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EDITORIAL NOTE

Since the end of colonial rule, most African nations have been entangled in a vicious circle of ending political, economic, religious, and even socio-cultural challenges. The consequences of these intractable conflicts and the quest for meaningful development among African nations have led to eternal discussion among scholars and policymakers on critical sectors like industrialization, conflict prevention, education, security, human rights, political institutions, governance, economy, refugee, and migration and even terrorism. Acknowledging these problems, policymakers, NGOs, scholars, security experts, captains of industries, religious and community leaders, and even development and peace-focused institutions have continually engaged in brainstorming, deliberations, research, and critical thinking on possible ways of addressing this most pressing dilemma. Despite these spirited and purposeful efforts, including synergy with global actors and even external assistance, attaining meaningful development remains elusive.

Notwithstanding, the urgent need to ensure that Africa close this development deficit to attain equal status with their western counterparts remain consistently compelling as a sine qua non to achieving goals of Silencing the Guns and Sustainable Development Goals of 2030. These challenges, as mentioned earlier, have remained a guiding light regarding the various **Journal of Contemporary Society & Education (JCSE)** volume publications. According to established standards, these articles were considered and selected from multiple related disciplines and peer-reviewed. Expressly, the JSCE acknowledges the disastrous negative impact of these challenges and how they stall Africa's unedging quest for sustainable development. Thus, the JSCE ensures that the excellent research and thought-provoking manuscripts that

attempt to address these developmental challenges are considered with utmost priority.

Accordingly, this special JCSE issue would primarily focus on security, health, internal displacement, governance, nation-building, natural resources induced conflict, sustainable development goals, education, armed conflict, Covid-19 pandemic, kidnapping, ICT, tourism, election, leadership, industrialization, community participation, post-election violence, and the role of the development institutions.

Thanks to the team members whose tireless efforts have sustained the JSCE journal's volume publication series. Also, this volume will be incomplete without recognizing the enormous efforts of our anonymous reviewers, contributors, and publishers, Adonis & Abbey, for all their strenuous efforts in ensuring the smooth publishing of this issue.

Dr. Erameh Nicholas Idris
Department of Political Studies and International Relations
Northwest University (Mafikeng Campus)
South Africa
eramehnicholas@gmail.com

Internally Displaced Persons and the Achievement of Sustainable Development Goals in Nigeria.

Mary Magdalene Sackflame, mary.sackflame@uniosun.edu.ng

+234 (0) 7081922223

Bolaji Omitola, bolaji.omitola@uniosun.edu.ng

+234(0)7069691122,

Department of Political Sciences,
Osun State University, Osogbo, Nigeria

Abstract

Nigeria's North East region is one of the most prominent, multi-faceted and complex humanitarian crises region experiencing various levels of insecurities. Such unbridled level of security breaches continue to produce avalanche of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) by the days that are currently facing dire humanitarian crises which are increasingly creating obstacles for the achievement of most of the Sustainable Development Goals, (SDGs) in the country. Of critical importance in these Sustainable Development Goals that have been seriously hampered by various conflicts and insecurities in the country are the Health related goals of 1-No Poverty, 2- Zero Hunger, 3-Good Health and Well-being, 4-Quality Education, 6-Clean Water and Sanitation and 16-Peace, Justice and Strong Institution. This paper adopts a qualitative method based on secondary data sourced from newspapers, government documents, internet resources and extant scholarly works. The study traced the making of Internally Displaced Persons in Nigeria to trilogy of unresolved diverse conflicts, bandits and terror attacks in the country. The study further examined how these violent episodes have constituted obstacles to achievement of SDGs particularly as it concerns the health and welfare of the

people that have been so displaced from their places of abode in the country.

Keywords: *Internally Displaced Persons, Conflicts, Health and Sustainable Development Goals.*

1.0 Introduction

Most parts of Nigeria are currently experiencing various levels of insecurities arising either from unresolved conflicts such as involving herdsmen and farmers and ethno-religious crises, bandits operating in various ungoverned or low governed spaces or from Boko Haram and related terrorists attacks. Meeting the needs of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) people who have been forced from their homes but are still within their national borders is essential to the successful fulfilment of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). It is against this background that this paper seeks to examine how these various levels of insecurities has affected internally displaced persons especially in the North East region and how it has constituted a hindrance to the achievement of sustainable development goals 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 16 particularly as it concerns the health and welfare of Internally Displaced Persons. This is important in a region with enduing humanitarian concerns, in order to uphold peace, human welfare and well-being, justice and equality. In doing these, this paper is further divided into four sections. The first among them gives an introduction to the work. The second focuses on conceptual clarifications. The third section examines the present conditions of Internally Displaced Persons in Northeastern Nigeria. The fifth section provides measures taken to protect IDPs according to the SDGs and a concluding thought on the subject matter.

2.0 Conceptual Framework of Analysis

Displacement simply is seen as a situation where people are forced to leave their place of habitual residence. Persons who falls into this category are called “Displaced Persons” (Mohammed 2016). Under international law, Displacement is conceptualized as persons or groups of persons who have been compelled or obligated to flee or to have cause to leave their homes or place of habitual residence in particular, due to or in order to be save from the effect of armed conflict, violations of human rights, situations of generalized violence, natural or man-made disasters, to another place considered relatively safe either within their own national borders (as Internally Displaced Persons) or travel across an internationally recognized state border (as Refugees) (Itumo and Nwefuru 2016). This definition showcases that the involuntary movement of people are in two categories: Internal and External displacement.

Article 1 (L) of the African Union Convention for Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention) defines Internal displacement as:

The involuntary or forced movement, evacuation or relocation of persons or groups of persons within internationally recognized state borders (African Union 2009).

Internal displacement, therefore, involves the forced movement of persons within the borders of a state, referred to as “Internally Displaced Persons”. In understanding who Internally Displaced persons are, the most accepted definition is the one coined by the former Representative of the UN Secretary-General Francis Deng who was instrumental to the compilation of the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. The 1998 UN

Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement defines an internally displaced person as:

Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border (UNGPID 2001: Para. 2).

Unlike Refugees, Internally displaced persons (IDPs) legally remain under the protection of their home governments because they are within a state border, even though those governments might be the cause of their flight (Mohammed 2016). The causes of internal displacement are numerous, (Obiakeze and Onuoha 2016) identified the following which includes Conflict-Induced Displacement which entails the forceful displacement of persons due to armed conflict including civil war, insurgency and generalized violence in which the state authorities are mostly unable or unwilling to protect them; Development-Induced Displacement which includes people that are displaced as a result of them being compelled to move because of policies and projects implemented to enhance development in the community, example of such are large-scale infrastructure projects such as dams, roads, ports and airports; Disaster-Induced Displacement includes people displaced as a result of natural hazards, examples are in the form of hazard-induced disasters (floods), Environmental Change (deforestation), and human-made disasters (industrial accidents).

Conflict-induced displacement is one of the major causes of displacement in the Northeast of Nigeria in form of insecurities

from herdsmen and farmers and ethno-religious crises, bandits operating in various ungoverned or low governed spaces or from Boko Haram and related terrorists attacks with triple effects of producing Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and other forms of displacement. In simple terms, Nicholson (1992) sees conflict as a state of disagreement or hostility between two or more individuals which depicts that they have conflicting views about the same issue on the pursuit of conflicting goals. Stagner (1967) describes conflict as a situation in which two or more individuals' desire limited goals which each strives to acquire and perceiving the other to be a barrier to the acquisition of such purposes. Gurr (1970) interprets conflict as the open coercive interactions of contending collectivities and a situation in which a minimum of two individuals strive at the same time to acquire the same set of scarce resources. In politics, conflict is more explicitly defined. In this viewpoint, Coser (1956) describes it as contention over values and claims to inadequate status, power and resources in which the opponents aim to neutralize and eradicate their rivals. Taking a different viewpoint, Otite (2001) opines that conflict may not necessarily signify a state of overt aggression or extreme hostility. This is further buttressed in his definition of conflict as a normal process of interaction that may lead to a win-win outcome if parties make efforts to transform the situation. This signifies that conflict can be of a low intensity which hasn't escalated to an out blown war and can still be prevented or of a high intensity which is the practical manifestation of war.

Kett and Rowson (2007) are of the opinion that factors which include extreme poverty, scarce natural resources and income inequalities, ethno-religious sentiments among many others can trigger conflict in society. Also countries that rely heavily on the production of one or small number of natural resources for the majority of their economic output and inequality among

individuals (the elites and the poor), tends to be more prone to conflict; for instance in Nigeria the emergence of Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND), Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) and Boko Haram, bandits operating in various ungoverned or low governed spaces among many other groups was as a result of the impartial control and unequal distribution of natural resources which escalated into various conflict in the Northeast and South-South region of the country.

According to Raleigh and Dowd, (2013), ungoverned spaces connote both physical territory and non-physical policy space in which there is an absence of effective state sovereignty and governmental control. This implies that in such spaces the state is entirely absent; and such absence results in a lack of any effective governance, and can therefore lead to the rise of conflict and other forms of insecurities. Rabasa, Steven, Peter, Kim, Theodore, Jennifer, Kevin, and John (2007), in their own point of view sees ungoverned territory as an area in which a state or government encounters significant challenges in establishing control, in which the central government's authority does not extend to these areas thereby serving as a breeding ground for terrorism, insecurities and conflict. Risse (2011), further emphasised that ungoverned spaces or limited statehood are parts of a country in which the central authority (governments) lack the ability to implement and enforce rules and decisions or in which the legitimate monopoly over the means of violence is lacking.

Ungoverned Spaces are more paramount in many regions across the world, including African territories; Yemen, Syria, Somalia, Lebanon, Libya, Iraq, South Sudan, Nigeria and the Lake Chad Region and Palestine among others where some part of their territories are being controlled by terrorist groups and

international forces. These countries are witnessing various forms of insecurities as a result of the inability or unwillingness of the governments to perform certain functions and the collapse or the absence of state authority. These forms of insecurities are numerous such as banditry, civil war, terrorist activities, arms and drug smuggling and piracy among others leads to displacement of persons and high humanitarian crises which are increasingly creating obstacles for the achievement of most of the Sustainable Development Goals, (SDGs) in the countries across the world.

Sustainable Development is attained when a country fulfils the basic needs of the citizenry. It is a call for the integration of economic growth, social development, security and environmental management as interdependent pillars for long-term growth and development (Bobadoye 2015). The Brundtland Report of 1987 gave rise to the concept of Sustainable Development through the United Nations Development Committee headed by Gro Harlem Brundtland. The report defined Sustainable Development as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. According to the report Sustainable development requires meeting the basic needs of all and extending to all the opportunity to fulfil their aspirations for a better life. It buttresses the fact that development in any country must be sustainable to cater for future generations to come.

Goal No 1-No Poverty, 2- Zero Hunger, 3-Good Health and Well-being, 4-Quality Education, 6-Clean Water and Sanitation and 16-Peace, Justice and Strong Institution of the Sustainable development Goals Agenda 2030 emphasised on promoting a peaceful, just and inclusive societies through ending poverty, hunger and violence, internal strife, asymmetric warfare,

prompting good health care services, providing clean and sustainable water and sanitation for all, promoting the rule of law, strengthening institutions at all levels, and increasing access to justice (UN SDG Report 2019).

The UN Sustainable Development Goals 2020 has shown that various countries both developed and developing countries across the world are facing health related crises which have severe negative consequences to attaining sustainable development goals by 2030. As of June 20th, 2020 around 463,000 people across the world has died from the Covid-19 Pandemic which has not only affected economic activities but has led to an increase in poverty rate and hunger among many others. Therefore, countries need to strengthen their resilience of their health system and prevention programmes as well as address and eradicate conflict and other forms of violence, insurgency activities among others which are seen as a setback to attaining sustainable development goals (UN SDG Report 2020).

3.0 Internally Displaced Persons in Northeastern Nigeria: Present Conditions

The Boko-Haram conflict in the northeastern region has lingered for over a decade since its emergence in 2002. The conflict has among many other forms of insecurities such as Fulani/herders crises, ethnic/religious crises as well as the presence of ungoverned spaces has produced a total number of 2,184,254 IDPs and more, damaged health and sanitation infrastructure, made inaccessible large swathes of the internally displaced populaton, and has had significant disease control implications among many other implications in the northeast region and Nigeria as a whole (IOM Displacement Tracking Matrix Round 36 Report 2021).

One of such implications is the destruction of health facilities in the Northeastern states of Nigeria. Two thirds of health facilities have been damaged by the conflict, forcing health workers to flee and clinics being shut down; this results to people seeking medical care in other neighbouring countries of Chad, Niger and Cameroon thereby adding to the pressure on limited health facilities in the host state (Omilusi 2016).

