore, Ogundele, (2000) also asserted that more than 70% of textile consumers in Nigeria preferred imported textiles against locally produced ones. Price and quality have been observed to be the determining factors for consumer's choice of goods. This study argues that the state deliberately made its borders porous with a view to giving undue advantage to a particular class of individuals to smuggle in goods and services for exploitative motive. The concomitant effect of all these is that smuggling has become a "booming industry" to the few

privileged class of citizens and has drastically affected the level of production of those textile industries that produce finished products for consumer, because, the attention of the consumers have turned to smuggled textile products which they consider to be cheaper and more attractive. In effect, low patronage of locally produced textile materials has drastically affected the level of intake (market) of semi-finished products by other local textile industries from industries Zamfara Textile Industries. As a result, of which the industry experienced low productivity leading to unprofitable production. This has also contributed significantly to the collapse of the industry.

Ineffective trade and industrial policies

It has been asserted that Nigerian state has not been able to make an appreciable progress in industrial development due to policy failure (Duru, 2010). This is why from the import-substitution industrial policy of the 1960s to the Small and Medium Industries Investment Scheme (SMIEIS) of 2000 have not repositioned the sector for its contribution meaningfully to GDP in particular and development of Nigeria in general. These failures accordingly emerge and reemerge from policy formulation, implementation and precisely lack of continuation.

Suffice to say that, prior to Nigeria's independence in 1960, the Nigerian economy was predominantly agrarian, both in the production for domestic consumption and exports as industrialization was not part of the British colonial economic policy rather, to make the colony producer of primary raw material and consumers of imported manufactured goods. Besides, the construction of roads, collection of taxes and maintenance of law and order to aid trade,

no particular industrial policy was initiated by the erstwhile colonial administration to promote industrial development in the state (Duru, 2010). Early manufacturing activities predating independence were limited to the semi-processing of agricultural products as complementary to the trading activities of foreign companies (Duru, 2010). The first task the new indigenous administration had after attaining political independence in 1960 was the transformation of the country into a modern industrial economy and for this, import substitution industrialization policy was employed behind protective barriers. This strategy entails manufacturing local goods that were previously imported into the country by the colonial companies. One of the major factors for the lackluster performance of the policy was that the structure of tariff protection (low tariff on imported inputs and high tariff on imported finished products) encouraged the concentration on light consumer goods and has at the same time contributed to the inefficiency in the industrial sector and the inability of most domestically manufactured products to be competitive.

The other problem of the policy was that the sector had no existing structures to perform the expected functions at the time in question. As a result of the type of industrial policy the country adopted, the manufacturing sector was characterized by industries with low value added which have little intra and inter- sectoral linkages. Today there is no linkage among the sectors of the economy, rather giving the economy mono-cultural status as a petro-dollar economy. Another issue was input's structure which was highly importing intensive. This succeeded in creating balance of payment problem and lack of patronage of local raw materials which made most of the Nigerian industry assemblies that put finishing touches from imported inputs up till date. With this bad beginning,

today the manufacturing sector is a failure for its lackluster performance over the years.

The manufacturing sector is a child of misfortune through industrial policies. Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) had the aims of promoting investment; stimulate non-oil exports and providing a base for private sector led development; promote efficiency of the Nigeria's industrial sector; Privatization and commercialization of the economy towards the promotion of industrial efficiency; and to develop and utilize local technology by encouraging accelerated development and use of local raw materials and intermediate inputs rather than depend on imported inputs (Oyedele, 2009). SAP in summary, had the aim of diversifying the productive base of the economy and eliminating the observed structural distortion, the most significant overvalued currency (Onwioduokit and Nwachukwu, 1998). This culminated in the establishment of the auction system in 1986 as a mechanism through which the real value of naira would be determined in which Second Tier Foreign Exchange Market (SFEM) was established. What is important at this point is the fact that the operation of SFEM led to a huge devaluation of naira such that from an exchange rate of N1.55/35 to dollar on 25th September 1986 the naira depreciated by 71.00% to N5.35/30 = \$1:00 at the last bidding session held in December 1988. In 1993, the average official exchange rate stood at about N22.40/84=\$1:00. However, between the first foreign exchange auction in September, 1986 and December, 1994, the exchange rate depreciated by about 93.0% (Onwioduokit and Nwachukwu, 1998). The depreciation of naira heightened the cost of production and deepened the sectoral alexia. Currently, one US Dollar (\$1:00) is exchanged for more than three hundred Naira (N300:00) thus causing imbalance of payments at the long-

run in Nigeria. With this development therefore, it could be submitted that industries policies are largely responsible for comatose status of the manufacturing sector.

