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Table of Contents

TITLE	Page No
The Role of Local Government in Rural Development in Nigeria: A Study of Lafia Local Government Area of Nasarawa State	1-11
○ <i>Hamza Mohammed, Yahaya Muhammad</i>	
Role of African Women Leaders in Inspiring Women Participation in Leadership: An Analysis	12-27
○ <i>Bitiyong Zemo J. Amina, Sheriff Ghali Ibrahim</i>	
The Plight of Internally Displaced Persons in Unofficial Camps in The Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, Abuja	28-37
○ <i>Bitiyong Zemo J. Amina, Sheriff Ghali Ibrahim</i>	
Awareness and Utilization of Library Resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library	38-46
○ <i>Danlami Abdullahi, Aliyu Isyaku Ahmad (CLN), Umar Ahmed</i>	
Child Adoption and Surrogacy from the Baby Factory: A Flux of Reproductive Health Care in the South East of Nigeria	47-53
○ <i>Chukwuma Emeka Godson (Ph.D)</i>	



THE ROLE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF LAFIA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF NASARAWA STATE

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ABSTRACT: *Despite the huge revenue that accrues to the local government areas in Nigeria, rural areas are still faced with challenges of development. This study examined the role of Local Government in Rural Development in Lafia Local Government Area over a period of 2015 to 2019. The study utilized both primary and secondary methods of data collection. The structured questionnaire was designed and distributed to ten (10) selected communities within Lafia Local Government Area. A four points likerts scale was used to determine the responses of the respondents and the chi-square was also used to test the hypothesis. The findings of the study reveal that Lafia local government enhances rural development through provision of social amenities to the locality. The study further revealed that past policies and programmes of the government have improved the quality of lives of rural dwellers in the local government. The study therefore recommended that autonomy should be granted to local government in order to enhance its performance, revenue base of the local government should be diversified and the revenue allocation formula to local governments be reviewed upward.*

KEYWORDS: Local Government, Rural Development, Lafia L.G.A, Rural Areas

INTRODUCTION

The establishment of local government in Nigeria arises from the need to facilitate rural development through infrastructural development and service delivery (Sehinde, 2008). Section 7 (i) of 1999 constitution empowered local government to construct and maintain rural roads, street lights, water and drains and other public highways or such public facilities (FGN, 1999). Despite this provision, lack of adequate, affordable and reliable infrastructural facilities still eludes the rural Nigerian families every day. In addition, water supply is neither safe nor adequate for their needs and local roads are not pliable. Local government contributions to rural development have been minimal when compared to the amount of resources which accrue to it (Sehinde, 2008 in Tolu, 2014). Local people have become disillusioned as a result of unfulfilled expectation. In Nigeria today, the overriding impression today is that local governments are weak in responding to the challenges posed by rural development. Given this submission, this research therefore assessed the role of local government administration in rural development in Lafia Local Government Area of Nasarawa State.



Objectives of the Study

The study will basically have two objectives. The general objective and the specific objective. The general objective of this study is to investigate the roles of Local government administration in rural development. While the specific objectives are as follows:

- i. To examine the roles of Local Government Administration in Rural Development in Nigeria.
- ii. To determine whether there is significant impact of the past policies and programmes of government on improvement of quality of lives of rural dwellers;
- iii. To identify the factors that enhance better lives of rural dwellers.

Statement of the Hypotheses

- i. **Ho:** Local Governments have not contributed significantly to development of rural areas.
- ii. **Ho:** Past policies and programmes of Government have no significant impact on rural development.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Local Government

Akpan in Effiom (2001:87) describes local government “as the breaking down of the country into smaller units or localities for the purpose of administration in which the inhabitants of the different units or localities concerned play a direct and full part through their elected representatives who exercise powers and undertake under the general authority of the state or National Government”.

The National Guidelines for Reform of Local Government (1976:1) defines local government as:

Government at (the) level exercised through representative councils established by law to exercise specific powers within defined areas. These powers should give the councils substantial control over local affairs as well as the staff and institutional and financial powers to initiate and direct the provision of services and to determine and implement projects so as to complement the activities of the state and federal governments in their areas and to ensure through active participation of the people and their traditional institutions that local initiatives and responses to local needs and conditions are maximized.

Rural Development

Maboguje (1980:30) Opines that *rural development is concerned with the improvement of the living standards of the low-income people living in the rural areas on a self-sustaining basis through transforming the socio-spatial structures of their productive activities. It implies a broad-based reorganization and mobilization of the rural populace to cope effectively with the daily tasks of their lives and with the change's consequent upon this.*



Review of Empirical Literature

In this section, some empirical studies carried out on Local Government and rural development is presented.

Jide (2010) conducted a research on the role of local government in Rural Development, using simple content analysis. The result shows that the organizational environment for enhancing rural development remains the local government. The core issues in rural development include self-help; attention to need (felt and latent), integrated community for development; mobilization of human and material resources which could facilitate the provision of social amenities and infrastructure.

Tolu, (2014) carried a research on Local Government and rural infrastructural delivery in Nigeria using simple contact analysis. The study yielded a clear result that the rural infrastructure network is unavailable in the local area and where it is available, it is severely degraded and inadequate for any meaningful development. The study suggested that local government funding should be increased to enhance its delivery capacity and enable the rural people enjoy the presence of basic rural infrastructure.

Ademola, (2007) conducted a study on the role of local government areas in rural transport financing. The result shows that adequate provision of credit by the local government area will ease transportation problems in the rural areas both for human movement and for the transportation of goods from the farms to the market.

Ugwuanyi and Emma, (2013) conducted a research on enhancing Rural development in Nigeria: Periscoping the impediments and exploring imperative measures. They observed that the rural areas of Nigeria are so far largely characterized by lack of basic infrastructural facilities and general underdevelopment. This is in spite of their immense contributions to the national development. They argued that enhancing the rural development status is therefore a pre-requisite for sustainable national growth and development.

Anger, (2012) explored local government and rural development in Benue State and the result shows the performance of local government in Benue state. Thus, the rural areas in Benue state are characterized by inefficient means of agricultural production, there is general lack of basic infrastructure and social amenities such as safe portable water, road, medical facilities, educational facilities, electricity and general decline in human development. A critical observation reveals that local government in Benue state have failed to provide the expected level of development at the grass roots level.

Stephen and Moses, (2012) conducted a research on local government and appropriate capacity building for accelerated and sustainable rural development in Nigeria using simple content Analysis. The result depicted that capacity building to accelerate sustainable rural development at the local government level is missing. They suggested that for capacity building to improve at the local government to ensure accelerated and sustainable development, the following measures must be adopted as a way forward, capacity assessment/profit, analysis of the existing capacity problems, strengthening the existing system and technology transfer.



Theoretical Framework: Elite Theory

The elite theory was originally developed by Pareto in his “book” *The Mind and society*, in 1916 and Mosca ‘*The Ruling Class*’ at the beginning of the 20th century, Both Mosca and Pareto saw rule by elite groups as inevitable even in supposedly democratic societies and as such considered this state of affairs to be desirable. According to them, it was effectively “right and proper” that elite groups should dominate the political-decision making process.

Whilst Pareto saw political power in terms of a continuous circulation of elite groups’ who rule because of their members superior intelligence, education, cunning and so forth, that is their superior qualities, Mosca argued that elite groups ruled politically because of their superior organizational ability. According to Mosca, elite came to power because of their superior internal organization. Both Pareto and Mosca saw the general politically disorganized mass of the population as being controlled through manipulation, propaganda and the like to serve the interest of powerful elites.

Pareto distinguished two main type of elite group.

- a) “Lion elites” who were able to rule by force (for example, Military regimes)
- b) “False elites” who were able to rule by manipulation (for example liberal democratic regimes).

Given that, Pareto’s view of political power was pretty-much all encompassing, he attempted to resolve the problem of political change (how, if an elite was effectively all powerful, could it be replaced by another elite?) by reference to the idea that elites after they achieve power, have a relatively limited life-span. That is, they grow decadent, decay, lose their vigor and so forth and in turn, come to be replaced by other more vigorous, elite groups. Thus, the theory of “circulative elites” powerful groups arise in society, take power, lose their political vitality overtime and are replaced.

However, there are numerous problems with this form of analysis, Pareto simply assumes that elite groups are somehow superior to all other groups in society. He gives little reality about how and why they are supposedly superior. The distinction between types of elite is simplistic and does not recognizes the fact that, in democratic societies, the politically powerful may rule through a combination of economic, military, political and ideological power. Pareto’s explanation for the replacement of elite is over simplistic in so far, he provides no real explanations as to why elites should necessarily become decadent or decay. For Pareto, there appears to be little basic difference between democratic societies and totalitarian societies.

Although Mosca shared with Pareto the idea that elites had superior qualities to “the masses” who were effectively born to be led and controlled, he emphasized the social background of elites rather than their “personal qualities”. In this respect, elites ruled because of their superior internal organizational abilities and some elites were better equipped than others to take power. Mosca recognized that the organizational qualities needed to assume power varied from society to society.



Unlike Pareto, Mosca did attempt to distinguish between democratic and totalitarian societies. In the former the masses could have some input into the political process. However, his basic position was that democracy could never be anything more than a manipulative, legitimating process whereby elites consolidated their power by co-opting the masses to support the interest of the powerful rather than by truly representing the interest of the masses.

METHODOLOGY

This study employed both secondary and primary method of data collection. The secondary method will depend largely on data gathered from journals, conference papers, books, government publications and reports. The primary data was collected using questionnaires. This study is designed to select ten (10) rural communities in Lafia Local Government area of Nasarawa State and avail them with the questionnaire. Data collected was analyzed using frequency and tables and interpreted through the use of a 4 points Liker questionnaire.

Data Analysis and Presentation of Results

Table 1: Summary of the Distributed Questionnaires

S/no	Locality	Numbers of Questionnaires Administered	Number of Questionnaire Returned	%
1.	Fadama bauna	17	15	88%
2.	BAD	30	25	83%
3.	Kayarda	14	14	100%
4.	Adogi	84	72	86%
5.	Bakin Rijiya	47	46	98%
6.	Akurba	129	106	82%
7.	Bukin Fadama	19	18	95%
8.	Kurikyo	18	17	94%
9.	Bukan Kwato	22	20	91%
10.	Wakwa	13	12	92%
	Total	392	345	88%

Source: Field Survey, July 2019.

From the above table, out of the 393 questionnaire administered to the respondents of all the 10 selected rural communities in Lafia Local Government Area, 345 representing 88% were returned while 48 representing 12% were not returned. A total of 345 questionnaires were returned and analyzed.

**Table 2: Bio Data of the Respondents**

S/no	Bio data	Scale	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Sex of the respondents	Male Female Total	285 60 345	83 17 100
2.	Age	19-33 34-49 50-64 65 and above Total	30 260 35 20 345	9 75 10 6 100
3.	Educational Level	No formal Edu. Primary Secondary Tertiary Total	105 150 78 12 345	30 43 23 4 100

Source: Field survey July, 2019

Data presented in table 2 shows the bio data of the respondents in ten (10) selected rural communities of Lafia Local Government Area. The findings reveal that overwhelming respondents are male (83%) while female constitutes only (17%).

The highest participants are those in age category of 34-49 (75%), the age category from 50-64 (10%) and the next is 18-33 (9%) and 65 and above (6%). The result indicates that the majority of the respondents are within the age bracket of 34-49 years. Similarly, the greater number of respondents are those with primary school education (43%) followed by those with no formal education (30%) and those with secondary education (23%). A negligible proportion is from the tertiary education (4%) level.

Table 3: Roles of Local Government Administration in Rural Development

S/N	Questionnaire items	SD	D	A	SA	X	Remark
1.	Local Government provided pipe born water to rural communities	173	113	39	20	1.72	Disagreed
2.	Modern market was constructed by Local Government	171	120	32	22	1.72	Disagreed
3.	Local Government provided and maintained public sewage and refuse disposal	24	23	143	155	3.2	Agreed
4.	Local Government provided electricity to each electoral ward	157	140	38	10	1.71	Disagreed
5.	PHC was constructed and maintained by the Local Government	8	27	s156	154	3.3	Agreed
6.	Local roads were constructed across the communities	18	26	147	156	3.2	Agreed



7.	New Primary Schools were established and old ones were renovated	10	36	126	173	3.3	Agreed
8.	Bridges were constructed across the rural communities	30	35	177	103	3.0	Agreed

Source: Field survey July, 2019

The data in table 3 shows the roles of local government in rural development of selected rural areas in Lafia Local Government Area of Nasarawa State. Out of eight roles of Local Government in rural development identified, the respondents agreed with five (5). These include construction of PHC (3.3), establishment of schools (3.3), public sewage and refuse disposal (3.2), local roads (3.2) and construction of bridges (3.0). The rest three (3) were not affirmed to be provided by the Local Government in the rural communities. These include construction of modern market (1.72), pipe borne water (1.72) and electricity (1.71). These findings indicate that Lafia Local government council enhances rural development in the selected communities. This is because five out of eight development indicators identified were agreed to be provided to the rural areas by the council. The result is in conformity with the work of Jide (2010).

Table 4: Impact of Past Policies and Programmes of Government on Rural Development

S/N	Questionnaire items	SD	D	A	SA	X	Remark
1	DFRRI provided Roads and rural infrastructure in your communities	25	30	145	145	3.1	Agreed
2	ADP engaged the services of agric extension officers and agents to farmers	24	23	143	155	3.2	Agreed
3	SEEDS promoted rural development	167	109	42	27	1.7	Disagreed
4	LEEDS empowered rural populace and reduced poverty	15	42	120	168	3.2	Agreed

Source: Field survey, July, 2019

The data in table 4 shows the impact of past policies and programmes of government on rural development. Out of the four policies identified, only one was disagreed by the respondents which is SEEDS (1.7). This is probably due to the fact that most of the state government projects were concentrated in urban centers. The rest three (3) policies were affirmed by the respondents to have impacted positively on the quality of lives of these rural dwellers. These include ADP (3.2), LEEDS (3.2) and DFRRI (3.1).