In addition, the north-east remains highly endemic for diseases, IDPs are mostly in risk of epidemic-prone diseases like cholera, measles, meningitis and viral hemorrhagic fevers such as Lassa and yellow fevers while malaria continues to be the disease IDPs are more prone as it accounts for over 50 per cent cases, especially during the rainy season. This is so due to a variety of issues such as limited access to essential health care, vulnerabilities related to displacement and congested living conditions. According to recent estimates from the Health and shelter sectors, there are nearly 475,000 people in highly congested camps and this will make many of the prescribed global WHO measures difficult to implement given the conditions where IDPs are located or reside (OCHA 2021; WHO 2021). The situation is further worsened by unsafe water, inadequate hygiene and sanitation services linked to long-term structural deficiencies, as well as a general weakening of resilience in affected communities. Women and children in particular are left increasingly susceptible to disease outbreaks. Some 4,890 cases of measles have been reported in Borno, Adamawa and Yobe States to date in 2020 (as of 8 November for Borno and 31st October for Yobe), a decrease of 78 per cent from 2019. The Covid-19 pandemic remains a major public health concern in the Northeastern states. As at 9th May, 2021, 2, 870 were reported in the BAY states with 79 deaths. In the BAY states 66 per cent of the cases were in Borno and 25 per cent from Adamawa (NCDC 2021).

In 2018, cholera outbreaks affected 18 LGAs in the BAY states with a total of 10,571 cases. In addition, 1.5 million people are considered at risk and require cholera prevention interventions further compound the ineffectiveness for the implementation of preventive measures (Humanitarian Response Strategy 2019). The outbreak of Covid -19 in such living conditions could lead to higher transmission rates. In fact, Covid-19 Pandemic has not only affected health and economic activities but has led to an increase in poverty rate and hunger among many others.

Furthermore, the insurgent activities have been identified as an obstacle to sustainable development. The country's resources that should be used to achieve the growth of other sectors of the economy are being diverted to strengthen the country's security system. For instance, the 1(One) billion Naira of 2017 budget was requested by President Muhammadu Buhari to purchase equipment for fighting Boko Haram in the Northeast (Agency Report 2018; Omulusi 2016).

Food shortages have been one of the dire needs of IDPs in the Northeast region of Nigeria. The (2021 Humanitarian needs overview) estimated about 5.1 million people in Borno, Adamawa and Yobe states to be food insecure and considered to be facing food crises, emergency or famine situations. The worst affected states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa account for 3.7 million people in dire need of food security. In IDP camps food continue to be the greatest unmet need with large numbers of IDPs reporting food as their greatest need; while those living in host communities cite farming as their predominant source of livelihood which continues to be hindered by the Military Security constraints, Boko-Haram and Fulani/Farmer's herdsman Conflict (Humanitarian Needs Overview 2018). The outbreak of Covid-19 and its related effects has further worsened the food security situation by impacting the livelihoods and

income sources of already vulnerable households and contributing to significant increase in food prices. For instance, between March and September 2020, the cost of a minimum expenditure basket in Maiduguri Metropolitan council increased by over 47 per cent.

4.0 Armed Conflict, Insecurity, Ungoverned Spaces and Internally Displaced Persons: The Nexus and Implications on Sustainable Development Goals in Nigeria.

Ungoverned territories or Spaces are bedrocks for the foundation of the growth and occurrence of terrorism, insecurities and conflict among others which later leads to the killing and displacement of millions of persons. It is seen as an area in which a state or government faces significant challenges in establishing control, or a situation where the state is entirely absent, where the central government's authority does not extend to these areas thereby results in a lack of effective governance in those areas, and can therefore lead to the rise of conflict and other forms of insecurities (Rabasa, Steven, Peter, Kim, Theodore, Jennifer, Kevin, and John, 2007; Raleigh and Dowd, 2013).

Clunan and Trinkunas (2010) buttresses similar viewpoint, as they opine that the existence or appearance of ungoverned spaces is a reflection of the decline in the effectiveness of the state as political and social constructs to the citizenry. They also noted that lack of governability and Conduciveness give rise to the existence of various levels of insecurities within ungoverned spaces. Rabasa, Steven, Peter, Kim, Theodore, Jennifer, Kevin, and John (2007) further asserts that entropy and civil conflict can lead to an increase or evolution of the existence of Ungoverned spaces. States often view conflict and other forms of insecurities as threats because of their potential to provide havens (territories) for organised crimes, terrorist movements

and insurgencies, narcotics trafficking; illegal arms trafficking; and proliferation of chemical, biological, radiological or nuclear (CBRN) materials and weapons, money laundering, illicit trafficking and proliferation networks to thrive.

Inclusively, various countries are witnessing diverse forms of insecurities due to the inability or unwillingness of governments to perform certain functions and the collapse or the absence of state authority in ungoverned spaces. These forms of insecurities are numerous such as banditry, civil war, terrorist activities, displacement and humanitarian crises, arms and drug smuggling, piracy, and refugee flows among others which threatens national security and regional stability in many regions across the world, especially African territories of which Nigeria is not left out of this menace. The multiple occurrences of conflicts (Fulani/herders crises, ethnic/religious crises etc.), the Boko Haram terrorist attacks as well as the presence of ungoverned spaces especially in the Northern part of the country serves as a breeding ground for various levels of insecurity to thrive which has further resulted into the killings and massive displacement of persons in the regions and also resulted into diverse implications for the northeast region and Nigeria as a whole. One of such implications is the destruction of health facilities in the Northeastern states of Nigeria. Also, the attacks of Boko Haram destabilize and restrict the duties of aid workers and downgrade the efficiency of security personnel in the region as seen in the March 1st 2018 attack on Rann Borno State which killed eleven people including three humanitarian workers and seven security personnel. In addition, the north-east remains highly endemic for diseases, including diarrhea, due to a variety of issues including limited access to essential health care, vulnerabilities related to displacement and congested living conditions. The situation is further worsened by unsafe water, inadequate hygiene and sanitation services linked to long-term

structural deficiencies, as well as a general weakening of resilience in affected communities. Women and children in particular are left increasingly susceptible to disease outbreaks, including cholera. In 2018, cholera outbreaks affected 18 LGAs in the BAY states with a total of 10,571 cases. In addition, 1.5 million people are considered at risk and require cholera prevention interventions. In 2018, cholera outbreaks affected 18 LGAs in the BAY states with a total of 10,571 cases. In addition, 1.5 million people are considered at risk and require cholera prevention interventions (Humanitarian Response Strategy, 2019).

Furthermore, the insurgency and activities of banditry in the North-East Nigeria has caused widespread humanitarian crisis in the Northeast which has impacted negatively on the lives of millions of Nigerians, particularly women and children. In 2019, 7.1 million people (2.3 million girls, 1.9 million boys, 1.6 million women and 1.3 million men) are in need of humanitarian assistance in north-east Nigeria as a result of the Boko Haram crisis. The crisis has also resulted into massive and widespread abuse against civilians including killings, rape and other sexual violence, abduction, child recruitment, burning of homes, arbitrary detention, and the use of explosive hazards, including in deliberate attacks on civilian targets. As of recent, 1.8 million persons are internally displaced, and new displacement continues due to the occurrence of various forms of insecurity (Humanitarian Response Strategy, 2019).

Another implication of the attacks of Boko Haram, banditry activities, Fulani/farmer herder's crises and other forms of conflicts has devastated economic activities in the region. It has specifically distorted the economic fortunes of Maiduguri, a city known to be one of the commercial centers in Western Sudan since the period of Trans-Saharan trade. The Maiduguri Monday

Market which is the biggest market in the city has been affected by the persistent killings and bombings as many shop owners fled the city; and also mass relocation of migrants, tourists, indigenous groups and investors relocate to safer areas in other parts of the country; in this situation foreign direct investment is reduced, investment becomes unattractive to investors and existing companies relocate to other safer states in the country. Also, the insurgents' and bandits' threats to road transportation have restricted the movement of people, disrupted the supply of goods and hindered access to basic services and raw farm produce (Iweze, 2011; Achumba, Ighomereho and Akpor-Robaro, 2013). A decade into the crisis, the protracted nature of displacement has eroded coping mechanisms, significantly weakened resilience, and heightened vulnerabilities. In Borno State, many affected populations remain dependent on assistance to meet their basic food needs as a result of ongoing hostilities and insecurity. Freedom of movement was restricted with the impact of the communities' inability to engage in livelihood and income generating activities. In many areas across Borno State, market and trade routes continue to be disrupted as a result of insecurity and impassable roads during the rainy season.

Also, the insurgent attacks have affected the educational system in the region. Boko Haram attacks as stood as an obstacle to the development of the educational system. The Islamic militants have serially attacked schools, killing over hundreds of students, kidnapping of students as hostages and destroying facilities in educational institutions in various parts of the northeast region continue to undermine the educational system in that region thereby hindering national development. The kidnap of 276 Chibok School Girls in Maiduguri in April 2014 and the Dapchi School Girls in Yobe State in 2018 have made schools shut down their academic programmes for security reasons and have

reduced drastically those seeking for admission into schools. It is on record in 2015 that over 500 teachers lost their lives and 19,000 displaced in different states of the northeast region; and as a result of the increased attacks of Boko Haram on education, all schools in Borno State were closed from the 14th March 2014 and roughly 253,000 children were out of school in the year 2013-2014. At the end of 2014, Adamawa, Yobe and Borno State, Universal Basic Education authorities reported a total of 338 schools destroyed. Also posting of youth corpsers for their one year mandatory National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) to the Northern part of the country is denied through them redeploying to other safe states as there is the fear of them losing their lives to these incessant attacks of Boko Haram, this undermines the core mandates of the 1973 Act of NYSC. These showcase that the effect of these attacks is all-encompassing on the educational sector in the region and in Nigeria as a whole (Omilusi, 2016; Shaba, 2015). Till date Boko Haram perpetrate attacks on villages in the Northeast to forcefully abduct young girls and women to occupy diverse roles to foster their terrorist goals. This is seen in the abduction of 110 Dapchi School Girls on the 19th of February, 2018 in Yobe State and the abduction of 317 Zamfara School girls in Jangebe Zamfara by bandits, in February, 2021 among many others thereby fostering a continuous increase in the recruitment of the female gender into violent activities (The News, 2021). The impact of the crisis on the education system has also been severe, leaving generations of children without opportunities to learn and even more vulnerable. Since the conflict erupted in 2009, 611 teachers have been killed, 19,000 teachers displaced, 910 schools damaged or destroyed, and more than 1,500 schools forced to close. As a result, an estimated 900,000 children have lost access to learning while 75 per cent of children in camps do not attend school. 70 per cent of girls of primary school age are out of school in Borno State - the highest percentage in the country. Of those who do

attend, 72 per cent are unable to read upon completion of grade six, while Borno State has the lowest literacy rates at only 35 per cent of female and 46 per cent of male adolescents (Humanitarian Response Strategy, 2019).

In addition, people staying in this region have continued to witness gross human rights abuses and severe violations of their rights according to international humanitarian law; and also an infringement of their fundamental human rights of freedom of association and movement according to the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The 2015 United Nations Annual report of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) outlined different areas in which Boko Haram has violated human rights and international humanitarian law right from the onset of their attacks in 2009. The massive killings of over 200,000 civilians both young and old comprising of women and children have been recorded since 2009; the abductions of young boys for indoctrination into the sect ideology and underage girls for sexual exploitations, forced marriages, forced pregnancies and forced religious conversion; also different forms of torture and other cruel inhuman or degrading treatment of civilians; and the destruction and appropriation of properties in order to gain control over the territory and to prevent the rehabilitation of the affected victims back into the society, all have significant effect on the future of citizens and the economy of Nigeria at large.

Furthermore, the insurgent activities have been identified as an obstacle to sustainable development. The country's resources that should be used to achieve the growth of other sectors of the economy are being diverted to strengthen the country's security system. For instance, the 1(One) billion Naira of 2017 budget was requested by President Muhammadu Buhari to purchase

equipment for fighting Boko Haram in the Northeast (Agency Report, 2018; Omulusi, 2016).

Looking at the implications on the rise of Poverty rate in the country, prior to 2009, north-east Nigeria was plagued with high levels of poverty, inequalities, including gender, underdevelopment, unemployment, poor governance, political marginalization, weak justice systems and ecological degradation. In 2018, Nigeria overtook India as the country having the largest poor population. At the end of May 2018, research suggests that Nigeria had about 87 million people in extreme poverty, compared with India's 73 million. The situation is worsening by the day as extreme poverty in Nigeria is growing by six people every minute, while poverty in India continues to fall³¹. In addition, Nigeria ranks 152 out of 187 in the Human Development Index (HDI), which is well below the average for sub-Saharan Africa (Humanitarian Response Strategy, 2019).