In addition to this, Oyedele (2009) contended that Nigeria has benefited little or nothing positive from her industrial policies. Supporting this view, Duru (2012) held that the structure of tariff protection (low tariffs on imported inputs and high tariffs on imported finished products) encouraged the concentration on light consumer goods and at the same time contributed to the inefficiency in the industrial sector and inability of most domestically manufactured products like textile to be competitive thus hampering quest of industrialization. As a result of the type of industrial policy the country adopted after independence, the manufacturing sector is characterized by industries with low value-added which have little intra-sector linkages. Their input's structure is highly import intensive. The linkage with the rest of the economy is weak; which most of them were assemblies that put finishing touches to imported inputs. The issue above is contended by Ayodele (2003) to manifest as a result of Nigeria's dependence on the external sector which did not reduce as expected; thus, rendering the import substitution industrialization impotent. Accordingly, this paved way for export promotion industrialization strategy in the mid 1980s. The private indigenous entrepreneurs relied on crude technologies for the production of these light consumer goods that are scattered across the country. From the 1970s and early 1980s, large-scale capital-intensive industries in petroleum refining, petrochemicals, iron and steel, textiles, fertilizer, pulp and paper and automobile spare parts were established mainly by the government to produce basic inputs for the downstream industries. However, owing to the very poor

performance of these basic industries, attributable to poor management, most of them collapsed.

For instance, in the case of textile industries, it was reported in one of the national dailies, Daily Trust of February, 2016, that it was the reluctance of the state to implementing the recommendations presented to it on the Cotton and Garment schemes that has further deteriorated the conditions of textile production in the country. According to Idris, (2016) frequent change in policy direction of the state by the previous regimes also contributes to the collapse of the industries. It could therefore be argued that the way and manner industrial policies are designed and implemented in Nigeria is was also among the factor that led to the collapse of Zamfara Textile Industries.

Conclusion

The general argument of the work is that the antecedents of factors and forces that cause the collapse of textile industries in the country could be located within the context of the state's inability to provide infrastructural arrangements necessary for industrial development. This is due to the fact the Nigerian state allows neoliberal agenda to shape its trade and industrial policy

Extensive smuggling activity, which the state has so far failed to address because is aided and abetted by its very officials and that the influential members of the governing class in the state, regardless of their ideological and party affiliations have been acting in accord with the needs of the international capital rather than the needs and aspirations of the citizens for better life. This explains why they pursue policy measures, which deprive the state the electricity to power its industrial development and efficient infrastructural

development. The overall effect of which has led to the collapse of the textile industries in the country.

However, the Nigerian textile industries have the capability of making the nation develop if given proper handling and attention. Finding a lasting solution to the problems of power, transportation and other basic infrastructures have the potentiality of revamping the textile industrial sector to its normal operational capacity. The Nigerian government's determination and political will to be active players in the industry would help to fully realize its potentials. There is the potential to grow the textile industry, with government determination and a push by actors in the textile industry. Therefore, anyone who invests in production for export could gain the advantage. The patronage of smuggled textiles by Nigerians indicates that there is a good market for textile products. The fact that Nigeria is already acknowledged as a big market makes this a worthwhile venture.