**Table 5: Factors to Enhance the Lives of Rural Dwellers.**

S/N	Questionnaire items	SD	D	A	SA	X	Remark
1	Granting autonomy to Local Government will improve rural development	16	24	150	155	3.2	Agreed
2	Local Government should be more people centred through collaboration with communities to facilitate the process of rural development	60	80	110	95	2.6	Agreed
3	Revenue allocation formula should be reviewed upward to enhance revenue generation to Local Government	7	13	102	223	3.5	Agreed
4	Institutions and groups can facilitate the attainment of the objectives of rural development	88	117	69	71	2.3	Disagreed
5	Credible election will ensure rural development	8	11	106	220	3.5	Agreed
6	Diversification of revenue generation will facilitate rural development	24	23	143	155	3.2	Agreed

Source: Field survey, July, 2019

Table 5 reveals that out of six factors identified as solution to enhancement of the lives of rural dwellers, only one item was disagreed with, which is that institutions and groups can facilitate the attainment of the objectives of rural development (2.3). The rest of the five were affirmed to be solution to better up the bettered and shattered situation in local government as regard to rural development. These include review of revenue allocation (3.5), credible election (3.5), granting of autonomy to local government (3.2), diversification of revenue (3.2) and people centered collaboration with communities (2.6).

Hypotheses Testing

The statistical tool used in the analysis of the data collected to test the hypothesis is the chi-square with a 5% level of significance.

The chi-square test used to test the formulated hypothesis of this study was represented by the following formula.

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(f_o - f_e)^2}{f_e}$$

Where

Fo: Observed Frequency

Fe: Expected frequency



Hypothesis One

Ho: There is no significant contribution of Local Government to the Development of Rural Areas.

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(fo - fe)^2}{fe} = 1375$$

Decision

Based on the result of analysis at 5% level of significance, with 3 degree of freedom, the critical value is 7.815 and x^2 computed value is 1375. From the composed above result, we discovered that the x^2 calculated is greater than x^2 tabulated. We therefore reject the null hypothesis (Ho) which states that there is no significant contribution of Local Government to the development of rural areas, and accept the alternative hypothesis (Hi) which states that there is significant contribution of local government to the development of rural areas.

Hypothesis Two

Ho: Past policies and programmes of government have no significant impact on rural development

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(fo - fe)^2}{fe} = 523$$

Decision

$X^2_{df_3} \times 5\% = 7.815$ and x^2 computed value is 523. The result revealed that X^2 calculated is greater than x^2 tabulated. We therefore reject the null hypothesis (Ho) which states that past policies and programmes of government have no significant impact to rural development and accept the alternative hypothesis (Hi) which states past policies and programmes of government have significant impact to rural development.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The main aim of this study is to investigate the roles of local government in rural development in Nasarawa State. This section analyzes the extent to which finding of this study confirm to or deviate from those of other researchers of similar interest. The discussions were analyzed according to the research objectives and hypothesis for easy reading and comprehension.

The first finding of this study revealed that Lafia Local Government Council provided PHC centers, schools, Local roads, public sewage and refuse disposal, and bridges across the rural communities selected within the local government area. Majority of the respondents agreed



that local government council enhances rural development. The result is also in conformity with the work of Jide (2010) which found out that integrated community and mobilization of human and material resources are the core issues of local government in enhancing rural development.

The findings further revealed that past policies and programmes of the government have positively improved quality of lives of rural dwellers. The results show that majority of the respondents agreed that DFRRI, ADP and LEEDS enhance rural development through provision of road, infrastructure, poverty reduction and extension agents to the farmers.

The findings also identified solutions to better up the battered and shattered situation in Local governments as regards to rural development, these include: granting autonomy to local government, collaboration with communities, review of revenue allocation formula, credible election and diversification of sources of revenue generation

The results of the first hypothesis show that there is significant contribution of local government to the development of rural area since the computed X^2 value (1375) is greater than the x^2 tabulated value (7.815) as such, null hypothesis is rejected while the alternative hypothesis is accepted. The second hypothesis also rejected the null hypothesis that states that past policies and programmes of government have no significant impact on rural development and accepted the alternative hypothesis that state that past policies and programme of government have significant impact on rural development.

CONCLUSION

On the basis of the findings of this study, it is glaring that Local Governments have contributed significantly to the improvement of the lives of the rural dwellers in Nasarawa state. This is based on the fact that majority of the respondents disagreed with assertion that there is no significant relationship between Local Government and rural development in Nasarawa state. We may also draw conclusion that past government policies and programmes have improved the lives of the rural people in Nasarawa state.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Consequent upon the major conclusions of this study a number of recommendations have been identified below:

- i. This paper strongly advocates autonomy for local governments in such a way and manner that enhances its performance of constitutional and ancillary roles.
- ii. Local governments should strive to raise and maintain revenue that would enable her deliver projects and services that guarantee quality living to the grass roots. This has the potency of reducing the incidence of rural-urban drift.
- iii. As a corollary, local governments should be more people-centred in approach, such that necessary collaboration/partnership with communities in its domain can facilitate the process of rural development.



- iv. The paper recommends a further review of the revenue allocation formula with improved revenues to local governments as the closest tier of government to the people (rural and urban).

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ROLE OF AFRICAN WOMEN LEADERS IN INSPIRING WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN LEADERSHIP: AN ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT: *This paper seeks to analyze the various contributions of these African women in positions of global authority and the parts they play in influencing fellow women to aspire and take up leadership positions. The paper adopts library instrument of research from documented materials such as books, periodicals, journals and reports. Findings show that, across the world, women make up about half the population yet they never come close to holding fifty percent of the positions of power in any government. The paper concludes that, without a doubt, women in Africa have risen to various positions of power and leadership both within the private and public sectors of governance and indeed are proving their mettle in their various spheres. Although successful African women leaders have very intimidating résumés, very little records of mentoring and personal development of fellow women exist. The paper recommends that, specific and critical measures should be taken to enable women's full participation in decision making, policy formulation as well as access to all organizations of the society. Successful women should mentor and develop fellow women, which is necessary in order to support and encourage the leadership traits in younger women.*

KEYWORDS: African Women, Leadership, Inspiring, Women Participation, Women Achievement, Personal Development

INTRODUCTION

African women have made considerable gains in the political, economic and social development of the continent but despite their efforts they are still widely marginalized within the corridors of power. It is an undisputed fact that women are primary care-givers all over the world but this is more so in Africa which is considered the Mother Continent, Mother Africa. This modern concept of Mother Africa, the cradle of humanity is imbued on its womenfolk demanding greater effort, sacrifice and commitment from the female gender where women are considered to encompass nurture and thus they are expected to be ideal role models capable of mentoring, inspiring those they come in contact with along with the upkeep of their families as they take up roles in influencing policies and decisions especially as it affects their well-being. These prejudices, beliefs and habits have made it virtually impossible for women to hold leadership positions in Africa but a few women have chosen to defy these odds making a name for themselves. Notable women in Africa to achieve this are the subjects of this paper; South Africa's Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, the immediate past Chairperson of the African Union (AU) Commission and the first and only woman ever to head the Commission. She handed over her post as A.U. Commission Chairperson to HE Mr. Moussa Faki Mahamat of Chad in 2017. Another fascinating African female leader is the



recent past President of the Republic of Liberia and Africa's first female Head of Government, HE Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. She served as Liberia's President from 2006 to 2018. The influence of International Charters, Conventions and Protocols towards encouraging the participation of more women in both local and international politics will also be examined. Given the steadily increasing trend towards internationalization, the realities of the global village and the information highway, it is imperative to consider the importance of personal competence and adaptation as key leadership stimulants and gateways to greater participation of African women in leadership positions.

In spite of the unrivalled achievements of quite a number of African women, certain inherent challenges and militating factors have contributed to diminish the appreciation and impact of the efforts of these leading lights and women achievers on fellow women in Africa who earnestly aspire to be like them. This paper shall look at a few of the traditional challenges such as access to education, lower self-esteem, meager financial resources and higher unemployment than their male counterparts with a view to proffering solutions thereto.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Getting into and staying in positions of power is typically difficult for the African woman especially because of the roles traditionally expected of her. In the writings of Richard (2005), the African woman is first and foremost seen to be a wife and then a mother and as such she is often required to constantly fulfill the unending responsibilities of these fundamental duties. Those that are fortunate enough to attain a position of influence get bogged down by the incessant need to attend to the 'home front' while their male counterparts who view them as 'out-of-place' carry on with the business of leadership which they arrogate as their rightful prerogative (Reinisch, Ziembadavis and Sanders, 1991). The minority status of women leaders in politics is mirrored at the senior executive level in both private and public sector organizations. Although women today fill nearly a third of all management positions, the majority of them occupy jobs which may not measure equally in power, pay or authority to their male counterparts. The lack of female representation at the top of corporations is known as the "glass ceiling", an invisible yet impenetrable barrier of discrimination that keeps women from senior leadership positions.

In the argument of Stoeltje (1997), among well-known African women in ancient history are the Queen Mothers of Asante and Krobo through whom the Akan race in Ghana trace their descent. Matrilineal descent remains the basis for Asante social organizations. Others include; 7th Century Berber Queen Kachine of the Maghreb (Graham, 1902); 9th Century Magajiyyas of Daura (Dierk, 2006); 16th Century Queen Amina of Zazzau (Smith, 2008) and 19th Century Nehanda of Zimbabwe (*Beach, 1998*). In the 1990s, for the first time in the post-independence period greater numbers of African women began to aspire to political leadership at the national and local levels. Although their impact was still minimal and the obstacles daunting, new female faces and voices began to be seen and heard. Until the 1990s it was unheard of for women to run for the presidency in Africa. Yet in the 1990s, Charity Ngilu and Wangari Maathai ran in the 1998 Kenyan presidential election. Rose Rugendo of Tanzania's party Chama Cha Mapinduzi sought her party's nomination in the 1995 presidential primaries as did Sarah Jibril in Nigeria in 1999. Although unsuccessful in these



bids for power, these women set an important precedent in their respective countries (*Katrak, 2006*).

In the writings of Marcus (1995) the first female head of an African state in this century was Zauditu, a Candace (empress) of Ethiopia, who ruled between 1917 and 1930. Other female heads of state have included Dzeliwe Shongwe, Queen-regent of Swaziland, who ruled in 1982-1983, followed by Ntombi Twala, Queen-Regent of Eswatini, 1983-1986 and current joint head of state since 1986. Elizabeth Domitien was Africa's first female prime minister, serving in the Central African Republic 1975-1976. But it was not until the 1990s that women claimed national leadership visibility in greater numbers. Ruth Perry served as the Chairman of Liberia's the Council of State 1996 - 1997. She was the first female non-monarchical head of an African state. In 1994, Uganda's Wandera Specioza Kazibwe became the first female Vice President in Africa. Sylvie Kinigi served as prime minister of Burundi from 1993 to 1994, and during this same period, Agathe Uwilingiyimana was Prime Minister of Rwanda until she was assassinated in office. Senegal also claimed a woman Prime Minister, Mame Madior Boye in 2001 – 2002 while Fatoumata Tambajang served as Vice President of the Gambia 2017 - 2018. In the 2019 Nigerian presidential elections, Dr. Obiageli Ezekwesili, a chartered accountant and a former Minister of Solid Minerals and subsequently Education in the Nigerian Federal Cabinets announced her candidacy for the office of President but later stepped down. By the end of the decade, the Ethiopian, Lesotho, and South African legislative bodies had female speakers of the house and Uganda, Zimbabwe and South Africa had female deputy speakers (Marcus, 1995).

Achievements

If women were going to make significant headway on economic and other fronts, they realized they needed to have a physical presence in legislatures and other political institutions. In the 1990s women in many African countries went on an unprecedented degree of mobilization of independent women's organizations to support women electoral candidates; train women leaders; carry out civic education; press for legal changes in the status of women and pushed for women's participation in the constitution-making process; lobbying parties to endorse more women candidates; and development of strategies to get more women into leadership. Although these activities were on the rise, women parliamentarians in many countries frequently found themselves lacking in civil society and non-governmental organization support, making it difficult to push a women's rights agenda (Henze, 2000). In the 1990s women began to form political parties of their own, partly because existing parties in the multiparty context had not adequately addressed women's concerns. In many cases women had a different political vision that was not accommodated in existing parties; and in some cases, the women wanted to build more broad-based multi-ethnic and multi-religious constituencies than was possible with existing parties (Behru, 2001).

According to Geisler (2014), Dr. Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika started the National Party in Zambia in 1991; Margaret Dongo began the Zimbabwe Union of Democrats in 1999; while in Lesotho, Limakatso Ntakatsane formed the party, Kopanang Basotho. Likewise, in the 1990s Charity Ngilu and Dr. Wangari Maathai headed parties in Kenya; Ruth Rolland-Jeanne-Marie led a party in Central African Republic and Amália de Vitoria Pereira led an Angolan party. In Zambia, women from NGOs, churches and political parties formed a National Women's Lobby Group (NWLG) in 1991 as a non-partisan organization with the goal of increasing the



numbers of women in decision-making positions in government, parliament and political parties. The lobby encouraged women to stand for local government elections, worked to repeal discriminatory legislation, and conducted human rights training and civic education seminars for women (Munachonga, 2016).