Furthermore, Internally Displaced Persons in this region are often unable to meet their needs as they continue to be in dire needs of health, protection, food, and shelter among many others. The most severe and acute needs across this multiple sectors are concentrated in the areas of the ongoing Boko-Haram Conflict and areas hosting large numbers of IDPs which are located in all local government area of Borno State, Adamawa and Yobe States. In the area of the health sector, IDPs are mostly in risk of epidemic-prone diseases like cholera, measles, meningitis and viral hemorrhagic fevers such as Lassa and yellow fevers while malaria continues to be the disease IDPs are more prone as it accounts for over 50 per cent cases, especially during the rainy season. Food shortages have been one of the dire needs of IDPs in the Northeast region of Nigeria. The (2018, Humanitarian needs overview) estimated about 3.9 million

people in the six states to be food insecure and considered to be facing food crises, emergency or famine situations. The worst affected states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa account for 3.7 million people in dire need of food security. The Conflict in the region has hindered cultivation, cattle rearing and fisheries which used to account for 80 per cent of the livelihoods is now primarily limited to secured areas of the states and catering for less than 15 per cent of the population. In IDP camps food continue to be the greatest unmet need with large numbers of IDPs reporting food as their greatest need; while those living in host communities cite farming as their predominant source of livelihood which continues to be hindered by the Military Security constraints, Boko-Haram and Fulani/Farmer's herdsmen Conflict.

5.0 Conclusion

The findings of this study reveals that underlying factors in the Northeast such as high level of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, inequality, underdevelopment, the ineffectiveness of government in ungoverned spaces among many others was a driven force to the emergence of various levels of insecurities ranging from ethnic/religious violence, political violence, Fulani/herdsman clashes and Boko Haram Insurgency; and this further led to the massive displacement of people both internally and externally, the destruction of lives and properties, the collapse of economic activities, the destruction of health facilities and the educational system among many others sectors of the region.

In line with this, the Nigerian government initiative in response to the acute humanitarian needs of IDPs in the Northeast was through the creation of an advisory body, the Presidential Committee on the Northeast Initiative. This body is meant to

streamline support to the IDPs through holistic efforts backed by robust fundraising. The federal government, through the office of the vice president initiated two projects to foster and educate children who has become orphans due to the Insurgency. The phase one of the projects has just been completed for eight thousand young children housed and schooled, while the second phase is ongoing.

Lastly, there should be a collective and collaborative effort by both local and international humanitarian agencies working around collective outcomes in order to collectively reduce risk, vulnerabilities and the needs of IDPs in the region (International Peace Institute, 2018).

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TOWARDS ENHANCED DEMOCRATIC VALUE THROUGH MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN AFRICA

Favour-Tamar TANIMU, PhD¹ &, Ishaya Umaru TANIMU, PhD²

ABSTRACT

This paper will demonstrate how multicultural education can be a good tool for enhancing and resolving avoidable conflicts in various communities of Africa. The theories of multicultural education and the politics of identity (Guttmann 2003, Taylor 1992, & Young 1990) in Africa are not uncommon to the many crises pledging the political landscape of 21st century Africa. Multiculturalism considers the politics of identification and the politics of recognition and indifference. And therefore, the paper will show how the dignity of the African person is important and relevant to the common good and stability of the continent. Survey research was carried out using focus group discussion and a structured questionnaire to collect data. Both primary and secondary data were used in a manner that was appropriate for the study. The study holds that a good political will that is backed by appropriate legislation has the potential of enhancing a strong democratic value where human dignity and respect for individuals are upheld in Africa.

¹ Senior Lecturer in Education, School of Education, University of The Gambia, Gambia Email: ftanimu@utg.edu.gm

² Senior Lecturer in Management, School of Business and Public Administration, University of The Gambia. email: dumaru@ugt.edu.gm

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Understanding Multicultural Education

The paper intends to advocate the inclusion of deliberate political will through legislation to enhance a strong democratic value when multicultural education is practised in Africa. With the shifting cultural texture and demographics of the United States (Banks, 2006; Irvine, 2003), as well as in Africa and the whole World today, redefining multicultural education has become imperative. Though there are many views on the benefits and/or shortcomings of the multiculturalization of education. This is not achievable without a good understanding of what multicultural education is all about.

Therefore, Multicultural education refers to any form of education that incorporates the histories, texts, values, beliefs, and perspectives of people from different cultural background. Multicultural education is an approach to teaching and learning, based upon democratic values that foster cultural pluralism; in its most comprehensive form, it is a commitment to achieving educational equality, developing a curriculum that builds understanding about ethnic groups, and combating oppressive practices (Bennett, 1990 & Banks, 2013).

In the history of multicultural education, the Intercultural Education Movement (IEM) contributed “knowledge about issues of ethnicity, immigration, assimilation, social mobility, and prejudice,” and therefore became one of “the early contributors to the development of multicultural education” (Grant, 2008 pp. 217-239). Some of the key ideas, such as tolerance and respect for diversity, are also included as central ideas in the current multicultural education movement (Grant & Sleeter 2007). This of course goes a long way in the

enhancement of credible people-centred democracy where respect and human dignity and values are considered important. This article brings to light the various areas where multicultural education has and can continue to make a significant contribution to peace building and democracy.

1.2 Problem Area in The Implementation of Multicultural Education

The researchers observed how the mistreatment of black Africans in Arab countries such as Libya where migrants to Europe pass through hell on earth has become a matter of concern in the world today (Eye witness, Agadez, 2015). Many of these are associated with the migrants' skin colour and stereotype and are mostly "considered subhuman, intellectually inferior, culturally stunted, morally underdeveloped, and having animal-like sexuality" (Ashimolowo, 2007, pp 236-237). By and large, life becomes so difficult for them (migrants) because a lot are either imprisoned or have died of untold suffering and dehumanisation. For example, the issues of racism and xenophobia in South Africa against fellow Africans, racism in Libya, language biases in Cameroon (English and French language divide and clashes), religious intolerance and ethnicity in northern Nigeria, tribal divide in South Sudan, and the likes necessitate the including of multicultural education of school system in Africa to avert unnecessary civil unrest like the unabated crisis in the Anglophone Cameroon of Central Africa. In a telephone conversation with a friend from Kigali recently, he claimed that, "Rwanda got healed after the avoidable genocide that engulfed the lives of people over two decades ago through inclusion –of course, by using multicultural education theory and practice in the school curriculum" (telephone conversation with Marcellin Madacumura, 2021, Kigali). The wounds are gradually healing thereby creating a platform for democratic responsiveness.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

In line with Moore, R., & Suleiman, M., (1996), there are storms of demographic changes blow in African social and educational institutions and, we must create a more harmonious culture within the universal framework of our human relations. Since the growing demand for multiculturalism is coupled with the phobia of the unknown, one thing is certain: diversity of cultures contributes to the richness in any society. Although many conceive diversity as a source of divisiveness, division, conflict, and lack of cultural harmony, it is in fact, the foundation of the American pluralistic democracy that contributes to the strength and richness of its democratic civilization.

Kierstead, F., & Wagner, Jr., P (1993) say, the profound understanding of this platitude should be the basis for celebrating diversity, achieving cultural harmony and, imparting social justice. It should also become the revisited tool that dissipates the myths about diversity issues in American society. Like the ancient flourishing human societies, the American civilization has not evolved from anywhere; it is built upon the diversity of cultures. To achieve social harmony and actualize our ideals, it is vital to acknowledge the metaphysical and intellectual being of diverse groups and highlight their positive contributions to the American multicultural democratic society. Revitalizing democratic values requires an ethical commitment and responsiveness to the current and historical issues that shape the future and help actualize these ideals.

2.1 Affirmation and Cultural Gap

The authors submit that multicultural education is a philosophical concept built on the ideas of freedom, justice, equality, equity, and human dignity as acknowledged in various documents, such as the U.S. and Nigerian Declaration of Independence, constitutions of South Africa and the United

States, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Adopted by the United Nations.

Multicultural Education affirms our need to prepare students for their responsibilities in an interdependent world. It recognizes the role schools can play in developing attitudes and values necessary for a democratic society. It also values cultural differences and affirms the pluralism that students, their communities, and teachers reflect. Furthermore, multicultural education challenges all forms of discrimination in schools and society through the promotion of democratic principles, of social justice (Banks, 2008)

In her PhD dissertation, Tanimu (2019) describes how, multicultural education is a set of strategies and materials in education that were developed to assist teachers when responding to the many issues created by the rapidly changing demographics of their students. Banks (2008) says it provides students with knowledge about the histories, cultures, and contributions of diverse groups; it assumes that the future society is pluralistic. It draws on insights from many different fields, including ethnic studies and women studies, but also reinterprets content from related academic disciplines. Multicultural education, also viewed as a way of teaching, promotes principles such as inclusion, diversity, democracy, skill acquisition, inquiry, critical thought, the value of perspectives, and self-reflection.

This article further delved into the racial discrimination in the history of the United States of America, perhaps one of the most serious race riots carried out in the history of the United States, the Detroit riot was an outcome of the anger that accumulated through the years as a result of racial oppression (Grants, 2008); (Gibson, 2010; Iffil, 2003; Banks, 1992). The question

according is not whether a multicultural education should be adopted but it is rather what we understand from multicultural education and how we are going to initiate such a reform within an educational system when we cannot even define 'multicultural.' "The awareness of one's assumptions, prejudices and stereotypes is a first step to be able to positively interact and learn from others (Banks, 2013).

In the opinion of the authors, democracy is seemingly foreign to many African leaders and nations. Many countries of Africa are still struggling with no clear sense of direction as to how and why they should adopt a democratic style of leadership because it is "un-African" and does not conform to the norms and values of the African social and cultural setting thereby developing their own forms of government, high discipline, matters of morality, a positive self-concept, the importance and integrity (Ashimolowo, 2007:136). The article argues that since democratic value includes equality and fair treatment of human beings, multicultural education should be a good tool towards enhancing and resolving avoidable conflicts in various communities of Africa. This is in line with the 'goal of multicultural education which is to ensure social justice and equality. This is related firstly to a transformation of teachers then to the transformation of schools, the education system, and society. Gorski, (2010) declares that, for a society to be pluralist and democratic, three main components need to be transformed, thus:

- (1) Personal transformation of teachers,
- (2) Transformation of schools and education and
- (3) Transformation of society.

At this point, the study holds to the opinion of Gorski who discloses that teachers have the responsibility to understand the relationship between their perceptions and their life experiences

and eliminate any prejudices that might negatively affect the learning experience of students. To this end, teachers should constantly revise and transform themselves. For multicultural education to serve its function, institutions and education should be critically evaluated in all respects. Multicultural school transformation requires student-centred education, multicultural curriculum, multicultural learning environment, culture proper education material, supportive school, and class environment, and more fair and constant assessment and evaluation. Multicultural education takes transforming itself and schools as a metaphor and a starting step to transform society. As Gorski (2010) states, equality and social justice at schools might mean social justice and equality at the societal level.

2.3 Theoretical Review

This article also reviews relevant literature aim at coming up with a theoretical review for the topic under study.

2.3.1 Democratic Equality

In his work “Practice of Democratic Equality,” Labaree (1997) states that, “in the democratic political arena, we are all considered equal (according to the rule of one person, one vote), but this political equality can be undermined if the social inequality of citizens grows too great.” By providing opportunities to engaged and enrich children with different cultures, abilities, and ethnicities we allow children to become more familiar with people that are different from them, hoping to allow a greater acceptance in society. Also by representing a variety of cultures reflected by the students in your classroom, children will feel like they have a voice or a place at school. Democratic equality ideology, which is defined in Labaree's article, *Public Goods, Private Goods: The American Struggle over Educational Goals* is a perfect example of different aspects of Multicultural Education. A teacher using Labaree's

Democratic Equality would have students who can feel like they belong in the classroom, which teaches students equal treatment and gives support to multiculturalism, non-academic curriculum options, and cooperative learning (1997).

The study also found out that advocates of democracy in schooling, led by John Dewey (1859–1952) as cited in (2017) asserts that, based on multicultural education and political theories argue that, public education was needed to educate all children. Universal voting, along with universal education would make our society more democratic. An educated electorate would understand politics and the economy and make wise decisions. It was also revealed that later, by the 1960s in the USA, public education advocates argued that educating working people to a higher level would complete our transition to deliberative or participatory democracy. This position is well developed by political philosopher Benjamin R. Barber in *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a new age*, first published in 1984 and published again in 2003.

While conferring to Barber (2017), the researchers maintain that multicultural education in public schools would promote acceptance of diversity. Levinson (2009) argues that “multicultural education is saddled with so many different conceptions that it is inevitably self-contradictory both in theory and in practice, it cannot simultaneously achieve all of the goals it is called upon to serve.” Multicultural education should reflect the student body, as well as promote understanding of diversity to the dominant culture and be inclusive, visible, celebrated, and tangible. Multicultural education is appropriate for everyone. According to Banks (2013),

“a major goal of multicultural education is to change teaching and learning approaches so that students of both genders and from diverse

cultural, ethnic, and language groups will have equal opportunities to learn in educational institutions.”

