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SYSTEMS OF TRADITIONAL GOVERNMENT OF HAUSA LAND BEFORE COLONIAL CONQUEST IN 1903

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Abstract

These paper discusses a brief history of the Hausa speaking people and Hausa land and how the state was founded. It will also talk about the traditional government among the Hausa before the Sokolo Jihad in 1804 lead by Sheik Usman Dafodio and his followers. Moreover, it shall discuss the culture and traditional values of the Hausa people covering aspects of traditional occupations mode of dressing as well as the socio-economic lives of the people with ancient civilizations, religion and belief. We also discuss the law making in Hausa political system of Judiciary and Economic system.

Introduction

The aim and purpose of this paper is to know the history of Traditional Government of Hausa land before the colonial conquest of Hausa land in 1903 and discus the time when the Hausa live in hamlets up to the time

when hamlets gradually developed into villages and then to town or cities, it will show how Emir became the supreme heard in his Emirate. We also discuss first class Emir, second class Emir, District head, village head and ward head.

Geographical Setting of Hausa land

Hausa land forms parts of the belt of savannah which stretches right across Africa from the Atlantic to the Red sea. This belt is sandwiched between the desert in the north and the equatorial forests in the south. By the Arabs, it was called the Beledes-sudan, meaning the land of the Blacks and the Sudan is the generic name by which it is still known. “Within it, Hausa land occupies the greater part of the sector between Lake Chad in the east and the middle Niger in the west” Mahad, Adamu (1978: P. 4).

Hausa land is thus part of a plain stretching away from fifteen hundred mile to the west and two thousand to the east. It contains no mountain and possessed no natural frontiers. Essentially, it is a gently undulating landscape with fertile valleys, populous and cultivate lying between watersheds and Plateau that are often barren of waterless and therefore, empty clothed in bush, with minor variations. This theme repeats itself over hundreds of miles and only occasionally does a chain of reddish hills, a wide shallow river, or towns of that-roofed houses appear to give variety to the scene.

Climatically, the year falls into two distinct parts. The rainy season in May or June and lasts until September or October. For the rest of the year, “...apart from a little irrigated farming, there is not much to be

free to turn their hand to other pursuits to their craft, to trade, to learning and of course, to war” Mahadi Adamu (1978: P. 10).

The geographical position of Hausa land has also proved to be historically significant. “There, at the base of the Sahara, it became linguistic strains, the indigenous Sudanese strain and the Hamities straints, from North Africa which from time to time, flowed across the desert and mingled with it” (Mahad, Adamu 1978), P. 14).

To understand the origin of the Hausa people, it is first necessary to review the history of North Africa. In the later part the Roman era, the Mediterranean littoral was populous and civilized. Its peace and prosperity depended upon two conditions, the Authority of Rome and the fact that its long Southern frontier was protected by the desert.

For the next four centuries, the two peoples ran uneasily in this double harness. The Arabs recruited Berbers into their service and with their help conquered Spain and threatened France. They also put pressure on them to adopt the Moslem religion and the Arabic tongue. By decree they succeeded in the objective, but their subjects resented being treated as inferiors and so the process assimilation was extremely slow. According to Ibnkhatdun, the Berbers fell into apostasy; no fewer than twelve times and certainly, they were constantly in revolt against Arab domination.

Even though the Berbers were not at this stage deprived of their land, it is probable that their inferior status, the constant turmoil of wars and rebellious induced some of them to emigrate to the south and principles caravan routes of the

Sahara has already been established and were largely under the control of the Tuarges who were themselves a Berber tribe. Mahadi Adamu (1978: P. 15-18).

In the middle of the eleventh century, four centuries after the Arabs had first appeared in North Africa, there they came second Arab invasion, this time it was not just an Army but two whole Bedouin tribes that were involved. "The impact was therefore, completely different because the invaders were in search of land, particularly land for pasture, and not just conquest of domination "Mahadi, Adamu (1978: P. 22). The first of the two tribes settled for a time in Libya, but the second, the BeniHilal, overran what is now Tunisia and thence spread westward until in due course they reached the Atlantic.

Those Berbers who were not killed or enslaved were forced to withdraw from the fertile plains and either to fall back on the mountains, where the majority of their descendants are still to be found, or else or retreat south-wards towards the desert. This point is provided an outlet. As the pressure of Arabs on them and of their population on the land, grew greater, so more and more of them must have been tempted to take means of escape.

About Hausa lands, on the side of the Sahara, we did not know very much the Hausa tribes inhabiting it at this period probably belonged to the Sudanese or Chadian groups and recent discoveries suggest that there were not nearly no primitives as was at one time believed. They have been smelting and working iron, for instance at least five hundred years and perhaps more.

By the eleven century, they seem to have been living in settled communities and the fact that some of these were governed by queens and probably observed by queens and matriarchy, a custom more than Sudanic Negros, suggests that they had already been influenced by previous wave of Berbers migration” Mahadi, Adamu (1978, P. 25).

The above cultures up till now are being practiced in Hausa land.

Origin of Hausa State

Several theories were evolved regarding the formation or foundation of Hausa states by historians and other scholars in different field of knowledge. The hamifiz theory, for instance, traced the idea that the “Hausa people were formed absent of the end of the first millennium A.D from a mixture of a nameless sub several negroes and barber immigrants from North Africa that this union produced” Abba M.J. (1999, P. 5).

Another theory also maintained that the origin of the Hausa people could be traced to abasynian (habashan) people of the present state of Ethiopia who were said to have gradually migrated in the ancient period from the East Africa to Western part after the then reigning king of Ethiopia had been defeated in a civil war following a leadership tussles with his fellow successors. They therefore, continued with their west ward movement until they reached Hausa land and finally settled permanently in the area and established a community of Hausa speakers. It is said that “... the gradual movement of those people to different directions

led to the formations of other Hausa states” Mahadi, Adamu (1978, P. 30).

The most popular oral tradition regarding the origin of Hausa people is that of bayajidda legends. The legends no doubt are attempts to explain how state arose in Hausa land prior to the rise of the state. It seems that before the rise of state, “... most of the people in Hausa land and the plains of Bornu lived in small hamlets and villages, some of which were walled for defensive purposes” Michael Crowder (1966, P. 35).

The family was the most important element in these communities. But leadership emerged where work that could not be undertaken. Thus where large-scale farming activities had to be arranged (Sarkinoma) king of farmers would be responsible. Likewise there was a farther of hunting (Sarkin maharba), Michael Crowder (1966, P. 36).

The factors that led to hamlet or village developing into a town (gari) is that the population of a village situating in fertile land would expand rapidly.

A village located where iron-ore reserve would prosper and grow from trade in iron implements with neighboring village. “If a village was situated on trade routes between other villages, it would likewise expand into a trading centre” Michael Crowder (1966, P. 38).

Some of these towns developed into smaller towns or cities (birane) singular city (birni) surrounded by defensive walls.

The reason for the growth of a town (gari) into city (birni) could vary; its location on a trade route access to iron-ore, the fertility of its surrounding hamlets could take refuge behind the walls of the birni. These

also enclose agricultural and grazing land so that the inhabitants could cultivate crop and feed their cattle's during a siege, Michael Crowder (1966, P. 40).

According to legends, Bayajidda son of Abdullahi, king of Bagdad, having quarrel with his father, left home and went to Bornu and then to Daura where he killed a dreaded snake which used to scare the people away from using their only well for water except on Fridays. The MAGAJIYA DAURAMA queen of Daura, in gratitude, married Bayajidda, and their son called Bawo succeeded his father and had six sons as follows; Bagauda, Gazaura, Kumayau, Gungume, Uban-Doma, Zaman-Kogo and Garun-Gabas

The above princes eventually became the king of seven Hausa states as follows; Daura–Gazaura, Kano – Bagauda, Zaria–Gungume, Katsina–Kumayau, Gobir-Uban-Doma, Rano-Zaman-Kogo, and Biram-Garun-Gabas. These are the seven Hausa states and they were also called original Hausa's Hausabakwai) because they are decedent of MAGAJIYURAMA, queen of Daura state, Dokaji A.A. (1959, P. 85).

Another Hausa state called Garun-Gabas, near modern Hadejia presently known as Jigawa state of Nigeria was said to have been founded by Biran, the son of Bayajidda and daughter of a Mai of Bornu i.e. another wife of Bayajidda, but some legend said it is not his wife but his concubine, together, another seven Hausa state, there were so called banzabakwai of the banza (illegitimate) states. They include Zamfara, Kebbi, Nupe, Gwari, Yawuri, Yoruba (Ilorin) and Kwararrafa, they were called banza because they were states which did not descended directly from queen Magajiya of Daura but

were said to have come under Hausa or Bornu influence. This is one version of the legend describing how the Hausastates were formed; the political system through Bayajidda descendants and others of which all of them still remain obscure. Michael Crowder (1966, P. 46).

Traditional Government

The Birni is ruled by king (Sarki) assisted by number of ministers. There would be minister in charge of the market, minister of tax force i.e. revenue collectors and minister of city gates of defense i.e. minister of defense (Madaki or Sarkinyaki).

Most important of all the kings of cities (Birni) was also ruler of the surrounding lands. In return for his protection, people in the cities and outside would pay taxes in produce and when he died, he would be succeeded by a member of his family. Michael Crowder (1966, P. 50).

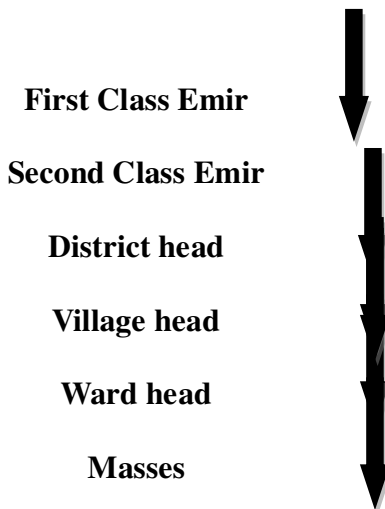
In the new Hausa (birane) cities, a ruling group emerged. People were differentiated between rulers (masusarauta) and the common people (talakawa). The development of government now started from first class emirs then second class emirs, the district head then village head and ward head. The emir is the supreme head; He is just like the president of the country. He looks after the whole community and the surrounding villages. Michael Crowder (1966, P. 52).

He takes control of the tributes, taxes and rent of the people of his state. Emir is the chief qadi of the state. He gives order to (hakimi) i.e. district head and the district head passes it to the village head and ward head (dagaci). Village head (dagaci) is the senior head of the

community. He controls the community among his surrounding or society, Dokaji, A.A. (1959, P. 125).

Maiung Uwa takes care of the small hamlets or wards, he receives his authority from (dagaci) and he is the least order of the administrative hierarchy.

Different Ranks



First Class Emir (Sarki Mai Daraja Ta Daya)

The political authority of the emirate was vested on the emir. Emir was an absolute ruler ----"governed with certain office holders who were assigned specific functions and were responsible to him. The Emir in conducting the affairs of the state, was accepted to consult his principle office holders. He had absolute control over them" Emir acts as both religious and political leader of the people. The emirate for effective

administration was divided into districts. It is responsible for the emir to appoint the hakimi (district head) within the emirate. The emirates were also a continuous hereditary succession, Dokaji, A.A. (1959, P. 128).

Second Class Emir (Sarki Mai Daraja Ta Biyu)

The political authority of the emirate was vested on the emir, and there wasn't much difference between first class and second class emir, they are almost the same but only the first class emir has the highest number of districts head and land mass more than the second class emir. According to the history of Hausa land, Hausa's do not know the difference between the first class and the second class emir except when the colonial masters conquered Sokoto caliphate in 1903, the colonial masters introduced these systems among Northern Emirates probably to upgrade those Emirs who are more loyal to them, Dokaji, A.A. (1959, P. 130).

District Head (Hakimi)

The district head (Hakimi) is the executive head of his town; it is the Emir that usually appoints Hakimi serving as a governor under him. That is why Hakimi is answerable to the emir (Sarki). It is the role of the district to make sure that the emir order is being maintained within his town. District head has major role to play in the appointment of village head (dagaci) at the emir's palace. District head are also a continuous hereditary succession¹⁶. Dokaji, A.A. (1959), P. 132.

Village Head (Dagaci)

The village head (dagaci) is the executive head of his village. He is very well answerable to district head. It is the responsibility of the village head to make sure that his villagers abide by all the orders. Village head also has major role to play in the appointment of ward head (maiungUwa). The village heads also were continuous hereditary succession, Dokaji, A.A. (1959, P. 134).

Ward Head (Mai UngUwa)

Ward head (maiungUwa) is the head of his area. He is the executive head of his ward. It is the village head that usually appoints ward head (maiungUwa). So he is under the village head (dagaci) authority. His major role is to oversee his ward. He can settle minor issues in his ward; he would report major issues to village head (dagaci), when the village head cannot solve it, he will forward it to district head (hakimi). If the village head too cannot tackle the matter, it will be forwarded to Emir (Sarki). It is the Sarki who could then finalize the issue. But presently especially in the cities, ward head (maiungUwa) cannot solve issues on crimes. This is because it is the police stations that normally deal with crimes. That is why right from ward head (maiung Uwa), village head (dagaci), district head (hakimi) and emir (Sarki) do not have major role to play in finalizing crimes issues and governmental policies concerning crimes. Ward head (maiung Uwa) too is also a continuous hereditary succession, Dokaji, A.A. (1959)

Masses (Talakawa)

Masses (talakawa) mean common people in the society. They are the masses who have not possessed any office in relation to royal classes. They are responsible to obey rules and regulation of their respective leaders. Under this class, masses (talakawa) have head of each family called maigida meaning head of the family. It is the role of maigida to take care of his family members, that is in terms of feeding, clothing, shelter, education, and to get them married (both males and females) as well as to prevent them of any misconduct with the family and the entire society, Mani, Abdulmalik (1956, P. 105).

And through these, head of each family will try as much as he can to teach the children discipline, brotherhood, honesty, truth, self- help, respecting elders, obeying leaders, showing respect to strangers, defense and bravery, all these characters are learned from childhood in their families and intermingles with the immediate locality.

Law Making Execution and Judiciary of Hausa Political System

Hausa political system is a highly centralized political system, Emejulu (2009-121) described the Hausa political organization as "... a highly centralized political system hungered on Islamic theocracy with elements of federalism." The legislative and executive functions as well as the judiciary are centered on the Emir who acted as both religious and political leader of the people.

Law Making in Hausa Political System

Shari'a (law governing Islamic law of life) were applied throughout the sarauta system (emirates). Qur'an, the revealed book of Muslim and hadith (the tradition of Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him) contains all laws of human life islamically.

The emir was invested with the authority to make laws which were not covered by the shari'a but which were not contrary to it. The emir made laws which ensure order and good governance. The emir also levied taxes on his subjects. They delegated the power of making local laws to districts heads, and he had the power to set such laws aside, at any time he considered them inappropriate but usually in council of ulama known as SHURA 20. Mani, Abdulmalik (1956, P. 111).

Law Execution in Hausa Political System

The emir (Sarki) was the chief executor of the emirate (masarauta). He was the head of state, head of government as well as the religious leader of the people. The emir works with other officials like the waziri (chief adviser), galadima, (head of admin), wali (head of finance), ma'aji(treasurer),madawaki/wakili (emir represented), sallama (head of internal affairs press as a powerful and autocratic rule fairs) etc. seped in the performance of his extra heeds by his office holders as stated at the above that were responsible to him, Murray (1967, P. 120).

"The emir was absolute and autocrat ic. There was a, limitation to his power. The most important limit is that he was guided by shariah which was regarded as laws of God. Secondly, he was responsible to the sultan

of Sokoto to whom he paid annual tributes as overlorded. Thirdly, the emir could not do certain things which might alienate him from other members of the ruling families who could overthrow him. Nevertheless, the Muslim religion was the powerful force which compelled everyone, officials and non officials to obey him without question, Fagge L.Y. (2011, P. 46).

With the advent of the colonial administration (1904-1960), the colonies used the emirate system to introduce indirect rule in the north, through which Emirs were used while the Europeans ruled indirectly. The colonies' paramount leaders in the west while in the east, it was "warrant chiefs" that were used after the Nigerian independence (1960-date), and the Nigerian constitution set aside the authorities that the Emirs had. But with all of these, people are still respecting the emirates system most especially in terms of religion, Madauci Ibrahim (1968, P. 80).

Judiciary in Hausa Political System

As the chief executive, the emir was also the head of judiciary within his emirate (masarauta). There was alkali court through which justice is made based on shari'a. Apart from the alkali courts, there was a higher court known as the emir's court. The emir's court deal with serious crimes and land disputes. Deaths sentences could only be pronounced by the emir.

The shari'a which is a body of Muslim law governed the operations of the government and behavior of individuals within the emirate, an official trained in Muslims laws called alkali was charged with the exclusive responsibility of administering Muslims laws

as sole judge. Courts which were set up to administer the shari'a were called "alkali courts." The number of alkali court varied from emirate to emirate. Some emirates have only one while others had more than one 23.Fagge, L.Y. (2011), P. 25.

The lowest judge in the emirate judicial system is the village head and ward head who settles various minor cases and punishes minor offenders against the emir's rule and orders. The alkali courts are presently called shari'a courts. These courts are currently in existence within Muslim states in northern Nigeria. The courts deliver justice based on shari'a, but with limitations to the provisions of the federal constitution of Nigeria.

Most important point to make is that although, the emir's court is the highest court at the emirate level, there was also the sultan court at Sokoto which serves as the Supreme Court and where all appeals are addressed to ensure justice and fairness, Fagge, L.Y. (2011, P. 70).

Conclusion

Hausa political setting was authoritarian in style. All decisions of making power is centralized; the autocratic management has been successful as it provides strong motivation to the leaders. It permits quick decision making. It is organizational management and group in context. The emir who was absolute and autocratic, there is limit to his power, the most important limit was that he was guided by shari'a which was regarded as laws of God, written in the glorious Quran and Hadith. The political system was highly centralized

and hinged in Islamic theocracy with element of feudalism.

This was the fact that emirate enjoyed a large degree of political stability

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**AFRICAN LITERATURE AND
BADGOVERNANCE IN AFRICAN IN THE
21ST CENTURY :(A STUDY OF XWA AKAALA NKA
BY OBICHERE)**

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Abstract

Literature aims at educating, instructing and arousing national consciousness. The novel is an important tool for communicating ideas. Currently, the wide spread of bad governance as a global problem, has awoken the interest of African writers. People have been marginalized; no equal play platform, lack of meaningful livelihood, corruption, injustices, humiliation and unemployment in different ways. All these, have negative impact on the masses. The selected prose text was *Uwa Akaala Nka* by Obichere. This study revealed

the meaning of bad governance; causes and effects of bad governance, attitude of leaders in the 21st century. The paper adopts Marxism as a theory in analyzing the text. Bad governance is everywhere in the world especially in Africa. Therefore, it was recommended that African writers should dedicate their literary strength in solving this global problem.

Introduction

African literature has succeeded in documenting various social issues affecting the living condition of people in Africa. Bad governance is one of the issues many writers have dealt with, in many of the literary works. According to Ojaide (2017:1) "... in Africa, the writer is seen as a threat to those in power who practice tyranny, corruption, and other types of misgovernment." The writer's gaze tends to tackle politicians who are not doing what they promised to do for the masses. Literature acts as a counter discourse to corrupt and bad governance. Governance is a process of decision making and implementation. Bad governance is when the decision making is not implemented. It is when an individual that was voted to power subjects the masses, that voted him to power with; injustice, corruption, insecurity and unemployment.