By 1995 the organization had grown to 2,000 dues paying members. There were numerous other such non-partisan groups in Zambia promoting women's political participation. In 1996 the Women's Lobby financially backed 44 independent women candidates running in the parliamentary elections. Although only one of these women won a seat, its efforts no doubt encouraged the parties to put up more women candidates and as a result, 15 party-backed women won seats, bringing the number of women in parliament from 7 percent to 11 percent, i.e., 16 out of 150. Similarly, in Kenya, the National Committee on the Status of Women, a staunchly non-partisan organization provided assistance to women of all party affiliations in running for office in 1992 and 1998. They carried out civic education among women, giving them a better sense of their rights as citizens and the need to vote for candidates who would support women's interests. Their activities have included reform of laws that served as obstacles to the advancement of women and other activities that would strengthen women's presence in political life (Geisler, 2014).

Charity Ngilu had the backing of several of Kenya's women's organizations when she ran for the presidency. She indicated that she planned to draw on the strength of women's organizations to an even greater extent in 2002 to capture a greater proportion of the votes of women who made up 65 percent of Kenya's registered voters. In Zambia, Kenya and several other countries (Gordon, 1992), the reluctance of political parties to take steps to increase women's representation has led to serious discussions of the need to form a party led by women with broad based male and female constituencies. Generally, the proliferation of independent associations allowed women's organizations to expand their agendas to take on women's rights issues more forcefully and to fight for greater female political representation. The women's movement in Uganda, for example, has been able to publicly broach many different issues, ranging from women's representation in office, to domestic violence, rape, reproductive rights, sex education in the school curriculum, female genital mutilation, sexual harassment, disparaging representation of women in the media, corruption, and other concerns that have rarely been addressed by women's movements in countries where a ruling political party has dominated the movement (Geisler, 2014).

In the works of Byrnes, Miller and Schaffer (1999), in several countries, the 1990s saw women's increased involvement in the constitution making process. Women were very active in the process of drafting the new South African Constitution, which guarantees women rights to equality, freedom and security of the person, freedom from violence, the right to make decisions concerning reproduction, and the right to security and control over one's own body. The Women's National Coalition lobbied hard to have the Women's Charter passed. The independent Women's National Coalition (WNC) had been formed in 1991 after much deliberation to unite women of all parties and political persuasions (Gordon, 1992).

Theoretical Framework

The theory of critical feminist leadership is being adopted in the research paper, which symbolizes the challenges women face in breaking the barriers of leadership. According to Watson (2016), winning women's equal access to jobs was a major accomplishment of the



women's movement of the 1970s; it has changed the role of women in public spheres profoundly. Yet women's inability to break glass ceilings and walls remains a puzzling and troubling phenomenon. The explanation that has implicitly gained most ascendancy within the management and leadership arenas is that women evidently lack leadership skills or knowledge that training can fix. A counter proposal offered here is that it is overly-narrow, modernist conceptualizations of leadership itself that needs to be fixed, not women per se. Equally important is making feminism "speakable" again in the business world, business schools, and the field of management leadership. The liberal feminism that drove the women's movement in the 1970s needs to be re-examined in terms of postmodern feminist theories of oppression. The suggestions offered here focus on the enhancement of leadership excellence and the achievement of gender equality in leadership by understanding the systems that dis-empower women and other oppressed groups and then training men and women to work together to dismantle them.

The relevance of this theory to the topic under study is that, women in Africa have difficulty attaining leadership heights, but the two case studies in this paper and others have achieved that, but more work needs to be done to achieve equal opportunities for both women and men in Africa. This can be done by weakening the systems that serve as a barrier.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In spite of the efforts by women leaders and women's organizations in many African countries, women have yet to see enormous payoffs in terms of elected officials and political appointments. Women often lack the resources, political experience, education and political connections to run for office. Popular perceptions often suggest that women's "proper" place is still in the home and "the other room" as put recently by a leading African politician, rather than in politics. Prohibitive cultural attitudes against women involvement persist amongst men and women (Barrett, 1998). These are reflected in voting patterns, media coverage of female politicians, and even in blatant attempts to suppress women's assertion of their political rights and views. In Uganda, for example, the 1996 presidential elections saw increasing incidences of intimidation and harassment of wives by husbands over differing political opinions. Throughout the country there were reports of women who were threatened with withdrawal of family support. Some were killed, beaten, thrown out of homes, and some had their voters' cards grabbed from them or destroyed (Barrett, 1998). One of the consequences of these experiences was that women did not turn out to vote in the parliamentary elections in such large numbers. But women themselves are also reluctant to run for office (both national and local government positions) for many reasons. Partly the reticence stems from cultural prohibitions on women being seen and speaking in public in front of men. Where these prohibitions are strong, men do not listen to women who take the podium or are active in politics in other ways (Barrett, 1998).

Campaigning and being a leader often involves travel, spending nights away from home, going to bars to meet people, and meeting men, all of which put women politicians at risk of being thought of as "loose women" or "unfit mothers." Not only may they find themselves and their families under attack or the subject of malicious gossip, but, husbands sometimes will forbid their wives from entering into politics. Some husbands are threatened by the possibility that their wives will interact with other men, others fear the social stigma directed



against their wives, or they worry that their wife's political preoccupations will divert her attention away from the home. It has been argued by Fatton (1989) that in Zambia most women who were active in politics claimed they experienced marital problems as a result of their involvement

Education has long been argued as one of the key solutions to ensuring women and girls gain equal access to political and socio-economic power in society. Women activists, policy-makers and well-known voices, like the award-winning Benoise singer Angelique Kidjo, have long campaigned and fought vigorously for the education of girls, achieving significant gains. However, inadequate funds, tradition and culture (in particular, strong cultural norms that favour the education of boys over girls, as well as early child marriage) continue to be some of the main causes of a lack of education for women in Africa. In 2011, UNICEF estimated that 31 million girls of primary school age and 34 million girls of lower secondary school age were not enrolled in school and according to statistics, one in four women globally are still illiterate, with most of them living in sub-Saharan Africa. It is reported that in 47 out of 54 African countries, girls have less than a 50 per cent chance of completing primary school (Fatton, 1989).

With women making up more than 50% of Africa's population, many advocates of gender empowerment question how the continent's current economic growth and outlook will be sustained, if the subjugation of women issues is still deeply and widely embedded. Without investing in the education of girls, or providing unrestricted access to political and economic opportunities, without social freedoms such as sexual and reproductive health rights, an entire half of the continent's population is left out of Africa's development agenda. This affects progress in turn and perpetuates poverty. Joaquim Chissano, former President of Mozambique and co-chair of the high-level task force for the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) argues that "Empowering Africa's Women Is the Key to Economic Wealth." He added, "Women and girls are Africa's greatest untapped resource, and it is they, not diamonds or oil and minerals, that will be the foundation for solid, sustainable and equitable progress" (Fatton, 1989).

He adds: "Expanding the freedoms, the education and opportunities for women hold the key to kick-starting inclusive economic growth. This is true the world over, and particularly true for Africa... we need to pay more attention to the situation of adolescent girls. More than a third of girls in Africa are married before reaching the age of 18 – often at the expense of their education, health and social aspirations. Adolescent girls are far more likely to die from childbirth-related complications than older women, and face greater risks of abuse and of contracting HIV" (Fatton, 1989).

Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma

H. E. Dr. Nkosazana Clarice Dlamini-Zuma is an undisputable trailblazer in the uplift and empowerment of women across the African continent. Her career as a struggle activist and politician is testimony to her indestructible and courageous spirit. She was born on 27 January 1949 in KwaZulu-Natal, a time when black women's career expectations did not go beyond domestic work. She, however, was not to be limited. She completed her high school studies at Amanzimtoti Training College in 1967. After a four-year gap, she started her studies in Zoology and Botany at the University of Zululand in 1971. She obtained her BSc degree and started her medical studies at the University of Natal, where her involvement with



the struggle began. Dr. Dlamini-Zuma became an active underground member of the ANC. She was also a member of the South African Students Organization and was elected as its deputy president in 1976. During the same year, she fled into exile, completing medical studies at the University of Bristol in the UK in 1978. After the 1994 elections, Dr. Dlamini-Zuma was appointed as Minister of Health in the cabinet of then President Nelson Mandela.

During her tenure, she de-segregated the health system and championed the radical health reforms which introduced access to free basic healthcare. In 1999, then President Thabo Mbeki appointed Dr. Dlamini-Zuma as Minister of Foreign Affairs. In this role, she actively championed South Africa's foreign policy which centered on the promotion of human rights, stability, peace, collective development and advancement of this continent. It was during her tenure as Minister of Foreign Affairs that peace and stability was achieved in Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) for example, and that the African Union was launched in 2002. In 2009, she was appointed Minister of Home Affairs and brought about radical change in the department, which subsequently achieved a clean audit in 2011 for the first time in many years. In July 2012, H.E Dr. Dlamini-Zuma was elected Chairperson of the African Union Commission by the Heads of State in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. She is the first woman to lead the continental organization, including its predecessor, the Organization of African Unity. This was a major achievement in the sense that for the first time since the formation of the Organization of African Unity, which became the African Union, a woman and indeed a candidate of the southern region was successfully elected to this high post.

Regional Milestones

Although the victory of Dlamini-Zuma to chair the AU Commission did not come easy, she nevertheless strove to leave imprints of landmark achievements whilst she was in office. A few of her achievements are as follows:

Dr. Dlamini-Zuma drove and delivered 'Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want' which articulates a 50-year vision for a prosperous and winning Africa, at peace with itself and the world at large. Africa has never had such a compelling and comprehensive long-term strategic vision which addresses a mosaic of key issues such as education and skills development, innovation, research and development, science and technology, infrastructure and energy, industrialization, agribusiness and food security, as well as youth and woman empowerment. The 50-year planning horizon in Agenda 63 marks a long overdue paradigm shifts by Africa in planning, which is well established in countries like China. She initiated a continent-wide campaign to "silence the guns" by 2020. The fact that most of the UN peace-keeping operations are in Africa indicates the magnitude of the challenge still facing the continent.

Dlamini-Zuma has elevated the issue of education and skills development to a much higher level than hitherto. She has gone further to facilitate the setting up of centres of excellence in various parts of the continent to institutionalize collaboration among African countries. East Africa, for example, hosts the Centre of Excellence in Information and Communications Technology (ICT), Southern Africa hosts Space technology and West Africa has Agribusiness. She has also been an active champion of the need for Africa to benefit from its resources and products. Africa needs to build and continuously enhance its domestic capabilities to benefit its mineral resources and other products as part of a comprehensive



industrialization strategy that should lead to the creation of new industries and companies, which in turn should lead to the creation of massive jobs and prosperity for generations.

Deeply concerned by the dastardly acts of wanton destruction by the terrorist group, Boko Haram, in 2015, Dr. Dlamini-Zuma announced the decision of the Africa Union to call for a deployment of a 7,500 strong force to combat the menace in West Africa. She is quoted as saying, "The continued attacks in northeastern Nigeria and the increasing attacks in the Lake Chad Basin, along the border with Chad and Cameroon, and in the northern provinces of that country, have the potential of destabilizing the entire region, with far-reaching security and humanitarian consequences. No efforts should be spared". Her Excellency, Dr. Dlamini-Zuma is noted for doing exceptional life's work to the cause of freedom for the people of South Africa and the development and consolidation of the country's democracy in the quest to create a better life for all Africans.

Ellen Johnson Sirleaf

In her biography written by Bobby (2010), Sirleaf was born on 29 October, 1938. She was the 24th President of The Republic of Liberia. She served as Minister of Finance under President William Tolbert from 1979 until the 1980 coup d'état, after which she left Liberia and held senior positions at various financial and international institutions including the United Nations. She was one of the founders and the political leader of National Patriotic Front of Liberia, the warlord Charles Taylor's party. She placed second in the 1997 presidential election won by Charles Taylor. She won the 2005 presidential election and took office on 16 January 2006. She successfully ran for re-election in 2011. Sirleaf is the first elected female head of state in Africa. According to Bobby (2010), Sirleaf was born in Monrovia, and studied economics and accounting from 1948 to 1955 at the College of West Africa in Monrovia. She married James Sirleaf when she was 17 years old, and then traveled with him to the United States in 1961 to continue her studies and earned an accounting degree at Madison Business College, in Madison, Wisconsin. She later studied Economics and Public Policy with a Masters degree in Economics. Sirleaf then returned to her native Liberia to work under the government of William Tolbert, where she became the Assistant Minister of Finance. She served as assistant minister from 1972 to 1973 under Tolbert's administration. She resigned after getting into a disagreement about spending. Subsequently she was Minister of Finance from 1979 to April 1980 (Robinson, 1973). Sirleaf initially accepted a post in Samuel Doe's government as President of the Liberian Bank for Development and Investment, though she fled the country in November 1980 after publicly criticizing Doe and the People's Redemption Council for their management of the country (Bobby, 2010).

In the writings of (Kramer, 2005), Sirleaf initially moved to Washington, D.C., to work for the World Bank before moving to Nairobi in 1981 to serve as Vice President of the African Regional Office of Citibank. She resigned from Citibank in 1985 following her involvement in the 1985 election in Liberia and went to work for Equator Bank, a subsidiary of HSBC. In 1992, Sirleaf was appointed as the Director of the United Nations Development Programme's Regional Bureau for Africa at the rank of Assistant Administrator and Assistant Secretary General (ASG), from which she resigned in 1997 to run for president in Liberia. While working at Citibank, Sirleaf returned to Liberia in 1985 to run for Vice President on the ticket of the Liberian Action Party in the 1985 elections. However, Sirleaf was placed under house arrest in August of that year and soon after sentenced to ten years in prison for sedition as a



consequence of a speech in which she insulted the members of the Doe regime. Following international calls for her release, Doe pardoned and released her in September. Due to government pressure, she was removed from the presidential ticket and instead ran for a Senate seat in Montserrado County (Kramer, 2005).