Consequently, the authors also suggest that citizens need multicultural education to enter into the dialogue with fellow citizens and future citizens. Furthermore, multicultural education should include preparation for active, participatory citizenship. Multicultural education is a way to promote civic good. Levinson (2009) describes four ways to do so: 1) learning about other cultures fosters tolerance, 2) tolerance promotes respect, and 3) respect leads to open-mindedness which results in 4) civic reasonableness and equality.

2.3.2 Diversity and Unity

Banks (2013), a lifetime leader in multicultural education and a former president of both the National Council for the Social Studies and the American Educational Research Association, describes the balancing forces in that, “citizenship education must be transformed in the 21st Century because of the deepening racial, ethnic, cultural, language and religious diversity in nation-states around the world. Citizens in a diverse democratic society should be able to maintain attachments to their cultural communities as well as participate effectively in the shared national culture. Banks maintain that unity without diversity results in cultural repression and hegemony (domination). Diversity without unity leads to Balkanization (which means division into smaller fragments as in a division of an area, region, or group into smaller and often mutually hostile units and the fracturing of the nation-state). Diversity and unity should coexist in a delicate balance in democratic multicultural nation-states.” Banks further explains that planning curriculum for schools in a multicultural democracy involves making some value choices: Schools are not neutral. The schools were

established and funded to promote democracy and citizenship. A pro-democracy position is not neutral; teachers should help schools promote diversity.

2.3.3 Mythological Conceptions of Multicultural Education

The myth of school neutrality comes from a poor understanding of the philosophy of positivism. Rather than neutrality, schools should plan and teach cooperation, mutual respect, the dignity of individuals, and related democratic values. Schools, particularly integrated schools, provide a rich site where students can meet one another, learn to work together and be deliberative about decision making. In addition to democratic values, deliberative strategies and teaching decision-making provide core procedures for multicultural education (Banks, 2013).

Levinson (2010) came up with three distinct groups presenting different conceptions of “multicultural education.” These groups are political and educational philosophers, educational theorists, and educational practitioners. In the minds of the members of these groups, multicultural education has different and sometimes conflicting aims within schools: 1) Philosophers see multicultural education as a method of response to minorities within a society who advocate for their own group’s rights or who advocate for special considerations for members of that group, as a means for developing a child’s sense of autonomy, and as a function of the civic good. 2) Educational theorists differ from philosophers in that theorists seek to restructure schools and curriculum to enact “social justice and real equality.” By restructuring schools in this way, educational theorists hope that society will thus be restructured as students who received a multicultural education become contributing members of the political landscape. 3) Educational practitioners, hold the view that multicultural education increases the self-

esteem of students from minority cultures and prepares them to become successful in the global marketplace. Though there are overlaps in these aims, Levinson notes that one goal, cited by all three prominent groups within the field of education, is that of “righting the historical record”

2.3.4 Multiculturalism

The synergy of Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) describe confusion in the use of the terms "multiculturalism" and "multicultural education". To clarify the conversation about the topic, they developed taxonomy of the diverse ways the term was used.

The authors warn their readers that they overtly advocate a critical multicultural position and that readers should take this into account as they consider their taxonomy. Within their taxonomy, Kincheloe and Steinberg break down multiculturalism into five categories: conservative multiculturalism, liberal multiculturalism, pluralist multiculturalism, left-essentialist multiculturalism, and critical multiculturalism. These categories are named based on beliefs held by the two largest schools of political thought (liberalism and conservatism) within American society, and they reflect the tenets of each strand of political thought. In terms of Levinson’s (2010) ideas, conservative multiculturalism, liberal multiculturalism, and pluralist multiculturalism view multicultural education as an additive to the existing curriculum, while left-essentialist multiculturalism and critical multiculturalism see to restructure education, and thus, society.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

In this context, a qualitative technique was used to justify the objectives of the research. Therefore, the researchers combined both library and field studies and, the internet was also used for

this study. Data was collected using both primary and secondary sources. The primary source included the administration of questionnaires and oral interviews in some cases while the secondary sources of data and other relevant information were obtained from textbooks, journals, and the internet. A total of 30 questionnaires were administered to stakeholders in education, teachers, and administrators in the targeted study area using purposive sampling method. A simple tabulation was used to analyse and display the results of the findings.

In line with the research methodology, a purposive sample of thirty respondents was administered with questionnaires, each respondent reacted to a questionnaire. The researchers were able to record 100% success in the administration of the appropriate questionnaires. 100% success was also recorded in the oral (face-to-face) interviews, and field observations were also conducted. These successes were recorded because the researchers personally interviewed twenty of the respondents, and actively followed up on the ten other respondents from whom written responses were expected.

The proximity of the area of study was also a contributory factor to the success of the research findings because the researchers lived in both Kauru and Lere local government areas of Kaduna State, Nigeria., Ali Dan Tsoho, and Maza Tsaye areas of Maradi, the Niger Republic. And, some selected schools in Barra of the Lower Niumi, North Bank Region, The Gambia during the time of reach findings.

A single methodology was used to display data. Data was displayed through the use of a table. Responses to each research question were grouped and represented by a frequency distribution table. The frequency of each of the responses was multiplied by a hundred per cent. The result was then divided by

the total number of respondents. The result of this division was finally recognized as representing the percentage of each frequency of responses.

For data display and analysis: A table was used in displaying and summarizing the data, from a response to the participation of school administrators/teachers in integrating the multicultural education system in Africa. Appropriate data analyses are attached immediately under the table for better understanding and clarity.

4.0 ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS AND IMPLICATION

The article discusses the demography, responses, frequency, and percentage of the results from the data collected. The implication and conclusions were also drawn to give clarity.

Table 1: Response to the participation of school administrators/teachers in integrating the multicultural education system in Africa

S/N0	Responses	Frequency	Percentage
1	School Administrator: Everything depends on government	24	80%
2	Parents: Because it is a strange system of education	5	17%
3	Decision-Making process	1	3%
Total		30	100%

Source of data: Field Research, 2016

The current research supports that, most parents according to school administrators believe that everything concerning the education of their children depends on the government because education is free from all levels, in some countries of Africa by 80% majority. This might be because education is free in the Niger Republic and The Gambia, for example. The government does the curriculum development, construction of physical structures, recruitment of teachers, payment of salaries, provision of learning materials, and on and so forth. It was also indicated that 17% of the respondents suggest that parents are only invited when there is a need to contribute through the construction of thatch or zink sheets classrooms and administrative offices, better still giving of gifts. This act is only seen amongst rich parents and a few influential educated elites in the communities under study. Even at this, male parents do not care to visit and see to themselves how and what is going on in the schools. They only visit the school's compound or the administrator's office whenever a serious matter of misconduct regarding their children or wards come to their notice. While on the other hand, 3% opined that parents/guardians are not involved in curriculum development nor participate in any decision making as members of the Parent-Teachers Association (PTA).

5.0 CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATION

The researchers feel that government is a major stakeholder in the education of every people and community and therefore is required to facilitate and enforce the adoption and execution of multicultural education programmes in schools in Africa. There is a need for deliberate education policy and law to be promulgated and enacted by the legislation towards the enhancement of the democratic and inclusive education system in Africa. There should be a viable legislative and political will

that is education-biased to enhance the social and cultural integration of diverse students in Africa.

Additionally, the authors suggest that the administrators may have to initiate new and improved ideas that have direct benefits to students and the community, presenting them in a way that is acceptable and appropriate to them. In so doing, democratic values and social interaction would be enhanced.

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1914 AMALGAMATION, RESOURCE CONTROL AND NATION BUILDING IN NIGERIA

ABEJIDE T.S, Ph. D

Department of History & International Studies
Al-Hikmah University Ilorin, P.M.B 1601 Adeta Road
Adewole Housing Estate, Ilorin, Kwara State Nigeria
Email: tsabejide@alhikmah.edu.ng Phone Number:
08139514787

Abstract:

The current socio-political and economic problems confronting Nigeria had been linked to the form of administration left for the country by the British colonial government. Incessant agitations by ethnic nationalities, most especially the minority groups, for being marginalised in politics, gainful employment, ministerial appointments, access to education, infrastructures, unequal sharing formula of the nation's resources are serious issues yet to be addressed by the government since the restoration of democracy in 1999. This paper discusses the demand for resource control by the oil producing region of Niger Delta and other ethnic groups. The author integrates the use of both primary and secondary sources. It explains that many Nigerians have consciously and continuously asked the question of the genesis of Nigeria's socio-political problems and why the process of national integration is still many miles away from actualisation since independence. This paper further argues that the acceptance of Lord Lugard's proposal in 1914 with the establishment of colonial mercenaries to achieve their goals, the role of Lord Lugard as a Governor General in Nigeria, his objectives and reforms for the amalgamation or lumping together of existing protectorates by the British government in the colonial period laid the foundation for the ethnic power struggle and crisis in the country. However, the relevance of the

amalgamation to nation building are also examined. Thus, certain recommendations are made that all Nigerian citizens should be treated equally no matter their ethnic background, to enhance patriotism, integration and sustenance of the present democratic dispensation. It concludes that a re-direction of government policy to ensure resource control, restructuring, and a true federalism would, to a large extent, usher in peace and socio-economic progress for the nation.

Key words: Nation Building, Colonialism, Amalgamation, Democracy, Resource Control.

INTRODUCTION

Abi-nito, it is imperative to note that before the colonial state creation there were multiple ethnic groups with complete system of government each operating independently within what is to later be called Nigeria (Nmadi and Martins 1992:44). For instance, the Kanem-Borno Kingdom, Fulani Emirate which rules the Savannah of Northern Nigeria, the Ife Kingdom, Benin Kingdom, Yoruba Kingdom of Oyo. The city states of the Niger delta as well as the politically decentralize but culturally homogenous Ibo peoples of the Easter region and the small tribes of Plateau. They had different cultural diversities and which are merged as one entity or nation (Nmadi and Martins 1992:44).

It is clear that the incursion of the European largely depend on the early contact with Africans most especially in transnational trade network in slaves and their struggle over land in Africa after the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference in Germany.

Besides, these European merchants abolished trade in human slaves due to the development of industrial capitalism in the 1800's where labour intensive economy was transformed into

capital industrial development, hence, there was urgent need for raw materials readily available in Africa. Also, certain factors like, Global strategies, national prestige, maintenance of status quo in the World economy, Evangelical mission, adventurism and economic expansionism facilitated the white men's decision to move into the interior part of Africa, utilized the ignorance of African chiefs, conquered, subjected them to force rule of which the kingdoms mentioned above later became Nigeria or nation-states (Micheal Crowther 1977).

There are forms of stiff residence against British infiltration into the sub-region by various kings like; king Kosoko (1861) when Lagos was annexed, Jaja of Opobo, Nana of Itsekiri, Attaihu Ahmadu (in the North) and others could not matched the maxim guns of the imperialist. Thus, the British imperial company's (Royal Niger Company) charter was revoked to usher in the actual British colonial mercenaries and polices put in place to feature their administration, exploitation of the resources to their home industries.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Several scholarly works have been written on amalgamation, resource control, agitations and rise of ethnic movements in Nigeria, but for the purpose of this research, some relevant ones have been selected. To start with, the work by Eric, provides relative information on the significance of amalgamation of 1914's connubial relationships which existed among the various ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. His work revealed that, there were levels of social, economic and political development already attained by the people before the conquest and lumping together of these diverse ethnic groups (Eric, 2019).

According to Ali amongst others, they were more concerned about a true democratic administration in Nigeria (Ali &

Abubakar, 2019). It further argued that the constitution of 1914 virtually conferred the legislative, and executive powers of the colony on the colonial government. Hence, the perpetration of racial discriminations, oppression and hatred toward the colonizers. Similarly, the Nigeria nationalist activities toward independence and freedom was well captured by Ubaku, Emeh, and Anyikwa (2014). It explained the fact that the various movements within the country precipitated the decolonization of the country from the British colonial administration.

In the work by Okereka, Oluka and Igini, (2020) on colonialism and amalgamation of Southern and Northern Nigeria protectorate provides deeper information on the attitude of colonial administration toward the people. It explained the fact that equality, probity and transparency was required toward the development of ethnic groups in Nigeria. The post-independence oppression, marginalization of minorities in the country has to some extent prevented unity peace and virile development of the nation.

Other scholarly works relevant to this current research, particularly by Isian and Obi (2019), explained the fact that the political and religious turbulence experienced since independence laid credence to the recurring question whether the 1914 amalgamation of Northern and Southern protectorate was really a blessing or curse. The post-colonial political discriminations and lacked of probity and accountability by the government has to a large extent hindered the socio-economic integration and development expected by the people. To Mbalisi and Okeke (2021), the unsolicited union i.e. amalgamation, enthroned seemingly intractable religious and ethnic bias in Nigeria's socio-political and economic system. It explained the fact that, the issue of ethnic nationality must be addressed. Akanmidu (2018), focused on the impacts of British decision for

the lumping together of different ethnic nationalities, particularly the issue of minority marginalization and power struggle for control over the nation's resources.