Countries in Africa are still languishing as where corruption thrives, misguided youth, joblessness, poorly educated, and brazen looting in the country, and all these are caused by bad leadership. Osioma (2014:654) says "African including Nigeria needs a leader who will search out and celebrate subordinates better than

himself; a leader who will move ordinary citizen to patriotism and productive labor.” Today in the society, what one has are the leaders who have no respect for the right of others, only their own right. Their knowledge about democracy is terribly in favor of their personal and selfish interests. For them, there is hardly any talk of patriotism or love for the fatherland, only permanent personal interests. Modern African literature deals mostly with the politics and other issues in the society. The concept of African literature is important and a central component of discussion on this paper. African literature according to Abdu (2017:46) “... is the question minus answer.” According to Cuddon (2013:404) African literature “... as a broad term which usually denotes works which belong to the major genres such as epic ,drama, novel.” Onuko and Ezeuko (2012:127) say, African literature “can be viewed from different perspectives.” This means that literature may illustrate a particularly historical period such as classical period, romantic period or Victoria period. It can be oral or written. African countries and Nigeria in particular are endowed with a rich cultural heritage of literature expressed the art of story-telling. Igbo literature is among the African literature. Igbo literature is that literature written in Igbo language. Igbo people is located at the south East, south/south, south western Nigeria .According to Okoye(2012:5) “South east occupied Enugu, Anambra, Imo, Abia and Ebonyi states. They also found in some part of Rivers, Cross River and Delta state. Their language is Igbo language and their literature is Igbo literature. Igbo literature may be oral or written. The first Igbo literature was *Omenuko* .It was published

in 1933 by Pita Nwana. Other Igbo writers are T.U.Ubesie, U.C.Obichere, G.O.Onyekaonwu, I.U.Nwadike .All these Igbo writers both mentioned and unmentioned, often choose their themes to stop societal ills in Igbo land, Nigeria and Africa.

Marxist Theory

Marxist is a theory used in analyzing of history, society, revolution and economics. Later, it found applicable to literary theory. Marxist literary critics examine the relations between sociology and literature. According to Obi (2012:177), Marxist theory is a social criticism which shows approval (i.e. applauds) literature that depict struggles of the poor and down trodden. ‘In Marxist theory; the writers recognized that the people are the true source of literature. Writers must observe and study the people, their life, and their struggle, so as to create a variety of characters out of real life. This theory devoted to reconstruct the past on the basis of historical evidence to find out a text, as truthful and accurate representation of social reality at a given time.

Marxist theory examines literature in cultural, economic and political context in which it was written. It explores the relationship between the artist and society. Kennedy and Gioia (2007:1523) says Marxist critics “looks at the sociological status of the author to evaluate how profession of a writer in a particular milieu affected what was written.” This means that Marxist critics analyses the social content of literary works, cultural, economic and political values. It also looks at the role of audience in literature.

Marxist believed that the dominant capitalist, the middle class would eventually be challenged and over thrown by working class. In the meantime, however, middle class capitalists would exploit the working class who produce excess products and profits yet do not share in the benefits of their labor. According to Krisner and Mandel (2004:2207) "... regarded all parts of the society in which they lived both religious, legal, educational, governmental etc. as tainted by what they saw as the corrupt values of middle-class capitalists." Marxist critics tend to analyze the literary works of any historical era as products of ideology. Cuddon (2014:422) says Marxist critics "... try to find out to what extent a text is truthful and accurate representation of social reality, at any given time." Literature should be displayed as a progressive outlook on society and it should be accessible to the masses.

Causes and Effects of Bad Leadership in Africa

Most political leaders imposed themselves on people through electoral fraud and malpractice. Some of these leaders who came to power through fraud have nothing to offer to the masses. According to Mbuba(2012:354) "... leaders that ascends to power through faulty electoral process turned their back on the masses, making them beggars in their country." Bad leaders especially in Nigeria exploit the people they supposed to protect. Such leadership pattern lead the governed into kidnapping, hate speech, hunger and unemployment which is rampant in Nigeria, as well as other African countries.

Leaders in the 21st are referred to as the present day leaders. There is some action of this present-day leaders which was not seen in the past leaders. According to Nnatuanya (2012:337) “the leaders in Africa especially in Nigeria, in 21st century are normally using political appointment as an avenue of sharing the so called national cake to the detriment of the poor. ”For instance, civil servants is talking of 250,000 naira minimum wage, which government were agitating against, later federal government agreed to pay #70,000 as minimum wage which not paid civil servants. While the allowance of political office holders run to millions of naira on monthly bases.

Furthermore, present day leaders do not see problems as challenges; rather they see problems as a means of wasting states allocation. They fund millions of dollars in advertising unaccomplished projects with the views to deceive the masses. In the past, media and it personnel were the hope of common man. They give undiluted news without fear, presently media houses were afraid of accurate news so as not to be apprehended by the police or banned from operation. Uzuegbunam (2002:384)says “... our media house organization have been made dependent by the leaders of today, making the media unable to carry their rules of being watchdog and mouth piece of the masses.”

The Synopsis of the Novel *Uwa Akaala Nka*

Uwa Akaala Nka by Obichere was published on 2015 by Pacific press, Owerri. Obichere is one of the modern writers that write his stories in order to change the social

ills in the society. Obichere tells a story of his hero Ezeugha whom the elders in his village gave ozo title. Ozo is a prestigious title in Igbo land. He later became the governor of his state Umuala. Ezeugha started his career as a civil servant; he worked for 21 years with Roman Company that was located in Lagos state. Ezeugha being very hardworking and the oldest worker in the company, was made the manager and the accountant of the company. Ezeugha as the manager and accountant have access to company's bank account. Ezeugha looted company's money and ran to his village. The owner of the company made effort to look for him but cannot trace him down to his village Umuala. During the governorship poll in Umuala, Ezeugha is one of the governorship aspirants. He promised people of good governance and people voted for him and he won, and became the governor of the state. When Ezeugha resumed as the governor of the state, people started seeing him as a liar and killer. He killed the entire contestant in the opposition party and sent some to exile. Anyone who accused him of bad governance will be abducted and killed. He closes down schools that his opposition party had meeting in. He retires many without due process. He retrenched workers, filled and replaced them with his own candidates. He stopped eight pregnant women from receiving anti-natal services from the state hospital because their husbands are in his opposition party. Ezeugha was only interested on accumulation of wealth that will last for his third generation. He is a liar, there is a lot of ambiguities in his speeches that people find it difficult to pin them down to a particular thing. In terms of being truthful in his speech, the masses regard

him as “pure liar” and so view his utterance with disbelief. At the end his four years in office, Ezeugha embezzled state money; saved them in many banks outside the country.

Instances in the Text Where Bad Governance Were X-Rayed.

A study of the synopsis revealed that the text on study was about politics and bad governance as seen in Nigeria and other African countries. Most of 21st century leaders started their political career with stolen money as seen in *Uwa Akaala Nka*

Ezeugha buuru ego niile o zutere nanke nna ya ukwu na Lagos, were zọọ ọkwa ibu Gọvano (2015:41)

Ezeugha started his political career by using the money he looted from his master in Lagos and contest governorship election

In this novel, Obichere said about the embezzlement of public fund. Embezzlement is the stealing of money meant for the benefit of the people. Most of present day leaders, after stealing as the chairman of a local government area, will use stolen fund to contest for higher political post such as; senate and house of representative. In *Uwa Akaala Nka*, Ezeugha used stolen money to contest for governorship post.

Ozo Ezeugha jiri aziza zakoo ego niile ndi ụlọọrụ ya nwere, were rie mbọ mbọ, gbalaa obodo ya, wee zọwa nnukwu okwa; govano. (2015:41)

Ozo Ezeugha embezzled money from his company and fled to his village. He started aiming for higher post; governor.

The author Obichere in his novel *Uwa Akaala Nka* said about poor moral value associated with 21st century leaders. He said that some present leaders forgot their manifestoes immediately they won the election.

Nkwa niile Ezeugha kwekọrọ ndị obodo ya Ụmụala Oge ọ na-achụ nta vootu, o nweghị nke o mejupụtara. Gọvanọ Ọzọ Ezeugha kwuru na ya ga-arụ ọkụ latrik, mmiri, pọmpụ na ụlọogwụ ga-abụ n'efu (39).

Ezeugha during his campaign promised his people of constant electricity, pipe borne water and free medical services, but failed to keep what he promised.

Kidnapping and killing are another poor moral value associated with the 21st century leaders. Most present day leaders have group of men whom they kept as their thugs, once their government was criticized those thugs will be sent to kill those involved in the criticism, as seen in *Uwa Akaala Nka*.

Ndị mmadụ bidoro dewe akwụkwọ mkpesa ma na-akatọ ọchịchị Ezeugha, Ezeugha zipuru ndị ntọrị mmadụ; ha tọrọ ha n'ụlọ ha, ma gbuo ha (40)

Many people started writing to the federal government against Ezeugha's governance.

Ezeugha send his thugs to them and there were killed.

Most of the 21st country leaders have their bank account abroad as seen in *Uwa Akaala Nka*.

Ezeugha buuru ego niile o butere mgbe o bu
govanọ tinye ya n'uloaku di na mba Ofesi
.Obichere(2015)

The money Ezeugha embezzled when he was
governor was saved in many banks outside the
country.

Conclusion

It is important to conclude that bad governance has denied the leaders the quality of being described as the true representative of the people. Literature is a basic weapon to fight bad governance in Nigeria and Africa. Leaders must realize that they owe the masses a lot and their words must reflect honesty and integrity. Again, leaders must know that the masses are tired of their using language to intimidate, frustrate, confuse, and make merchandise of the people they are supposed to serve.

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PROMOTING MARITAL FIDELITY: THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS CASE FOR HONEST PATERNITY IN LAGOS URBAN, LAGOS STATE, NIGERIA

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Abstract

This article examines the socio-religious need for promoting marital fidelity in Lagos Urban, Lagos State, Nigeria; particularly in light of rising cases of failed paternity tests revealed through DNA results. This alarming trend highlights significant strains on family trust, child welfare, and social integrity. Employing a qualitative methodology, including in-depth interviews and focus groups with religious leaders, family counselors, and community members, alongside the review of extant literature on the subject matter, the study explores the underlying factors of infidelity and the importance of truthful paternity. The necessary rationales and deductions were defined via phenomenological and culture-centered approaches: Social Exchange Theory (SET) was used to substantiate the claims of this research. The paper fills a knowledge gap by analyzing how Lagos's unique socio-religious context shapes expectations of fidelity and parental honesty, an aspect often neglected in discussions around family values. Findings reveal a high rate of failed DNA paternity tests, showcasing significant unfaithfulness

among women in marriage within Lagos Urban, further underscoring how marital infidelity undermines family cohesion and erodes societal trust. Religious teachings and community support emerge as crucial influences on fidelity. Recommendations call for religious institutions to enhance marriage counseling initiatives and for public campaigns to advance a culture of transparency and loyalty, underscoring the social and moral imperatives of honest paternity within marriage.

Key Words: Marital Fidelity, Paternity, Honest, Socio-Religious, Promoting, Case.

Introduction

Paternity scandals are increasingly common in Nigeria, leading to notable social and legal effects on families and communities. Deep-rooted cultural values place great importance on family heritage and the authenticity of children's lineage. As a result, there is intense pressure to uphold a stable family image, often causing individuals to hide paternity matters instead of addressing them directly. Ogundipe et al (2021) elucidate that Nigeria is reported to have the second-highest rate of paternity fraud worldwide after Jamaica, with many men unknowingly raising children who are not biologically theirs. This has led to calls for mandatory DNA testing at birth to address the issue. Paternity determination in Nigeria traditionally relies on acknowledgment, presumption, or proof, with acknowledgment being the most common: Once a man accepts paternity, it's typically unquestioned. When children are born within wedlock, there's a presumption that the husband is the

father, as it's assumed that a mother knows the true father of her child. However, DNA testing has increasingly revealed discrepancies, exposing infidelity and leading to scandals, as some men discovered they were not the biological fathers, resulting in intense social and marital conflicts.

Abiodun Salami a senior geneticist with DNA Centre for Paternity Test, Allen Avenue in Ikeja, Lagos (cited by Augoye, 2021) reveals that based on extensive experience with DNA ordtestingmsw in Nigeria, six out of ten children tested are not biologically related to the fathers who believe they are. The geneticist explained that, particularly with firstborns, many women have established relationships before marriage, which they often continue even after they wed. As a result, it is common for the firstborn child to be fathered by someone other than the husband. Uchediunor (2023) observes that failed paternity tests in Nigeria, especially in the context of rising awareness and access to DNA testing, have created significant social and familial impacts. With advancements in technology making these tests more accessible, families and communities are increasingly grappling with issues around trust, identity, and the psychological effects of discovering non-biological parentage. Pertinent to the core conventional Nigerian various tribal ideals, paternity revelations can strain traditional values around lineage and inheritance, challenging the cultural expectations tied to fatherhood. At a societal level, such revelations often bring into question the role of marital fidelity and trust, raising

discussions on the ethical implications of privacy versus truth in familial relationships.

Ihejirika (2024) reports that paternity fraud in Nigeria has emerged as a significant social crisis, with a recent Smart DNA report indicating that 27 percent of paternity tests conducted from July 2023 to June 2024 revealed non-biological fatherhood, suggesting that more than one in four men tested were not the biological fathers of their children. This troubling trend cuts across all social strata, driven by factors like societal pressure on women to bear male children, infidelity, and the economic security tied to childbearing in certain cultural contexts. Often undiscovered for years, paternity fraud is increasingly revealed during medical emergencies, divorce proceedings, or routine DNA tests, exacerbating familial and legal complexities. Additionally, the report noted a surge in DNA testing for immigration purposes, reflecting the “Japa” phenomenon, where Nigerians seek opportunities abroad, and further highlighting shifts in family structures and economic factors in the country. Samson (2024) articulates that paternity fraud is an increasingly prevalent issue in Nigeria, catalyzed by the growing accessibility of Deoxyribonucleic Acid (DNA) testing, which reveals instances where children are falsely attributed to men, often husbands, without biological ties. A rising number of men discover through DNA testing that they are not the biological fathers of children they believed to be theirs, exposing cases of deception and infidelity that strain familial and marital bonds. According to molecular biologist Andrew Nnaji (cited by Samson), recent studies show that one in four

men tested is not the biological father, placing Nigeria among the highest in paternity fraud globally. Prominent cases, such as comedian Chinedu Ani (known as Nedu), who discovered a son he had fathered was not his, and Delta State Judge Anthony Okorodas, who found three of his children were not biologically related to him, underscore the significant personal and societal implications of this issue, often resulting in broken relationships and publicized controversies.

The Operations Manager, Smart DNA, Elizabeth Digia (cited by Addeh, 2024) commenting on the status of the DNA failed paternity tests in Nigeria, exclaim that the reports of recent findings on DNA testing in Nigeria reveal changing dynamics in family structures, with a notable increase in negative paternity results and a rise in immigration-related testing requests. The concentration of testing in Lagos highlights issues around accessibility and awareness of DNA services in other parts of the country. The data shows a high preference for early paternity confirmation, with over half (54%) of the children tested being aged 0-5. Additionally, the majority of requests came from men aged 41 and above (45.6%), followed by those aged 31-40 (37%), suggesting economic capacity and heightened paternity concerns among older men. Addeh relates that a spokesperson from the testing company emphasized their commitment to expanding services nationwide while maintaining high standards of accuracy and confidentiality.

Pertinent to the aforementioned contexts, this study explores the socio-religious importance of promoting

marital fidelity in Lagos Urban, Lagos State, Nigeria; specifically against the backdrop of rising surging paternity tests exposed through DNA analysis. The research seeks to understand the underlying causes of marital infidelity and its adverse effects on family trust, child welfare, and social cohesion in Lagos, a city where socio-religious expectations heavily influence family values. It focuses on how Lagos's unique socio-cultural context shapes attitudes toward fidelity and the ethical significance of honest paternity, an area often overlooked in broader discussions of family dynamics. The study adopts a qualitative methodology, utilizing in-depth interviews and focus groups with religious leaders, family counselors, and community members, alongside a review of relevant literature pertinent to the study's focus. Generalizations and conclusions were streamlined using phenomenological and culture-centered approaches. Social exchange theory was applied to reinforce its arguments.

Examining the Essence of DNA Paternity Test; Precision alongside Reliability

Adams (2008), Pollack (2012) and Smart DNA (2023) elaborate that DNA paternity testing is a scientific method used to establish a biological relationship between a child and a potential father by analyzing unique genetic markers. Unlike earlier methods, such as ABO blood typing and HLA antigen testing, which could only exclude possible fathers with limited reliability, DNA testing offers a high level of accuracy. The authors equally posit that DNA testing addresses critical questions of parentage that arise in legal, social, and

personal contexts, helping individuals verify or establish family relationships. The authors declare that DNA paternity testing is one of the most advanced methods for determining parentage, boasting a high degree of accuracy and precision, with a 99.99% probability of parentage when the alleged parent is indeed biologically related to the child and 0% when they are not. However, they exclaim that the test is not infallible: While most individuals have a single genetic makeup, rare individuals known as chimeras possess two different sets of DNA. This unique genetic condition can lead to a false negative result in cases where the DNA in the reproductive cells differs from the DNA sampled for testing. Hence while DNA paternity tests are highly reliable, exceptional genetic variations like chimerism can impact their accuracy in rare instances. The authors moreover caution that while the testing technology is precise, the accuracy of results can be compromised by human error or sample contamination. Therefore, it underscores the importance of following sampling procedures closely to ensure the reliability of these highly accurate tests.

Bassindale (2015), DNA Diagnostics Center (DDC) (2022) and Cleveland Clinic (2024) enlightens that a DNA paternity test determines whether someone is the genetic parent of a child by analyzing and comparing their DNA. DNA, a hereditary genetic code present in nearly every cell, is inherited from both parents, making it possible to trace biological relationships. According to the aforementioned sources, paternity testing, typically used for legal purposes or establishing whether a

pregnancy resulted from consensual sexual intercourse or non-consensual acts like rape, resolving family uncertainties, or medical reasons, involves comparing specific genetic markers in a child's DNA with those in a potential parent's DNA. A strong match suggests a genetic link, while a lack of shared markers rules out paternity. The sources reveal that although alternative methods like blood and HLA type comparisons exist, DNA testing is preferred due to its superior accuracy in establishing biological connections: Illuminating that DNA tests are reliable and can be done at various stages, including during pregnancy or after birth, using simple cheek swabs to collect genetic material. The process is scientifically rigorous, providing trustworthy results that are legally admissible when performed at accredited testing facilities. The source's emphasis on facility approval highlights the need for controlled conditions to ensure results meet legal standards, reaffirming the precision of DNA testing as a definitive method for establishing biological relationships. Ultimately, from the findings hitherto, DNA paternity testing is widely recognized for its high accuracy in confirming biological parentage; however, ensuring its reliability demands rigorous attention to detail throughout the testing process. This level of precision is crucial to prevent human errors or any potential for organized manipulation, as lapses in handling or interpreting results could lead to significant legal, social, and emotional consequences. Thus, while the technology itself is robust, the integrity of the outcomes hinges on careful, standardized procedures at every stage.

How Lagos's High Religiosity Shapes Expectations of Marital Fidelity

In Lagos Urban, high levels of religiosity shape societal expectations surrounding marital fidelity. As Laguda (2013), Ofuafo (2019) and Janson (2021) rightly underscore; Lagos, as a vibrant metropolis, is home to diverse religious communities, primarily Christian, Muslim and African Traditional Religion. Almost every street in Lagos Urban has one or more peculiar religious faith worship center situated therein: Each promoting values of loyalty, commitment, and integrity in marriage. Religious leaders and institutions play a significant role in shaping cultural norms, emphasizing that marital fidelity is essential for preserving the sanctity of marriage, family stability, and societal cohesion. Sermons, religious gatherings, and marriage counseling sessions regularly highlight fidelity as a moral duty, reinforcing it as an obligation that transcends personal choice, with spiritual and communal repercussions. According to M. Iliyah (personal communication, October 31st, 2024), religious teachings on marital fidelity influence both social perceptions and individual actions, creating a collective moral standard in Lagos: For many residents, faith-based ethics deeply inform daily decisions and actions, and marriage is seen not only as a social contract but also a sacred covenant. Violating this covenant through infidelity is often viewed as both a betrayal of trust and a transgression against divine law, resulting in social and spiritual consequences. This viewpoint is particularly pervasive in Lagos Urban as religious institutions wield considerable moral authority, holding individuals accountable and, at times,

publicly addressing issues of infidelity within the community.