The elections saw Doe and the National Democratic Party win the presidency and large majorities in both houses but were widely condemned as neither free nor fair, Sirleaf was declared the winner of her Senate race but refused to accept the seat in protest of the election fraud. After an attempted coup against the Doe government by Thomas Quiwonkpa on 12 November, Sirleaf was arrested and imprisoned again on 13 November by Doe's forces. Sirleaf continued to refuse to accept her seat in the Senate and when she was released in July 1986 she secretly fled the country to the United States later that year (Kramer, 2005).

The 1997, 2005 and 2011 Presidential Campaigns

At the beginning of the First Liberian Civil War in 1989, Sirleaf supported Charles Taylor's rebellion against Doe, helping raise money for the war. However, she later opposed Taylor's handling of the war. By 1996, the presence of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) peacekeepers led to a cessation of hostilities, resulting in the 1997 general election, which Sirleaf returned to Liberia to contest. As the presidential candidate for the Unity Party, she placed second in a controversial election, getting 25% of the vote to Charles Taylor's 75%. Sirleaf left the country soon after and again went into exile in Abidjan (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2010). Sirleaf once again stood for president as the candidate of the Unity Party in the 2005 general election. She placed second in the first round of voting behind footballer George Weah. In the subsequent run-off election, Sirleaf earned 59% of the vote versus 40% for Weah, though Weah disputed the results. The announcement of the new leader was postponed until further investigations were carried out. On 23 November 2005, Sirleaf was declared the winner of the Liberian election and confirmed as the country's next president. Her inauguration, attended by many foreign dignitaries, including United States Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and First Lady Laura Bush, took place on 16 January 2006 (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2010).

In January 2010, Sirleaf announced that she would run for a second term in office in the 2011 presidential election while speaking to a joint session of the Legislature. Sirleaf garnered 43.9% of the vote in the first round, more than any other candidate but short of the 50% needed to avoid a run-off. Tubman came in second with 32.7%, pitting him against Sirleaf in the second round. Tubman called for a boycott of the run-off, claiming that the results of the first round had been fraudulent. Sirleaf denied the allegations, and international observers reported that the first round election had been free, fair and transparent. As a result of the boycott, Sirleaf won the second round with 90.7% of the vote, though voter turnout significantly declined from the first round. Following the election, Sirleaf announced the creation of a "national peace and reconciliation initiative," led by her Nobel Peace Prize co-laureate Leymah Gbowee, to address the country's divisions and begin "a national dialogue that would bring us together." She took presidential oath for her second presidency on 16 January 2012 (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2010).

On 26 July 2007, Sirleaf celebrated Liberia's 160th Independence Day under the theme "Liberia at 160: Reclaiming the future." She took an unprecedented and symbolic move by asking 25-year-old Liberian activist Kimmie Weeks to serve as National Orator for the



celebrations, where Weeks called for the government to prioritize education and health care. A few days later, President Sirleaf issued an Executive Order making education free and compulsory for all elementary school aged children. In October 2010, Sirleaf signed into law a Freedom of Information bill, the first legislation of its kind in West Africa. In recognition of this, she became the first sitting head of state to receive the Friend of the Media in Africa Award from The African Editor's Union.

Sirleaf and Debt Relief Engineering

According to Agaba (2017), from the beginning of her presidency, Sirleaf vowed to make reduction of the national debt, which stood at approximately US\$4.9 billion in 2006, a top priority for her administration. The United States became the first country to grant debt relief to Liberia, waiving the full \$391 million owed to it by Liberia in early 2007. In September of that year, the G-8 headed by German Chancellor Angela Merkel provided \$324.5 million to paying off 60% of Liberia's debt to the International Monetary Fund, crediting their decision to the macroeconomic policies pursued by the Sirleaf administration. In April 2009, the government successfully wrote off an additional \$1.2 billion in foreign commercial debt in a deal that saw the government buy back the debt at a 97% discounted rate through financing provided by the International Development Association, Germany, Norway, the United States and the United Kingdom. The discounted rate was the largest ever for a developing country.

The country was deemed eligible to participate in the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries initiative in 2008. In June 2010, the country reached the completion point of the HIPC initiative, qualifying it for relief from its entire external debt. That same month, the World Bank and IMF agreed to fund \$1.5 billion in writing off the Liberia's multilateral debt. On 16 September, the Paris Club agreed to cancel \$1.26 billion, with independent bilateral creditors canceling an additional \$107 million, essentially writing off Liberia's remaining external debt. Sirleaf vowed to prevent unsustainable borrowing in the future by restricting annual borrowing to 3% of GDP and limiting expenditure of all borrowed funds to one-off infrastructure projects (Agaba, 2017). *Forbes* magazine named Sirleaf as the 51st most powerful woman in the world in 2006. In 2010, *Newsweek* listed her as one of the ten best leaders in the world, while *Time* counted her among the top ten female leaders. That same year, *The Economist* called her "arguably the best president the country has ever had." Sirleaf in 2012 attracted international attention for an interview regarding LGBT rights. Since assuming the position of Chairperson of the West African regional body, ECOWAS in 2015, Sirleaf has consolidated on previous gains while ensuring the following achievements (Agaba, 2017):

- i. The adoption of the Macroeconomic Convergence Report by the ECOWAS Convergence Council,
- ii. Establishment of the ECOWAS Monetary Institute (EMI),
- iii. Adoption of methodological guides for the harmonization of Public Finance Statistics, Government Financial Operations Tables (TOFE), External Trade Statistics, Balance of Payment (BOP) and International Investment Position (IIP),
- iv. Conclusion of the review of the Sahel Strategy document and its action plan to boost regional security,



- v. Formulation of an ECOWAS Common Trade Policy (CTP) and ECOWAS Trade Development Strategy,
- vi. Completion of the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) with the signing by 13 Member States,
- vii. Custom Union in the offing with the implementation of the CET by Eight Member-States,
- viii. Free Movement of goods and persons boosted with the adoption of the ECOWAS Biometric Identity Card to facilitate mobility and promote security in the region,
- ix. Drafting of a Regional Border Management Manual for use in immigration/security training institutions,
- x. Launching of the Ecolink project, which aims to transform and improve key operations within the ECOWAS Community,
- xi. The Systems, Applications & Products (SAP) component of Ecolink aims at improving the financial management systems and ensuring real-time information for effective decision-making in the Community Institutions,
- xii. Promotion of strategic products for food security and sovereignty including combating cross-border livestock disease,
- xiii. Renewed efforts to enhance the environmental governance, general environmental protection, capacity building as well as Sustainable resource management for development in the Member States,
- xiv. Re-award of the contract for the construction of the Sèmè-Kraké Joint Border Post (Benin-Nigeria),
- xv. Evaluation of tenders completed for the works, contract for final engineering designs for the rehabilitation of sections of the Enugu-Bemenda road between Nigeria and Cameroon and the construction of a Joint Border Post (JBP) and a Border Bridge at Mfum border,
- xvi. Feasibility study for the extension of the West African Gas Pipeline Network concluded,
- xvii. Development of Regional Power Market with the setting up of regulatory and economic environment,
- xviii. Promotion of renewable energy and energy efficiency technologies and services,
- xix. An ECOWAS Directive on Energy Efficiency Buildings (EEB) aimed at promoting energy efficiency in buildings in ECOWAS Member States has been developed by ECREEE,
- xx. Establishment of a Regional Centre for Disease Control,



- xxi. Maintain and strengthen the actions undertaken to consolidate peace and security in the region,
- xxii. Consolidating the implementation of the, Common Market, Trade Liberalization Scheme (TLS) and the Protocol on Free Movement of persons, goods and services.

Similarities

Without a doubt, the profiles of both Zuma and Sirleaf draw striking comparisons that speak volumes of unwavering forthrightness, rugged determination and profound sagacity for people oriented leadership. It is quite worthy of note that their respective rise to positions of power was fraught with challenges and draw-backs that threatened the very core of their career and sometimes their very lives. It is also very glaring that both women did not just stumble on leadership neither were they compensated in any form as a result of their gender but through requisite preparation, dedication and undoubting commitment to succeed, they 'clawed' their ways to power. While in power they both ensured that their styles of leadership were such that left indelible marks of development worthy of emulation by their successors.

Catalysts for Accelerated Participation of Women in Leadership Positions

The ways through which women contribute to the society as part of their own quota cannot be achieved without other strong variables. Women need to support leadership development, to take them to the next level of leadership. Some of these variables that aid in making sure women achieve are as follows:

- i. Visualize New Options: Women do not see pathways to leadership instead they see pathways towards traditional roles. Some women actually need someone to show them new options through role modeling and mentorship. Others need to be able to visualize how they can make a difference or how they can become role models for change. Social networking can address these needs and help women involve themselves in the daily activities of their community,
- ii. Mentorship & Guidance: Intentional interaction with other African women at the same level of influence is very difficult, and providing a space where women can interact with other professional women would offer opportunities to build relationships of support. One high level political leader stated - Older women are a source of strength. We need to create the next generation of leaders who can be mentored by these existing leaders, perhaps through internships opportunities,
- iii. Advanced Leadership Training: Women need to learn specific, high level skills such as organizational management, leadership fundamentals, skill transfer, and accountability. Leadership coaching on how to be an effective leader and how to market oneself for promotion is needed to compensate for weaknesses in current training modules that focus almost exclusively on how to get elected but not on how to become effective once elected.,
- iv. Communication Skills: Proposal writing, speech writing, speech delivery, and self-expression are all key leadership skills. Women need to be able to communicate their visions to their families, communities and to the country as a whole in order to bring them to life,



- v. Financial Resources: Women need to learn how to create their own financial resources and garner financial support from their community. Greater access to funding would also help women expand their program work and enhance their ability to get elected,
- vi. Support: Families need to support women and girls in pursuing education and leadership opportunities. By freeing up the time needed to go to work and/or further their education, providing childcare is one way that families can do so,
- vii. Entrepreneurship: Self-sufficiency can start with self-employment. Women need to go beyond working for other people and start working for themselves. Not only will this help to progress woman leaders, it will also create new jobs and empower other women to do the same.
- viii. Creating a Bigger Vision: Women need to go beyond other people's visions and dream big dreams for themselves. One way of doing so is through studying advocacy at the highest levels of leadership.

Beijing Platform for Action

The Beijing Platform for Action imagines a world where each woman and girl can exercise her freedoms and choices, and realize all her rights, such as to live free from violence, to go to school, to participate in decisions and to earn equal pay for equal work.

The Beijing process unleashed remarkable political will and worldwide visibility. It connected and reinforced the activism of women's movements on a global scale. Conference participants went home with great hope and clear agreement on how to achieve equality and empowerment (O'Barr, 1997).

Since then, governments, civil society and the public have translated the Platform for Action's promises into concrete changes in individual countries. These have ushered in enormous improvements in women's lives. More women and girls than at any previous point in time serve in political offices, are protected by laws against gender-based violence, and live under constitutions guaranteeing gender equality. Regular five-year reviews of progress on fulfilling Beijing commitments have sustained momentum. Still, the Platform for Action envisioned gender equality in all dimensions of life—and no country has yet finished this agenda. Women earn less than men and are more likely to work in poor-quality jobs (Sayers and Kelly, 2001). A third suffers physical or sexual violence in their lifetime. Gaps in reproductive rights and health care leave 800 women dying in childbirth each day.

The 20th anniversary of Beijing opens new opportunities to reconnect, regenerate commitment, charge up political will and mobilize the public. Everyone has a role to play—for our common good. The evidence is increasingly in that empowering women empowers humanity. Economies grow faster, for example, and families are healthier and better-educated when women are empowered (O'Barr, 1997).

The Beijing Platform for Action, still forward-looking at 24, offers important focus in rallying people around gender equality and women's empowerment. Its promises are necessarily ambitious. But over time, and with the accumulating energy of new generations, they are within reach (Tagliabue, 1995).



African Platform for Action

The African Platform for Action is a synthesis of regional perspectives and priorities and a framework for action for the formulation of policies and implementation of concrete sustainable programmes for the advancement of women. It is developed in consonance with the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies, the Abuja Declaration and the Kampala Action Plan were all put into consideration in its formulation. The Platform for Action aims to accelerate the social, economic and political empowerment of all women at all levels and at all stages of their lives under the guidance of the following principles (Rucker, 2013):

- (a) The operating principle of the African Platform for Action is the integration of the gender perspective in all policies, plans and actions directed towards the achievement of equality, development and peace. The underlying assumption is that international instruments that have been developed for human rights should be applicable to all sectors of society. To this end, this African Platform for Action aims to establish/strengthen sustainable mechanisms including information systems at all levels for the promotion of legal literacy and the advancement of women;
- (b) Equal partnership between women and men is the ultimate goal of the Nairobi Forward looking Strategies, the Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and all other relevant regional and international policy instruments on human and women's rights;
- (c) To this end, it is important to ensure a fuller and more active participation of women in policy formulation and decision-making processes of government;
- (d) There is need to achieve/accelerate the economic, social and political empowerment of women at all levels, enabling them as citizens, on an equal footing with men, to participate at the level of decision-making, becoming active contributors to and beneficiaries of all aspects of national development;
- (e) The imperative of a successful search for peace which is crucial for the African region cannot be overemphasized. Women and children are the major victims of ethnic and civil strife including religious extremism and in the ongoing process of conflict prevention, management and resolution, women should be closely and actively involved and consulted at the national, sub regional and regional levels;
- (f) Priority action should be taken for protecting the human rights of girls and ensuring that they get nurture, care, education and opportunities for achieving their full potentials equally with their brothers.