On the issue of agitations by ethnic nationalities for resource control within their territories, Dickson (2016), in his work entitled 'Politics of resource control in Nigeria: agitation and innovation' was concerned with the centralization of power and control of resources by the federal government anywhere in Nigeria. He believed that the central control of oil resources and the utilization of the revenue accrued must be used to fast track the economic development of other minority oil producing states rather than the major ethnic nationalities.

On the Niger Delta oil producing community agitations for resource control, Orogun (2010), explained that despite the revenue generated by those communities to the government purse, there was nothing to show for their contributions. The fact that both their livelihood (farm land and environment) has been degraded and polluted, the people have resulted to other survival mechanism. To Dailoke, (2017), there is urgent need for the federal government to invest on human capital development program in the oil-producing states of Niger Delta. Only then would peace, progress and socio-economic development be attained in Nigeria.

ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH COLONIAL MERCENARIES

Between 1900-1914, the British sought to secure central direction of policy and pool economy resources together for easy administration has adopted policy of gradual amalgamation of its various units in Nigeria, for instance in 1906 the Lagos Colony and Protectorate was merged with the Southern protectorate to smoothen its economics ambition, that is, the

British government utilized the financial position of the South to cover the cost of administration and development in the financially weak colony and protectorate of Lagos saddled with white elephant of a railway in need of extension since 1901 though administrative fusion was not attained.

The British equally adopted the doctrine of a dual mandate for the administration of the colonies they had acquired. However, expansions of trade are the primary instrument for carrying out the dual mandate policy in Nigeria. Dual mandate means the British administrative policy where by the resources of the colony was develop in a way to assist the natives but mainly to developed the metropolis of the colonial center.

Research have shown that no real infrastructure for internal industrial development existed, except of course that which aided the production of exportable agricultural staples to enhance the British self-enlighten motives in Nigeria (Michael Crowther 1971:50).

THE ROLE OF GOVERNOR-GENERAL LORD LUGARD

Fredrick Lord Lugard was appointed as the first High Commissioner of the Northern Nigeria in 1900. He had no civil service experience and was a military man through and through. Therefore, his new position as the High Commissioner was seen as a military task that should be carried out with military precision, he gives order and prompt obedient follows. He did not allowed constructive criticism from any resident officers in the North. Most especially those who are against his indirect rule system in the Emirates are sanction and sent to non-emirates part

of the North as reward to those who supported him (Perham Margery 1960:40-65).

In addition, given his military experience, Lugard would preferred to work with military officers to seasoned administrators to serve in the political department. In fact, he believed that “army officers are an admirable class of men. They are gentlemen, their training teaches them prompt decision. Their education in military law give them a knowledge of the rule of evidence and judicial procedure”.

Besides, Lugard administrative system in the North revealed the incapability of military with governance, he made blunder especially his strained relationship with the staff and frequent administrative change and transfer of staff officers, this is made clear in Lugard’s assertion (1904-35) thus;

“Every resident or assistance resident shall be removable from one province to another and the area included without his jurisdiction shall be liable to diminution or alteration from time to time at the discretion of the high commissioner”

This policy of Lugard virtually lower the morale of the political officers in the Northern Nigeria.

Lugard’s attitude and military action which are non-democratic could be view in his policy of indirect rule, it was adopted to offset the high cost of administering the vast Northern Nigeria later turn to administrative policy system which made it difficult to discipline corrupt and erring emirs in the North. In fact, any administrator who insulted the emir are either sanctioned or transferred to a non-emirate areas for anti-direct rule system (Hannah 1969).

Accordingly, his returned from Hong Kong in 1913 enhanced the formulation of policy of amalgamation which led to 1913 memorial protest of the Northern political officers against bias nature of certain clauses in the policy on welfare of staff. (Crocker Watter, 1971:50). Also his preference to stay in the North and for the relative success of indirect rule manifested in his decision to merge the developed Southern protectorate with the financially poor Northern protectorate in 1914.

THE INEVITABILITY OF AMALGAMATION

What is Amalgamation?

Amalgamation in accordance with oxford advanced learner dictionary meaning, is bringing together classes, societies, races of people to forms union. It is a combination of two or more people of heterogeneous entities into new one. It could be describe as the lumping together under the same administration groups of mutually incompatible peoples. That is, merging together the existing protectorates in Nigeria before 1914 are as follows:

Protectorate of Southern Nigeria: This was in the Niger coast. The British officials then administering it were responsible to the foreign office in London.

Protectorate of Northern Nigeria: The British officials charged with its administration were directly responsible to board of directors of the Royal Niger Company, the Headquarter at various time located in Lokoja and Kaduna.

Protectorate and Colony of Lagos: The British officials administering the colony of Lagos were responsible to colonial office in London.

Thus, these separate administrative units are too vast for effective control and cumbersome to administere them

differently, therefore the inevitability for merger became the only option for a desperate colonial power to suit their interest. In 1914, the three protectorates were lumped together and named Nigeria, and Lugard assumed the title of Governor General before he left the country.

OBJECTIVES AND REASONS FOR AMALGAMATION IN 1914

It is pertinent to note that various reasons for lumping together of the protectorates in Nigeria stand clear considering the urgent need which they felt burdensome. Some of the reasons are as follows:

Exploitation and Self Enlighten Motive: That is the British colonial desire or interest not in the interest of the country or communities, they did not take Nigerian into cognizance before lumping different cultures together into one nation, and to reduce the burden of administration or high cost of administering Nigeria in units enhanced the amalgamation.

Another Cogent reason Was Political: For easy control and administration, it became expedient for British government to have one single unit of political system.

The Decision to Merge the three protectorates together was Economic Expediency: The Northern protectorate was running to severe deficit, they had no direct access to the sea, large area, high population and are being subsidies from the Southern protectorate, imperial grants-in-aid from British of about \$300,000 per annum, the British find a way of fine-tuning the administrative system by way of merger for efficient use of available recourses to develop the Nigeria nation (Morns et al 1970:23).

Another reason for British desire to lump together existing protectorates was the harmonization of railway line, there was pressing need to co-ordinate railway policy which are not in existence at that time, the Southern tract had taken effect in 1901 and by 1906, there is need for an extension Northward to Jebba, Bida, Minna, and further North like Kaduna, Kano, Niger, and Daura, hence by 1969, has been extended to River Niger in the Northern protectorate at Jebba, it extend to Mina, where a Northern line was being constructed to reach Kano, by 1912, there were two competing system, the Minna-Baro-Niger system rivaling the Minna- Jebba- Lagos system. Therefore, it was essential that effective coordination could be achieved through amalgamation. (Ojo 1973: 19).

Exploitation of local raw-materials for unward shipment to Europe is another factor for the merger of territories in the protectorate by 1914. For instance, the construction of rail lines from Lagos → Ilorin → Jebba → Minna → Kano → Enugu Port Harcourt are deliberately undertaken due to the availability of raw materials in these areas.

Literacy is a foundational basis for socio-economy development of any country, where reasonable part of the population are trained to become professional in any field of study to attain society growth and development. Therefore, the literacy level in Nigeria during the colonial period was very low, there were enough personnel for effective administrative control in the units and too costly for the British government, there could be reduction in the staff strength if the unit are put together to formed central control for the country (Habibu 2003:14).

Inadequate finance capital for proper maintenance of the protectorates facilitated the lumping together, precisely, it was not cost effective to maintain the protectorates differently hence, the lumped territories would drastically reduce the capital to

administer over a single units. However, one is force to view the process of amalgamation strategy as a plan for eventual decolonization of the county and to hand over a united nation to Nigeria nationalist, which manifested in 1960.

CRITICISM AND REACTIONS AGAINST AMALGAMATION

The above discussion have shown that the intensions of the British colonial government in Nigeria for amalgamation was not genuine but self-enlighten, and self centred, there has been a lot of criticism by scholars over the years, some of the reactions shall be examined.

For instance, the 1906 amalgamation of Lagos Colony and Protectorates of Southern Nigeria though could not materialize has been criticized by scholars because the colonial power failed to consider the views of the colonized people to ascertain if the decision for lumping together was acceptable. (Eluwa, 1988).

Also, it is unbelievable but in reality, just like the 1906 unchallant attitude of the British colonial power which did not sought for the consent or opinion of Nigeria before the fusion, the 1914 lamping together was undertaken in the same vein, they are not consulted during the process and establishment of the Nation – States.

The contemporary reactions of scholars over the years have argued that the 1914 decision of the British government to merged the independent territories together no matter how beneficial laid the basis for political upheavals in the country during the post – colonial rule (Okonjo, 1974:35) for instance some of the political conditions witnessed in Nigeria between 1960 and 2020 could be enumerated thus:

- Barely six years after the British had left the actual control of Nigeria, there was the first military coupe de tat and counter coup, which continued unabated until 1999.
- Ethnic clash and rivalries characterized the nation's sociopolitical system between 1960 and now.
- The marginalization of minorities by the majority group has caused incessant political crisis as a result of strife to free themselves from political stagnancy which had enjoyed before the 1914 events.
- Favouritism, nepotism, despotism, and tribalism has eaten deep into the nerves of every Nigerian leaders and people against the political philosophy to maintain a virile, dynamic and integrated nation state in Nigeria.
- The country was equally thrown into 32 months of Civil War, which started as a resistance to the Federal Government of Nigeria to prevent the Biafra secession between 1967 and 1970.
- Ethnic power struggle and unequal sharing of national cake and revenue are built on what the colonial power, after the amalgamation stood for. Lord Lugard prefers the North rather than the Southern part. This attitude sowed the seed of ethnic power struggle of which the nation is yet to be free.
- External manipulation and intervention in the nation's political system is continuous, especially the British government which signed a defense pact with the new nation after independence. This action has incessantly hindered stable political system in Nigeria.
- The new political system and administration by 1999 are manifestations of the impact of amalgamation since 1914.

It is noted that civilized countries like Britain could lumped people of ethnic diversities, beliefs, cultures with heterogeneous socio-political background together, they had favoured the Northern element with no or little education at that time to

promote their economic and political interest in Nigeria compared to the Southern part with more enlightened elites. Obaro Ikime noted that the British official involved in formulating and executing the policy of amalgamation were convinced that through it they would obtained a convenient and political means of securing the colonial administration. This have shown the attitude and ulterior motive, the selfish desire of the colonialist, which did not consider the convenience of the people from difference cultured under one nation. Hence, the Lugard's administration revealed the inefficient nature of military governance in human society. His personality as a military man, trained to protects external aggression and invasion, he had no civil service ethics to control a vast nation like Nigeria. By extension the period of military regime in the country were similar oppressive and despotic, inefficient until the nation returned to democracy in Nigeria since 1999.

ETHNIC AGITATIONS, RESOURCE CONTROL AND REVENUE DISTRIBUTION IN THE POST-INDEPENDENCE NIGERIA

It is noted that before the lumping together of heterogeneous ethnic nationalities in 1914 by Fredrick Lord Lugard, each had absolute control over their resources. All minerals and non-mineral resources were directly under the leadership of those ethnic groups. Revenue accrued from such resources were used toward the growth and development of their communities. Evidence has revealed that their ability to maximize their resources enhanced socio-economic transformations experienced prior to colonial rule and eventual amalgamation in 1914.

Furthermore, the marginalization of most minority ethnic groups in the post-colonial Nigeria precipitated the agitations for resource control, particularly in the oil-producing communities

in the Niger Delta. Resource control within the context of the Niger Delta people was interlinked fiscally in a federal system of government, particularly the case in the Nigeria's First Republic between 1960 and 1966. The country was initially divided into three regions (four from 1963 onwards) that exemplified a self-governing system, at the same time allowing for agreement on the common defence and protection of the country. Section 140 of the 1960 Nigerian Constitution stipulated that the sharing of revenue allocation to the regions shall be based strictly on derivation (Oziegbe, 2009). Each region had its own constitution, attached to the federal constitutional document in particular Part 2 of Chapter 9 of the 1960/1963 Constitution, that allocated the revenue derived from natural resources such as palm oil and rubber in a particular environment to the government, and shared the federally collected revenue among other federating units (Oyovbaire, 1985). This was in line with Wheare's (1953) vision of a federal system in which there is no hierarchy of authority that permits central government to impose itself on other federating units, as all levels maintain horizontal relationships. The debate on resource control explains the failing promises on the part of the federal government to permit the Delta region appropriate the oil revenue generated from the area.