Moreover, the high religiosity in Lagos cultivates a sense of community responsibility toward upholding marital fidelity. Communities often feel a duty to support marriages and discourage infidelity through informal monitoring and interventions, especially in religious settings. Friends, family members, and faith communities often act as mediators when marital issues arise, reinforcing a framework in which marital fidelity is not only a personal responsibility but also a collective concern. This shared accountability cultivates an environment where fidelity is socially encouraged, making individuals more likely to honor their marital vows to preserve their social standing and align with religious expectations. O. Johnson (personal communication, October 31st, 2024) observes that Lagos's religious landscape provides numerous support systems to reinforce marital fidelity, from premarital counseling to faith-based relationship seminars. These initiatives offer practical guidance and foster discussions around loyalty, commitment, and the consequences of infidelity. Via incorporating religious values into these programs, religious institutions in Lagos help couples build a foundation of trust and moral fortitude, equipping them to overcome challenges that might threaten fidelity. Thus, the high religiosity in Lagos not only shapes expectations of marital fidelity but also provides a robust support network to sustain those commitments, reflecting a deeply ingrained cultural ethos where

fidelity is seen as both a religious duty and a pillar of a moral society.

How Lagos's Core Traditional Value Shapes Expectations of Marital Fidelity

The topic of marital fidelity in Lagos Urban is profoundly influenced by Yoruba core traditional values that strongly abhor infidelity. Z. Sam-Obi, O. Adeleke, J. Idowu and L. Babatunde (personal communication, October 31st, 2024) portray that the Yoruba core cultural values are in ascendancy in Urban Lagos. Yoruba culture, much like other African societies, holds marriage in high esteem, viewing it as a union that binds not only two individuals but also their families and communities. This commitment to fidelity is rooted in the deep belief that loyalty in marriage preserves family honor and community stability, key tenets of Yoruba tradition as enunciated in Heritage (2015). Therefore, marital fidelity is not solely a private commitment but a public expectation, with society placing immense value on trust and integrity within the marital bond. One of the essential Yoruba values that support marital fidelity is *iwarere*, or "good character." As O. Adeleke (personal communication, October 31st, 2024) elucidate, this value encourages individuals to act with honesty, respect, and self-discipline, particularly in marriage. A person with good character is expected to respect the sanctity of marriage, abstaining from infidelity as a way to honor their spouse and family. This emphasis on good character has long served as a moral compass in Yoruba society, with elders, parents, and community leaders reinforcing these virtues through storytelling, teachings, and

traditional ceremonies that celebrate fidelity and integrity.

The Yoruba value of *Omoluabi*, which translates roughly to a "person of good conduct and integrity", also reinforces the importance of marital fidelity. R. Adedeji (personal communication, October 31st, 2024) illuminates that *Omoluabi* stresses the values of responsibility, respect, and consideration for others, all of which play a significant role in maintaining healthy marital relationships. According to Yoruba beliefs, being an *Omoluabi* means that a person should honor commitments and act in ways that reflect positively on their family and heritage. In marriage, this means a steadfast commitment to one's partner, as infidelity would violate not only the spouse's trust but also the cultural and moral expectations of the community. Adedeji explicates that Yoruba culture's emphasis on communal accountability also shapes the expectations of marital fidelity. Unlike in more individualistic societies, the Yoruba view marriage as an integral part of social cohesion. Communities often hold couples accountable for upholding cultural norms, especially fidelity, as any violation of these norms reflects poorly on the family and wider community. This collective accountability serves as a moral deterrent, dissuading infidelity by reinforcing that one's actions in marriage carry consequences beyond personal life. Through these core values, Lagos's Yoruba traditional society maintains a strong emphasis on marital fidelity, making it a fundamental aspect of social stability and cultural integrity.

Pertinent to the Yoruba traditional core values on marital fidelity is Kehinde (2015) and Egbemode (2023) discussion on *Magun* and *Tesho*, traditional anti-adultery devices used by the Yoruba people to curb marital infidelity. These charms were intended as deterrents, punishing adulterers who unknowingly crossed them. *Magun*, for example, could be discreetly placed on a thread, broom, or other everyday items near a target's path, so that crossing over would activate its effects, potentially leading to severe, even fatal, consequences. The Yoruba's use of traditional antidotes like *Magun* and *Tesho* speaks volumes about their strong cultural stance against marital infidelity. These powerful charms reflect a community that viewed adultery as a serious breach of trust, warranting immediate and sometimes harsh consequences. By lacing everyday objects with these deterrents, the Yoruba sent a clear message: Unfaithfulness would not be tolerated, and those who strayed risked severe repercussions. This approach not only underscored the high value placed on marital loyalty but also acted as a social control mechanism, reinforcing the expectation of fidelity. However, while these methods were effective in their time, they now raise ethical concerns, calling for modern, humane responses to uphold respect for both marriage and human dignity.

Indices of the High Rate of Failed DNA Paternity Tests in Lagos Urban

Ozibo (2024) and Ojuroungbe (2024) document that a recent Smart DNA report covering June 2023 to June 2024 highlights that Lagos Urban leads DNA testing in

Nigeria, accounting for 73.1% of tests conducted nationwide, far outpacing other states such as Oyo (5.5%), Ogun (5.3%), Rivers (4.0%), and Delta (3.5%). The report reveals that 27% of paternity tests yielded negative results, meaning that in over one in four cases, the man tested was not the biological father. In Lagos Urban, Lagos Mainland tests comprised 67.5%, while the Lagos Island accounted for 32.5%, with the report attributing this difference to purchasing power. The primary reason for DNA tests was ‘Peace of Mind’ (85.9%), with immigration-related tests rising by 11.5%, largely influenced by the “*Japa*” syndrome of emigration. Men made up 88.2% of test initiators, showing they are more likely to question paternity, although the report cautions that sample bias may inflate fraud rates. Demographically, most test requests came from Yoruba individuals (53%), followed by Igbo (31.3%), Hausa (1.2%), and others (14.5%). Tests were predominantly conducted on male children (52.8%) and younger children aged 0-5 years (54%), reflecting a cultural inclination to confirm paternity early and more frequently for male offspring according to the report’s illustration. Commenting on the findings, Operations Manager at Smart, Elizabeth Digia, (cited by Ojuroungbe) noted the report’s valuable insights into the evolving dynamics and societal trends within Nigerian families.

Remarking on the report of Elizabeth Digia, Operations Manager at Smart, the News Agency of Nigeria (2024) depicts that the report’s indication of Lagos’s dominance due to economic disparity casts light on a profound

social paradox within the urban landscape; one that increasingly correlates with high rates of failed DNA paternity tests. As Lagos remains a magnet for economic opportunity, it also fosters a complex environment of socio-economic aspirations, pressures, and survival tactics that impact familial dynamics. The News Agency accentuates that for many, the pursuit of economic stability is coupled with demands that strain marital commitments, sometimes creating conditions where fidelity becomes secondary to financial or social leverage. The Agency specifies that the evidenced disparity in economic power often leads individuals to prioritize personal advancement, inadvertently destabilizing trust within families and influencing higher incidences of contested paternity. Thus, the urban prosperity that draws people to Lagos also reveals hidden fractures in family structure, where economic motivations may contribute to cases of misattributed paternity.

Agbajileke (2024) alongside C. Udeh, O. Afunugo, F. Babalola, I. Gbenga, K. Adewale and O. Olabisi (personal communication, October 31st, 2024) observe that the rising occurrence of failed DNA paternity tests in Lagos Urban reveals a troubling shift from traditional values, particularly highlighting issues of marital fidelity. E. Nkemakolam (personal communication, October 31, 2024) underscores that in Lagos, one lab, Truth Diagnostics, reported in 2023 that over 30% of paternity tests it conducted within a year revealed non-paternity; an unsettling reality that challenges cultural expectations about marriage and family integrity. He asserts further

that instances like that of a prominent Lagos entrepreneur, who discovered through DNA testing that two of his three children were not biologically his, underscore the profound impact of this trend, not only fracturing families but sparking versed societal conversations. Nkemakolam and Olabisi, spotlight that private paternity testing clinics across Lagos have shared similar observations, noting how families often seek testing to confirm suspicions of infidelity, with outcomes frequently leading to broken relationships and a reconsideration of family roles. This progression cum tidal wave raises critical questions about the depth of religious teachings in a city known for its devout Christian, Muslim together with African Traditional Faith communities, and contrasting Lagos' reputation for religious adherence with the high rates of non-paternity findings. Furthermore, the increasing demand for paternity testing suggests an erosion of trust in marital relationships, where suspicions now lead to the once-uncommon step of DNA testing. This growing phenomenon reflects a profound moral drift in Nigerian society, underscoring an urgent need for cultural and religious re-engagement to realign with long-held traditional values.

The Social Exchange Theory (SET) and the Debacle of Failed DNA Paternity Test in Lagos Urban

Cook (2015), Roeckelein (2018) and Cherry (2023) aver that Social Exchange Theory, a central framework in understanding social interaction and structure, examines social behavior through the lens of costs and benefits in interpersonal relationships. According to the authors,

major proponents of the theory include American social psychologists John W. Thibaut (1917-1986) and Harold H. Kelley (1921-2003), along with American sociologists George C. Homans (1910-1989), Peter M. Blau (1918-2002), Richard Marc Emerson (deceased as of 1982), and the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908-2009). The authors equally delineate that Homans, the founder of Social Exchange Theory, defined it as an exchange of activities that are tangible or intangible, rewarding or costly, between two or more people. His work emphasized individual behavior within dyadic exchanges. Blau and Emerson advanced Homans' ideas, shaping the theory's application within sociology. Thibaut and Kelley focused on psychological aspects, exploring small group and dyadic interactions. Lévi-Strauss contributed an anthropological angle, analyzing systems of generalized exchange in kinship and gift-giving. Overall, the theory highlights that people engage in relationships to maximize benefits and minimize costs, often ending relationships when costs outweigh the rewards.

The submission of Social Exchange Theory exhibits that relationships are guided by individuals' assessments of rewards and costs. In a marriage context, this involves partners evaluating the benefits of loyalty against the potential consequences of infidelity. In Lagos Urban, where socio-religious values play a central role, marital fidelity is often tied to cultural expectations and religious beliefs. SET helps assess how these beliefs influence the perceived 'rewards' of fidelity, such as trust, stability, and societal approval, against the 'costs' of infidelity, like

mistrust, social stigma, and the potential harm to family structure. SET also emphasizes the importance of reciprocity and equity in relationships, which can shed light on dynamics within marriages in Lagos. Fidelity may be viewed as a mutual exchange of respect, commitment, and shared values that both partners contribute to maintain. If a partner perceives an imbalance, such as a feeling that their commitment is not reciprocated, they may be more inclined to engage in infidelity, as SET suggests that individuals seek equity. In a Lagos Urban context, where religious and societal expectations strongly encourage equal commitment to marital values, the theory could be applied to encourage interventions that promote reciprocity. Churches and community groups could foster spaces for dialogue about the benefits of mutual fidelity, positioning it as a rewarding exchange that reinforces family cohesion and community harmony.

Furthermore, Social Exchange Theory helps in evaluating how external rewards and punishments influence marital decisions in a technologically advancing society. In Lagos Urban, social media and communication technology can facilitate connections outside the marriage, potentially increasing the 'reward' for infidelity. However, societal and religious influences act as deterrents, imposing high 'costs' for actions that betray marital vows. By using SET, researchers can analyze how technological factors shift the perceived balance of rewards and costs in Lagos based marriages. Initiatives that educate about the long-term 'costs' of infidelity, such as loss of trust and damage to family

reputation may help realign individuals' evaluations toward prioritizing fidelity. SET also allows for an exploration of the concept of relational satisfaction in marriage, as spouses who feel fulfilled and valued are generally less likely to seek rewards outside the marital relationship. In Lagos, marital satisfaction is often enhanced by alignment with socio-religious norms, including honest paternity, which resonates with the high value placed on lineage and family legacy. Programs promoting open communication, emotional support, and shared religious values can reinforce satisfaction within marriages, thus reducing the inclination for extramarital relationships. Through SET, religious and community leaders in Lagos can identify specific marital needs and address them, ultimately contributing to stronger, and more faithful marriages.

Social Exchange Theory (SET) can aid in understanding the role of long-term rewards in encouraging marital fidelity. In the socio-religious context of Lagos, fidelity is often associated with blessings, community respect, and a fulfilling family life. By encouraging couples to focus on these long-term rewards and emphasizing the detrimental effects of infidelity on these rewards, SET provides a strategic approach for religious leaders, counselors, and policymakers. Educating individuals on the benefits of long-term fidelity, such as healthy family dynamics and strong social standing, against the temporary gratification of infidelity can promote a culture of honesty in paternity and commitment in marriage. Thus, SET serves as a valuable tool in fostering fidelity within Lagos Urban marriages by

underscoring the significant rewards of loyal commitment over time.

The Socio-Religious Implications, Challenges, and Solutions to Rising Incidence of failed DNA Tests in Lagos Urban

Frank Tietie, Human Rights Lawyer and Executive Director, Citizens Advocacy for Social and Economic Rights (CASER) (cited by Abiola, 2021) elucidates that Paternity fraud involves a deliberate misrepresentation of a child's biological father, a deception that can be committed not only by women but also by men, including adult children. He stipulates that Section 8(3) of the Armed Forces Pensions Act CAP. A 23 L.F.N. 2004 requires individuals born out of wedlock to prove paternity to claim death benefits of a deceased parent who served in the Nigerian armed forces, and submitting false proof of paternity in this context constitutes fraud. Furthermore, the Legal Luminary enlightens that DNA testing laboratories could potentially engage in paternity fraud by tampering with or issuing false DNA results to mislead parties in paternity disputes, thus contributing to this form of deception.

The rise in failed DNA paternity tests in Lagos State is revealing a disturbing trajectory in family dynamics, igniting both social and religious concerns across its communities. In recent years, as already reflected in this study, cases of misattributed paternity have emerged more frequently, placing families under tremendous strain. As more individuals undergo DNA testing, sometimes prompted by suspicions or routine health

screenings, an increasing number of families are forced to confront hidden infidelities that, in many cases, were long kept under wraps. These findings are not only reshaping family structures but are also challenging established social norms, ultimately putting pressure on marital bonds and trust within households. The fallout from these discoveries leads to emotional, psychological, and financial stress, not only for the adults involved but also for the children whose identities and family ties are suddenly called into question.

The implications of failed paternity tests go beyond personal relationships, striking at the heart of societal values, particularly in a largely religious context like Lagos Urban. For many, family is the foundation of the social structure, and the discovery of infidelity challenges the sanctity of marriage as an institution. Failed paternity tests often expose issues such as dishonesty, lack of marital commitment, and a breakdown of trust between spouses, each of which has extensive social ramifications. Children from such cases may face stigma, experiencing identity crises as they navigate complex family dynamics. This has severe implications, especially in a society where family heritage, lineage, and legitimacy are of utmost importance. Moreover, Tietie (cited by Abiola, 2021) highlights that paternity-related disputes frequently lead to protracted legal battles over child custody, inheritance, and even spousal support: Thus intensifying marital conflict and creating a financial strain on both parties; thereby increasing the burden on judicial systems and further complicating efforts to maintain family unity.

One of the central issues driving this phenomenon appears to be female marital infidelity, which remains a sensitive topic, especially within socio-religious frameworks. While male infidelity often receives more cultural tolerance, cases of female infidelity trigger significant backlash, especially in societies with traditional views on gender roles. Women are expected to uphold family honor, and when trust is breached in this way, it is seen as a greater betrayal, with complex implications for marital expectations. Infidelity, and the resulting misattributed paternity, is viewed as not only a breach of trust but also a moral failing that taints family lineage. Thus, the societal reaction to such cases tends to be harsher, leading to calls for measures that encourage fidelity and address the root causes of marital dissatisfaction. Female marital infidelity, in this context, is viewed not only as a personal failure but also as a disruption to the social order, violating religious doctrines that emphasize honesty and fidelity within marriage. The challenges extend beyond the moral implications, encompassing legal, emotional, and economic dimensions. For men, these tests can foster a sense of betrayal, impacting their willingness to invest in relationships or provide for children they may no longer see as their own. For women, these situations may lead to anxiety and public shaming, while children are often caught in the middle, left to deal with the fallout of strained relationships. The increasing demand for DNA tests reflects a growing mistrust that undermines marital stability and the foundation of family units within Urban Lagos society.

The socio-religious implications of these findings underscore the need for communities to address the values that inform marital fidelity. In many cases, religious institutions have positioned themselves as custodians of these values, promoting teachings on faithfulness and the sanctity of marriage. Since Lagos Urban is predominantly Christian, Muslim alongside African Traditional faith-based society: They subsequently play crucial roles in shaping attitudes towards family and marriage. Religious teachings that advocate for loyalty, trust, and transparency in marital relationships can be crucial in fostering an environment where couples are less likely to stray. Furthermore, religious organizations could consider introducing counseling services that promote open communication between spouses, encouraging partners to address their issues honestly rather than seeking validation outside the marriage. Emphasizing the spiritual repercussions of infidelity and fostering a sense of accountability to both one's family and faith could create a deterrent effect that helps curb the problem.

Implementing educational programs that discuss the impact of paternity fraud and its consequences on families and society can help raise awareness and promote fidelity. Couples counseling and pre-marital courses that stress the importance of commitment, trust, and transparency can prepare individuals for the responsibilities of marriage. Furthermore, religious and social leaders could work together to de-stigmatize the act of seeking help within a marriage, creating a supportive environment that encourages honesty and

discourages deceit. There is also a need for legal frameworks that support responsible fatherhood, regardless of DNA results, to ensure that children's well-being remains a priority. Through concerted efforts that merge social, religious, and psychological support, Lagos Urban can address the root causes of marital infidelity and its resulting challenges, cultivating stronger, more resilient families that uphold the sanctity of marriage.

Conclusion

This study illustrates that DNA tests provide a scientific basis for establishing biological relationships while exposing the ethical and emotional ramifications of deceit within familial structures: Affirming biological connections enhances the integrity of paternal claims and fosters a culture of accountability and honesty in marital relationships. The work equally contributes significantly to the discourse on marital fidelity and honest paternity by highlighting the complex socio-religious factors that influence family dynamics in Lagos Urban, Lagos State. In examining the intricate interplay of religious beliefs, cultural values, and urban pressures, this research provides a holistic understanding of the motivations and deterrents surrounding marital fidelity in a rapidly modernizing environment. The study underscores the role of religious institutions in advocating for integrity in family life, promoting trust, and encouraging open dialogue on the ethical implications of paternity honesty. These insights add to existing knowledge by addressing both the moral and societal implications of marital

fidelity within the context of Lagos's urbanized, diverse population.

Despite its extensive coverage, this research is limited by its regional focus on Lagos Urban, which may not fully capture the complexities of similar issues in rural settings or other Nigerian regions. Additionally, while the study offers a thorough socio-religious analysis, it recognizes the potential variability of individual motivations that might not align with general cultural or religious expectations. Future research could broaden the scope by exploring comparative perspectives in rural areas or assessing the impact of emerging technologies, such as Smart Home Devices and Virtual Reality (VR) on family cohesion and honesty. These avenues will facilitate the attainment of a more comprehensive understanding of marital fidelity across Nigeria's diverse social landscape.

Recommendations

1. Sheets et al (2018), Cirino (2018), Ellis-Liang (2021) and Ojuroungbe (2024) articulate that Psychologists advise couples to consider a range of factors that could contribute to disputed paternity, beyond the common association with female marital infidelity, in order to prevent emotional and marital distress. They highlight medical errors, inaccuracies in genetic testing, and instances of baby exchanges as potential causes, and recommend pre-marital genetic testing to help identify any underlying issues early on. They emphasize that negligence and a lack of awareness about the importance of comprehensive genetic screening can also lead to

unforeseen outcomes later in life. In addition, the rare genetic condition called chimerism as already accentuated in this work, where an individual carries two distinct sets of DNA due to the early absorption of a fraternal twins cells, can cause failed paternity tests by producing DNA inconsistencies within the body. Such cases can result in false non-paternity findings if the DNA sample taken does not match the child's due to chimerism. Given the high demand for paternity testing in regions like Lagos Urban, where test volumes are notably high, psychologists stress the need for improved standards and reliability in DNA testing practices to ensure accurate results: This study equally upholds this discretion as one of its vital recommendation.