Other regional milestones that have impacted upon the political, socio- economic and cultural status of women in Africa have included, inter alia:

- (a) The Lagos Plan of Action and Final Act of Lagos (1980);
- (b) The Kilimanjaro Programme of Action on Population and Self-Reliant Development (1984); (c) The African Charter on Popular Participation and Transformation (1990); Source of document: www.un.org Publié dans – Published on: www.wildaf-ao.org 5/38



- (d) The Abuja Treaty establishing the African Economic Community (1991);
- (e) The Dakar/Ngor Declaration on Population, Family and Sustainable Development (1992);
- (f) The Ouagadougou Declaration on the Education of Girls (1993);
- (g) The Regional Conference on Women and Peace, and the Kampala Action Plan on Women and Peace (1993) which was adopted by the Council of Ministers of OAU at its sixtieth session held in Tunis in June 1994;
- (h) Resolution CM/Res. 1550 (LX) on the preparation of the fourth World Conference on Women adopted by the Council of Ministers of OAU at its sixtieth session held in Tunis in June 1994;
- (i) Resolution CM/Res. 1551 (LX) on population and development adopted by the Council of Ministers of OAU in July 1994.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Without a doubt, women in Africa have risen to various positions of power and leadership both within the private and public spheres of governance and indeed proving their mettle in their various endeavours. Going by their rather large population in Africa, a lot more women should be seen occupying leadership positions than are at present. Although successful African women leaders have very intimidating resumes, very little records of mentoring and personal development of fellow women exist. This is necessary in order to support and encourage the leadership traits in younger women.

While they continue to aspire to leadership positions in all spheres of governance both in the public and private sectors, yet in Africa, they are exposed to long standing discrimination and as such, specific and critical measures should be taken to enable women's full participation in decision making and formulation as well as access to all organs of the society.

In addition to emulating the sterling qualities of these leading lights, a few nuggets for rapid development of leadership qualities in African women were discussed. Future studies could investigate these suggestions in different contexts, considering the similarities and differences of the socio-political climates across Africa. Moreover, the suggestions could be clarified in order to gain more knowledge about the approaches which influence the success of women leaders. Also, attention was drawn to the opportunities inherent in several global Declarations and Platforms for Action for advancing women's rights and engendering empowerment for women. Domestication of these Agreements by the various African Nations will largely encourage the aspirations of our women to take up more positions of leadership.



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THE PLIGHT OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS IN UNOFFICIAL CAMPS IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL TERRITORY OF NIGERIA, ABUJA

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ABSTRACT: *This paper seeks to identify the remote and immediate causes of violations of the rights of internally displaced persons (IDP's) in Abuja, and how best to remedy them. The paper also examines how well the provisions of the Kampala Convention have been applied in view of the fact that Nigeria is yet to domesticate and adopt the Convention into Nigerian law. With the aid of library and survey research, especially from interviews with practitioners, findings indicate that the main challenge is identified as the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) not owning the crisis of IDPs within their midst and not according them their rights as full citizens of the Federal Republic of Nigeria with the right to settle anywhere within the country's territory. Resultantly, no budget provisions have been made in respect of the IDPs and therein flows the inability to provide for the meaningful care of the people at the various locations. The inability to provide adequate food, shelter, medical facilities and care all stem from this root cause. The paper concludes that the situation in the IDP locations all over Nigeria and no less applicable in the FCT is one of an impending humanitarian crises of monumental proportions. UNICEF on a recent visit predicted that over two hundred and fifty thousand children under the age of five years would be suffering from acute malnutrition within the year if no serious intervention is undertaken to halt the current trend of malnutrition, disease and hunger in the camps and one child in every five dying was a grave possibility. The paper recommends registration of the IDPs in order to aid in identifying them and their needs.*

KEYWORDS: Boko Haram, Insurgency, Internally Displaced Persons, Unauthorized, Camps, Plight, Nigeria

INTRODUCTION

In understanding the plight of internally persons and unofficial camps in the Federal Capital Territory Abuja, it is pertinent to get the position of the United Nations (1951), which argues that, the rights of a refugee and that of an internally displaced persons are distinguished on the basis of whether or not the person in question has been able to cross their country's borders as opposed to those who remain within the borders of their country. Internally displaced persons (IDPs) who have migrated to the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja (FCT) as a result of either man-made or natural disaster are regarded as "unofficial" within the FCT. Due to the principle of "the sovereignty of states" IDPs are regarded as falling under the purview of national governments and their matters often do not garner the urgency and attention that refugees are afforded due to the international nature of cross border migration that is the case with the refugee crises. Refugees are clearly provided for under the laws



establishing the United Nation's High Commission for Refugees and given special protection through distinct laws and supervised by distinct bodies.

The Office of the United Nation Commissioner for Refugees is responsible for matters concerning refugees and the basic rights of refugees are encompassed under the International Human Rights Law, the International Humanitarian Laws, customary laws and conventions. A refugee is defined under the United Nations (UN) 1951 Refugee Convention "As a person who is outside their country of citizenship because they have well-founded grounds for fear of persecution because of their race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion and is unable to obtain sanctuary from their home country or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of that country; or in the case of not having a nationality and being outside their country of former habitual residence as a result of such event, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to their country of former habitual residence" (King, 2012).

What therefore differentiates a refugee from an IDP is whether or not in the bid to escape adverse conditions as stated in the definition these persons have crossed international boundaries. Internally displaced people have been defined as "People or groups of people 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 (Fussell, 2012)". Nigeria is currently ranked as having one of the highest numbers of internally displaced persons in the world as a result of the Boko Haram conflict that engulfed the nation since 2009. The number is put at 3.3 million (three million three hundred thousand), the largest in Africa, as at 2014, with Abuja – Federal Capital Territory (FCT) accounting for 13,481 (UNHCR, 2014).

LITERATURE REVIEW

In an intellectual piece, Castles, Dehass and Miller (2013) posited that, the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (the Kampala Convention) is the first mechanism, both regionally and internationally, that seeks to impose on governments in Africa the duty to protect the rights and well-being of its citizens under conditions of displacement due to conflict, natural disasters or large-scale developments (Castles, Dehass and Miller, 2013). Despite having signed and ratified the convention, and even producing a draft policy for internally displaced persons since 2012 the constitution of Nigeria requires that all treaties shall not have the force of law unless passed by the National Assembly in whole or in part. In view of these rights violations, it is imperative that Nigeria starts the process of domiciliation of the Kampala Convention.

Zolberg (1999) is of the view that whilst there exists an international framework for IDPs by way of the Geneva Conventions (particularly Common Articles 3 and the two additional Protocols along with the United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, the African Union) seeing that African countries were more prone to conflicts and wars and produce the largest numbers of IDPs as a continent, the African Union (AU) thus felt compelled to draw up policies and strategies for the protection of people affected by the



whole phenomenon of internal displacement all in the means to enhance good governance (Zolberg, 1999). When passed into law, IDPs will be able to have recourse against their governments when any of these rights are violated. This means that the IDPs in the FCT will be able to move against the government at all levels rather than have to live under such unfavorable conditions. Once passed into law, the authorities will also be more amenable to fulfilling their obligations under the threat of being liable to legal action (Appave, 2012).

The extrajudicial killing of Mohammed Yusuf, the founding member of Jama'at Ahl as-Sunnah lid-Da'wah wa'l-Jihad, now going under the name of al-Wilayat al-Islamiyya Gharb Afriqiyyah (Islamic State West Africa Province - ISWAP) but popularly known as "Boko Haram" which literally translates from the Hausa language as "schooling is forbidden" led to the group's metamorphosis from an Islamic fundamentalist sect to what The Global Terrorism Index reported as the "deadliest terror group" in the world in 2015. This has been the main source of displacement in Nigeria in which indigenes of mainly Borno, Adamawa and Yobe States have been affected. Lesser crises in Kaduna, Plateau and Bauchi States have also led to displacement.

According to the United Nations (1951), the rights of a refugee and that of an internally displaced persons are distinguished on the basis of whether or not the person in question has been able to cross their country's borders as opposed to those who remain within the borders of their country. Once a person is able to cross the international border he/she is afforded protection as a refugee under the International Human Rights and International Humanitarian Laws and the various international conventions including the United Nations (UN, 1951) Refugee Convention which provides a special status, and with that status, special rights which are not open to the IDP as it is assumed that the IDP is under the protection of their own government (Betts, 2009).

The above does not take cognizance of the fact that often it is the action of the government in question that may have resulted from the beginning in the person's need to seek protection in the first place. In the case of Nigeria, while the Boko Haram insurgency resulted in huge displacement only comparable to what occurred during the Nigerian Civil War (1967 – 1970); it was pointedly obvious that the Nigerian military used heavy-handed methods to fish out the extremists. There were instances of burning down villages suspected of harboring extremists or reprisal attacks on villagers in retaliation against ambushed military personnel or on suspicion of harboring the insurgents. Such counter-insurgency methods were often as, or even more traumatic for the innocent victims as were the initial attacks by the insurgents (Skeldon, 2012).

In the analysis of Skeldon (2012), disasters tend to attract a significant amount of funding on the onset this was not the case for Nigeria. Nigeria was faced with the problem of fighting the insurgency and grappling single-handedly with the responsibility of the IDPs for many years before a motion was moved on the floor of the National Assembly requesting recognition of the Boko Haram insurgency as a humanitarian situation and a call for the international community to recognize Nigeria's plight and the heavy burden the country was undertaking waging the fight against insurgency on the one hand while caring for the victims on the other hand before any international assistance was accorded the country.

The camps are referred to as unofficial in that they are not listed among the international and government documents. The UNHCR, IOM, ACF among other international donor groups'



reports list the areas of insurgency as Adamawa, Borno, Gombe, and Yobe states. The trend has been that people affected by the conflict gravitate to where they have relatives or community members, if they have the means and opportunity to (Skeldon, 2012).

Nigeria has favored the camping method of providing protection for the IDPs. The reasons are that it is a first response mechanism to bring together those fleeing from danger and it provides the displaced persons with the assurance and tranquility of safety in numbers as well as the assurance of belonging to the Nigerian state. Camping also allows for easily measurable indices relating to number of IDPs, statistics as to their needs, problems and progress among many other variables. The camp method provides security and the ability to implement the WASH blueprint and when this is provided adequately it affords the agencies responsible for the care of the IDPs the ability to mobilize assistance to those affected more easily as they have easier access to the inhabitants of the camp, they are able to keep better tabs on them and for the IDPs it enhances provision of their basic needs which affords them their dignity (Guild, 2009).

Theoretical Framework

The paper adopts the liberal citizenship theory, which explains the concept of *citizens* having social and political dimensions of human beings as something essential as well as a part of the construction of their own identity (Herbermas, 1992). The liberal theory also sees citizens as having the right to live anywhere in a country, move freely without restrictions and enjoy all other rights defined by the constitution to be enjoyed by the citizens. Being a citizen has to do with the existence of a political structure, with the existence of institutions that conform it (Macedo, 1990).

The relevance of this theory to the topic under study is that, Nigerian citizens who have been forced by either man-made or natural situations to leave their homes have been declared not allowed to live in the Federal Capital Territory as displaced persons in an isolated place called camp. Such places where such people live has been declared unofficial in Abuja. This move is inconsistent with the fundamental rights of Nigerian citizens to freedom of movement.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The Federal Capital Territory, also known as Abuja, covers an approximate area of 7, 315 km² and was home to a population of about 2, 238, 000 (Roman, 2013). According to Levinus (2015), the IDP camps in the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) are however overflowing now. The wave of internally displaced has grown this population by about 15,000 additional people.

The numbers of locations are over eight with many sub-groups and it has been very difficult to afford them the necessary standards of WASH. As a result, many of the IDPs have abandoned these camps, and have sought refuge among family and friends within the city. Statistics show that there are more IDPs resident in the host communities than there are at the camps. "Many people have been forcibly displaced, with 81% living in host communities, placing a considerable strain on limited resources." In line with the UNHCR New Policy on



Refugee Protection and Solutions in Urban Areas (September 2009) UNHCR and the host government are responsible for IDPs whether or not they reside in camps.

The National Emergency Management Agency is the lead organization responsible for the IDPs in Nigeria (Levinus, 2015). It has its headquarters in Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria and is supported by branches at all the state levels called State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA). According to Akujiobi (2016) of the NEMA Headquarters in Abuja, "NEMA works hard to attain the highest ethical international standards supported by their international partners." Ishaya (2016), the Zonal Coordinator for the National Emergency and Management Agency (NEMA) in the FCT has reinforced the informality of the said IDP settlements by positing that they should be referred to as "locations" as they could not properly be referred to as camps as they did not meet up with UNHCR requirements. Reviews of these locations show areas where significant humanitarian deficiencies are observed (Levinus, 2015).

The Humanitarian Needs Overview (2016) puts people in need of assistance at an "estimated 7 million comprising displaced, confined and hosting civilians." This sharply puts into focus the effect the phenomenon of displacement has, not only on the IDPs themselves but also on their host communities. According to Abbas (2016), the wave of internally displaced has grown this population. Reviewing current literature there are about twenty-one locations with over twenty-one thousand IDPs.

The camps are makeshift and made of materials such as sheets of plastic and cardboard boxes, barely serving as a shelter to the elements. A camp situated at New Kuchigoro is said to have at least 2,000 adults and about 400 children, another camp at Dagba - Area One is makeshift and holds over 4,000 IDPs who have been there for over two years. Other camps are at Lugbe, Kuje, Gidadaya, Orozo, Apo, and Gwarimpa. The Director of the FCT Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), Abass (2016) has stated, "Those are the ones we have captured. There are so many other ones and, on daily basis, they keep coming to the FCT." According to him, the agency learnt that the IDPs occupied an area in Orozo for weeks before they were discovered (Levinus, 2015).