According to the 1958 Raisman Commission Report, petroleum profits were to be divided, with 50 percent allocated to the Niger Delta communities, since oil was located in their territory (derivation principle), 20 percent to the Federal government, and 30 percent to a distributive pool for sharing among other regions in Nigeria, based on population and equality (Ejobowah, 2000). Nwabueze's study on this revealed that the relationship between the central government in Nigeria and the component units rested upon a balanced division of power and resources found in the environment, where each possessed the power over its

natural resources without interference from the others (Nwabueze, 1995). More importantly, the demand for resource control by the Ijaw people, up to 1966, was tied to the same principle during the First Republic, a period when the federating unit had control over agricultural produce and shared about 50 percent of its sale based on derivation. According to Duru (1999), the power politics played by the federal military government toward the end of 1966 to a large extent impeded the practice of a true form of federalism, that is, one that recognises the states' access to a fair share of the natural resources on its land.

Similarly, the intervention of the military forces in Nigerian politics in 1966 had implications for the entire Niger Delta region, namely, the suspension of the people's rights and control over the entire land, the cancellation of the 50 percent revenue allocation to the Delta area, and neglect of the environment. The Federal Military Decree no, 23 of 1966 reverted the existing laws that guaranteed the state's control over its resources, and vested the same in the Supreme Military Council and the Federal Executive Council (Alafuro, 2010). It is noted that the civilian government before the military government must be blamed for environmental problems in the Delta, because petroleum decrees promulgated by the military government became the principle adopted in the oil-producing area by successive government in Nigeria.

Similarly, the Colonial Mineral Oil Ordinance of 1914 that vested ownership and control of minerals with the British Crown was restated in the 1946 Mineral Act. The 1916 Mineral Ordinance re-affirmed the control and ownership by the British Crown over mining and oil rights found in the Nigerian environment (National Archive Ibadan, NAI 1290/1916). Section 3(1) clearly stated:

The entire property in and control of the minerals, and mineral oils, in under or upon any land in Nigeria, and of all Rivers, streams and water courses, throughout Nigeria, is and shall be vested in the Crown, save in so far as such rights may in any case have been limited by the express grant made before the commencement of this ordinance (National Archive Enugu, NAE, 422/1916).

Although all minerals found on land belonging to the crown in Nigeria were vested in the Crown, non-Crown belonged to the surface owners, individual owners and the native communities (Public Record Office, PRO, 2688). The Crown also retained the mineral rights on all lands alienated before that date, as they had passed to the surface owners. This explicitly revealed that all mineral rights found in the earth belonged to the colonial government, while the native landowners had rights to compensations. Similarly, this legislation has been repealed and replaced by the Petroleum Act of 1969, which reaffirmed the ownership of mineral resources in the post-colonial Nigeria government. At independence, the power of ownership was automatically transferred to the Federal government. More importantly, some mineral rights were ceded to the *United Africa Company* (the *Royal Niger Company*'s successor) by the colonial government. As Flint writes:

...the company was to receive one-half of the royalties which the government undertook to impose on all minerals mined in an area between the main Niger and the line through Yola and Zinder, providing they were exported through a British customs house. The concession was to last for 99 years (Flint, 1960).

Protests by the Zikist movement and other nationalists in 1946 made the British colonial government to reverse this decision by the end of 1949.

According to Section 162 (2) of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution, the petroleum decrees passed by the military government, such as the 1969 Petroleum Act, re-emphasised the exclusive ownership of the government over oil extracted in any part of the country, particularly in the Delta. For example, the 1969 Petroleum Act already regulated community access to communal land and restricted their rights over mineral resources, making it possible for the multinational oil investors to have unrestricted access to explore for oil, despite the problem of pollution associated with their operations (Ibeanu,2001).

The period from the 1970s through to the 1980s witnessed the awakening of the local consciousness to the environmental pollution and degradation in the Niger Delta communities. The state's ineptitude in dealing with the environmental situation according to experts like Frynas (2011), fuelled unrest and agitation against the centralised control of oil, especially the few military leaders and local civilians. Decree No. 13 of 1970, specifically permitted the federal military government to retain 55 percent of the royalties from crude oil sales, whilst 45 percent was paid to the state producing the oil, based on derivation. By implication, the alteration made by the Supreme Military Council in 1970 deprived the oil-producing states of ownership in terms of revenue and export duties, which were shared between them by a ratio of 3:2. (Oyovbaire, 1985)

A British Petroleum (*BP*) record shows that the Niger Delta people's rights and control over their environmental resources were further weakened by the Federal government under its 1971 Decree No. 9, which nationalised mineral resources and

vested the power over oil found in the continental shelf on the federal government (PRO,554/2109). Continental Shelf as used in this paper meant an area adjacent to the coast of Nigeria where off shore oil exploration and production was permitted. These offshore oil productions were declared the Federal government's matters. By implication, the Niger Delta oil-producing areas were not entitled to any proceeds from the sale of oil found in such area. This practice, according to Dibua, (2006) and Oyovbaire, (1985) did not account for the derivation funds allocated to the oil-producing areas. The provision of this decree thus signified that all oil exploration and proceeds from the offshore or territorial waters belonged to the federal government.

The complexities surrounding the 1978 Land Use Act Section 544, show that it was enacted to redefine the legal claims of ownership and control over all the mineral land found in the Delta region. It took away the community's rights to negotiate directly with the oil companies over access to land and compensation payment. World Bank study has revealed that the people were mindful of their limited rights imbedded in the Land Use Act that nationalised all land, both urban and rural, for the state and Local Government Areas (World Bank, 2008). Section 28(1) of the Land Use Act expressly permitted the occupancy and 'overriding public interest' of the state over oil wells in the Delta environment. It is noted that based on the provision of the Land Use Act, the oil companies until 1978 paid compensation on land directly to the land owners for damaged crops, but as a result of its enactment, the rights were invested in the Federal Government. This explains why *Shell Nigeria* argued that the problem in the Delta escalated when in 1978 and 1979, as two laws were passed which gave the 36 States and the Federal government control over all land and minerals (Aghalino, 2000; African Insight, 1999). It also illustrates the unfair distribution

of income derived from minerals by the government during this period, laying the foundation for intensive agitation for resource control by the Niger Delta people.

The federal division of financial resources within the context of the Nigerian revenue-sharing formula between 1960 and 1975 was based on sharing a fixed proportion of the revenue collected in the local area where the resource was found (derivation). Agitation and debate on how this formula was determined began in 1966, when the Gowon government led administration abrogated the 50 percent allocated to the oil-producing area of the Delta (Eghosa, 1998; Suberu, 1998). The allocation of revenue to the oil-producing region was further reduced to 45 percent and 55 percent between 1969 and 1975 for the federation account (Government Gazette, 4221/95). Evidence from the Africa Confidential (1997) revealed that Government's exclusive right to offshore resources increased its allocation to 80 percent in 1979 and 20 percent for the oil-producing areas. The Delta areas were mostly affected by this sharing formula since the non-oil states had a greater share than the oil-producing communities.

Section 1, 2(2) of the Revenue Allocation Act of 1981 which took effect from 22 January 1982, specifically addressed the payment of compensation to the oil-producing states:

The amount standing to the credit of the Federation Account (as specified in subsection (1) of section 149 of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be distributed by the Federal government among the various governments in Nigeria..."

Based on this provision, it become clear that the Federal government would share 55 percent, the state government 32.5

percent, the local government council 10 percent, the fund meant for resolving ecological problems 1 percent, and the physical development of oil-producing communities 1.5 percent.

Section 2(4) of the Revenue Allocation Act of 1981 states that:

...an amount equivalent to the revenue accruing to the Federation Account derived from minerals extracted from the mineral producing areas of Nigeria shall be paid into a fund to be administered by the Federal government for the development of the said mineral producing area...

This illustrates that the entire Delta oil-producing communities had specified allocation from the oil revenue derived from their land. In 1982, the 20 percent allocated to the oil regions was decreased to 1.5 percent based on derivation, then increased to 3 percent in 1992, and again to 13 percent in 1999. The violent nature of the agitation for resource control in the 1990s probably compelled government to shift from 3% to 13% during the Obasanjos' civilian era.

Table 1: State and Federal shares of petroleum proceeds 1953-present

Years	Producing states %	Federation Account including DPA %
1953-1960	100	-
1960-1969	50	50
1969-1971	45	55
1971-1975	45 minus offshore proceeds	55 plus offshore proceeds

1975-1979	20 minus offshore proceeds	80 plus offshore proceeds
1979-1981	-	100
1982-1992	1.5	98.5
1992-1999	3	97
1999-2005	13	87

Source: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2006, p.150

Table 1 above illustrates the unstable policy on derivation in Nigeria from the 1950s to 2005. The Distributive Pool Account (DPA) was being used by the Federal government for the sharing of oil revenue among the states, local governments, and the oil-producing areas of the Niger Delta. World Bank document (2008) revealed that in 1982, the Federal government had 55 percent, the states, 30.5 percent, the local government areas 10 percent, and the oil-producing states an additional 4.5 percent.

By implication, the revenue-sharing formula in Nigeria thus emphasised the Federal government's self-interest, which encouraged uneven distribution of oil proceeds in the country (Oyovbaire, 1985). To a large extent, this was to pitch the ordinary people of the Niger Delta, such as the Ijaws and Ogonis, against the non-oil-producing states in Nigeria (Ejobowah, 2000). In short, the marginalisation, deprivation, poverty and long neglect suffered by the oil-producing communities of Delta was an underlying factor behind their demand for total resource control. It explains why land became the most contentious issue in the Delta region as from the 1990s (International Crisis Group, 2006).

1914 AMALGAMATION, RESOURCE CONTROL AND NATION BUILDING

The perpetuation of environmental pollution and neglect of the Niger Delta by the Federal government, *Shell Nigeria* and *Chevron Nigeria* created a perceived need to take violent action especially by the youths from the early 1990s. At this time, the destruction of the Delta environment, especially agricultural land that became un-productive, and pollution of the water courses had encouraged the local people's demand for the control of oil resources found on their land (Ikporuko 1999).

Problematic distribution of oil resources in Nigeria provided further motivation for the Delta struggle. Other protagonists of resource control like, Itse Sagay, Nnimmo Bassey, Ebeku and Saro-Wiwa, argued that the state's 50 percent of the proceeds should be paid to the state in which it was produced, especially on the continental shelf off its land (Itse, 1995, NAE, 32/1 Allocation of oil Revenue). It is noted that in order to perpetuate its central control and ownership of the oil wealth, the Federal government (both military and Obasanjo's civilian Fourth Republic) reacted to oil agitation from the 1990s onwards by attempting to suppress it through violent means. For example, the politicisation of oil through militarisation or armed occupation of the Niger Delta oil-producing area by the central government in the early and mid-1990s was required for effective maximisation of the production and sale of oil.

The Federal government's repressive action shows its negative response to the demand for resource and environmental control by the oil-producing areas of the Niger Delta (The Guardian, 2001). Their demands were portrayed as secessionist and resistance movements that had to be crushed, as was the case in a repressive attack on Ijaw protesters in Yenogoa in December 1998. Despite the repressive means employed by the Federal government, resource-related demands have increased among

the Delta people, because many believed it was their fundamental right to have a clean environment and sustainable income for survival

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

This paper has examined the 1914 amalgamation, resource control, and its implications for nation building in Nigeria. It was found that the post-independence policies of the federal government has continued to hamper the desired growth and development of Nigeria. Peace and stability required for a sustainable economic vibrancy of the nation has been toiled with by the political elite. Hence, it is necessary to argue that the above discussion on the policy and strategies of British colonial administration in Nigeria to merge the existing protectorates under a single government to some extent was a mistake which has continued to hunt the political peace and process of national integration till date. The motive of the British government was not genuine, but to satisfy their interest, especially the 1914 constitution which arrogated more power to the Governor General to reject and accept any advice given to him by the council. The nominated members, who are Nigerian were figure head and bench warmer with little contribution in the council's deliberations. It is reasonable to fault certain clauses and strategies in the 1914 constitution. The 1914 lumping together of these territories has nothing to offer the emerged nation states, it has not achieved anything but rather deepened the political crisis in the country. The attitude of Lord Lugard marred the process of 1914 fusion. It was a mistake that came to reality. In fact, amalgamation of Nigeria was an artificial creation of the British.

The post-colonial agitations for resource control by some ethnic nationalities in Nigeria like the Niger Delta region presented a very important information of the negative impact of

amalgamation of these sovereign entities in 1914. Evidence has revealed that the Niger Delta oil-producing communities despite their contributions to the total national revenue, and due to oil spillage and soil degradation, has experienced poverty more than the non-oil producing states. The post-colonial formula for sharing revenue was not favourable. Therefore, the agitations for resource control, restructuring has continue in the area and other part of the country. The process of nation building has been hampered through this injustice in sharing of revenue.

It is however, noted that despite the flaws imbedded in amalgamation, the process hastens and enhanced the existing structure of nation building in the region. That is the amalgamation facilitated socioeconomic growth and development of the county, especially the construction of railway lines and extension from Lagos to the northern part and Enugu to Port-Harcourt which are still existence till date. It has also enhanced politically in the international politics the nationality of the citizens anywhere in the world.