2. Public campaigns should be initiated to foster a culture of transparency and loyalty within families. These campaigns should aim to raise awareness about the detrimental effects of infidelity on family dynamics and societal trust. Utilizing various media platforms, including social media, community events, and local radio, the campaigns can highlight personal stories and testimonials that emphasize the importance of honest paternity alongside the fact that marital fidelity can be practically sustained. Engaging community leaders and influencers in these campaigns can help amplify the message, making it more relatable and impactful for an all-encompassing population.
3. It is crucial to develop educational programs that address the social and moral imperatives of honest paternity within marriage. These programs should be targeted at various age groups, including young adults and

teenagers, to instill values of fidelity and integrity early on. Schools, community centers, and religious organizations can collaborate to create functional, objective and praxis-oriented curricula that discuss the significance of trust in relationships, the responsibilities of parenthood, and the consequences of dishonesty. Lagos Urban can work towards rebuilding the social fabric that is essential for healthy family dynamics and community cohesion as the residents collectively persist in fostering a culture that values fidelity and transparency,.

4. Public officials in Lagos Urban should consider implementing legislative measures that support family integrity and accountability. This may include initiatives that encourage ethical behavior in relationships, promote responsible parenting, and provide resources for families in crisis. As they are consistent in establishing and sustaining a legal framework that upholds the values of honesty and fidelity, the government can further reinforce the societal expectations surrounding marital fidelity and paternity, contributing to a more trustworthy and cohesive community in Lagos Urban.
5. Furthermore, engaging men in the conversation about marital fidelity is crucial. Traditional gender roles often place the onus of fidelity primarily on women, leading to stigmatization and silencing of men's roles in maintaining marital integrity. Programs specifically targeting men can address issues of masculinity, peer pressure, and societal expectations surrounding fidelity. This can go a long way in instilling and inculcating sexual chastity in men. Encouraging men to openly

discuss their thoughts and experiences regarding fidelity can help dismantle harmful stereotypes and promote a more inclusive dialogue about marital responsibilities. Truth remains that every act of adultery involves two partners: Women do not impregnate themselves.

6. It is also essential to leverage technology to facilitate conversations around marital fidelity and paternity. Online platforms and mobile applications can be developed to provide resources, counseling services, and forums for couples to discuss their concerns anonymously. These digital tools can offer educational content on maintaining healthy relationships and understanding the emotional and social implications of infidelity. Utilizing technology in this regard can both enable and expedite the discussion around fidelity to reach a more extensive audience, particularly younger generations who are more comfortable with digital communication.
7. There should be concerted efforts between Religious Leaders and Legislators with respect to creating guidelines for paternity testing that prioritize the psychological well-being of families involved. These guidelines could include mandatory counseling sessions before and after testing, allowing individuals to process their feelings and the potential consequences of the results. Such measures can help mitigate the emotional distress that may arise from unexpected test outcomes and encourage families to seek resolution and healing rather than conflict.

8. Stefansson (2013), Ferro (2013) and Manser (2022) comments on Iceland's Íslendinga-App, developed to prevent accidental incest given their small population, by helping Icelanders verify distant family connections. This kind of App can serve as an innovative model that Lagos could adapt to address its rising DNA paternity failures linked to digital marital infidelity. With rapid technological advancement already shaping society, Lagos Urban, being a densely populated urban center facing increased cases of fraudulent paternity due to hidden affairs, could implement a similar app to promote transparency in relationships. Such an app could allow couples to verify parentage or ensure honest paternity through biometric or genetic links, thereby protecting familial integrity and reinforcing marital fidelity in a modern, tech-driven era. Emulating Iceland's approach, the Lagos State government, alongside the federal government, could leverage technology to help curb deceit in relationships, reinforce family trust, and address these issues proactively; helping to restore confidence in family structures in an increasingly digital age.

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**DISSECTING THE HEGEMONIC STABILITY
THEORY AND ITS RELEVANCE IN
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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Abstract

This paper examines the role of historical hegemons such as the British Empire in the 19th century and the United States in the post-World War II era, analysing the basic tenets of hegemonic stability theory, investigating its area of strength, weakness and their contributions to global stability. Hegemonic Stability Theory posits that the stability of the international system is closely tied to the dominance of a single, powerful state, or hegemon, which provides global public goods such as security and open markets. This research explores the origins and key arguments of Hegemonic Stability theory; primarily rooted in the works of Charles Kindle Berger and Robert

Gilpin, who suggest that hegemonic power is crucial for maintaining international order and preventing systemic chaos. The study adopts secondary source of data collection and uses content analysis as the method of analysis. The study critiques Hegemonic Stability theory by addressing challenges such as the rise of multipolarity, global interdependence, and regionalism, which question the necessity of a single hegemon for stability. Through this examination, the research questions the validity of Hegemonic Stability Theory as a valid framework for explaining global order or while advocating for alternative theories which better captures the complexities of modern international relations. The study therefore concludes that although the earlier major proponents of hegemonic stability theory lay emphasis on a single hegemon as a stabiliser, two or more coalition of willing states can undertake the task of providing for the system in the interest of all.

Keywords: Hegemony, International-Relations, National-interest, nation-state

Introduction

This study examines International Relations as a discipline richly endowed with many contemporary theories that are relevant to its practice. Such theories include idealism, realism, marxism, behavioralism, constructivism, among others. Others include hegemonic stability theory that emphasise the role of hegemon(s) in the stabilisation of the international system, providing order in the interest of all. Many political theorists had

examined the role of hegemonic stability theory in the international system.

Many authors have commented on hegemons and their roles in the stability of the international system leading to the theory of “hegemonic stability.” The theory is traced to Charles Kindle Berger’s *The World in Depression, 1929-1939* (1973). He was the first author that popularised this theory (Brown and Ainley 2005) when he argued, “... for the world economy to be stabilised, there has to be a stabiliser” (Kindleberger 1973, 305). The hegemon provides the “market for distressed goods, producing a steady if not countercyclical flow of capital, maintaining a rediscount mechanism for providing liquidity when the monetary system is frozen in panic, managing the structure of foreign exchange rates, and providing a degree of coordination of domestic monetary policies (Kindleberger 1981, 247). A single hegemon is necessary because, “... the difficulties and costs of bargaining between two or more states are likely to thwart international cooperation” (Lake 1993, 463). However, the argument that there has to be a single stabiliser for order to be guaranteed in the system has been challenged by other scholars such as Lake (1993), Strange (2009), Grunberg (1990), Keohane (1984), Snidal (1985), and, of course, this researcher. This will be attended to later in the chapter while, for now, emphasis shall be placed on analysing the theory and deconstructing its attributes for easier assimilation and understanding.

Hegemony is the enrolment of others in the exercise of your power by convincing, cajoling, and coercing them that they should want what you want (Agnew 2005, 2). The important attributes of a hegemon are size, population, economic strength, military might, ideas and political will (Francis 2006, 133). This entails that there should be a preponderant state[s] among others that are weaker in a system that looks like an ‘open club’ society where every actor is on the stage performing according to one’s ability and dictates, conditioned by the national interest. With no superior government in the system that other actors are accountable to, the system seems dangerous and rough, competitive and prone to violence, leading to the need for a regulator[s], leader[s] or indeed, a guardian[s]. Such demands the attention of a strong-willed state[s] that has/have the capacity and the large heart to confront the challenges affecting the entire system either to her advantage and perhaps, allow others benefit from her/their efforts. It is for the above reason that a hegemon must possess the power: economic, military, political, cultural, technological, demographic, *et cetera*, which indicates that she/they has/have the capacity and will to achieve interests that may be in her/their interest or may be mutual. This is necessary because the challenges facing the international system, in general, and African region’ in particular, are enormous and only a hegemon or hegemons with strong character and will could commit himself or themselves to tackling such challenges head-on and achieve some measure of success. Consequently, it is important to understand that “... hegemony characteristically imposes an extraordinary tax on the world leader, which must bear

the costs of maintaining economic and political order and preserving an empire” (Kegley and Wittkoft 1997, 69).

Statement of the Problem

Hegemonic Stability Theory (HST) posits that the international system is more likely to remain stable and peaceful when a single dominant power, or "hegemon," governs the global order. This hegemon provides public goods such as economic stability, open trade systems, and security guarantees, often at its own cost, to maintain the status quo. The theory suggests that without a hegemon, global anarchy could ensue, leading to instability and conflict among states competing for power and resources.

The relevance of HST in contemporary international relations is contested. While it was instrumental in explaining the post-World War II order, particularly under the leadership of the United States, recent geopolitical shifts—such as the rise of multipolarity, economic interdependence, and the emergence of new powers like China—challenge the unipolar hegemonic model. The decline of U.S. global dominance raises questions about the applicability of HST in today's world.

Thus, the core problem lies in evaluating whether HST still provides a valid framework for understanding international stability, given the complexities of 21st-century global politics. How does the theory account for emerging powers, shifting alliances, and evolving

economic structures? Can global stability be maintained without a single hegemon, or is a return to a multipolar world likely to increase conflict and instability?

This study seeks to critically assess the relevance of Hegemonic Stability Theory in light of current geopolitical realities and explore whether a redefined or alternative theory might better explain the contemporary international system.

Review of Related Literature

The literature review of Hegemonic Stability Theory (HST) in this paper emphasizes various dimensions of leadership and hegemony in international relations, focusing on the essential attributes and consequences of a hegemonic power's role. The review of related literature on the topic integrates insights from multiple scholars, highlighting the key components of HST which basically are: dominance, power, legitimacy, and cooperation.

In the area of dominance and stability, HST views global stability as being reliant on the dominance of a single powerful state, or hegemon. This hegemon must demonstrate both capacity and will to lead unilaterally and foster an international order. A hegemon acts not only to stabilize the international economy through openness and cooperation but also to provide public goods like security and economic stability. As noted by Lake (1993) and D'Anieri (2010), stability in the international system arises from the hegemon's ability to

exercise power and influence over others, ensuring a degree of order.

The theory places significant importance on the accumulation and use of power. Power is multidimensional, encompassing military, economic, political, demographic, and informational power. As emphasized by Deutsch (1968), the "weight" of power—the ability to change outcomes—lies at the core of the hegemon's success. The hegemon must utilize this power for the provision of public goods and for influencing global policies, as noted by Morgenthau (1993) and Pedersen (2002).

A hegemon's success also depends on its ability to gain consent and legitimacy, which is closely linked to its capacity to influence others through non-coercive means (soft power). Morgenthau (1993) argued that hegemons often use influence to shift other governments' policies, rather than relying on direct control. The hegemon, although dominant, cannot impose rule by force indefinitely; thus, legitimacy becomes critical, especially through strategic use of soft power and cooperation.

Another critical aspect of HST is Cooperation and Collective Action. Pedersen (2002) notes that hegemonic powers, even though they lead, often require collaboration with other strong and willing states to share the burden of maintaining international order. Hegemonic leadership also involves multilateral approaches, where collective action ensures that responsibilities are shared among powerful and less

powerful states. This is especially necessary to avoid the "overstretch" problem where a single hegemon cannot manage global responsibilities alone (Francis 2006).

As argued by Chua (2009), tolerance is another key factor in the rise and sustenance of hegemonic power. Tolerance in this context refers both to the inclusion of foreigners (strategic tolerance) and to the acceptance of other states in the international system, even if they do not fully align with the hegemon's interests. Openness, which involves transparency and inclusion in decision-making, fosters trust and mitigates suspicions that smaller states may have about the hegemon's dominance (Lake 1993). This openness helps the hegemon build confidence and ensure smoother global interactions.

Indeed, the primary responsibility of the hegemon, according to HST, is to provide public goods—whether it is security, economic stability, or other forms of human security. The theory acknowledges that these goods benefit not only the hegemon but also weaker states (Snidal 1985). The hegemon, or a privileged group of states, often bears the cost of providing these goods, but they do so in the interest of maintaining global order (Lake 1993).

The review stresses the importance of liberalism as a virtue in sustaining hegemony. Strange (2009), highlights how hegemonic powers, such as the United States, have historically leaned toward liberal economic policies that benefit the international system. Liberalism allows the hegemon to influence others and to encourage

stability by promoting open markets, cooperation, and collective action.

The literature also addresses potential challenges to HST. For example, while Kindleberger argued that public goods are best provided by a single hegemon, Lake (1993) and Haggard and Simmons (1987), question whether a single actor is necessary. Instead, collective action—where a group of willing states share responsibility—can also ensure the provision of public goods, particularly in cases where no clear hegemon exists. Strange (2009), mediates this debate by asserting that collective action is only effective when the hegemon actively chooses to lead.

Overall, this literature review underscores the importance of hegemony in maintaining international order through power, legitimacy, cooperation, and the provision of public goods. While the hegemon is central to ensuring stability, the success of such leadership depends not only on hard power but also on openness, tolerance, and the ability to foster cooperation among states.

The Hegemonic Stability Theory in Contemporary International Relations

Hegemonic stability theory comprises leadership and hegemony theories. Countries can be leaders and hegemons at the same time (Lake 1993, 460-461). The theory views stability in dominance (D'Anieri 2010, 70), capacity, will and legitimacy (Brown with Ainley, 2005) as well as willingness to exercise unilateral leadership

and to act rather than react (Rourke 2008, 51) to succeed. Openness (Lake 1993, 470), co-operation (Pedersen 2002, 682), and tolerance (Chua 2009, xxiii) are also some of the major attributes that a hegemonic stabiliser[s] must possess to accommodate and by extension sustain her leadership over others. It is seen as “... another strand of realist thought which finds the stability results from unipolarity, in which one state is clearly more powerful and able to act to ensure some degree of order in the system” (D’Anieri 2010, 69). The theory entails, first, the presence of a dominant actor that will lead to the provision of a stable international regime of free trade and, second, although the dominant leader benefits from this situation (i.e., it turns a net “profit” from providing the good), smaller states gain even more (Snidal 1985, 581). Therefore, in hegemonic stability theory, there is the existence of a hegemon and the weaker ones that are not her subordinates, but simply weaker in strength and capability. This does not make them inferior. They may be influenced or led, by the hegemon, but may not always be willing and happy to be ruled by force. As such, the degree of success achieved by the hegemon and the length of such leadership may, to a large extent, depend on her capability (military and economic) as well as ability to carry others along through soft power.

The benefit of hegemonic stability theory is that it provides a fertile ground for analytical and empirical investigation in international relations (Snidal 1985, 580). By linking the economy’s structure and evolution with the international distribution of power, the theory

combines political factors and economic outcomes and therefore satisfies the need for a truly political international economics; ... holding that cooperation and a well-functioning world economy are dependent on a certain kind of political structure, a structure characterised by the dominance of a single actor (Grunberg 1990, 431). Consequently, "... hegemony provides some order similar to a central government in the international system: reducing anarchy, deterring aggression, promoting free trade, and providing a hard currency that can be used as a world standard" (Goldstein and Pevehouse 2010, 58). Although the hegemon acts like a central government to regulate the system, it is important to stress that others are not the hegemon's subjects.

Therefore, the first major elements of hegemonic stability theory are power and influence. Karl Deutsch sees them as the leading instruments at the disposal of major actors in international relations. Consequently, he identifies four chief dimensions of power as its weight, domain, range and scope and concludes that of these, weight is closest to intuitive notion which most of us have when we think of power (Deutsch 1968, 24). He stressed that "... the weight of the power or influence of an actor over some process is the extent to which he can change the probability of its outcome" (ibid). Power goes with influence and by extension, dominance. Having accumulated power and being dominant, the hegemon is tempted to utilise the power since "... hegemony is necessarily coercive and based on the exercise of power" (Lake 1993, 469). Power as used

above, does not necessarily mean, military power alone. Political, economic and information power are also important. Demographic power is equally important. In essence, human and material resources are required by a hegemon for success. This is because the “... concentration of material resources contributes to stability” (Pedersen 2002, 681).

The importance is appreciated more understanding that “... dominance by a hegemonic power constitutes the optimal situation for ensuring and maintaining an open and stable world economy” (Grunberg 1990, 431). Therefore, the acquisition and use of power and influence are the most important factors required of a hegemon. Its use, as expressed above, is important because the acquisition of power alone does not confer on a state the status of a hegemon. Power is meant to be used in the advancement of national interest – which could be the projection of state power or in the provision of public good – a role the hegemon plays for the others to ensure the stability of the system. The relevance of a hegemon to the system lies in her possession of power and her ability to utilise it to influence others for the provision of order in the system.

Consequently, Morgenthau (1993, 33) argues that “... whatever the material objectives of a foreign policy, such as the acquisition of sources of raw materials, the control of sea lanes, or territorial changes, they always entail control of the actions of others through influence over their minds.” Citing the US loans and assistance to Poland during the Cold War, he maintains that the

purpose was not necessarily economic or financial but “... rather to enable such countries to move towards a degree of independence of the influence of the Soviet Union” (Morgenthau 1993, 35). In other words, power could be used to influence a change of course of government’s action against their initial preferred option. If power and influence are relevant in international relations, it becomes necessary that a hegemon shall utilise them to effect changes in governments’ policies that are repugnant and detrimental to the system. Hence, with the weight of power accruing to Nigeria and South in Africa, they have the potency to influence many African states that have either failed in their responsibilities to their people (failed states syndrome) or failed to recognise that they owe responsibilities to their people, to the benefit of all Africans.

On the other hand, tolerance is another important factor in the rising and sustenance of hegemons. Tolerance means letting very different kinds of people live, work, and prosper in your society – even if only for instrumental or strategic reasons (Chua 2009, xxiii). Chua, historically, narrates how, from the first hegemon – Achaemenid to the present ‘hyperpower’ –the United States benefitted from strategic tolerance. Chua (2009, 322) believes that “... if the key to wealth was military might, then the key to military might was strategic tolerance.” Tolerance is of two types. The first is the ability to consider allowing ‘others’ to belong to your group; that is, ability to accommodate foreigners to live and work, with relative freedom, within your state. Often, such foreigners are experts in their chosen fields

of endeavour. Undoubtedly, the system needs them for progress and sustenance. Chua's work proves this. The second is the ability to accommodate other states that are willing and unwilling to partner and join the leadership of the hegemon. Such tolerance gives them a sense of belonging and makes them have the feeling of being stakeholders in the issues that concern them. This is necessary because "... hegemony is not omnipotence" (Layne 2006, 43). Consequently, carrying others along helps to legitimise the actions and beliefs of the hegemon[s]. This could be done through unilateral, bilateral or multilateral approach, recognising that "multilateral/unilateral disjuncture is more about the approval of others than about how many states act jointly and how much each contributes. ... It is the presence or absence of disapproval that is the key (Stein 2008, 62). Moreover, because no country is an island, "... the requisites of daily life, and the solutions to most of the problems states face, require international cooperation" (Stein 2008, 75; Rourke 2008, 50). Since the system is inter-dependent, the hegemon could reduce the excesses of power and mistrusts from the weaker states when others are tolerated and accommodated in the power relations. Such is enhanced by the activities of "... transnational elite that has become increasingly aware of shared values and interests that transcend petty and immediate strategies" (Taylor and Nel 2002, 167). Indeed, the benefits of tolerance to the hegemon[s] are enormous.

As a corollary, co-operation is also important because the status and construction of hegemony is not permanent,

but affected by the ever-changing global and regional forces (Francis 2006, 134). Responsibilities shared reduce the burden of the system on a single state. Overstretching the hegemon makes her incapable of defending her interests and obligations simultaneously. Hegemons may require co-operation among other strong and willing states and allies to shape the system to their liking. At some other times, a hegemon or "... unipolar power does so with allies and other forms of multipolar support when possible" (Rourke 2008, 51). The aim is to share responsibilities and ensure collective action that works more for integration and order rather than for disintegration and disorder.

Thus, hegemony requires consent amongst the weaker states, or at least amongst the elite, built around the acceptance and internalisation of the universalising ideology as expressed by the leading power and usually is echoed or reified through the construction of collectively-based institutions (Alden and le Pere 2009). To opt for cooperation is not a sign of weakness but extending the hands of fellowship to others to avoid some treacherous activities inherent in the international system. Similarly, liberalism is a virtue that should be practised by the hegemon to ensure sustainability and survival. With liberalism, the hegemon and others benefit without endangering the system. Liberalism provides the opportunity to accommodate others who are expected to benefit from such co-operation in one way or the other. It has been observed that;

...hegemonic powers at the peak of strength and economic leadership are liberal by inclination. ...

the system benefited because they were able to influence others to be more liberal than they otherwise would have been. The result of both their liberalism and their influence was that the international economy was more stable and more prosperous as a result of their leadership (Strange 2009, 559).

To that effect, being liberal allows others to exploit the soft power potency of the hegemon(s) to adopt policies that are of common good to the countries and people, notwithstanding the fact that the policies and programmes were the products of the hegemon(s) and her allies that ordinarily may have been resisted by others.