Funding for the "locations" are ad hoc according to Abbas (2016), stating that the Federal Government and Federal Capital Administration do their best to provide funding where possible but a lot of the support they receive is from religious bodies, "random acts of kindness" from private individuals and non-governmental agencies, local and international non-governmental organizations. This goes to emphasize that many of the IDPs are in host communities and their numbers are unknown. There seems not to be a great understanding on the part of the government as to its responsibility to the IDPs as there is no articulated approach laid out to meet its obligations to the IDPs. All Nigerians are subject to equal protection under the constitution; where this is not the case it results in the violation of their rights.

The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) is a Commission of the Federal Republic of Nigeria established in line with the United Nations' General Assembly Resolution to promote and protect human rights within all member states (Agbamuche, 2015). The NHRC has been collaborating with international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to provide protection services for Nigeria in the light of the violent armed conflict resulting from the Boko Haram conflict; they have done this under the banner of the Protection Sector Working



Group Organization in collaboration with eight UN organizations and other International Non- Governmental Organizations (INGOs). The UN agencies and INGOs role have been complementary as well as having a collaborative approach to assistance (National Human Rights Commission, 2015). Some of the violations of internally displaced persons' rights have been discussed below:

- A. Non – Recognition of the IDPs within the FCT by Authority:** The foremost violation of the rights of the IDPs is that of their rights as citizens of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Under the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the State has vowed to protect and defend the liberty of all its citizens. Under Chapter Four the Fundamental Human Rights of citizens are enumerated. These rights consist of a Right to Life, Right to Dignity of Human Person, Right to Personal Liberty, Right to Fair Hearing, Right to Private and Family Life, Right to Freedom of Thought, Conscience and Religion, Right to Freedom from Discrimination among others (Olanrewaju, Omotoso and Alabi, 2018).

This proves to be the foremost violation of the rights of the IDPs in Abuja – the violation of their right to dignity of human person. The fact that they are going unacknowledged by the government that ought to most strongly identify with their presence. As a result, no funds have been appropriated for their use and the Federal Capital Territory Administration under which they fall has chosen to totally ignore their presence in the FCT. It is for this reason that the FCT refers to them as unofficial IDPs. The excuse tendered was that if the FCT acknowledges them it would encourage an onslaught of more IDPs from the Northeastern parts of Nigeria. The locations for IDPs in the FCT are also unable to provide the IDPs with their basic human rights. These rights are those identified by Maslow's pyramid of needs as food, clothing and shelter. Food items are mostly from donations from well-meaning good Samaritans and despite that, it is well known that these supplies are inadequate. Reports are rife that these rations are still diminished by corrupt officials who skim a large portion for their personal consumption or repackaging and sell for personal gain (Olanrewaju, Omotoso and Alabi, 2018).

- B. Absence of Medical Care:** The absence of medical care and facilities has also proved to be a major violation of the rights of the IDPs in the FCT. No medical facilities were reported and many reports were made of women giving birth without any medical supervision. One of the reports even had the reporter having to take part in a delivery; another report is of a reporter providing the means of transportation by which the woman in labor was transported to hospital. Disease is rampant in these locations with health warnings as to the outbreak of malaria, typhoid fever, chicken pox and dysentery (Obikaeze and Onuoha, 2016).
- C. Water, Sanitation and Hygiene:** the UNICEF protocol on water, sanitation and hygiene (WaSH) are standards for the adequate maintenance of the needs of the inhabitants of camps such as the provision of water, toilet facilities, sanitation and hygiene which must be met in all locations inhabited by IDPs. This is to curtail the outbreak of diseases in the midst of IDPs. Many camps/locations have a significant proportion of children in relation to the adult population and it is an established fact that for children under the age of five, matters of hygiene are a leading cause of death. There are no signs of these conditions being met and it can be inferred that they are the cause



of the outbreak of the diseases enumerated previously in this discourse (Obikaeze and Onuoha, 2016).

Chapter 2 Rights in the Constitution are rights considered under Fundamental Objectives and Directives, Principles of State Policy. These rights are inclusive of free and compulsory education, adequate healthcare, gainful employment, food and shelter but these rights are not considered justiciable as is the case with those listed under the Fundamental Human Rights. This would not have been too incapacitating had all African countries honored their promises to domesticate the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons (the Kampala Convention) that came into effect in 2009 and most countries in Africa adopted the provisions (Zachary, 2000).

The provisions in the Kampala convention sought to give IDPs rights, which are justiciable against their governments but in the case of Nigeria, such international conventions need to be domesticated before they can take effect. Nigeria has not domesticated the provisions of the Kampala Convention thus denying its citizens the benefits of the Convention. The Kampala convention lays out the rights that IDPs are to expect in addition to those provided by the country's constitution. These are (Portes and Dewind, 2004): (1) Child protection and protection against sexual and gender based violence (2) Food Security (3) Nutrition (4) Water (5) Sanitation and Hygiene (6) Health (7) Education (8) Emergency Shelter and Non-Food Items (9) Camp Co-ordination and Camp Management, and (10) Early Recovery and Livelihoods

D. Forceful Return of IDPs to their Habitual Residence: The Commander-in-Chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces in the person of the President, Mohammadu Buhari has applauded the gallant efforts of the Nigerian military having announced that Boko Haram had been "technically defeated" and a lot of the territory once under their control has now been liberated. It would be a natural progression therefore for the return of the IDPs. Many of the IDPs are apprehensive having gotten reports of some of their villages and hamlets being re-raided by Boko Haram insurgents once some returnees had tried to settle back resulting in their massacres (Zachary, 2000).

The Kampala Convention clearly spells out that under no circumstances are IDPs to be forcefully repatriated but that it should be a matter of choice, carefully considered by the IDPs and under no compulsion whatsoever. It behooves on the government of the day to ensure that their normal habitation is safe and secured. The government is also required to assist the community that the IDPs are going back to with rebuilding and reconstruction. Despite these provisions the government agencies have tried to pressurize them into going back. Many of the IDPs have expressed their desire to settle in the current locations where they have found themselves and have even taken to doing businesses in these places (Zachary, 2000).

Discussion

The main challenge is identified as the Federal Capital Territory Abuja not owning the crisis of IDPs within their midst and not according them their rights as full citizens of the Federal Republic of Nigeria with the right to settle anywhere within the country's territory. Resultantly, no budget provisions have been made in respect of the IDPs and therein flows



the inability to provide for the meaningful care of the people at the various locations. The inability to provide adequate food, shelter, medical facilities and care all stem from this root cause. Some of the other major challenges are as follows (Joshua and Olanrewaju, 2016).

These middlemen (referred to by NEMA officials as professional IDPs) who disguise as leaders of the IDPs and organize them to collect rations and other assistance which these professional IDPs re-bag or tax for their personal profit not mindful of the situation of the IDPs and not in any way alleviating their sufferings should be forestalled by protection monitors. As much as is possible the INGOs should try to deal directly with the IDPs and their “recognized” leaders.

There are many complaints by the women of being sidelined in the distribution of the little relief materials that are made available by well-wishers. The Boko Haram conflict has had a toll on menfolk who were either conscripted to fight for the insurgents or abducted to do the bidding of the insurgents while many more were not so lucky as the insurgents killed them in large numbers. Despite the majority of the people at the locations being female with children, the government programs fail to recognize women as capable to serve as heads in distributing developmental aid in the various locations. Facilities such as schools, vocational training once available should be open to all and women can be given small grants for livelihood purposes.

Sexual and Gender-based Violence and Exploitation. There are cases of sexual violence, prostitution, survival sex, rape as well as other SGBV issues, which are common reports within the camps. In cases where there is a gap in protection minors are often taken from camps as slaves or even trafficked as the desire for house-helpers are high in the country.

The neglect of the IDPs by the government can impinge on their sense of belonging and lead to resentment. The neglect may further translate in the IDPs not being gainfully employed and this can further give room for involvement in wrong ideologies and lead to radicalization resulting in the problem of insurgency going full circle into another generation.

The experiences that the IDPs have undergone from the initial attacks, the forced migration and living under the squalid conditions in the locations within the FCT no doubt must have left emotional and psychological effects on them. It is very important in the resettlement process to provide them with the necessary psycho-social support they might need.

CONCLUSION

The situation in the IDP locations in the FCT which are likewise applicable to IDPs all over the Federation is one of an impending humanitarian crisis of monumental proportions. UNICEF on a recent visit predicted that over two hundred and fifty thousand children under the age of five years would be suffering from acute malnutrition within the year if no serious intervention is undertaken to halt the current trend of malnutrition, disease and hunger in the camps and the possibility of one child in every five dying was a grave possibility. It is imperative to mention that, Nigeria and the Federal Capital Territory must respect international documents governing the way and manner Internally Displaced Persons should be treated, especially the Kampala Convention, as these people have no country other than Nigeria.



RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations proffered below will aid in curtailing the sufferings and plight of internally displaced persons not only in the Federal Capital Territory of Abuja, but in the entire country. These recommendations are:

1. Domestication of the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (the Kampala Convention): Nigeria needs to domesticate the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (the Kampala Convention) that came into effect in 2009. Once these provisions have been adopted into Nigerian Law these rights will be specific and justiciable and IDPs will be able to have recourse against their governments when any of these rights are violated. The AU convention also states that where states are unable or unwilling to meet these obligations it can seek assistance from the AU, or other international organizations.
2. Encouraging the registration of IDPs. Now that it has been realized that urban areas tend to take on the greatest onslaught of IDPs and such urban areas bear a huge proportion of the humanitarian response registration of IDPs will aid in identifying them and their needs.
3. There is the need to foster cordial relationships between the host communities and the IDPs in a way that they recognize their relationship can be mutually beneficial. The government and partner agencies need to organize programs that will benefit the IDPs and the host communities.
4. The ability to use modern tools like radio broadcasts to reach out to IDPs in hard-to-reach areas as well as traditional methods of using of town criers, village meetings will help in the process of disseminating information, tracking, profiling and recording groups that are the focus of any study and policy formulation.
5. The introduction of conditional cash transfers. Conditional cash transfers are a means of attracting IDPs who are ingrained in the urban areas to come out and make them known for the sake of being registered to receive stipends aimed at eliminating their suffering. Conditions for families to receive their stipends may include enrolling their children into schools, ensuring that certain foods are included in the families' groceries to ensure nutritional balance for the children, etc. It is now also acceptable that hosting families are also eligible for an allowance as a means of recognizing the extra burden that they have taken on.
6. Introduction of vocational and skill acquisition programs – IDPS in escaping for their safety have to leave behind their means of livelihood. For instance, farmers are unable to relocate their farmlands and it is unlikely that in their host communities they will be able to acquire such lands or their farming skills may not be in consonance with those of the area in which they have settled. This tends to bring about dependency on aid and a resultant loss of dignity. The fact the women make up a large portion of the inhabitants of the IDP camps as their movement is restricted because they are responsible for the care of the children due to traditional and gender roles, cultural and gender biases, also leads to feminization of poverty. It is important to teach IDPs livelihood skills to overcome these concerns.



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AWARENESS AND UTILIZATION OF LIBRARY RESOURCES IN BAUCHI STATE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE LIBRARY

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ABSTRACT: *Academic institutions of learning are attached to academic libraries to serve the teaching and research needs of staff and students. These libraries serve two complementary purposes: to support the college curriculum and to support the research of the colleges and students. In the process, the library plays a key role in the nation-building process. Therefore, this study examined the awareness and utilization of library resources in the Bauchi State College of Agriculture library. The objective of the study was to identify the types of resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library, to determine the frequency of awareness of the resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library. It is also to identify the problems being faced by the users in utilization of the resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library and make recommendations for improvement. A descriptive survey was used for the study. In all, 142 users were selected for the study. The analysis of data was based on frequency counts, percentages, mean score and confidence interval. The major finding of the study is that there are many library resources such as textbooks, journals, research monographs, research reports, newspapers, indexes/abstracts, internet services and dictionaries/encyclopedias amongst others and that lecturers use the library mainly for consultation of reference materials. They also use it for research purposes and borrowing of books. A major finding was also that lecturers utilized books more than any other source of information. A number of recommendations were put forward for the improvement of library use but the most prominent suggestion was that more up to date and relevant materials should be acquired by the library, and lecturers should be informed of newly acquired materials.*

KEYWORDS: Library, College Libraries, Utilization, Information Resources, Nigeria

INTRODUCTION

College of agriculture, Bauchi, Bauchi State, like any other Colleges of Agriculture in Nigeria and the world over is a training institution with students and staff that are engaged in training of both middle and high-level manpower for the agricultural sector. In any training institution of this magnitude, the library plays a central role in supporting teaching, learning and researches in the institution. This study therefore, assessed the extent of awareness and utilization of the college library resources by the users of the institution in supporting their



teaching, learning and researches. The College of Agriculture was established via the laws enacted by the Bauchi State House of Assembly namely '*College of Agriculture Law 2012*' came into being in 2014 in the then Abubakar Tatari Ali Polytechnic Bauchi State. The College of Agriculture's status is to train middle manpower in the sector to meet the agricultural needs of the state and the country in general. Since the establishment of the college, it has been training Higher National Diploma, National Diploma and Certificates in Agriculture and related fields. The academic staff, students and researchers have been engaged in one research or the other in agricultural fields. The college has library materials to support the teaching, learning and research needs of staff and students as well as providing community services to the surrounding communities. Libraries are established in institutions of learning for the purposes of providing, organizing, and making available both print and non-print information resources for students, academic and visiting members of the community to aid teaching, learning and research. It is observed that there has not been any study in recent times to assess the extent of awareness and utilization of the college library resources by the users in Bauchi State College of Agriculture, Library.