Way to Peace and Sustainable Stability and Nation Building in Nigeria

- Despite the flaws in the amalgamation, Nigeria government could achieve virile socio-political system through constant review of the constitution to suit the various ethnic groups that made up the country. Military regime should be discarded totally in this new dispensation. That is democracy must be embraced by every Nigerian for a lasting and sustainable political development.
- Marginalization of the minorities should be checked for the attainment of sustainable democracy. This is required to give them sense of belonging in national appointment, wealth sharing on equal terms etc.

- Equality of every members of the society is required for sustainable national development and democracy. All tribes and people must be treated with equity and justice to facilitate nation building.
- There should be participation of all sectors in decision processes within the country, that is, industry and technology, agricultural sector, education, energy resource etc.
- National integration could be accelerated if government is patriotic and liberal to all and sundry, bias and favoritism should be jettisoned, accountability and spirit of love for the nation will enhanced nation building.
- The present political system could be sustained and durable if the political leaders are transparent in governance; absence of self-centeredness, as well as been resolute to forge ahead with laid down principles of democracy for accelerated growth and development in Nigeria present political dispensation.
- The issue of sharing of national revenue should be addressed. It is only when these suggestions are taking into consideration by the government, that Nigeria would achieved the quest for social, economic and political development of the nation.

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COVID-19 LOCKDOWN AND IMPLICIT KIDNAPPING IN ABEOKUTA METROPOLIS

ABDULLAHI, Haruna Ishola

harunism@gmail.com

Department of Criminology and Security Studies
Chrisland University, Abeokuta, Ogun State, Nigeria

Abstract

There are a number of responses to Covid-19 emergency across the globe. One reaction to mitigate the dastardly effects of Covid-19 such as massive loss of lives is imposition of lockdown. This action was a similitude of indirect kidnapping of the citizenry. In the normal kidnapping, victims` freedom of movement is truncated. In the same vein, the enforcement of lockdown denies citizens of their right to movement. This has negative consequences for the fundamental human rights to association, work and dignity of person. Hence, this paper assessed the Covid-19 and implicit kidnapping of citizenry as an elongation of abuse fundamental right of movement in Abeokuta metropolis. The study was cross-sectional, it adopted both qualitative and quantitative research methods. Data were sourced primarily and secondarily. It anchors on anomie theory by Emile Durkheim and betrayal trauma theory by Jennifer Freyd`s. The sample size was gotten through Taro Yamane sample size formula. The questionnaires were administered to 500 respondents. However, 440 was returned from the field, consequently the response rate was 88%. 312(70.90%) of the respondents were male, while 102(23.18%) were females. 102(94%). The results of the hypotheses tested: Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). The test statistic (0.1731 and 0.0980) exceeded the Tabulated value (0.000 and 0.000) for tested hypotheses. The alternative hypotheses that there are significant

relationships between lockdown and fundamental human right abuse was accepted. The paper recommends effective compensation for victims of lockdown. It will be useful to individuals, organisation, government agencies and researchers in social sciences.

Keywords: *Abduction, Conflict, Covid-19 Pandemic, Crimes, Crisis, Freedom, Frustration, Security*

Introduction

Emergencies are part of life occurrences which human beings live with. In recent time, one emergency situation that threatens human existence is coronal virus. The outbreak of the COVID-19 came with various actions. One of the actions towards mitigation of COVID-19 was lockdown. In the words of Berenson (2020), lockdown means restricting movement of people through curfew imposition. As argued by Mercola and Cummin (2021), lock down is another mean of latent kidnapping of people. Meanwhile, kidnapping is defined as capturing, transporting and incarceration of people. The duo actions have some elements of captivity. During Covid-19 lockdown, peoples` freedom of movement was restricted or totally denial. Most societies in the world experienced one form of lockdown or another. The ultimate goal of this action was to alleviate the spread of the pandemic. There is no action without immediate and remote consequences. The lockdown leads to instability in the social system. People were denied opportunities to earn their daily bread. The artisans, traders and other category of people who were self-employed were thrown into difficulty. Consequently, this raised serious social crisis like loss of jobs, hunger and domestic violence. Some breadwinners lost total control of their families. The lockdown has undesirable impacts on the freedom of movement of people (Mercola and Cummin, 2021). As result of this, social roles were limited during Covid-

19 lockdown, the people were denied opportunity to discharge their social roles. Implicit kidnaping is a situation whereby one is forced into captivity. This is usually initiated by a legitimate authority to achieve a set goal. Some of the features of kidnaping are denial of right of movement, social and economic rights. The flagrant abuse of human rights resulted in some security issues. These problems include loss of jobs, lives and valuable properties. In the prevailing global economic challenges (Monio-Liores and Ebi, 2021). Covid-19 lockdown worsened the difficulties people experienced (Bullinger, Carr, and Packhar, 2020). Implicit kidnaping resulted from death of millions of people across the world. Aside loss of lives, implicit lockdown instigated street crimes like theft, burglary, murder, truancy and other delinquent behaviour (Nivette, A.G. Zahnowy, and Eisner, 2021). There are a number of studies on Covid-19 pandemic. Berenson, (2020), examined unreported Truths about Covid-19 and Lockdown. Breslin, (2021), assessed lesson from lockdown: The Education Legacy of Covid-19. Santos, Masselti, Adam, Bezenra, Cheer and Abraham, (2021) Collision of Human Rights and the Right to Health Access During the Novel Corona Pandemic. However, to the best of knowledge of the author, none of these studies dealt with covid-19 and implicit kidnaping.

Discussion of Concepts

COVID-19 Pandemic. This was an outbreak of disease in the late 2019 and early 2020. It created serious confusion around the world. According to World Health Organisation, 2021 (over one million lives have been lost to the pandemic. In the history of pandemic in the world, Covid-19 recorded unprecedented deaths (Huskins, Quinn and Egan, 2021).

Effects of Covid-19 Lockdown

Loss of Lives. One of the dangerous effects of Covid-19 lockdown is the loss of lives. The number of lives lost to Covid-19 is unprecedented. According to International Agency for Disease Control, (2021).. The loss of lives created serious uproar in the various sectors; In the family, most breadwinners were lost to Covid-19. This subjected some families to perpetual mourning and financial crisis (Huskins, Quinn and Egan, 2021).

Loss of Financial Resources. The pandemic brought serious financial resource leakages. The financial demands cover diagnoses, treatment and re-integration of covid-19 patients. The most crucial aspects of increased financial responsibility is the social costs of maintaining locked down people. The financial demand to meet the social and economic responsibilities of government led to diversion of attention from critical infrastructures (Nweke, 2015).

Job Loss. Covid-19 resulted in the loss of jobs in the critical sectors. The private sectors depend continuous production for profit maximization. Covid-19 prompted temporary closure of companies and business ventures. The companies were forced to laid off staff. This worsened unemployment in the country (Kareem, Ojonugwa and Adah, 2021). Unemployment has been linked to upsurge in crime rate.

Pressure on Health Sector. The health sector is one of the critical sectors directly affected by covid-19 lochdown. Some of the forefront health workers were lost to the pandemic. This worsens inadequate manpower resources in the health sector (Ezemenaka, 2018). Some health workers were compelled to work without corresponding payment.

Worsened Corruption. According to Amnesty International (2020), corruption is an act of using one's official position to satisfy selfish interests. Corruption is one of the challenges of management of palliatives to ease the burden of lockdown. Systemic corruption undermines effective and impartial distribution of palliatives to curtain difficulties emerged from lockdown. Nigeria is a typical example of a country bedeviled by corruption.

High Cost of Living. One side effect of Covid-19 lockdown is high cost of living. During Covid-19, the transport and other service sector experienced sudden disruption. This motivated increase in the prices of food items and other valuables. The high costs of food items instigated galloping inflation. This worsens the living conditions of the masses, and their propensity to engage in criminal acts.

Lockdown. This is an act of restricting the movement of people. It refers to as a false imprisonment (Breslin, 2021). During lockdown, people are usually denied movement from one place to another. They are denied opportunity to assume other social roles in the social system. They could not go out to do normal work.

Implicit Kidnaping. This is referred to as capturing, transport and incarcerating individuals. It is an indirect form of kidnapping. Men are subjected to various actions whose consequences are implicit kidnapping (Howie, 2018).

Features of Implicit Kidnapping. The following features of implicit kidnapping have been established by (Lunglais, 2016). The first feature of implicit kidnapping is implicit abduction, this is a situation whereby kidnap victims are held hostage. In this scenario, the fundamental human rights of movement of victims is suspended. Aside abduction, other salient feature of

implicit kidnapping is transportation. In a bid to further encroached on the rights of kidnap victims, abductors do move kidnap victims into hidden places. This is to deceive the security operatives or the victims` relatives. Incarceration is the third aspect of implicit kidnapping. In the course of this, kidnap victims are subjected to curfew. The victims are kept in thick forests, abandoned buildings and other hidden places. Under this circumstance, kidnap victims experienced serious hardship. The victims are usually forced to eat poorly cooked food, drink dirty water and prolonged days without bathing. These subhuman conditions resulted in contrasting diseases. (Cunningham, 2012).

Figure 1: Kidnap Scene of a Student of Federal University of Agriculture Abeokuta



Adapted from google search on kidnapping in Abeokuta, 26 November 2021

From Figure 1 above, a kidnap victim was tied to a pole. This is a replica of lockdown because people movement was restricted during lockdown. During kidnapping people movement is usually limited to kidnapper`s den.

Covid-19 Pandemic Lockdown. As part of measures to mitigate the undesirable effects of COvid-19. The authorities in the health sector recommended lockdown. The governments responded by imposing total lockdown on the masses.

Figure 2: A Popular Itoku Market in Abeokuta was Deserted During Covid-19 Lockdown



Adapted from google pictures on Covid-19 on Abeokuta, culled on 13 December, 2021

From Figure 2 above, the popular Itoku Market in Abeokuta was deserted in compliance with covid-19 lockdown. Likewise, other busy business centres were closed down during covid-19 lockdown. In response to lockdown directives, traders, artisans, transporters and other category of people who rely on their daily activities for their livelihood stayed at home. Lockdown imposed serious economic hardship on the masses.

Some Fundamental Human Rights.

These are the citizens claims which the law allows. As part of struggle to improve human conditions. There were various conventions to instill fundamental rights of the citizens. The following are examples of fundamental human rights of the citizens (Henn and Ibhawoh, 2019).

Right to Freedom of Movement. Under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, every human being possesses the fundamental human rights to move from one place to another. The movement could be national or international (Barges, 2018).

Right to Freedom of Expression. Express human being has the fundamental human rights of expression. That is on no account somebody should be denial the right to express his or her thoughts. However, the expression should not undermine the dignity of another person's.

Right to Freedom of Religion. It is the basic right of everybody to worship God or gods. There is no compulsion or force in worshipping God of one's choice. One could decide to be traditionalist, Christian, Muslim, Buddhist or any other religious follower (Santos, et al , 2021).

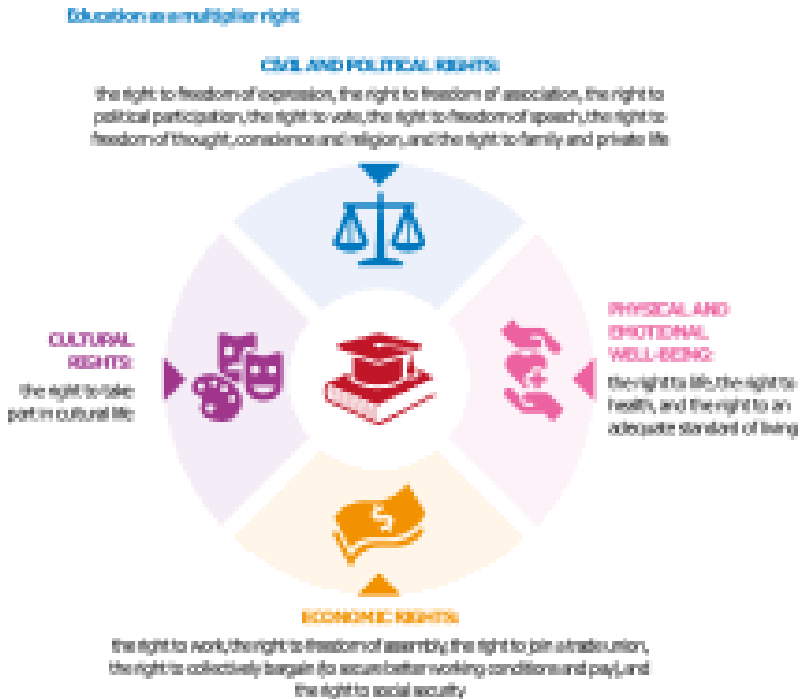
Right to Freedom of Association. As part of the fundamental human rights, everybody has liberty to join or leave any association. One can also be a facilitator of any association of his or her choice. The limitation here is that the association activities must be in line with the law.