References

- Ahmed, D., (2014). The state of Nigerian Textile Industries: Lecture delivered at the Annual Dinner Party organized by Nigerian Textile Union for her members at Lagos.
- Ake, C., (1981). *A Political Economy of Africa*. Longman Press
- Adebayo, O. (1993). "Structural Adjustment and Nigerian Industry". In A. O. Olukoshi (Ed.), *The Politics of Structural Adjustment in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books Nigeria Plc.
- Biereenu-Nnabugwu, M. (2006). *Methodology of Political Inquiry*. Enugu: Quintagon Publishers.
- Claus, O. (1975) "The Capitalist State and the Problem of Policy Formulation", In L. Lindberg (ed), *Stress and Contradiction in Contemporary Capitalism*. D.C. Heath
- Dazie, R. B. (2012). Developmental State and Economic Development: Prospects for Sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Sustainable Development* , 5 (9), 14-26.
- Duru, M., (2012) *New Challenges for Industrial Policy in Nigeria*: Universal Journal of Mangement and Social Sciences 2(2)
- Ilufoye S.O, & Baba Y.T., (2015) Introduction to African Politics. In: I.S. Ogundiya & J. Amzat (eds) *Foundations of Social Sciences*. Ibadan, Malthouse Press Limited.
- Imevbore, A. M. (2010). *Industrial Overview of the Contribution of Industry to Sustainable Development in Nigeria*. Lagos: Environmental Resource Managers Ltd.
- Mahajan, V. D. (2000). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: Chand and Company Limited.
- Marx, K., (1848) Capital vol. 1. First Published 1967 Moscow, Progress Publisher.
- Marx, K., & Fredrich, E. (1975). "Manifesto of the Communist Party", In K. Marx, & E. Fredrich (Eds.), *Selected Works*. Moscow: Progress Publishers.
- McQueen, R., & Knussen. (2002). *Research Methods for Social Science: An Introduction*. Harlow: Pearson.
- Muhammad, G. B., & Abubakar, A. (2013). Corruption, Governance and the Politics of De-Industrialization in Nigeria. *International Journal of Physical and Social Sciences* , 01-13.
- National Population Census Organised by National Population Commission, 2006.

- Ogundele, O.J.K. (2000). Determinants of Entrepreneurial Emergence, Behaviour and Performance Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Lagos, Lagos.
- Ohiorhehuan, J. (2001). *Building indigenous technological capacity in African industry: The Nigerian case*. In Stewart et al (eds), *Alternative Development Strategies*; New York, Oxford University Press. PP 294-320
- Onwioduokit, E. A. & Nwachukwu N. E., (1998). *Sectoral Responses to Exchange Rate Policy in Nigeria: A Case study of Agricultural and Manufacturing Sectors; An Assessment*. Bullion, Publication of the CBN. Vol. 22 No. 21.
- Olatunji, O.O. (2015) Economic Analysis of Cotton Production and Supply Trend Estimation in Zamfara State. An Unpublished M.Sc. Dissertation, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, Nigeria
- Oyedele, O. F. (2009) Industrial Policies and Incentives in Nigeria Overtime, 1960 till date. Paper presented at Teachers Education Class, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, Unpublished.
- Onwioduokit, E. A. & Nwachukwu N. E. (1998). Sectoral Responses to Exchange Rate policy in Nigeria: A case study of Agricultural and Mnaufacturing Sectors; An assessment . Bullion, Publication of the CBN. Vol. 22 No. 21
- Oyedele, M. (2009) Industrial Policies and Incentives in Nigeria 1960 till date: Paper presented at Teachers Education Class, University of Ibadan Nigeria, unpublished paper.
- Shaapera, S. A. (2013). Theories of the State: Perspectives on the Nigerian Variant. *European Scientific Journal* , 08 (20), 11-27.
- Shaapera, S. A. (2013). Theories of the State: Perspectives on the Nigerian Variant. *European Scientific Journal* , 08 (20), 11-27.
- Udah, E. B. (2010). Industrial Development, Electricity Crisis and Economic Performance in Nigeria. *European Journal of Economics, Finance and Administrative Sciences Issue 18* .
- UNPF (2013) Available online at [http: Nigeria.unfpa.org/zamfar html](http://Nigeria.unfpa.org/zamfar.html). retrieved on the 5th May, 2017
- Yakubu A.A. (2005). Risk and Risk Management in Cotton Production among Farmers in Zamfara State. An unpublished M.Sc. Dissertation, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto Nigeria.
- Yaqub, N. O., & Maikudi, A. S. (2014). The Nigerian State: A Theoretical Periscope. In A. M. Ashafa (Ed.), *The Challenges of Nigeria at 50: Essays in Honour of Professor Abdullahi Mahadi* (pp. 47-72). Kaduna: Pyla-Mak Services Limited.
- Zamtex Brief Report presented by the Management of Zamfara Textile Industries Limited, Gusau. On 15th October, 2004.