Awareness is knowledge about something that exists or understanding of a situation or subject at the present time based on information or experience (Ani & Ahiauzu, 2008). It can also be seen as knowledge or perception of a situation, fact, consciousness, recognition, realization, grasp and acknowledgement concern about and well-informed interest or familiarity in a particular situation or development. On the other hand, Utilization simply means using library resources. A person or thing that uses something somewhere or someplace to achieve his or her purposes is a utilizer or user. In the same context, one can state that those who make use of the library materials for their benefits are library users or patrons. Also, those who enter the library and find such library materials useful are library users. Aina (2004) sees the term "user" to include all those who avail themselves of the services offered by a library. The term comprises different terms such as patrons, clients, information users, information seekers, consumers, readers, etc. these terms can be used interchangeably because they all relate to those seeking the services of a library. Hence, people who go either to the public, private, special school or academic libraries for some genuine reasons, requiring the attention of the library staff, are known as the library users or clients. Library users in the universities can be divided administratively into external and internal users. The internal users consist of undergraduates, postgraduates, lecturers, research fellows and other members of the tertiary institutions, while the external users are those who are not members of the institution but are also served by the libraries but under the certain specific official arrangement.

Statement of the Problem

It is generally expected that academic libraries should be fully utilized in order to enhance teaching and learning. When an academic library is regularly used, by Users they are able to update their knowledge in their fields of specialization and become more effective in the discharge of their duties. Above all the quality of graduates produced by the College will be high, while lecturers can compete favourably with their counterparts elsewhere.



The likely consequence of this scenario is that most lecturers will not be up to date in their knowledge in their fields of specialization and may likely not give out their best to students. Lecturers may also not be able to compete favourably with their counterparts in other Colleges when it comes to the presentation of papers and seminars.

Also, the inadequate use of College library's collection, will not justify the large sum of money spent on the acquisition of materials, and staff salaries, and it will likely affect the quality of teaching and learning in the institution. It may likely result in the production of half-baked graduates. Ifidon (1999) stressed the fact that it is important to know the extent of library use because one's impression of library use may be entirely different from what is on the ground. It is also true that such factors like the number of hours a library is open and the library's programme of instruction amongst many other factors may influence library use and it is only by an investigation that the true cause may be established. A research on the awareness and utilization of library resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library will enable us to know the extent of utilization of the resources. From personal observations the College of Agriculture library Bauchi is not adequately utilized by users. it is in light of the above that, this study is carried out.

Objectives of the Study.

The objective of this study is to determine the awareness and utilization of library resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library. Specifically, the study seeks to

1. To identify the types of resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library.
2. To determine the level of awareness of the resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library
3. To determine the frequency of utilization of the resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library.
4. To identify the challenges being faced by the users in the utilization of the resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library.

LITERATURE REVIEW

There is a plethora of literature on the relevance of libraries to academic institutions. According to Anunobi and Okoye (2008), a well-established library is essential for any academic institution. A well-stocked and organized library is a pride of any educational institution (Ogunniyi, Akerele & Afolabi, 2011). The academic health, intellectual vitality and effectiveness of educational institutions in producing high-quality graduates into the labour market depend largely on the quality of information resources available in their libraries (Ugboma & Edewor, 2012). Academic libraries are therefore expected to serve as viable platforms for the advancement of teaching, learning, and research activities in their parent institutions through the provision of relevant information resources and adequate services. The purpose of establishing college libraries will be defeated if users do not derive maximum satisfaction from their stock of information resources and services offered to them.



Owing to the fact libraries users have varying information needs, there is a need for college libraries to provide a nexus between their users and the relevant information resources and services in order to be effective. The effectiveness of libraries has often been measured by the volume of library materials available to clients, the amount of use of services and resources, and the apparent or quantified utilization by the clients (Simmonds & Andaleeb, 2001). Osaghale (2008) opined that library services must create a balance between specific research and information needs and a usable collection of information materials to meet the needs of the institution's academic programmes. Igben (1993) noted that for a library to be most functional, the services it renders should correspond closely with the needs of its users.

Methodology

This study adopted a descriptive survey research design. The study population comprises 642 users who were selected for the study. The main instrument for data collection for this study was the questionnaire was the data collection instrument used. A total of 142 copies of the questionnaires were distributed to users, out of which 130 (91.5%) were returned in a usable form.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

The analysis of data collected was based on frequency counts, percentages.

Table 1: Distribution of Respondents across the College.

S/N	Category of Library Users	Copies of Questionnaire Administered	Copies of Questionnaire Returned
1.	Staff	67	62
2.	Students	75	68
	Total	142	130

A total number of 142 copies of questionnaire were administered, 130 copies were returned and found valid for analysis representing a response rate of 91.5%.

Table 2: Distribution of Respondents by Gender.

S/N	Gender	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1.	Male	92	71
2.	Female	38	29
	Total	130	100

The table above shows that there are more males (71%) than females (29%). This implies that males use the College of Agriculture library Bauchi more than females.

**Table 3: Types of Library Resources Mostly Utilized by the Users.**

S/N	Library Resources	SA/A	SD/D	Total
1.	Textbooks	126(97%)	4(3%)	130(100%)
2.	Journals	44(34%)	86(66%)	130(100%)
3.	Reference materials	28(22%)	102(78%)	130(100%)
4.	Newspapers/magazines	6(5%)	124(95%)	130(100%)
5.	Project reports	119(92%)	11(8%)	130(100%)
6.	e-books	5(4%)	125(96%)	130(100%)
7.	Audio-visual resources	7(5%)	123(95%)	130(100%)

Key: SA=Strongly Agree, A= Agree, SD= Strongly Disagree, D=Disagree

Table 3 reveals the types of library resources mostly utilized in the Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library. It shows that 126 (97%) and 119 (92%) of the respondents used textbooks and project reports respectively, 44 (34%) utilized reference materials, while 6 (5%) and 5(4%) respondents expressed that they consult newspapers/magazines and e-books accordingly. However, the table revealed that 124 (95%), 102(78%), 125(96%), 88(66%) and 123 (95%) respondents do not use e-books, newspapers, reference materials and journals respectively while 123 (95%) of the respondents stated that they do not use audio-visual resources of the library.

Table 4: Level of awareness of the resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library

S/N	Library Resources	HA/A	LA/NA	Total
1.	Textbooks	115(88%)	15(12%)	130(100%)
2.	Journals	22(17%)	108(83%)	130(100%)
3.	Reference materials	12(9%)	118(91%)	130(100%)
4.	Newspapers/magazines	46(35%)	84(65%)	130(100%)
5.	Project reports	103(79%)	27(21%)	130(100%)
6.	e-books	2(2%)	128(98%)	130(100%)
7.	Audio-visual resources	4(3%)	126(97%)	130(100%)

Key: HA/A=Highly Aware/Aware, LA/NA=Low Aware/ Not Aware

Table 4 presents the level of awareness of the library materials in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library. Figures from the table depict that most of the respondents were highly aware of textbooks 115(88%) and project reports 103(79%). However, most of the respondents 108(83%), 118(91%), 84(65%), 128(98%) and 126(97%) have low awareness or not aware of the library resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library.

**Table 5: Frequency of Utilization of the Resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library.**

S/N	Library Resources	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Quarterly	Annually	Never
1.	Textbooks	21(16%)	58(45%)	32(25%)	8(6%)	11(8%)	-
2.	Journals	5(4%)	11(8%)	23(18%)	15(12%)	36(28%)	40(30%)
3.	Reference Materials	12(9%)	17(13%)	20(15%)	31(24%)	43(34%)	7(5%)
4.	Newspapers/ Magazines	10(8%)	23(18%)	39(30%)	20(15%)	16(12%)	22(17%)
5.	Project Reports	20(15%)	23(18%)	28(21%)	34(26%)	15(12%)	10(8%)
6.	E-books	2(1%)	4(3%)	3(2%)	6(5%)	10(8%)	105(81%)
7.	Audio-Visual Resources	12(9%)	17(13%)	26(20%)	19(15%)	27(21%)	29(22%)

Table 5 presents the frequency of utilization of the resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library. Figures from the table depict that most of the respondents used textbooks (45%) and newspapers/magazines (18%) on weekly basis, reference materials (15%) on a monthly basis while (30%) of the respondents have never used journals. However, most of the respondents (26%) consulted project reports quarterly while the majority of them (81%) have never used e-books. While the majority of them (22%) have never used audio-visual resources of the library.

Table 6: Challenges being faced by the users in utilization of the resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library.

S/N	Statements	SA/A	SD/D
1.	The library has insufficient textbooks and up-to-date information resources	45(36%)	85(64%)
2.	I am not aware of the available library information resources	74(57%)	56(43%)
3.	The library facilities are inadequate, and this discourages me from using the library	81(62%)	49(38%)
4.	The library staff do not attend to me on time	88(68%)	42(32%)
5.	I am not aware of the library e-book and find it difficult to use the library's electronic information resources	126(97%)	4(3%)

Key: SA=Strongly Agree, A= Agree, SD= Strongly Disagree, D=Disagree

The table above illustrates the challenges being faced by the users in utilization of the resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library. More than half of the respondents 85(64%) stated that the library has insufficient textbooks and up-to-date information resources while 74(57%) of the respondents claimed that they were not aware of the available library information resources. 81 (62%) respondents noted that the facilities in the library are inadequate and that discouraged them from using the library, while other respondents



88(68%) stated that the library staff does not attend to them on time. Furthermore, the majority of the respondents 126(97%) expressed that they were not aware of the library's e-books and find it difficult to use the library's electronic information resources.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The findings revealed the types of library resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library, level of awareness of the resources, frequency of utilization and the challenges being faced by users in the utilization of the resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library.

The study also revealed that males were the majority of users in the College of Agriculture library Bauchi. Mostly the types of library resources consulted by the respondents in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library were textbooks and project reports. This conforms to the findings of Hammed and Osunrinade (2010) as well as Agboola (2009) who noted that users prefer to use textbooks in their study. However, reference materials 102(78%), journals 86(66%), newspapers 124(95%), e-books 125(96%) and audio-visual 123(95%) resources which clearly indicated that majority of the respondents were not consulting these types of library resources. On level of awareness of the resources in the library, most of the respondents 108(83%), 118(91%), 84(65%), 128(98%) and 126(97%) have low awareness or not aware of the library resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library, this is due to fact that there were no signs post, exhibition and publicity of the availability of such resources. On the frequency of use of information resources in the library, most of the respondents used textbooks 58(45%) and newspapers/magazines 23(18%) on weekly basis, reference materials 20(15%) on a monthly basis while 40(30%) of the respondents have never used journals. This is in line with the views of Ugah (2007); Igbeka and Ola (2010) posited that users frequently used textbooks, journals, reference materials and newspapers/magazines. However, most of the respondents 34(26%) consulted project reports quarterly while the majority of them 105(81%) have never used e-books. The majority of the respondents 29(22%) have never used audio-visual resources of the library.

More so, it was also discovered that the audio-visual unit is in a separate building far away from the library which hardly for users to use. In line with the challenges being faced by the users in the utilization of the resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library. More than half of the respondents 85(64%) stated that the library has insufficient textbooks and up-to-date information resources which served as major hindrance being faced by the users in the utilization of the library resources, not aware of the available library information resources claimed by the users 74(57%) and 126(97%) of the respondents contributed to the challenges being faced by the users in the utilization of the library resources. 81 (62%) respondents noted that the facilities in the library were inadequate and that discouraged them from using the library, Furthermore, other respondents 88(68%) stated that the library staff does not attend to them on time.



CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study has established that 92(71%) of the respondents were male users in the College of Agriculture library Bauchi. The study further established that textbooks and project reports were the major types of library resources consulted by users. It was found out that reference material, journals, newspapers, e-books and audio-visual were not consulted by the users frequently. However, most of the respondents have low awareness or not aware of the library resources in Bauchi State College of Agriculture Library. Based on the foregoing, the following recommendations were made:

1. The Colleges Management should be proactive by providing orientation and awareness services to improve the level of awareness of the clients on the available information resources and services in the library.
2. The Management of Colleges of Agriculture Bauchi should introduce general studies on the use of the library in their curriculum; this will be going to assist the students in gaining full knowledge of the library and its importance to the academic activities in the college.
3. The Management of Colleges of Agriculture Bauchi to upgrade the library structure and also established electronic libraries to their clients and also attached the audio-visual resources to the main library so that the users would have awareness and other electronic information resources of the library.
4. There is a need for training and re-training of the staff for effective and efficient service delivery to the users.