Human Rights Abuse in Abeokuta

Human rights are the legitimate claims which the law allowed. During Covid-19 lockdown, there are incidences of physical confrontation between security agents and the masses. The unarmed citizens were brutalized by the security operatives

(Kareem et al. 2021). In the students concentrated areas, they engaged in the free-for-all fights with the security agents. The security agents were attempting to enforce the stay-at-home restriction.

Figure 3: Fundamental Human Rights



Adapted from google search on fundamental human rights pictures, 13 November 2021

From Figure 3 above, the basic fundamental human rights of people were depicted. These rights are political, cultural, social and economic rights. During Covid-19 lockdown, firstly, economic rights of the people was denied because people were prevented from engaging in economic activities. The social

rights of the people were denied through total lockdown. The lockdown inflicted serious social and physiological hardship on the people.

Problem Statement

Before the outbreak of Covid-19 in the late 2019 and its subsequent spread to other parts of the world in the early 2020. There were relative peace and stability in world. However, the outbreak of Covid-19 resulted in emergencies like death, loss of jobs, income and resources. According to World Health Organisation WHO (2020), over five million, five hundred and six-sixty thousands and fifty-six (5,566,056) deaths have been recorded. At the national level, over three thousand people have died of Covid-19 in Nigeria (National Centre for Disease Control, 2022). The ugly incident threw families, organizations into shambles. Many countries embarked on travel bans. This instigated negative diplomatic relations among countries in the world. For instance, Nigeria is having diplomatic rows with Saudi Arabia, Britain and South Africa. The imposition of lockdown has implications for social and economic activities. At the extreme, the lockdown instigated criminal activities such as theft, robbery and domestic violence. These criminal activities resulted loss of lives and properties. As argued by Akinola (2020), over 20% of the workforce were rendered jobless as a result of Covid-19 lockdown. The lockdown puts pressure on the government at various levels. One of the actions put in place to alleviate the effects of lockdown was distribution of palliatives. In some African countries especially Nigeria, the management of palliative was characterized by corruption. The problem of corruption also manifested in the enforcement of lockdown. The law enforcement agents engaged in gross abuse of peoples` fundamental human rights. Therefore, this paper focuses on Covid-19 and implicit kidnapping in Nigeria.

Significance of the study

This study fills the gaps in literature on Covid-19 lockdown and human rights abuse in Abeokuta metropolis. It broadens the existing knowledge on Covid-19 lockdown. The effects of covid-19 lockdown cover different areas of human endeavors. However, there is a limited literature on how lockdown affects human rights. It will also improve the practical knowledge on covid-19 lockdown. this aid policy makers. Also, the researchers in the field of social and management sciences will find this study useful to them.

Methods and Materials

The research design is descriptive and cross-sectional in nature. It combined both qualitative and quantitative data. Data were sourced from primary and secondary sources. The study was conducted in Abeokuta metropolis. Abeokuta is the capital of Ogun State. It is the among the six Southwestern States. It shares boundary in the North with Oyo State, west with Lagos State. It has `Olumo Rock`, as one of the well-known tourists centres in Nigeria.

Scope of the Study. This study is limited to Abeokuta metropolis in Ogun State. It concentrated on covid-19 lockdown and implicit kidnapping. Other places in Ogun State were not covered.

Study Population. According to National Population Commission (2006), National Population and Housing Census, the Abeokuta metropolis has a population of 3,550 people. Presently, its human population estimate is 4,000 people. The study location was chosen because the presence of the Federal Medical Centre in Idi-Aba, Federal University of Agriculture

Sample Size: The sample size was gotten by using Taro Yamane, $n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e^2)}$, $n = \frac{400}{1 + 400(0.05)^2} = \frac{400}{11} = 440$

Limitation of the Study: This study was limited by COVID-19 lockdown however, the administration of questionnaires was possible after the lockdown was relaxed. The field assistants were strictly adhered to COVID-19 Safety protocols. The field research was conducted in the four zones. These were Abeokuta North, East, North and West. One hundred and twenty-five (125) questionnaires were distributed in each zone

Theoretical Framework

Theories are the related concepts, ideas, principles, ideologies and propositions that are used to explain social phenomenon (Kushner, 2020).. In social sciences and other related disciplines, theories are products of research. On the other hand, research are the products of theories. To shed more light on Covid-19 lockdown, anomie theory by Emile Durkheim and betrayal trauma theory by Jenifer Frye. According to Emile Durkheim, anomie is a state of lawlessness. A situation whereby rules and regulations of society does not hold ground. Under this condition, the norms and values of a society are suspended (Sep and Ferraira, 2018). During Covid-19, the norms and values of a social structure were disjointed. The normlessness led to lockdown this warranted unprecedented increase in crime rate. The betrayal trauma theory expresses the proposition in every abnormal situation one goes against the confidence imposed in him or her(Kushner, 2020; Gaignon, Lee, and Depreneener - Anne, 2017). Before Covid-19, there were relative peace and harmony in the social system. However, Covid-19 lockdown resulted in the unwarranted loss of orderliness. As a result of Covid-19, governments at various levels betrayed the confidence imposed in them. The confidence loss resulted in

corruption. The corruption was manifested in the mismanagement of COvid-19 palliatives. The law enforcement agencies engaged in gross abuse of fundamental human rights by maltreating the masses. The two theoretical dispositions best explained the concepts of Covid-19 lockdown and implicit kidnapping. Anomie theory does not explain betrayal of trust. However, betrayal trust theory gives broad explanation of the subject matter.

Results

Table 1: Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Respondents
N= 440 years

1.Age(years)	Socio Demographic Characteristics	N	Percentage (%)
	18---25	43	9.77
	26---33	87	19.77
	34---41	112	25.45
	42---49	104	23.64
	50---57	57	12.95
	58---65	24	5.45
	66yrs and above	13	2.95
	Total	440	100.0
2. Sex		N	%
	Male	312	70.90
	Female	102	23.18
	No Response	26	5.90
	Total	440	100
3.Educational Attainment		N	%
	No Formal Education	77	17.5
	Primary School leaving Certificate	103	23.41

	Secondary School Leaving Certificate	121	27.5
	Ordinary National Diploma	17	3.86
	Higher National Diploma	64	14.55
	First Degree	43	9.77
	Post graduate	15	3.41
Total		440	100s
4.Marital Status	Responses	N	%
	Single	66	15
	Married	247	56.14
	Divorced	72	16.36
	Cohabited	55	12.5
	Total	440	100
5.Employment Status	Response	N	%
	Unemployed	125	28.41
	Employed	93	21.14
	Underemployed	222	50.45
	Total	440	100.0
6.Monthly Income	Income from various sources	N	%
	Below #30,0000	15	3.41
	#30,000--#50,000	112	25.45
	#50,001---#70,000	191	43.41
	#70,001--# 90,000	98	22.27
	# 90,000--- #110,000	24	5.45
	Total	440	100

Source: Field Survey 2020

From Table 1 above, the age distribution of the respondents showed that majority of the respondents, 112 (25.45%) were in the active labour age (34—41) years. On the other hand, 66 years (2.95%). This category of people has retired from active service and depends on the working class for livelihood. The lockdown instigated serious social and economic problems for the working class such as increase in the number of dependents. The sex distribution of the respondents showed that out of 440, 314(70.90%) were male. While, 102(23.28%) were females. In the same van, 26(5.90%) gave no response to the question. The implication of this is that more men experienced implicit kidnapping. In the area of educational attainment, the majority of the respondents 121 (27.5%) were secondary school leavers. This was followed by the 103(23.41%) who had the First School Leaving Certificate. In the area of marital status, 247 (56.14%) of the respondents were married. This showed that men and women with responsibilities were locked down. 72(16.36%) of the respondents were divorcees. In the area of unemployment, the majority of respondents 222(50.45%) were underemployed. Also, 125 (28.41%) of the respondents unemployed. The income status of the respondents showed that 191(43.41%) earned the income brackets (#70,001--# 90,000). However, 24(5.45%) of the respondents earned the income bracket (90,000--- #110,000).

Research Hypothesis: From the literature review and statement of the problem, the following hypothesis will be formulated:

Hypothesis One

H₁: {There is a significant relationship between covid-19 lockdown and human right abuse }

H₀: {There is no significant relationship between covid-19 lockdown and human right abuse }

Hypothesis Two

H₁: {There is a significant relationship between covid-19 lockdown and indirect abduction }

H₀ :{ There is no a significant relationship between covid-19 lockdown and indirect abduction }

Hypothesis Testing

Table 2: There is correlation between Covid-19 Lockdown and human rights abuse in

Variabl e	Mea n	Standa rd Deviati on	Samp le Size	R	P	REMA RK
COVID-19 lockdown and human right abuse	16.86 19.09	2.960 2.79	440	0.1731	0.00	SIG.
Significant at 5%						

Source: Field Survey, 2020

From Table 2, in testing the hypothesis that states that there is a significant relationship between covid-19 lockdown and human right abuse in Abeokuta Metropolis. The table value, R = 0.1731, is more than the Pvalue, 0.00, at 5% level of significance. The decision rule states that reject the null hypothesis if the table value exceeds the Pvalue, Hence, in this

regard, the Table value, $R= 0.17314$ is more than Pvalue, 0.00. The null hypothesis is hereby rejected and alternative hypothesis is accepted. Therefore, there is a significant relationship between Covid-19 lockdown and human right abuse. During Covid-19, there were gross abuse of fundamental human rights during Covid-19 lockdown. The lockdown created a situation of normlessness in the process of enforcing Covid-19 safety rules and regulations. Law enforcement agents such as police, civil defense, army and others subjected people to serious malpractice.

Table 3: There is a correlation between Covid-19 lockdown and latent abduction

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Sample Size	R	P	REMARK
There is a significant relationship lockdown and latent abduction	13.950	2.450 2.31	440	0.098	0.00	SIG.
Significant at 5%						

Source: Field Survey, 2020

From Table 2, in testing the hypothesis that states that there is a significant relationship between Covid-19 lockdown and latent

abduction. The table value, $R = 0.0980$, is more than the Pvalue, 0.00, at 5% level of significance. The decision rule states that reject the null hypothesis if the table value exceeds the Pvalue, Hence, in this regard, the Table value, $R = 0.0980$ is more than Pvalue, 0.00. The null hypothesis is hereby rejected and alternative hypothesis is accepted. Therefore, there is a significant relationship between Covid-19 lockdown and latent abduction. Covid-19 lockdown, is synonymous with abduction of people. The people were locked in without effective palliative measures.

Discussion of Findings

From Table 1, the majority of the respondents were males and in terms of educational attainment. The secondary school holders held the day. The majority of the respondents 112(25.4%) felt within the age brackets of (34—41) years. This is in line with the submission of Berenson (2020) that majority of the active working population were badly affected during Covid-19 lockdown. The economic rights of the respondents were also affected. They were prevented from going about daily source of livelihood. From Table 1, in terms of the sex of the respondents. The male had 312(70.9%) of the respondents. The marital status of the respondents revealed that 247(56%) were married. This in line with the study conducted by Ezemenaka (2018), on the effects of kidnapping on security in Nigeria. The results of the two-hypotheses tested showed that there were positive significant relationships between covid-19 pandemic and human right abuse. The second hypothesis showed that there is a significant relationship between covid-19 lockdown and indirect abduction in the Abeokuta metropolis. From the Figure 1, a kidnapping scene was demonstrated. During kidnapping, the fundamental human right of the citizens are usually restricted (Huskins, Quinn and Egan, 2021). During covid-19 lockdown,

the economic and social rights of the people were restricted. This resulted in the social and economic problems. This led to emergence of criminal activities like theft, burglary, street hooliganism and murder.

Conclusion

From the empirical findings, there is a significant relationship between Covid-19 lockdown and human rights abuse in Abeokuta Metropolis. The lockdown resulted in latent abduction in Abeokuta. This resulted in job loss, with its consequential social and economic hardship on the masses. This study will be significant to individuals, government at various levels and non-government organizations, and researchers in social and management sciences.

Recommendations

The study recommends effective preparation for emergency situations by individuals. This mitigates effects of lockdown on individuals. Through micro savings and subsistence farming. This will discourage kidnapping because when people are engaged, they will not be involved in kidnapping.

The government should put in place workable social security systems. This prevents confusion and minimizes corruption during emergency intervention schemes.

The concerned orientation agencies like Ministry of Disaster Management, National Orientation Agency should embark on human rights education.

The government at various levels should embark on a massive campaign against human rights abuse in Nigeria. In the process, authorities should play a role model.

The law enforcement agents who violated the fundamental rights of individuals should be brought to justice.

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