Openness is another strong and appealing element for the sustenance of the hegemon. It is appealing in the sense that being open reduces suspicion and enhances belief and support, confidence and trust of the led on the activities of the hegemonic leader[s]. The self-help nature of the international system makes weaker states inherently suspicious of the activities of the major powers. Similarly, medium powers fear over-dominance by major powers. As such, they always strive to either weaken the powers of the hegemon or to be included in the fair share of the spoils of power and influence. To mitigate such, openness becomes an important instrument to be deployed by the hegemon to enhance her leadership, besides serving as a confidence-building measure. Hegemonic systems are most likely to be open as the single advanced country will prefer free trade and the others will either recognise that competing for

political power is useless or succumb to the hegemon's blandishments (Lake 1993, 470). Thus, openness enhances the political power and, at least compared to others, the social stability of large, developed countries (ibid.). It is important to state that some of the attributes of hegemonic stability theory, like openness, cooperation, tolerance, strengthen the theory, especially, in practice, rather than weaken it since theories are meant to identify and proffer solutions to such problems. Therefore, the goal of hegemonic stability theory is to ensure the provision of the public good, collective goods (Snidal 1985, 590), international regimes (Honghua n.d.) or the international infrastructure (Lake 1993, 463). Such public good could be the provision of the security of states and their economic interests (where states are relatively stable) or human security (especially in Africa where disease, hunger, poverty, genocide, state failure and other forms of human insecurity exist). The public good ensures "cooperative" outcomes that make states better off than they would be without hegemonic power" (Snidal, op. cit.). It is important to stress that such public good may be provided by a more powerful and interested hegemon or by a combination of willing states that have the interest and capability to undertake the challenges of the system, without minding if others benefited as well. The willing states, especially in Africa where many dehumanising challenges exist, could cooperate in an ad-hoc, bilateral, and or institutionalised arrangement, to deploy their resources for the common good, bearing in mind that if they do not do so, no one else would do it even as the cost of not acting is higher. It is of a moral responsibility and a strategic interest. It is moral because,

though they do not fall within the scope of your territory, they appeal to the senses of the black race as a people. It is strategic because when the countries fail to provide the common good, such failed states and their citizens pose grave threats to the more advanced peaceful states in the areas of harbouring and breeding terrorists, immigration challenges, asylum/refugee challenges, *et cetera*. The challenges posed by such to stronger and more stable states make it imperative that they look beyond their borders to provide such common goods. Indeed, the more stable states gain more than the weaker states because if they eventually fail, they threaten the survival of the more stable states within their region. Certainly, this is a situation, in international relations, where the poor takes advantage of the rich instead of the rich feeding on the poor. For rather than the strong exploiting the weak, it is the weak who exploit the strong (Haggard and Simmons 1987, 503).

Kindleberger sees such public goods as better provided by a single hegemon that acts as a stabiliser but this is not always the case. A question could be posed as follows: where there is the absence of a single hegemon, should the public good suffer or be sacrificed? Lake attempts an answer to the question, arguing that "... a single leader is neither a necessary nor sufficient condition for the provision of an international public good" (Lake 1993, 463). For Haggard and Simmon (1987, 503), the hegemon constitutes a "privileged group" for which the cost of supplying the public good is less than the benefit." Their argument is significant because they emphasised the need for a privileged group

to take the lead as the best lies more in sharing the cost of and planning for the provision of the public good, especially since two good heads are better than one. Strange mediates between the extremes, arguing that collective action is still possible only when the United States, (as a hegemon), takes the lead – when in short, it still chooses to act as leader (Strange 2009, 574). The hegemon leads, guides, and supports others while the others follow towards the realisation of the common good.

The type of hegemon notwithstanding, whether as a benevolent or coercive hegemon, the aim is to secure the system for the benefit of all, though the costs and benefits may or may not be evenly distributed. The unevenness notwithstanding, such public security or access to the market would be appreciated more when one compares the scenario of disorder and confusion to that of relative peace provided by the leadership of the hegemon alone or in collaboration with the other relatively stronger members of the system. At a period of disorder, all efforts and resources are channelled towards restoring order while development is stagnated, delayed and occasionally disfigured. However, the hegemon should be cautious about how such goods are distributed to ensure that she is not exploitative of others. This is because if other states do not benefit or seem not to be benefitting from the public goods, they work towards the hegemon's downfall. Against this backdrop, Snidal avers:

When the conditions specified in the theory of hegemonic stability apply, all states will

welcome leadership and seek to take a “free ride” on it. In other circumstances, when power is distributed asymmetrically but hegemony is exercised in ways that do not benefit all states, subordinate states will chafe under the (coercive) leadership. One obvious empirical implication is that in the former case smaller powers will continue to support a declining hegemonic leader; in the latter case they will work to hasten its demise (Snidal 1985, 582).

Therefore, relative stability and gain is required from and for the hegemon and others for order to be sustained. This is in the interest of all but someone has to bear the responsibility of providing and maintaining the cherished public good. Thus, the hegemon shall be willing and capable of bearing a larger burden of the international system or of the region, complaining less and being benevolent to let others benefit from her or their labour. Hence, the hegemon(s) bears the cost of the public goods “... regardless of the contributions of others, beneficiaries of the system will have an incentive to free-ride” (Haggard and Simmons 1987, 502-503).

The rationale behind the hegemon’s provision of the public good in the form of a “quasi government” has been questioned. Some commentators believe that in performing such responsibilities, the hegemon[s] cannot escape the temptation of exploiting others. Accordingly, even if provision of the public good and its corresponding taxation scheme is a Pareto-superior move (i.e., leaves all as well or better off) there is no longer any reason to assume that

the distribution of benefits favours smaller states. The hegemonic actor, with its ability to distribute costs among states, can alter the distribution of benefits to favour itself. Second, the new distribution of (net) benefits could even be exploitative in the sense that costs imposed on subordinate states may exceed the benefits those states receive from provision of the good. Indeed, it is unclear why the hegemon would use its powers only for the provision of public goods – why would it not also expropriate a wider range of private goods to benefit itself at the expense of other states? (Snidal 1985, 588).

Snidal's question raises a fundamental issue with regards to relative cost and gain in the international system dominated and influenced by the hegemon. While he notes that the weaker states may not necessarily be “free riders” as expected since the hegemon often have the capacity to impose levies on them that may not be commensurate with the gains they derive in the system, the large chunk of the gains is for the hegemon and his allies. Using the gains of global trade, Goldstein and Pevehouse (2010) believe that in the time of globalisation, the hegemon is the highest beneficiary since he has the capital, expertise, and finance that sustain the system. Since he is

... the most advanced state in productivity and technology, a hegemon does not fear competition from industries and other states; it fears only that its own superior goods will be excluded from competing in other states. Thus, hegemons use their powers to achieve free trade and the

political stability that supports free trade”
(Goldstein and Pevehouse 2010, 59).

In other words, hegemons have great interest in guaranteeing order in the system for market and security. After all, it is believed that the cause of the Great Depression of the 1930s and the outbreak of World War II in 1939 was due to the absence of a willing hegemon to provide order. Hence, the hegemon benefits more in securing markets for her excess goods, new boundaries for her new ideas and prestige for her political and economic dominance of the system. On the other hand, the importance of the public good, especially security, to states is overwhelming and could make states overlook the exploitative tendencies of the hegemon. Hence, Gilpin argues that subordinate states will accept their exploitation as long as the costs of being exploited are less than the costs of overthrowing the hegemonic power (Snidal 1985, 588).

Consequently, the more benevolent a hegemon is in providing for the public good, the more chances it has in legitimising its rule and influence over others and by extension, survival/success. On the other hand, the more autocratic, exploitative and coercive it is, the more others seek options of rebellion and withdrawal. However, if the cost of overthrowing it, as I stated earlier – insecurity, for instance, is higher, they would not mind remaining under its leadership because insecurity (state or human or even both) is costlier. Hence, it is more cost effective to have a hegemon in control, whether benevolent or coercive, to avoid security threats that

endanger the survival of weaker states than to have a system of disorder. For instance, it is believed that “the most important collective good provided by American hegemony was the increased certainty about future patterns of behaviour that hegemony brought” (Honghua n.d.). It is for the above reason that the privileged preponderant state[s] tries/try to ensure that the system is guaranteed fighting for its survival and maintenance knowing that, as Francis quoted Gilpin, “... hegemonic leadership is the cement that holds the system together; hence decline means instability and disorder” (Francis 2006, 134). To ensure the sustenance of the system, it provides both leadership and regulates the actions of others because if a hegemon fails, political instability follows.

To achieve such goal, the hegemon employs several strategies. These strategies are discussed below.

A. Leadership: A hegemon is an asset to international order. This is because, as Rourke argues, a hegemonic power attempts to shape the international scene to its liking and as such must be proactive rather than reacting always to the initiative of others (Rourke 2008, 51). To effectively do this, as stated above, leadership is required. The leadership must be a responsible one to avoid collapse, orchestrated by the activities of a combination of aggrieved members of the international system or the over-stretch of the hegemon or even a combination of other factors. The style and approach adopted in providing such leadership, determines to a large extent, the success of the leader[s]. If the leader

uses excessive power, others will conspire to undermine her influence but if she is benevolent and accommodating, less acrimony and friction may be encountered. The style employed to influence others becomes very important, because as already stated, hegemonic leadership is seen as the cement that holds the system together (Francis 2006, 134). Thus, leadership, as a role and strategy of the hegemon, is seen as a responsibility (Kindleberger 1981; Grunberg 1990, 432). Therefore, “[t]he appeal of hegemonic stability theory is that it points out how dominance may be reflected in “leadership” rather than exploitation” (Snidal 1985, 612). Hence, it is possible that “countries can be leaders and hegemons at the same time” (Lake 1993, 461).

b. Provision of common good and making sacrifices:

Kindleberger assigns the hegemon the following functions: providing a market for distressed goods, producing a steady if not countercyclical flow of capital, maintaining a rediscount mechanism for providing liquidity when the monetary system is frozen in panic, managing the structure of foreign exchange rates, and providing a degree of coordination of domestic monetary policies (Kindleberger 1981, 247). The functions are aimed at stabilising the international economy. For Lake, a stable international economy requires a medium of exchange and, secondarily, a store of value; must have sufficient liquidity in the long term to allow for economic growth, in the medium term to counter business cycles, and in the short term to manage panics; and must define and protect basic property rights for

goods in transit and overseas (portfolio and direct) assets (Lake 1993, 462-463). Although both works dwelt on the provision of a stable international economy, they are no less important to this work as the economy is the backbone of political and military strength. Once the economy suffers, other aspects of the state's life are weakened. The collapse of the Soviet Union is a good instance. This is better appreciated thus:

Economic changes integrating national societies with each other are bringing political changes. ...states are now engaged increasingly in a different competitive game: they are competing for world market shares as the surest means to greater wealth and therefore greater economic security. ... the new competitive game between states is not relational power – described in conventional realist textbooks as the power of A to get B to do something it would not otherwise do – but structural power that counts – power to choose and to shape the structures of the global political economy within which other states, their political institutions, their economic enterprises, and (not least) their professional people have to operate (Strange 2009, 564-565).

Thus, economic factors may provide the common front for the realisation of both political and strategic interests. However, the hegemon does provide other services like security; human and state.

c. Maintenance of the system through the control of international institutions, regimes, and the rules of the system: Hegemons can operate through the control of multilateral institutions and rules guiding them. Ikenberry suggests that the hegemon should operate on a “rules-based order” around institutions holding that the hegemon gets three benefits from doing so which includes; first, they can reduce the costs of enforcement of hegemonic rule. Second, the hegemonic state enhances its legitimacy. Third ... the institutions might continue to provide favourable outcomes for the leading state even after its power capacities have declined in relative terms (Ikenberry 2008, 118-119). He argues that in a bipolar or multipolar system, powerful states rule in the process of leading a coalition of states in balancing against other states (ibid. 127). On the other hand, “a structure characterised by the dominance of a single actor ... constitutes the optimal situation for ensuring and maintaining an open and stable world economy” (Grunberg 1990, 431). The point being made is that rules are important in ensuring the stability of the system. The area of disagreement is the best form of its enforcement; whether by a group or an individual state and whether or not such can be performed by a powerful state within an institution or alone.

Hegemons condition the operations of the institutions they belong to. The rules and survival of such institutions depend, extensively, on them. The failure of the League of Nations could be attributed, partly, to the inability of the then powers, France and England, to provide leadership and execute the rules of the

organisation against offenders, partly due to the inability of the United States to be a member of the League. Similarly, there was no power willing to undertake the provision of the ‘common good’, leading to a situation of self-help on all members of the institution.

Consequently, a hegemon influences and enforces the rules of the organisations they belong to in the interest of the system. This is done through positive and negative sanctions (Haggard and Simmons 1987, 502) or the application of soft rules within and through co-operative arrangements based on a long-term strategy (Pedersen 2002, 683). Sidiropoulos argues that hegemony does not have to mean domination. She justifies this argument, citing the works of Møller thus: “a hegemonic power has to forge consent around its own values (and) constrains the hegemon, as it cannot afford (to be seen to) behave too selfishly, but must show concern for the common good, or at least appear to be doing so” (Sidiropoulos, 1997). This is important because the use of such institutions grant the hegemon the legitimacy it wants as “... a legitimate power has a better chance to succeed than equivalent illegitimate power” (Morgenthau 1993, 32). Nye observes that if a state can make its power seem legitimate in the eyes of others, it will encounter less resistance to its wishes (Nye, 1990, 167). That helps the hegemon to enforce the rules of the organisations with ease “... with positive and negative sanctions; it even extracts payment from smaller states to maintain the regime” (Haggard and Simmons 1987, op. cit).

Regimes are not just abstract codes of conduct for certain issue-areas set up and enforced by hegemon, but sometimes quite elaborate institutions which reduce informational asymmetries by helping states to monitor each other's behaviour, do not only de-legitimise certain forms of behaviour, but also legitimise, under specified conditions, sanctions to discourage such forms of behaviour (Honghua n.d.). Krasner sees it as "sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations" (Little 1999, 235 & 238). Honghua's work is typically interesting in his analysis of the hegemon's relations with the dominant regimes that guide the system. According to him,

the hegemon or dominant power sets up a hegemonic system of itself and determines the basic principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures of the system; the strength and prestige of the hegemon or dominant power are essential prerequisites for other countries to accept the international regimes it establishes; the hegemon or dominant power maintains its hegemonic system and makes maximum profit by exploiting those regimes; to maintain the system, the hegemon or dominant power would like to provide "public goods" to other countries within and tolerate the free-riders; the weakening or decay of the hegemon or dominant power will arise changes of the international regimes of the hegemonic system (Honghua n.d.).

The above aptly captures the rule of the international system in relation to national interest and projects the hegemon as a bully and one that is only interested in her interest allowing free riders only when such public goods could ‘spill over’ and not necessarily as a deliberate strategy to build the system in the image of the hegemon. It is not all countries or hegemons that have national interests that are solely exploitative. Some are not, especially in Africa, though the thesis of having a hegemon in Africa or not is still an object of debate. An instance is Nigeria. With her military and economic advantage, from independence, she has put up a liberal foreign policy built into her national interest with regards to Africa and the black race. Nigeria made Africa the centre-piece of her foreign policy, fighting colonialism, apartheid and other forms of racial discrimination against the black race without an attempt to exploit such opportunities. This is in line with Ogunnubi’s argument that:

Nigeria’s continental hegemonic ambition in its Afro centric policy has mostly been borne of an altruist motive and sympathy for the problems faced by the continent. This explains why it is in many cases unwilling to derive any direct material benefits from its contributions towards the progress of the continent. With the assurances that it is able to tackle Africa’s problems through its enormous human and material resources, wealth and strong military, the implication had been that Nigeria’s sole conception in Africa is triggered by a genuine moral persuasion (Ogunnubi 2013, 323).

However, that is not to infer that national interest is not the guiding principle of states in the international system but that some 'hegemons' can build within their national interest, liberal ideals that, more or less, benefit others. Such altruistic foreign policy principles are better achieved using international institutions. The use of such institutions enables the hegemon to operate within the system as an accommodating hegemon rather than a weak or autocratic one. Hence, hegemons and their allies attempt to utilise international organisations as means to achieve their foreign policy goals (Mays, 2003). Such is re-echoed by Rosenau and Durfee who argue that "hegemons would not last long if they had to apply raw power at every turn. It is far better that they find ways of using their power so that others will accept it more readily" (Rosenau and Durfee 2000). In that regards, international institutions provide the platform for the promotion of the ideals of the hegemon necessary for the realisation of the common good.

It is for this reason that the rationalists argue that order is maintained through balance of power and collective security through established international institutions, international law, security blocs, and established treaties. They treat agents as rational actors capable of harmonising their interests to maximise their national interest. The competitive world is peaceful when it is obvious that the costs and risks of going to war are high, and the benefits of going to war are low (Mearsheimer 1990, 12). Indeed, there is no universal agreement on how a hegemon[s] could use the international institutions for the provision of the common good. To a great extent,

while some argue that unipolarity provides the best option for the stability of the system, others argue that balance of power (bipolarity) while others see multipolarity as the best approach.

The constructivists emphasise shared meanings, ideas and identity as an option within which the hegemon/s would see their interest as tied to the interest of others and as such would have the responsibility of providing the common good for the benefit of all. On the other hand, the less powerful states, having seen that their interests were accommodated, through such institutions, would follow the lead of the benevolent hegemon. Hence, the use of international institutions and the rules guiding the system would be in the interest of all as aggregated and promoted by the hegemon[s].

a. Strategies for the provision of the public good: The strategy adopted by the hegemon for the realisation of the common good is one area that different schools of thought have examined. The realists believe that it is only balance of power that could preserve the system providing avenues for the utilisation of international institutions in the settlement of disputes among them. Hedley Bull (1977, 104) observes that international law depends for its existence as an operating system of rules on balance of power. Mearsheimer (1990) and Wohlforth (2000) see the international system as, been dangerous in a unipolar dispensation since and if little attention is paid to institutions as a means for pursuing collective interest. Consequently, Mearsheimer believes that "war is more likely in a unipolar system than a bipolar one"

(Mearsheimer 1990, 14). For Waltz, "unbalanced power, whoever wields it, is a potential danger to others" (Wohlforth 2000, 292). It follows, from their argument, that international order, built on international institutions is better preserved when power is concentrated on two poles, each acting as a check on the other. When there is only one power, it undermines others when interests clash, and would want to impose its will and values on others. On the other hand, multi-polarity has many powers struggling for influence and alliances that will jeopardise the system. In such situation, the cost of breaking independence relations will be high (Waltz 1979, 104). Hence, balance of power is the key to world order since "an anarchical structure can only be maintained by balance of power ... that lasts as long as the international anarchy" (Buzan 1991, 165). Consequently, the junior partners in a bipolar coalition see the leading state as a security patron provider of order (Ikenberry 2008, 124) and as such are willing to follow without compulsion.

For that reason, a unipolar structure is seen as a threat to the international system. Any system dominated by a 'hyper-power' will have great difficulty maintaining or establishing an authentic rule of law (Glennon 2003, 30). For Buzan, more equal units might well provide a more manageable anarchy, because each would have difficulty mobilising sufficient resources to threaten others seriously (Buzan 1991, 158). During the cold war characterised by balance of terror and balance of power, hegemonic leadership was strategic. Buzan's 'immature and mature' anarchy presented a scenario where states

faced security and defence dilemma. Like other realists, he recommends balance of power as a means of securing order under the leadership of the Hegemons. Order is realized when the costs and risks of armed struggle rise to the point where massive destruction is certain to be inflicted on both victor and vanquished, then armed struggle ceases to be a useful way of pursuing competitive political objectives. ... the defence dilemma could produce not Armageddon, as might be feared from the unrestrained operation of a power-security dilemma passed by an open-ended arms dynamic, but an effectively paralysed international system in which major military force played no role other than ensuring its own non-use (Buzan 1991, 320-321).