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CHILD ADOPTION AND SURROGACY FROM THE BABY FACTORY: A FLUX OF REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH CARE IN THE SOUTH EAST OF NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT: *Infertility and childlessness among married couples is rife in Igboland, which is the South East of Nigeria. Child adoption and surrogacy are becoming popular options for solving the problem in recent times. These means yield quick positive result when they are sought through the baby factory which however has not been spoken well of, due to some criminal activities that sometimes take place there. Consequently, many infertile couples who would have speedily realized their goals in marriage through these means are denied the opportunity. The paper tried to closely assess the act of engaging in child adoption and surrogacy through the baby factory to determine if there is any utilitarian value derivable from the baby factory and how it could be harnessed legitimately. It was observed that these means have helped the triad involved in these procedures. Adoptive parents who got babies through the baby factories may not have been helped if these teenagers did not give birth to children that could be adopted. Genetic surrogacy fits into Igbo world view that emphasizes consanguinity and can best be realized through the baby factory structure. Due to negative publicity, actions of some greedy criminal operators, dearth of proper legislative frame work, proper monitoring and particularly, absence of government involvement in implementation to ensure uniformity in practice, baby factory activities have been hunted by law enforcement agents. The paper recommended that government should be involved in operating the baby factory through a customized form of baby hatch as found in other western countries. The agency should be spread across the whole country to ensure availability of these services nationwide and also act as a regulatory body to private reproductive health care givers.*

KEYWORDS: Child Adoption, Surrogacy, Baby Factory, Reproductive Health Care, Nigeria

INTRODUCTION

In Igboland which is the South East of Nigeria, life is valued above everything else, just like in other cultures of the world. To them, the continuity of life, evident in bearing children as product of marriage, is regarded as the foremost reason for embarking on it, as it preserves the life of the family and the entire community (Orjiekwe, 2014). In recent times, infertility has become a major challenge to the realization of the hopes of many married couples. Scholars like Ojelabi *et al* (2015) and Panti and Sununu (2014) in their works, observed that infertility among married couples in Nigeria is placed at 15%. Infertility has frustrated many couples desire to meet their culture's demand. Nwosu and Onwe (2015) maintain that the patriarchal Igbo culture transfers inheritance along the agnatic line. Hence the need for children, especially males, is treated with desperation by childless couples. All efforts to bear children including the options of child adoption and surrogacy are neither discarded nor treated with levity.



Child adoption is a procedure where a parent or couple takes in a child of other parentage and bestows on the child, the rights, privileges and responsibility of their own birth child. It is a legal process where a child's rights and duties towards his or her natural parents are terminated and transferred subsequently to his adoptive parents (Ibraheem, 2013). Child adoption as practiced in recent times was neither popular nor accepted in the pristine Igbo culture. Instead, consanguinity was the determinant of relationships. Extraneous relationships outside of consanguinity like marriage was therefore contracted with caution by enquiring into the background of the prospective marriage partner, to avoid having blood ties with persons whose blood were deemed 'contaminated' (Orjiekwe, 2014). Based on this premise, Nwaoga (2013) and Agbo (2014) observed that the dread of forming blood ties with an '*Osu*', a social outcast discourages some persons from adopting children even at the face of obvious infertility, in the Igboland. Despite these odds, the need for children is so overwhelming to many childless couples in contemporary times that some ignore these cultural maxims and adopt while others resort to polygyny and sometimes, unhealthy surrogate arrangements to bear blood related children. There are others whose tenets of their religion disapprove of polygyny and therefore are frustrated about what options to pursue to realize their blood related children.

THEORETICAL CONCEPTION

Rational choice theory also known as rational action theory was used to analyse this work. It holds that macro human social relations like norms, traditions, rites originate from the behaviours of individual actions, each of whom makes their personal decisions at the micro level (White, 2005). The means of solving childlessness and infertility by an individual couple is uniquely decided such that one couple's decision due to their peculiar religious, social, cultural educational and financial disposition, may not tally with that of another couple. Therefore, they must take a rational action or decision that is most suitable to them irrespective of how others around perceive it, as far as it meets their need. When such action is repeated by others in the society, it becomes a norm, rite or tradition.

Infertility is of primary and secondary types. Primary infertility is inability to achieve clinical pregnancy after twelve months of regular unprotected sexual intercourse. Secondary infertility is inability to achieve pregnancy after a previous one (Panti & Sununu, 2014). The nature of a childless couple's infertility problem may be the determinant of their solution mechanism. For instance, a couple who has female children but lack a male child may differ in their choice of options from one who lack both genders. Noteworthy is that infertility compels desperation but disparate rational choice decisions must be taken to suit individual needs through a methodical individualism process. The options among others include child adoption and surrogacy. The theory further elucidates that maximization of the benefits the individual decision, generates a social norm which must be shared by others. Where child adoption and surrogacy have provided succor to the infertile couple, the "unwanted" adoptive child and the teenager who is the birth mother or surrogate mother, it becomes a norm that is shared by others in the society, who may wish to benefit from it. The norm however must be guided by legislative Act to avert negative "externalities" or impact on the society while harnessing the benefits of the positive impact.



Child Adoption from the Baby Factory

Baby factory is a place where “baby harvesting” takes place (Nwaolikpe, 2018). It is an illegal institution where young women give birth to children for sale on the black market, either as adopted children, for sex slavery, trafficking or religious rituals. (Makinde *et al*, 2014). Nwaoga (2013) described it as buying of children, underscoring the commercial activity that goes on while realizing children through this means. The baby factory meets the need of infertile child seekers while resolving the challenges inherent in government or agency adoption such as bureaucratic bottle necks, prolonged waiting, and ignorance of adoption procedures and stigmatization that is dreaded by infertile couples. Agbo (2014) compared the ease of realizing children from the baby factory with buying candy from the confectioners’ shop. Social critics, scholars and the mass media have criticized and denigrated the activities going on in the baby factory aptly because of some criminal and illegal activities going on in some of them (Huntley, 2013). Antithetically, many couples whose marriages were threatened and bereft of joy due to infertility and childlessness are currently happy and stable due to the solutions they realized from the baby factory. Some young women who gave birth in the baby factory may have had their lives abruptly terminated due to unsafe abortions, while others whose ambition and careers would have been frustrated due to “unwanted” pregnancy and child birth, are alive and fulfilled today. Some children who are currently safe and comfortably adopted into loving homes, could have either been aborted, born but thrown into pit latrine to die as was the case before the advent of the baby factory.

From the foregoing, it is possible that in reported cases of baby factory, not all the activities therein are bad. Some pregnant teenagers who patronized the baby factory may have done so, devoid of coercion, but intent to discreetly get rid of their pregnancy, even if it meant giving them up permanently in adoption. Alternative options available to such girls, excluding the baby factory, are too costly and detrimental to their lives. Such options include unsafe abortion which terminates the life of the unborn child and sometimes, that of the teenage mother. Inadvertently, the baby factory by providence is not as bad as it is portrayed. However, as Huntley (2013) rightly observed, some actors in the system are greedy for wealth and consequently perpetrate evil activities to maximize their gains.

Remarkably, the major thrust of baby factory activities is child adoption, which has been found to be convenient to some childless couples because it takes care of the scourge of stigmatization (Makinde *et al*, 2015). The secrecy with which children are adopted from the baby factory favours the adoption triad, namely the adoptive parent or childless couple, the adopted child who would not want to be known among his peers as adopted and the teenager or birth mother who got pregnant out of wedlock. Teenage unwanted pregnancy has been going on in human history. For instance, in the medieval times, Pope Innocent iii decreed against abandonment of children evident from the numerous drowned infants found in the Tiber River in Italy due to unwanted pregnancies (Wikipedia, 2019). In South East of Nigeria, there have been reported cases of abandoned children obviously emanating from teenage pregnancy which is apparently not going to stop. Therefore, efforts must be made to help not only the products of teenage pregnancy who are the babies but also the teenage mothers in most practical and pragmatic ways. Further, high rate of infertility mostly due to late marriage, ill health condition and other inexplicable reasons will always make the need for children persistent, begging for solution.



Surrogacy from the Baby Factory

Surrogacy is derived from the latin word “subrogare” meaning to substitute. It is a situation where a “third party female elects or is commissioned to carry pregnancy on behalf of another couple, delivers and hands the baby over to the commissioning parents” (Umeorah *et al*, 2014:105). Two known types of surrogacy are gestational and genetic surrogacy. Gestational surrogacy is where the surrogate mother is implanted with an invitro-fertilised embryo for the commissioning parents’ or donors. Genetic surrogacy means that the surrogate contributes the egg (Makinde *et al*, 2016). Gestational surrogacy is expensive and often unaffordable to most infertile couples in Igboland.

Genetic surrogacy also known as partial or traditional surrogacy has been identified as an option that resolves the much-desired consanguinity that determines relationship among Africans. As altruistic and pragmatic as surrogacy has been to the people of South East, Nigeria, it has been in practice in sororate and levirate arrangements (Mbiti, 1979). For instance, in recent times, in some parts of Igboland, couples lacking male children are at liberty to retain or “commission” one of their daughters to remain without marriage in order to bear preferably, male children who will perpetuate the family lineage and maintain consanguinity. In some communities, widows who can no longer bear children, “commission” surrogates by marrying younger women to carry pregnancies from male sperm donors and deliver such children for the commissioning widow. As applicable in sororate arrangements, some infertile women have opted to bring in their sisters, female friends or relations sometimes in the guise of accident, to conceive through their husbands, but to give birth and give up the child to the couple, just to ensure that consanguinity is maintained with the child. Surrogacy can therefore be done by a woman either for altruistic or commercial reasons (Umeorah *et al*, 2014).

According to Ombelet and Johnson (2016), the common trend shared by surrogacy and child adoption is stigmatization evident in the unwillingness of couples to identify with infertility. Also, teenage mothers involved in adoption at the baby factory and surrogate mothers are driven by altruistic, economic and sometimes incidental or accidental reasons (Eseadi *et al*, 2015). With the level of poverty in Africa, economic reasons may continue to drive surrogacy and child adoption from the baby factory. This is because some young girls under the auspices of baby factory operations are commissioned to carry pregnancy for couples for a fee, while they are staying in the confines of baby factory as the commissioning parents fake pregnancy that will be terminated on the due delivery date of the surrogate mother, thereby leaving the impression that the child is a natural or birth child. In recent times in Nigeria, some young women advertise their interest to engage in surrogacy by posting their data online, for couples who may wish to commission them. The terms of surrogacy agreement are often determined to suit the desire of the commissioning parents, sometimes posing as baby factory activity while fertilization of the surrogate mother’s egg is done through sexual intercourse.

Makinde *et al* (2014) underscored the involvement and role of health professionals in the activity in baby factory as agents to surrogacy or child adoption. The baby factory therefore serves as agency to the infertile childless couple in search of a child, the teenager who “accidentally” got pregnant and wishes to give the child away in adoption and also to the surrogate mother who wishes to “rent her womb” (Makinde *et al*, 2014). This is a flux of reproductive health care.



The actions of the triad involved in child adoption and surrogacy under the auspices of baby factory can be regarded as rational, as it serves their best interest. The teenager who got pregnant unintentionally or woman who wishes to be commissioned as a surrogate mother may be desirous to do so discreetly in a baby factory due to the fear of stigma, is making a relatively rational decision due to the prevailing value scales that frown at these unavoidable situations. Infertility or childlessness is a social malaise that has always existed in human history and may remain so perpetually. Therefore, a couple's effort to remedy it through surrogacy or child adoption in a baby factory is pragmatic and only natural. Due to Igbo world view that attaches importance to consanguinity and Christianity's insistence on monogamy, the Igbo's search for a blood related child by the aforementioned means, has become a norm that emanated from a rational choice. The ills emerging from some baby factories can be appreciated from the perspective of relativists who argue that conceptions of values are not absolute but relative to the persons or groups holding it. The actions of the triad involved in child adoption and surrogacy should be appreciated and ratified from the duress that their circumstances subject them to, as opposed to normal situations. The axiom, "one man's meat is another man's poison" accentuates this view

RECOMMENDATION

The 2013 Child's Right Act provides a legal framework for regulating the practice of child adoption in Nigeria. Ajayi, R. A & Dibosa-Osador, O. (2011) argue that the absence of surrogacy regulation in Nigeria exposes the practice to the vagaries and excesses of the practitioners within the ambit of their self-grafted laws and standards. Regulation of surrogacy, as demonstrated in child adoption, should favour the surrogacy triad. This refers to the surrogate mother, the infertile couple seeking a child and the child to be born. The liberty of the surrogate mother to decide whether to engage on the procedure altruistically or for monetary reasons must be respected as her conscience or religious affiliation guides her. Age should be a factor to prequalify into the procedure.

To suit the peculiar needs of the South East people of Nigeria, which emphasize consanguinity, Child adoption and surrogacy activity can be subsumed in the baby factory activity but operated within the governments mould for adequate regulation and control. This mould could be called "the baby hatch", a synonym of the same structure that could be found in other developed countries like Japan, Italy, America, China and so on (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1911). This is a place where pregnant women and teenagers who wish to anonymously but discreetly abandon their babies, freely come and do so. This agency should also admit pregnant teenagers who are desirous to discreetly give birth and give them out in adoption. This may attract some monetary benefit, depending on how the birth mother elects. The agency should also manage and regulate surrogacy, after determining the type that suits an infertile couple's need. In order to maintain consanguinity, a commissioning parent can opt for genetic surrogacy which can be performed by artificial fertilization and implantation or naturally. The agency will therefore manage the procedure to ensure compliance with the relevant laws and also with the agreement between the commissioning parents and the surrogate mother. It will also keep an inventory of prospective surrogate mothers, to make the search for them easy, affordable and safe for prospective commissioning childless couples and the embryo. The baby hatch should be a unit of all the Federal Teaching Hospitals in Nigeria, to ensure availability of reproductive health



care to all the people of South East Nigeria irrespective of where they are domiciled the country.

CONCLUSION

A couple's success in realizing a child either through surrogacy or child adoption in a baby factory, justifies the means to them. There have rarely been reports of probe on the source, when childless couples suddenly 'got' a child. Instead the impression has often been that they adopted, even when a surrogate mother in a baby factory was involved. The utilitarian value of the baby factory therefore cannot be undermined. Doubtless, there are some criminal activities that may be taking place in some baby factories that calls for legislations that will check these excesses. Yet, the apparent benefits of the system should be harnessed, to avoid committing the error implied in the adage of 'throwing the baby and the dirty bath water away'.

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