On the other hand, others see the unipolar order dominated by a hegemon as the solution to international disorder. Unipolarity is preserved by the strong will and determination of the only super power. Krauthammer observes that "there are no 'normal times', the world does not sort itself out on its own. ... it is the product of self-conscious action by the great power" (Krauthammer 1990, 29) achieved through hard power. Others argue that a combination of 'hard' and 'soft' power will be needed to safeguard peace. As Nye observes, the Hart-Rudman Senate committee shares this view that "America cannot secure and advance its own interests in isolation" (Nye 2002, 158). Thus Nye (2002) and Keohane (1984) argue that "[i]nternational institutions bind the US and limit our freedom of action in the short term, but they also serve our interest by binding others as well. Americans should use our power now to shape

institutions that will serve our long-term national interest by promoting international order" (ibid.). Nye's argument corresponds with the argument that "... international regimes change the calculations of advantage that governments make" (Keohane 1984, 26). Consequently, order and its maintenance in world politics is the making of a single dominant power. Therefore, hegemons must maintain the international institutions and use them to play significant roles in maintaining international order. The benefit is that though such institutions "do not enforce rules on powerful states ... they constrain opportunist behaviour of states and provide focal points for coordination" (Keohane (1984), Nye (2002), and Hoffmann 1993, 2-3).

Unipolarity provides the best opportunity for international order since there will be no power-politics among rival powers but one that acts to sustain order. Unipolarity breeds peace and makes the world system more stable. After analysing Crimean and cold wars, Wohlforth observes that multipolarity and bipolarity provide opportunities for war and conflict, but unipolarity does not. He believes that such is possible because "both hegemonic rivalry and security competition among great powers are unlikely under unipolarity" (Wohlforth 2000, 295). However, the problem with the hegemon in a unipolar arrangement lies with its domestic politics and interest rather than the threat from outside. Strange (2009, 554) argues that the "necessary condition for greater stability lie within the United States, rather than in the institutions and mechanisms of international cooperation.

For the constructivists, order is built on shared meanings, identities and ideas. Their view is aptly represented thus:

Realpolitik is not the sole cause of conflict, such that in its absence states would be friends, since if states really do want to conquer each other then realpolitik is as much effect as cause. The point is that whether or not states really are existential threats to each other is in one sense not relevant, since once logic of enmity gets started States will behave in ways that make them existential threats (Wendt 1999, 263).

Hence, threats to international security do not necessarily depend on the system; uni-polar, bipolar or multi-polar, but on the perception that states accord to it through social interaction. Understanding how actors develop their interest is important to explaining a wide range of international political phenomenon (Reus-Smith 2001, 217) since normative and ideational structures place significant constraints on actors' conduct. Analysing why Britain, Germany and France, in spite of years of antagonism are not ready to fight each other today, Cooper (2003) identified solution to international security threats on re-making international identity, that is, "making foreigners little less foreign" (Cooper 2003, 151). Such is possible when the hegemon and others in the system consider others as brothers and consider national interest in a broader context to accommodate others. To that effect, "before we can begin to construct a foreign policy, we have to ask ourselves not only what sort of world we want to live in, but also who are we? The broader our answer, the more likely we will be able to live in peace" (ibid). Such broad answer is found in

international institutions that unite members into a common interest, identity, goal, and idea. The hegemon's role becomes simpler: leading, sponsoring and championing common ideas and strategies for the realisation of the common good.

The thrust of the constructivist argument is that with strong commitment to shared beliefs, cultures, values and ideals, there will be global order. Military and economic powers could be useless if states decide so in their relationship with each other. They only have meaning of threat because states chose to and would not if they decide otherwise. As such, "to find a permanent solution, we need to think in terms of redefining identity. Only if a wider identity can be developed will there be a chance of constructing the kind of international community that will enable us to live with each other without war" (Cooper 2003, 151). By so doing, [t]he security dilemma will be solved through the strategy of 'self-binding' and independence on the emergence of shared norms of self-restraint (Wendt 1999, 363, and Keohane *et al.* 1993, 2-3). Hence, international relations is the function of interaction among the actors in international relations (Ogo, Nwogbaga&Nkwoede 2016).

Similarly, the constructivists have strong appeal for rules and practices that govern the system. Rules are what dictate what people should do. The ways in which these rules are executed are known as practices. Thus, by observing people's practices, one can determine the rules. These rules and practices are vital to the socio-

political makeup as when accepted by the people and backed up by legal laws, they form institutions and regimes (Onuf quoted in Marlene Wind, 1996). Reviewing Onuf's micro and macro-level analysis of agents and structure, Wind observes that "in examining the co-constitution between agents and structures, any analysis should set out by looking at 'deeds' or practices performed by social actors" (Wind 1996, 155). This is because "deeds done, acts taken, words spoken-these are all the facts there are" (ibid.). Structures and agents are both effects of what people do. Social structures do not exist apart from their instantiations in practice...practices are governed by preexisting structures and entered into by preexisting agents but the possibility of referring to either as 'preexisting' presupposes a social process stable enough to constitute them as relatively enduring objects (Wendt 1999, 313). Hence, for the constructivists, international relations are built on ideas, shared norms and beliefs. Taken as such, the hegemon derives two major benefits using international institutions. First, her ideas, beliefs, norms, rules and customs loom large in the principles and practices of the institutions. Secondly, she controls the institutions, legitimising its power and influence all over the system. Thus, it is an asset to the hegemon in the sense of providing an arena for diffusion of the hegemon's ideas (Pedersen 2002, 686).

The constructivist's approach to the understanding of the activities of hegemons provides the theoretical guide to understanding why the United States turned back to the UN for post-war reconstruction authorisation in Iraq

after deposing Saddam Hussein. Their image was at stake. To legitimise their occupation of Iraq, the US had to return to the UN for authorisation not because anyone could force the hegemon out of Iraq. This is to acknowledge the role identity, norm, values, and institutions play in forming and prosecuting the national interest of a state across its boundary. Such shared values are important in overcoming the “‘weakness of will’ problem by stressing the importance of character and reputation in a society and by insisting on the importance of social solidarity and the spirit of sacrifice and self-abnegation (Kratochwil 1989, 64-65). Thus, shared norms and values act as checks on the excesses of the hegemon(s) and could be useful in the peaceful conduct of the system; uni-polar, bipolar or multi-polar with the hegemon being the vanguard for its realisation.

Limitations of Hegemonic Stability Theory

There are several weaknesses associated with the hegemonic stability theory. First, there is the problem of measurement of the sharing of the public good between the hegemon and others within the system. The measurement of the benefits accruing to the leadership of the hegemon is difficult. Because of that, there is the possibility of hegemons becoming exploiters of weaker states and because it is difficult to determine how each benefit from the system. Globalisation provides a classical instance of it. Under globalisation, there is the assumption that all benefit but how much each benefit is difficult to be ascertained and tabulated. It makes the determination of relative gains and costs difficult in the

system. To that effect, hegemonic stability theory is accused of being

... nothing more than simple comparative statics. A fuller, dynamic explanation would specify more precisely how the system moves through time—including a consideration of the role of lags (perhaps induced by the conventional aspects of regimes) and of the changing strategic incentives for both providers and free riders in response to exogenous changes in the distribution of power” (Snidal 1985, 584).

Similarly, the argument that it is only a single hegemon that is required to guarantee the safety of the system and international regimes is faulty. Public goods may not necessarily be provided by a single state, a stabiliser. It can, as well, be provided by a privileged group or regional hegemons for the interest of the continent. Similarly, it is incorrect to assume that a single country must always pursue the fight for a common good. Indeed, the hegemon, mindful of her selfish interest, could go against the tenets of the public good for her selfish interests. Instances abound where the US, as a world hegemon, has gone against world interest to protect her domestic interests. For instance, the US imposes tariffs on trade against free trade and often ignores international treaties like the Kyoto Protocol Treaty on Environment, withdrew from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, rejected the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, *et cetera*. Certainly, those issues mentioned above, were not in the common interest but in her interest. In the same vein, it is not only a country that

could provide for the common good. A group of states can equally do so and more effectively, too, because each act as a check against the excesses of the other to ensure that the good is really, public. Thus, “if a privileged subgroup exists such that each member benefits from providing the good even without cooperation from other members, the public good will be provided” (Haggard and Simmons 1987, 503). Nigeria and South Africa have shown a classical example in Africa providing leadership for the establishment of African institutions and the transformation of others for the benefit of Africa, (see Ogo & Ani (2015); Ogo (2018); Ade-Ibijola&Ogo (2020)).

Equally, the theory has been criticised on the basic assumption that regimes collapse with the weakening of the hegemon. Kindleberger (1981), Strange (1987), Wyne (2006), Fergusson (2006), and Mandelbaum (2004) argue that regimes and global governance are tied to the roles the hegemon (the United States) plays in the international system. This is not totally correct. To an extent, it is correct when we talk about creating and maintaining regimes and order in the international system. The hegemon uses its resources and influence to create and maintain such regimes as long as it retains its strength and is still interested in and willing to perform the roles.

However, such is not the case if regimes have been institutionalised through the activities of the international organisations and internalised through identity and interest re-making, like the neo-liberals and the

constructivists would have it. For instance, such institutions might continue to provide favourable outcomes for the leading state even after its power capacities have declined in relative terms (Ikenberry 2008, 118-119). In such circumstances, such regimes become internalised as norms, accepted and practised by the international community whether the hegemon remains strong or declines. This is the benefit garnered from the strengthening of international institutions that could condition the activities of the members of the international community, the powerful and the weak alike. For instance, as a hegemon, the United States did not use her nuclear weapons against Vietnam even under the threat of defeat.

Similarly, though she went into Iraq, under the coalition-of-the-willing strategy, she had to come back to the United Nations for approval to occupy and re-construct Iraq. Such are the roles international institutions could play to strengthen and even destabilise the capacity of the hegemon to become a dictator. Equally, since the status of the hegemon is not constant, it could weaken or even another could emerge, the institution becomes the embodiment of the regimes, norms, principles *et cetera* that could continue to regulate the activities of the system. On this note, regimes may not collapse or be destabilised with the downfall or weakening of the hegemon as long as strong international institutions and civil society organisations exist to maintain order in the system.

Equally, the theory has been criticised on the assumption that the hegemon acts as a quasi-government that imposes taxes and collects levies from other independent states with the idea of providing common goods and others being free-riders. It is difficult for the hegemon to be both a quasi-government taxing others, a benevolent leader as well as allow free-riders without exploiting such opportunities especially when countries are always interested in their selfish interests. Thus, as acknowledged by Snidal:

The dominant power not only provides the good, it is capable of extracting contributions toward the good from subordinate states. In effect, the hegemonic power constitutes a quasi-government by providing public goods and taxing other states to pay for them. Subordinate states will be reluctant to be taxed but, because of the hegemonic state's preponderant power, will succumb. Indeed, if they receive net benefits (i.e., a surplus of public good benefits over the contribution extracted from them), they may recognise hegemonic leadership as legitimate and so reinforce its performance and position (1985, 587).

Moreover, all members of the international system may not benefit equally. It is of more benefit to the hegemon if the public order is preserved. For instance, terrorists are bred in failed or weak states that threaten the security of the advanced countries. The 11 September terrorist attack on the United States is a good test case. Similarly, in crises moments within the territories of the weaker states, displaced persons and refugees are produced.

They seek refuge and protection in the advanced countries putting pressure on the economy, welfare and social benefits of the people thereby triggering social unrests and criminality. The exploitative nature of the hegemon acting as a quasi-government makes weaker states to see "... hegemony as an infringement of state sovereignty, and the order it creates may seem unjust or illegitimate" (Goldstein and Pevehouse 2010, 59). Thus, hegemon(s) may not just be exploitative but selfish because "with its acquisition of unrivalled power, the hegemon reshapes the existing system by creating and enforcing rules to preserve not only world order but also the hegemon's own dominant position (Kegley and Wittkoft 1997, 69). To such extent, the hegemon acts in the system not just for the sake and interest of the system but mindful of her own interest, the status that her new role accords her and the advantages therein. Therefore, he may act, not necessarily, based on common good but based on his selfish interest. This justifies the popular saying that "... it is not by the generosity of the baker that we have bread but by his interest. We do not appeal to his conscience but to his selfishness."

As a corollary, hegemony works well when there is boom in business, when there is security and when there is relative gain for all. It is acknowledged that "... trade policy tended to be more liberal when business was booming than when it hit a slump (as in the 1870s), regardless of the power or attitude of the leading economic power" (Strange 2009, 560). At such times, everyone is willing to cooperate. However, at odd times when there is relative disorder, insecurity or world

depression, everyone struggles to achieve one's interest. The hegemon, unless still very strong, as the U.S. was after the world depression of the 1930s and 40s, would not be willing to accommodate and bear the cost of running the system in the interest of others. At such periods, hegemonic stability theory seems to have no clue as to how the public good should be procured, sustained, and or maintained.

The next major criticism against hegemonic stability theory is that it is capitalist-oriented, focused, and indoctrinated. The common good, as espoused, is not that known to the Marxists when they talked about each giving according to his ability and receiving according to his need. The common good being canvassed is the one that provides the opportunity for the hegemon to benefit from the system while allowing 'free riders' to benefit as well. The sharing of the spoils of the stability is not and cannot be equal, of course, just like the responsibilities are not. Just as the argument above portend, the appeal to hegemonic stability theory is more in the interest of the hegemon than in the interest of the others in the system. The hegemon benefits by entrenching the ruling regime, her value system, ideology, political and economic institutions on the other members of the system.

The relevant "structure" is usually defined as the distribution of power within the international capitalist system rather than within the world political system as a whole; regimes are seen primarily as responses to the problems of collective action among the advanced capitalist countries rather than as an integral part of high

politics and alliance solidarity (Haggard and Simmons 1987, 503). By so doing, the capitalist ideology is programmed to benefit more than the other ideologies. This is because it is the ideology of the leading hegemon. The negative effect can be seen from the Huttington's "*Clash of Civilisation*" and the elaborate activities of international terrorists as evidenced in so many advanced capitalist states and their close allies. The September 11 terrorist attack on the US, the London attacks, France, Spain, Nigeria, *et cetera*, attacks bear the marks and semblances of terrorist attacks on capitalism and its associates. Ideology and religion become enduring enemies, replacing the initial all out ideological war, the Cold War.

Recommendations

The following are recommendations arising from the analysis of the subject matter. Reevaluate the Scope of Hegemonic Stability Theory (HST): Given the growing complexities in international relations, it is recommended that scholars and policymakers reevaluate the core assumptions of HST. The theory's focus on unipolarity may not be fully applicable in today's multipolar or bipolar world, especially with the rise of regional powers and economic blocs. Expanding HST to consider how regional hegemons (e.g., China in Asia, the EU in Europe) contribute to global stability could provide a more nuanced understanding of international order.

Incorporate Non-State Actors and Global Governance Mechanisms: The traditional framework of HST focuses

on state actors, particularly the hegemon. However, international relations today involve significant contributions from non-state actors such as multinational corporations, international organizations (e.g., the UN, WTO), and global civil society. It is recommended to integrate these actors into the analysis of global stability, examining how they either complement or challenge the role of a hegemon in maintaining order.

Explore the Transition to Multipolarity: The gradual decline of U.S. hegemony and the rise of powers like China, India, and the EU suggest a transition towards a multipolar world. It is recommended to investigate how this shift impacts global stability and whether multipolarity can coexist with peace and cooperation, as opposed to the instability predicted by traditional HST. Future research could explore historical precedents and case studies of multipolar systems to assess the risks and benefits of this emerging global order.

Consider Economic and Technological Changes: The relevance of economic and technological factors—such as globalization, digital economies, and cyber security—should be incorporated into discussions of HST. It is recommended to explore how these factors affect the role of a hegemon in providing public goods like financial stability and security, and whether the traditional role of a hegemon can be sustained in a rapidly evolving global economy.

Promote Multilateralism and Global Cooperation: In the absence of a clear hegemon, multilateral institutions and

global governance frameworks could play a more prominent role in maintaining stability. It is recommended that international organizations be strengthened to foster cooperation and collective action, which could mitigate the risks of instability in a world where no single power dominates.

Encourage Regional Stability Initiatives: Policymakers should encourage the development of regional security frameworks and economic agreements that can act as stabilizing forces. These regional systems could function alongside global institutions to provide stability without requiring a dominant global hegemon. In this context, regional hegemons could take on roles similar to those traditionally filled by a global hegemon.

By addressing these recommendations, scholars and policymakers can develop a more comprehensive and adaptable approach to international relations that reflects contemporary realities and challenges.

Conclusion

The shortcoming of the theory notwithstanding, it is still relevant to the study of international relations because it emphasises the place of leadership, cooperation and collaboration in the provision of the public good. Order, in the international system, is necessary for development and can be provided through the significant leadership of those that have preponderant power; economic, political, military, cultural, *et cetera* that are willing and capable of undertaking the responsibility of providing for all, notwithstanding the cost. Africa has not fared well in the

international community. From unfavourable trade to colonialism, to non-viable independence, to civil wars, failed states syndrome, genocide, the emerging threats of terrorism, and many others, she needs a sense of direction from within. With the assistance of two sub-regional hegemons, Nigeria and South Africa, taking greater share of the burden economically and militarily, Africa can find solutions to Africa's problems through their bilateral relationship and leadership. This is bearing in mind that hegemonic leadership is the "cement that holds the system together" (Francis 2006, 134). Africa may find solution to the incessant challenges stunting its development on the leadership strength of both countries if they decide to cooperate, and worsen the condition if they decide to act as threats to each other's interest within the African region.

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**ENHANCING STEM MENTORSHIP
PROGRAMMES: STRATEGIES FOR MANAGING
STUDENTS' EDUCATION PROGRAMME**

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Abstract:

This study discusses the significance of STEM mentorship Programmes in shaping future careers and addresses the challenges faced by these Programmes. STEM is an acronym that stands for Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics. STEM education refers to an educational approach that integrates these four disciplines to promote hands-on learning, critical thinking and problem-solving skills. It aims to provide students with a comprehensive understanding of how these subjects intersect and apply to real-world problems. Mentorship inspires students to pursue STEM careers, provides personalized guidance and support, and fosters critical thinking, creativity, and problem-solving skills. To enhance STEM mentorship Programmes, strategies include leveraging virtual

mentoring platforms, engaging underrepresented groups, fostering stronger collaborations with local communities and industries, providing mentor training and support, establishing clear goals and expectations, and fostering a sense of community and belonging. By implementing these strategies, STEM mentorship Programmes can enhance their effectiveness, address the STEM talent gap, promote diversity and inclusion, and inspire the next generation of STEM leaders and innovators.

Keywords: *STEM Mentorship, Virtual Mentoring, Underrepresented Groups, STEM Education, Mentorship Programmes.*

Introduction

The significance of STEM education in shaping future careers cannot be overstated. As the world becomes increasingly technology-driven, proficiency in STEM fields is no longer a luxury but a necessity for individuals seeking to make a meaningful impact in the workforce (Popo-Olaniyan, 2022). Research has shown that STEM careers are expanding rapidly and offer high paying and resilient opportunities against automation (Tytler, 2020). A solid foundation in STEM disciplines opens doors to various career paths and fosters critical thinking, analytical reasoning, and creativity (Helman, 2020). Mentorship has emerged as a vital component in inspiring students to pursue STEM careers, providing personalized guidance, support, and inspiration (Kricorian, 2020). Structured mentorship Programmes in secondary schools have gained traction, offering students' hands-on learning experiences, real-world applications, and role models (Stelter, 2021). These

Programmes demystify STEM challenges, ignite passion, and increase confidence in students' abilities (Han, 2021). Investments in mentorship Programmes have grown, encouraging students from diverse backgrounds to explore under-represented fields like engineering and computer science. As the world grapples with complex challenges like climate change, healthcare, and sustainable development, fostering critical thinking, creativity, and problem-solving, skills will be very necessary. STEM education prepares students to tackle these challenges head-on. Moreover, STEM fields are driving innovation and economic growth, creating high-demand careers that require skilled professionals. By emphasizing STEM education, we can ensure that future generations are equipped to lead the charge in addressing global challenges and driving progress.

Building on the significance of STEM education, it is essential to recognize the critical role of mentorship in shaping students' interests and careers. Research has shown that mentorship programmes can significantly impact students' academic achievement, motivation, and career aspirations. By pairing students with experienced professionals and mentors, we can provide guidance, support, and valuable industry insights that enhance their educational journey. Moreover, mentorship programs can help address the gender and diversity gaps in STEM fields by providing targeted support and encouragement to underrepresented groups. By integrating mentorship into STEM education, we can create a more inclusive and effective learning environment that prepares students for success in an ever-evolving world.

The Benefits of STEM Mentorship in Secondary Schools

STEM mentorship Programmes play a vital role in sparking students' interest in science and engineering. By connecting theoretical concepts to real-world applications, mentors help students to see the relevance of STEM subjects in their everyday lives. This personalized guidance and hands-on experience foster a deeper understanding and appreciation of STEM fields, making them more accessible and engaging (Martin & Fisher-Ari, 2021).

Mentors, who are often STEM professionals, break down complex topics into relatable concepts, providing students with valuable insights into the practical applications of scientific principles. Through discussions and projects, students develop a stronger interest in science and engineering, recognizing the exciting opportunities these fields offer (Eisenhart & Weis, 2022). Mentorship also provides a platform for students to explore areas of interest not covered in their school curriculum, receiving tailored guidance that sparks curiosity and engagement. By discovering their passions within STEM, students build excitement and motivation, inspiring them to pursue further studies and careers in science and engineering (Siegle, McCoach, & Gilson, 2021).

Furthermore, STEM mentorship programmes can help students develop essential soft skills, such as communication, teamwork, and problem-solving, which are highly valued by employers. By working with

mentors and peers on projects, students learn to articulate their ideas, collaborate effectively, and approach challenges with a growth mindset. These skills are crucial for success in STEM fields, where innovation and collaboration are paramount. Additionally, STEM mentorship Programmes can help bridge the gap between academic theory and practical application, providing students with a more comprehensive understanding of STEM concepts. Mentors can share real-world examples and case studies, illustrating how theoretical principles are applied in industry and research. This helps students see the relevance and importance of what they're learning in the classroom, making their education more meaningful and engaging. Moreover, STEM mentorship Programmes can play a critical role in promoting diversity, equity, and inclusion in STEM fields. By providing mentorship and support to underrepresented groups, such as women, minorities, and first-generation college students, these Programmes can help address the systemic barriers that have historically excluded these groups from STEM careers. By fostering a sense of belonging and community, mentors can help students navigate the challenges of STEM education and careers, leading to a more diverse and inclusive STEM workforce.

Role models play a significant role in shaping students' academic and career aspirations, particularly in STEM education. Seeing someone who has successfully navigated a STEM career, can be transformative for secondary school students, especially if that role model shares similar experiences or background. STEM

mentorship programmed pair students with mentors who serve as role models, guiding them through their educational journey and helping them envision themselves in STEM fields (Felder & Brent, 2024).

Research shows that students are more likely to pursue STEM careers if they have role models who have already succeeded in these areas. These mentors provide inspiration, practical advice, and show students that achieving success in STEM is possible, even in the face of challenges. This influence is particularly important for students from under-represented groups, who may not have access to STEM professionals in their immediate environment. Seeing someone from a similar background achieve success in STEM helps break down psychological and societal barriers that prevent students from pursuing careers in these fields (Atkins, 2020).

Mentorship fosters a sense of belonging, crucial for students who may feel out of place in predominantly male or white STEM fields. Relatable role models help build confidence and self-efficacy, showing students that their dreams are attainable. This leads to greater retention of students in STEM disciplines and a more diverse and inclusive workforce in the future (Rodriguez & Blaney, 2021).

Mentors offer valuable insights into educational and professional pathways necessary to succeed in STEM. They help students navigate complex decisions regarding course selection, college applications, internships, and extracurricular activities. By sharing their experiences,

mentors provide a roadmap for students to follow, helping them make informed choices that align with their interests and aspirations. This personalized guidance helps students develop a clear vision for their future, increasing their likelihood of persisting in STEM fields (Master & Meltzoff, 2020).

Key Components of Effective STEM Mentorship Programmes

Collaborations with Universities, Industries, and Other Stakeholders

Effective STEM mentorship Programmes rely on collaborations with universities, industries, and other stakeholders to provide students with a comprehensive learning experience. These partnerships offer access to resources, expertise, and opportunities that might not be available in a typical secondary school setting. University collaborations, for instance, can provide students with exposure to cutting-edge research, emerging technologies, and industry practices. This helps students gain a deeper understanding of STEM fields and prepares them for higher education. Many universities have opportunities that allow secondary school students to attend lectures, or work in university laboratory. These experiences help students build connections with faculty and researchers who can guide them as they prepare for higher education.

Industry Collaborations

Industry collaborations are also crucial as they provide students with insight into the practical applications of

their STEM education. Partnerships with industries can involve internships, site visits, guest lectures, and mentorship from professionals in engineering, technology, or healthcare fields. These experiences help students understand the day-to-day realities of STEM careers and the skills required to succeed in the workforce. Additionally, industry collaborations often lead to networking opportunities, which can be beneficial for students seeking internships, scholarships, or job opportunities after graduation.

Collaborations with other stakeholders, such as government organizations, non-profits, and community groups, also play a vital role in mentorship Programmes. These partnerships offer students valuable experiences that foster professional growth and a deeper connection to their chosen field. By working together, these stakeholders can provide students with a well-rounded education that prepares them for success in STEM fields.

Incorporating Real World Projects and Laboratory Experiences

Effective STEM mentorship Programmes incorporate real-world projects and laboratory experiences to provide students with hands-on learning opportunities. These practical experiences bridge the gap between theoretical concepts and real-life applications, allowing students to see the direct impact of STEM skills in various fields. Real-world projects and lab work foster critical thinking, problem-solving, and technical expertise, while introducing students to the interdisciplinary nature of STEM.

Real-world projects typically involve problem-solving tasks that reflect current challenges in fields like engineering, environmental science, computer programming, or medical research. These projects enable students to apply their knowledge to meaningful situations with practical implications. For instance, students might design renewable energy solutions, develop mobile applications, or create biomedical devices. These hands-on experiences deepen students' understanding of STEM subjects and develop essential skills like project management and technical expertise.

Laboratory experiences are another crucial element of effective STEM mentorship Programmes. In laboratory settings, students conduct experiments, test hypotheses, and engage in scientific inquiry. Lab work introduces students to the investigative nature of science, emphasizing trial and error, perseverance, and proper laboratory skills like measurement, data analysis, and safety protocols. Mentors guide students through the scientific process, offering insights on methodology, data interpretation, and troubleshooting.

The integration of real-world projects and lab experiences ensures that STEM mentorship Programmes are practical and relevant, providing students with a sense of accomplishment and self-confidence. These experiences inspire students to pursue further education and careers in research-intensive fields, fostering a deeper appreciation for experimentation and discovery.

Establishing Clear Goals and Expectations

The establishment of clear goals and expectations is crucial to the success of mentorship Programmes (Johnson, 2002). Effective STEM mentorship Programmes are built on a foundation of clear goals and expectations, which serve as a roadmap for mentors and mentees, guiding their efforts and ensuring everyone is working towards the same objectives. This enhances focus and direction, encourages accountability and commitment, and facilitates effective communication and collaboration. Research supports the importance of clear goals and expectations in STEM mentorship Programmes: Clear goals and expectations help to focus the mentorship relationship and ensure that both mentors and mentees are working towards the same objectives" (Allen, 2004). The absence of clear goals and expectations can lead to confusion, frustration, and a lack of progress in the mentorship relationship (Eby, 2007). Clear goals and expectations are essential for building trust and rapport in the mentorship relationship (Ragins & Cotton, 1999). Thus, establishing clear goals and expectations, programs can ensure a productive and meaningful mentoring relationship, create a strong foundation for success, and empower mentors and mentees to achieve their full potential.

Challenges in STEM Mentorship Programmes Finding and retaining qualified mentors

This is a significant challenge for schools running STEM mentorship Programmes. One of the most prominent challenges is the issue of mentor availability. Research has shown that mentor qualifications are a critical factor

in determining the effectiveness of mentorship Programmes (Johnson, 2002). However, finding mentors with the necessary expertise and experience can be challenging, especially in specialized fields like STEM (Ragins& Cotton, 1999).

Access to Mentors from Diverse Backgrounds

Another challenge is access to mentors from diverse backgrounds. Schools in rural or economically disadvantaged areas may struggle to connect students with mentors from diverse STEM fields (National Science Foundation, 2019). Furthermore, STEM professionals willing to volunteer their time often have demanding careers and may be unable to commit to long-term mentoring relationships (Mentor Net, 2020).

Moreover, schools must address logistical challenges related to mentor coordination. STEM mentorship Programmes often require additional time commitments beyond regular school hours, including meetings, projects, or field trips. Finding the time to participate can be difficult for many mentors, particularly those with demanding careers or other responsibilities (Kraft & Falken, 2021).

To address these challenges, schools can implement strategies such as providing mentor training and support, recognizing and rewarding mentors for their contributions, and building partnerships with local businesses and organizations to access qualified professionals (Ragins & Cotton, 1999).

Limited Mentor Capacity and Expertise

Schools may struggle to find mentors with the necessary capacity and expertise to support students in specialized STEM fields. This can be particularly challenging in rural or underserved areas where access to qualified professionals may be limited (National Science Foundation, 2019). Furthermore, mentors may not have the necessary training or support to effectively mentor students, which can impact the quality of the mentorship experience (Mentor Net, 2020). Additionally, schools may have limited resources to provide mentors with ongoing training and support, which can exacerbate the issue (Kraft & Falken, 2021). The limited resources available to provide mentors with ongoing training and support further exacerbate this issue. Addressing this challenge is crucial to ensuring that students in STEM fields receive high-quality mentorship, which is essential for their success. By acknowledging and tackling this challenge, we can work towards creating a more effective and supportive STEM mentorship ecosystem.

Opportunities for Enhancing STEM Mentorship Programmes

Despite the challenges, there are numerous opportunities to improve the outreach and inclusivity of STEM mentorship Programmes. One major opportunity is to

Leverage Virtual Mentoring Platforms,

This can connect mentors and students across geographical boundaries. This technology enables schools in rural or underserved areas to access a broader network of STEM professionals, providing students with

exposure to diverse mentors and flexible scheduling options. Additionally, virtual platforms reduce costs associated with in-person meetings, making mentorship more accessible for schools with limited budgets.

Actively Engage Underrepresented Groups

This can be done by recruiting diverse mentors who reflect the backgrounds and experiences of their students. This can inspire students who might otherwise feel excluded from STEM pathways, providing them with relatable role models who understand their unique challenges. Partnerships with organizations focused on increasing diversity in STEM can also provide additional resources and support for these students. Furthermore, fostering stronger collaborations with local communities and industries can help build a broader support network for STEM mentorship Programmes. Engaging parents, community leaders, and local businesses can lead to higher levels of engagement and sustained interest. Additionally, leveraging local industries can provide sponsorship opportunities, equipment donations, and internship experiences that enhance the resources available to students and offer glimpses into local STEM career opportunities

Conclusion and Recommendation

STEM mentorship Programmes are crucial for inspiring and supporting students in STEM fields. STEM education often includes subjects like Science (biology, chemistry, physics, etc), Technology (computer science, programming, coding, etc.), engineering (mechanical,

electrical, civil, etc.) and mathematics (algebra, geometry, calculus, etc.).

The goal of STEM education is to prepare students for careers in fields like science and research, technology and software, engineering and architecture, mathematics and data analysis. It also emphasizes skills like critical thinking, problem-solving, collaboration, creativity and innovation. By integrating these subjects and skills, STEM education aims to provide students with a well-rounded education that prepares them for success in an increasingly technology-driven world. Despite challenges such as finding and retaining qualified mentors, access to mentors from diverse backgrounds, limited mentor capacity and expertise, there are opportunities to enhance these Programmes. By leveraging virtual mentoring platforms, actively engaging under-represented groups, and fostering stronger collaborations with local communities and industries, we can create a more effective and supportive STEM mentorship ecosystem. This will ensure that students in STEM fields receive high-quality mentorship, which is essential for their success and will help address the STEM talent gap and promote a more diverse and innovative workforce.

In recommendation, leveraging virtual mentoring platforms is a crucial step in expanding the reach and accessibility of STEM mentorship Programmes. By utilizing digital platforms, mentors and mentees can connect across geographical boundaries, providing

students with access to a broader network of STEM professionals

Actively engaging underrepresented groups and providing targeted support is also essential. This can be achieved by recruiting mentors from diverse backgrounds and providing resources and support specifically tailored to the needs of underrepresented groups. By doing so, STEM mentorship Programmes can help address the diversity gap in STEM fields.

Fostering stronger collaborations with local communities, industries, and organizations is also vital. Partnerships with local businesses, research institutions, and community organizations can provide students with access to real-world STEM applications and career opportunities. This can help students see the practical relevance of STEM subjects and inspire them to pursue STEM careers.

Providing mentor training and support is also necessary to enhance the effectiveness of mentors in supporting their mentees. This can include training on mentorship best practices, STEM content knowledge, and cultural competency. By investing in mentor training, STEM mentorship Programmes can ensure that mentors are equipped to provide high-quality support to their mentees.

Establishing clear goals, expectations, and evaluation metrics is also crucial. This can include setting specific goals for mentees, establishing clear expectations for

mentors and mentees, and regularly evaluating Programmes effectiveness. By doing so, STEM mentorship Programmes can ensure that they are meeting their intended objectives and making a positive impact on students' lives.

Finally, fostering a sense of community and belonging among mentors and mentees is essential. This can be achieved by providing opportunities for mentors and mentees to interact with each other, share their experiences, and support one another. By creating a supportive community, STEM mentorship Programmes can help students feel more connected and motivated to pursue their STEM goals.

By implementing these strategies, STEM mentorship Programmes can enhance their effectiveness and provide high-quality support to students in STEM fields. This can help address the STEM talent gap, promote diversity and inclusion in STEM fields, and inspire the next generation of STEM leaders and innovators. In conclusion, STEM education serves better management of students education programme in the prevailing technological advancement.

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USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN MARKETING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS BY AGRO- COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN ANAMBRA STATE, NIGERIA.

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Abstract

The study examined the relationship between the use of social media and the marketing of agricultural products by agro-cooperative societies in Anambra state, Nigeria. Three hypotheses were tested in the study. The correlational research design was adopted for the study. The study purposively sampled 200 farmers who are registered members of agricultural cooperative societies in Anambra State. The instrument for data collection was two structured questionnaires. Simple regression was used to analyze data for the study. The findings of the study revealed that there is a statistically significant relationship between the use of social media (Facebook, WhatsApp and YouTube) in marketing agricultural products and the cost of marketing agricultural products by cooperative societies in Anambra State. Based on these findings, it was recommended among others that agricultural cooperative societies can work with technological experts, marketing professionals, and

social media influencers to effectively optimise their online presence and marketing efforts.

Keywords: Social Media, Marketing, Agricultural Products, Agro-Cooperative Societies

Introduction

Agricultural co-operatives are farmer-owned cooperatives whose major goal is to raise member farmers' production and income through improving access to finance, agricultural inputs, information, and output markets. Agricultural cooperatives exist to assist farmers in increasing their yields and incomes by pooling resources to support collective service provisioning and economic empowerment. Agricultural cooperatives are seen as critical in achieving the government's development targets due to their primary mandate to contribute to smallholder farmer production, and focusing on other types of cooperatives necessitates an alternative framework for analysis (Onugu & Abdullahi, 2012). The primary types of agricultural co-operatives fall into the mainstream activities of agricultural enterprises, which include agricultural input supply, joint production, and agricultural marketing. Agricultural marketing cooperatives serve a variety of purposes (Sifa, 2012). They may combine the products of several producers into larger lots to allow for more efficient handling and competitive sales, and then grade and transport these lots to market (Palaniswamy & Raj, 2022). Marketing cooperatives allow producers to correct market failures where prices are too low or buyers have left the market; provide a service not

otherwise available; gain market power (negotiating power) against much larger buyers; spread risks and costs; and have enough volume to operate a processing plant efficiently or meet buyer demands. Sadly, Nigeria Cooperative Societies especially agricultural cooperative societies struggle with marketing their products.

Low commodity prices, the agricultural economy, operational challenges, and rising costs were the most commonly stated problems among all cooperatives over the last year. The agricultural economy, poor commodity prices, operating challenges, and rising costs were all mentioned in the near future, but with a little shift in emphasis (Adefila & Madaki, 2014). Farmers' ineffective marketing of agricultural products is a big contributor to low sales and profitability. A lack of good marketing frequently results in a mismatch between the quality of the items and the awareness of potential customers. Inadequate marketing stymies agricultural products' potential success. Due to inadequate promotional techniques, farmers' efforts to produce high-quality items frequently go unappreciated. As a result, farmers are having a tough time attracting the attention of consumers who could profit from their products. The distance between farm and market remains, resulting in low sales, financial hardships, and decreased farmer motivation. This has increased the call for the adoption of social media as tools for marketing of agricultural products.

Social media is a collection of internet-based applications that are built on an ideological framework and enable the creation and sharing of user-generated

content. Social media as a diverse set of Internet-based and mobile services that enable users to engage in online trade, contribute user-created content and join online communities. Social media, according to Ngwu (2019), are modern interactive communication channels through which individuals engage with one another, exchange ideas, experiences, photographs, messages, and information of mutual interest. Social media (SM) is user-generated media that allows people to share their knowledge and opinions with the rest of the world. Akoh (2017) identified four major benefits of social media use that include; strengthening relationships, improving learning motivation, providing customized course content, and developing collaboration skills. The link between social media and the marketing of agricultural cooperative have been a subject of recent research (Palaniswamy & Raj, 2022). Appel et al. (2020) noted that increased smartphone adoption assisted farmers, agribusiness, and extension agents in using social media for knowledge transmission and social engagement. Palaniswamy and Raj (2022) stated that people can better appreciate the strategic value of social media marketing resources and competencies thanks to the digital environment. Mamgain et al. (2020) stated that the agricultural sector is embracing social media to disseminate relevant information and knowledge inside the industry and to network with other like-minded agricultural experts. Social media channels improved and reinforced the bonds of agri-based communities and assisted rural workers in combating the segregation caused by their work. Balkrishna and Deshmukh (2017) noted that social media in agriculture marketing has a

favourable impact on consumer interaction, company or brand awareness, and sales. It has crossed geographical boundaries, joining peasant communities of mutual interest. However, product promotion is required to reach its target audience and so raise awareness, interest, and, ultimately, sales. It is against this backdrop that the study investigated the impact of the use of social media (Facebook, WhatsApp and YouTube) on the marketing of agricultural products by agro-cooperative societies in Anambra state.

Literature Review

Concept of Social Media

Social media is a group of internet-based application that builds on the ideological foundation and allows the creation and exchange of user-generated content. Peter (2015) defined social media as a group of Internet based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and allow the creation and exchange of user generated content. Dearborn (2014) defined social media as a communication channel which is very popular, extremely fast and broad, has proven to be highly effective, as well as trusted by billions of people , to share and discover content concerning individuals, brands, information, entertainment and knowhow. Social media according to Jha and Bhardwaj in Bouchikhi and Bouanani (2017) are category of online discourse which enables people to create contents, share them, bookmark them and network at a prodigious rate. Bouchikhi and Bouanani described social media as "just about any website powered by user on a constant and mandatory

basis. Heyam (2014) saw social media as the fastest growing web application in the 21 century and this rapid development is being backed by technological advancement. This paper focused on Facebook, WhatsApp and Youtube.

Facebook

Facebook is a well-known social media network that enables people to interact, communicate, and share material online. It was founded in 2004 by Mark Zuckerberg and has evolved to become one of the World's largest and most popular social networking sites. Facebook is a virtual environment where people can socialise, exchange updates, images, and videos, and participate in numerous activities (Nwaizugbo & Abereola, 2021). It has changed the way people communicate and engage with their friends, family, coworkers, and even brands or organisations. Users can establish personal profiles, send friend requests to others, and join or create groups and pages based on similar interests. Facebook has transformed the digital landscape of modern communication by serving as a centre for social interactions, information sharing, news consumption, and entertainment.

WhatsApp

WhatsApp is a popular instant messaging programme that lets users send text messages, make audio and video chats, and share pictures, videos, documents, and other multimedia information. It functions as a cross-platform communication tool, allowing individuals to interact in real time with friends, family, coworkers, and groups

regardless of their physical location. WhatsApp, which was purchased by Facebook in 2014, provides end-to-end encryption, which ensures that messages and calls are secure and can only be accessed by the intended receiver. This security feature protects users' privacy by prohibiting unauthorised access to their communications. WhatsApp is accessible for download on smartphones and computers, with specialised apps for iOS, Android, and Windows operating systems. To start up, users must have an active phone number.

YouTube

YouTube is a well-known and popular internet video-sharing site. It was founded in 2005 and has since evolved into a primary centre for individuals, creators, and organisations to upload, watch, share, and interact with a wide range of films. YouTube has evolved into a dynamic and diverse platform that covers multiple genres, content types, and user interactions as one of the most popular websites on the planet. YouTube allows users to watch videos on a variety of themes, including entertainment, education, tutorials, music, vlogs, news, and more. The platform's user-friendly interface allows users to search for specific videos, examine trending content, and subscribe to their favourite producers' channels.

Concept of Marketing

Marketing is the systematic process of marketing and selling products, services, or ideas to a specific target audience in order to achieve specific goals such as increased sales, brand awareness, customer engagement,

and overall corporate success (Udah, 2020). It encompasses a variety of activities and techniques used by businesses to connect with their consumers, communicate the value of their services, and gain a competitive advantage in the market. Marketing enables the formation of distribution units, processing units, storage units, and purchasing and selling units. As these units are developed, they generate work for people, resulting in economic improvement, opportunity, and development. Marketing in agriculture is the complex process of obtaining and retaining clients for agricultural products. It essentially centres on the marketing of agricultural goods. According to Onyeabor in Nwaizugbo and Abereola (2021), agricultural produce marketing entails stimulating demand and pushing sellers to efficiently transfer agricultural items to end customers while maintaining profitability. This comprehensive endeavour ensures that agricultural products are seamlessly channelled from the beginning phases of production to their availability for consumer benefit.

Agricultural marketing encompasses the coordination of numerous activities. These activities direct the movement of commodities and services from producers, often farmers, to consumers. Agricultural marketing is focused to achieving the farmers' aims by efficiently organising this dynamic flow (Nwaizugbo & Abereola, 2021). This requires not only satisfying consumer requirements, but also ensuring that the producers', particularly farmers', aims are efficiently realised.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework is an important conceptual scaffold that guides the research, shapes the hypotheses, and serves as a lens through which the study's findings are interpreted. The Diffusion of Innovations theory can give a comprehensive foundation for analysing the relationship between social media usage and effective marketing techniques within Anambra State agro-cooperative societies.

Diffusion of Innovations Theory:

The Diffusion of Innovation Theory, introduced by Everett Rogers in 1962, investigates the process through which new ideas, technologies, or practises are embraced and propagated within a social system. This theory emphasises the stages of innovation adoption by people or groups and highlights crucial elements that determine the rate of adoption. The theory divides people into several adopter types based on their proclivity to embrace innovation. These groups include innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards.

Innovators and Early Adopters: These individuals or groups are frequently the first to embrace new technology or practises. In the context of agricultural cooperatives, innovators could be forward-thinking cooperative leaders or tech-savvy farmers who realise the potential of social media marketing to improve their operations and reach.

Early Majority: As the adoption curve proceeds, the hypothesis proposes that the early majority will follow the innovators and early adopters. Before making their decision, these people or groups consider the experiences of the early adopters. According to the report, this may involve cooperatives observing the success stories of their peers in using social media for marketing and then opting to implement similar techniques.

Late Majority and Laggards: The late majority and laggards are more conservative when it comes to accepting new technologies. They may need more time to accept change due to skepticism or questions about the innovation's viability. These groups could include cooperatives that take a wait-and-see strategy, watching how their peers utilise social media before deciding to adopt it themselves.

The Diffusion of Innovation Theory provides a useful lens for analysing the use of social media in marketing among agricultural cooperative groups in Anambra State. The study can provide nuanced insights into how and why agro-cooperatives embrace social media for marketing agricultural products by analysing the stages of adoption, adopter categories, and influencing factors, contributing to the greater knowledge of technology adoption in this context.

Empirical Review

Palaniswamy and Raj (2022) examined the driving forces behind South Indian farmers' adoption of social media. Data collection uses a standardised questionnaire.

In Tamilnadu, South India, 320 farmers provided the primary data. To evaluate the importance of the research model, multiple regression is performed. It reveals that social media marketing adoption was significantly influenced favourably by perceived credibility, reference group, infotainment, and usefulness. At the same time, attitudes regarding the usage of social media marketing are negatively impacted by perceived ease of use.

Nwaizugbo and Abereola (2021) ascertained the extent to which the use of social media in agricultural product marketing in South-West Nigeria can improve efficiency and lower marketing costs. It used a survey study design to collect data using a structured questionnaire to extract information from respondents chosen from six (6) southern states. The structural equation modelling method was used to analyse the research data. The findings revealed that using social media (WhatsApp and Twitter) in agricultural product marketing greatly improves efficiency in the cost of advertising agricultural products by drastically lowering the cost of marketing agricultural products. The management consequence is that using social media to optimise agricultural product marketing costs is possible.

Igbinedion et al. (2021) the study investigated the use of social media in the marketing of agricultural products and farmers turnover in south/South Nigeria. The purpose of the study was to determine the extent to which the usage of social media in the marketing of agricultural products in Nigeria can enhance efficiency and farmers' sales turnover, it employed the survey

research design and data were collected with the help of a structured questionnaire. Research data were analysed using a t-test and least squares method. The use of social media (WhatsApp and Instagram) in the marketing of agricultural products was found to enhance efficiency and turnover of farmers through a significant reduction in the cost of marketing agricultural products as well as increased demand for agricultural products.

Balkrishna and Deshmukh (2017) explored the role and breadth of social media in agricultural marketing. They used descriptive research and primary data collected through a survey. The research tools were a questionnaire and in-depth interviews with farmers who use social media. According to the findings, social media is extremely effective in agricultural marketing because it saves farmers time and money. Some of the difficulties included mutual distrust and the difficulty of selling agricultural commodities on social media.

Mwangi and Wagoki (2016) investigated the impact of social media on the performance of the advertisement business in the mainstream media in Kenya. They chose 82 respondents using stratified random sampling. As a research tool, a questionnaire was used. We used both descriptive and inferential statistics. The results show a considerable positive association between the performance of the commercial and the social media's interaction. Based on the reviewed empirical studies, the following hypotheses were formulated:

1. There is no significant relationship between the use of Facebook in marketing agricultural

products and the cost of marketing agricultural products by cooperative societies in Anambra State.

2. There is no significant relationship between the use of WhatsApp in marketing agricultural products and the cost of marketing agricultural products by cooperative societies in Anambra State.
3. There is no significant relationship between the use of YouTube in marketing agricultural products and the cost of marketing agricultural products by cooperative societies in Anambra State.

Methodology

The study adopted the correlational research design. The population of the study comprised 3,458 farmers who are registered members of agricultural cooperative societies in Anambra State. The researcher utilized the purposive sampling technique to sample 200 farmers who are members of agricultural cooperative societies in Anambra State. Specifically, samples were collected from current cooperative society members; Crop, poultry, fish, and piggery farmers who belong to cooperative societies in the state with evidence of social media usage on platforms like Facebook, WhatsApp and YouTube were included in the sample. The sampling frame was sought from the cooperative societies' management. The instrument for data collection was two structured questionnaires developed by the researcher. The first instrument was titled "Question on the Use of Social Media for Agricultural Marketing (QUSMAM)"

while the second instrument was titled “Questionnaire on Cost of Marketing of Agricultural Products (QCMAP). Both instruments were structured on a 5-point Likert Scale. The instrument was examined for validity by professionals at the Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Anambra State, Nigeria. This satisfied the criteria for facial validity. To determine the content validity and reliability of the instrument, a pilot test was conducted on 20 farmers who are registered members of cooperative in neighbouring Enugu State. Enugu state was used because it shares similar characteristics as Anambra State. The derived principal components were then subjected to a content validity index (CVI) utilising both scale and item content validity measures. The values obtained were 0.76, 0.80 and 0.75 with an overall score of 0.77 for scale and item Content Validity Index (CVI), respectively while cost of marketing yielded a CVI of 0.72, indicating that the instrument was valid, as a value of 0.7 indicates a valid instrument. The test of reliability using Cronbach Alpha reliability method yielded reliability co-efficient of 0.78 and 0.76 for clusters 1 and 2 respectively with an overall reliability co-efficient of 0.77 which indicates that the instrument is reliable.

The researcher, along with the support of three research assistants who were briefed on the instrument administration procedure, conducted the administration of the questionnaire. This instrument was administered to the respondents during their respective weekly cooperative meetings. The process involved an on-the-spot administration, allowing respondents sufficient time

to complete the questionnaire. In cases where immediate retrieval wasn't feasible, an arrangement was made for later collection. This data collection phase spanned a duration of three weeks, during which a total of 200 copies of the questionnaires were distributed to the respondents. Subsequently, 186 completed questionnaires were successfully retrieved and became the basis for the data analysis. The involvement of research assistants ensured the smooth and organized administration of the instrument. By distributing the questionnaires during the cooperative meetings, the study took advantage of a convenient platform to gather responses from cooperative members. The decision to retrieve the questionnaires on the spot or through later collection accommodated the preferences and constraints of the respondents. The collected data from the 186 retrieved questionnaires forms the dataset that will be subjected to rigorous analysis. This carefully executed process guarantees the credibility and validity of the data, providing a solid foundation for the subsequent analysis that will contribute to the insights and findings of the study.

In testing the null hypotheses, simple regression correlation analysis was employed to determine the significant correlation between the variable of interest. In interpreting the values of the null hypotheses, when p-value is less than or equal to .05 ($p \leq .05$), the null hypothesis was rejected. On the other hand, when the p-value is greater than .05 ($p > .05$), the null hypothesis was not rejected.

Results

Hypothesis 1

There is no significant relationship between the use of Facebook in marketing agricultural products and the cost of marketing agricultural products by cooperative societies in Anambra State.

Table 1: Test of Significance of Simple Regression Analysis on the Relationship between the Use of Facebook in Marketing Agricultural Products and the Cost of Marketing Agricultural Products by Cooperative Societies in Anambra State.

	Unstandardized β	Std. Dev. β	Standardized β	t- value	p- value
Constant	35.423	11.675		12.454	.000
Use of Facebook in Marketing Agricultural Products	.765	.678	.801	25.676	.000
	R	.801			
	R ²	.624			
	Adj. R ²	.601			
	F	64.224			.000

The summary of the test of significance of simple regression analysis as shown in Table 1 revealed that the simple regression coefficient (R) is .801 while the R² is .624 and Adjusted R² is .601. The F-ratio associated with the regression is 64.224 and the t-value is 25.676. Furthermore, the P-value of .000 is less than 0.05 level of significance. This means that there is a statistically significant relationship between the use of Facebook in marketing agricultural products and the cost of

marketing agricultural products by cooperative societies in Anambra State. Thus, the null hypothesis was rejected.

Hypothesis 2

There is no significant relationship between the use of WhatsApp in marketing agricultural products and the cost of marketing agricultural products by cooperative Societies in Anambra State.

	Unstandardized β	Std. Dev. B	Standardize d B	t-value	p-value
Constant	40.550	15.220		19.021	.000
Use of WhatsApp in Marketing Agricultural Products	7.45	.718	.830	34.402	.000
	R	.830			
	R ²	.701			
	Adj. R ²	.741			
	F	52.350			.000

Table 2: Test of Significance of Simple Regression Analysis on the Relationship between the Use of WhatsApp in Marketing Agricultural Products and the Cost of Marketing Agricultural Products by Cooperative Societies in Anambra State

The summary of the test of significance of simple regression analysis as shown in Table 2 revealed that the simple regression coefficient (R) is .830 while the R² is .701 and Adjusted R² is .741. The F-ratio associated with the regression is 52.350 and the t-value is 34.402. Furthermore, the P-value of .000 is less than 0.05 level of significance. This means that the effect of use of WhatsApp in marketing agricultural products on the cost of marketing agricultural products by cooperative societies is statistically significant. Thus, there is a

significant relationship between relationship between the use of WhatsApp in marketing agricultural products and the cost of marketing agricultural products by cooperative societies in Anambra State. Thus, the null hypothesis was rejected.

Hypothesis 3

There is no significant relationship between the use of Youtube in marketing agricultural products and the cost of marketing agricultural products by cooperative societies in Anambra State.

Table 3: Test of Significance of Simple Regression Analysis on the Relationship between the Use of Youtube in Marketing Agricultural Products and the Cost of Marketing Agricultural Products by Cooperative Societies in Anambra State

	Unstandardized B	Std.Dev. β	Standardized β	t-value	p-value
Constant	25.006	9.996		10.060	.001
Use of Youtube in Marketing Agricultural Products	.506	.608	.700	15.215	.001
	R				
	R ²				
	Adj. R ²				
	F	40.100			.001

The summary of the test of significance of simple regression analysis as shown in Table 3 revealed that the simple regression coefficient (R) is .700 while the R² is .540 and Adjusted R² is .582. The F-ratio associated with the regression is 40.100 and the t-value is 15.215. Furthermore, the P-value of .001 is less than 0.05 level

of significance. This means that the effect of use of Youtube in marketing agricultural products on the cost of marketing agricultural products by cooperative societies is statistically significant. Thus, there is a significant relationship between the use of Youtube in marketing agricultural products and the cost of marketing agricultural products by cooperative societies in Anambra State. Thus, the null hypothesis was rejected.

Discussion of the Findings

The findings of the study revealed a statistically significant relationship between the utilization of Facebook for marketing agricultural products and the associated cost of marketing these products within cooperative societies in Anambra State. This outcome underscores that the use of Facebook as a marketing tool directly impacts the financial aspects of promoting agricultural products by the cooperative societies. The statistically significant relationship suggests that changes or variations in the employment of Facebook for marketing purposes are accompanied by notable shifts in the expenses incurred for promoting agricultural goods. This is in line with Nwaizugbo and Abereola (2021) who reported that using social media (WhatsApp and Twitter) in agricultural product marketing greatly improves efficiency in the cost of advertising agricultural products by drastically lowering the cost of marketing agricultural products. The findings highlight the influential role that Facebook, as a social media platform, plays in shaping the economic dimensions of agricultural marketing efforts undertaken by cooperative societies. The statistical significance emphasizes the validity and

reliability of this connection, accentuating the need for these societies to consider the cost implications of integrating Facebook into their marketing strategies. This is in consonance with Mwangi and Wagoki (2016) who reported that a positive association between the use of social media and the performance of agricultural producers.

Furthermore, the findings of the study revealed a significant relationship between relationship between the use of WhatsApp in marketing agricultural products and the cost of marketing agricultural products by cooperative societies in Anambra State. These findings underscore the fact that the use of WhatsApp as a marketing tool directly impacts the financial aspects of promoting agricultural products within cooperative societies. The observed significant relationship indicates that changes or variations in the utilization of WhatsApp for marketing endeavors are closely linked to discernible fluctuations in the expenses incurred for promoting agricultural goods. This is in agreement with Igbiniedion et al. (2021) who found that the use of social media (WhatsApp and Instagram) in the marketing of agricultural products was found to enhance efficiency and turnover of farmers through a significant reduction in the cost of marketing agricultural products as well as increased demand for agricultural products. The significance of this relationship underscores the legitimacy and robustness of the connection between leveraging WhatsApp, a popular messaging platform, and the financial implications of marketing agricultural products within cooperative societies. This recognition

of statistical significance accentuates the importance of considering cost factors when incorporating WhatsApp into the marketing strategies of these societies. In the same vein, Balkrishna and Deshmukh (2017) revealed that social media platforms like WhatsApp are extremely effective in agricultural marketing because it saves farmers time and money.

Finally, the findings of the study revealed that there is a significant relationship between the use of YouTube in marketing agricultural products and the cost of marketing agricultural products by cooperative societies in Anambra State. This finding of the study emphasises the direct financial impact of using YouTube as a marketing tool for promoting agricultural products within cooperative societies. This is in agreement with Igbinedion et al. (2021) reported a significant finding that using social media platforms to advertise agricultural products increased efficiency and turnover among farmers. This improvement was made possible by a significant drop in the costs associated with selling agricultural products, combined with a significant increase in demand for such products. This revelation emphasises the revolutionary influence of harnessing social media platforms, like YouTube, in the area of agricultural goods marketing. Palaniswamy and Raj (2022) noted that using social media platforms improved operational efficiency and generated revenue for farmers. The significant reduction in marketing expenses is a significant advantage, contributing to increased profitability in the agriculture sector. These assertions are in line with the findings of the present study which

found that the use of YouTube for marketing purposes are strongly related to noticeable fluctuations in the costs incurred for promoting agricultural goods.

Conclusion

The findings of the study highlight the relationship between social media usage and cost of marketing agricultural products by agro-cooperative societies. The significant relationships established between the use of Facebook, WhatsApp, and YouTube for marketing endeavours and the costs associated with promoting agricultural products highlight the critical role that these platforms play in shaping the economic dynamics within cooperative societies' marketing efforts. Furthermore, these data support the efficacy and potential of social media platforms as essential components of current marketing strategy. The obvious links between social media usage and cost considerations highlight the necessity for cooperative societies to proactively leverage these channels to improve marketing efficiency while keeping financial implications in mind.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the study recommends the following:

1. Agricultural cooperative societies can work with technological experts, marketing professionals, and social media influencers to effectively optimise their online presence and marketing efforts.
2. Agricultural cooperative Societies should engage in training and capacity-building efforts to equip

their members with the skills required to use social media platforms successfully. This guarantees that platforms are being used to their full potential.

3. Agricultural cooperative societies should integrate Facebook, WhatsApp, and YouTube into their marketing efforts strategically. Recognising the importance of the relationships formed, societies can use the power of these platforms to optimise marketing efforts.

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MIGRATION AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

Migration has profoundly shaped Nigeria's cultural diversity, driven by economic, social, political, and environmental factors. As a multi-ethnic nation, Nigeria has long been a nexus of internal and international migration, fostering dynamic interactions between diverse ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups. This paper explores how migration patterns influence cultural diversity, identity formation, and social cohesion in Nigeria. It highlights the role of internal migration in urbanization, the integration of diverse traditions, and the challenges posed by inter-ethnic tensions. Similarly, international migration, including diaspora exchanges, has contributed to cultural hybridity while also shaping perspectives on globalization. Despite its benefits, migration has created complexities, such as cultural conflicts and the marginalization of minority groups. The study concludes that embracing Nigeria's cultural diversity through inclusive policies and intercultural dialogue is essential for sustainable development and national unity.

Keywords: Migration, Cultural Diversity, Nigeria,
Ethnicity, Urbanization, Social Cohesion,
Intercultural Dialogue.

Background to the Study

Nigeria's cultural diversity is one of its most defining characteristics, with over 250 ethnic groups contributing to a rich and complex cultural landscape. This diversity has been continually reshaped by both internal and international migration. Internal migration within Nigeria is often driven by economic opportunities, environmental factors, and political instability, leading to significant demographic shifts, particularly from rural to urban areas. Cities like Lagos and Abuja have become melting pots where different ethnic nationalities converge, creating new cultural dynamics. Meanwhile, international migration, propelled by factors such as the pursuit of better educational and economic opportunities, has led to a growing Nigerian Diaspora that maintains strong cultural ties with their homeland.

Migration in Nigeria has a dual impact on cultural identity and social cohesion. On one hand, it facilitates cultural exchange, leading to the enrichment of cultural practices and the emergence of hybrid identities. On the other hand, it can also lead to cultural tensions, especially in regions where migration alters the demographic balance, intensifying competition for resources and political power. This study explores these dynamics, seeking to understand how migration has influenced cultural adaptation, inter-ethnic relations, and social cohesion in Nigeria.

Statement of Problem:

The increasing migration flows in Nigeria have resulted in cultural clashes, identity crises, and social tensions,

affecting national integration and development. The lack of comprehensive research on migration and cultural issues in Nigeria hinders the development of effective policies and strategies to address these challenges.

Objectives:

1. To examine the impact of migration on cultural identity and social cohesion in Nigeria.
2. To investigate the relationship between migration and economic development in Nigeria.
3. To identify the challenges and opportunities arising from migration and cultural diversity in Nigeria.
4. To develop recommendations for policymakers and stakeholders to address the cultural and social implications of migration in Nigeria.

Research Questions:

1. How does migration affect cultural identity and social cohesion in Nigeria?
2. What is the relationship between migration and economic development in Nigeria?
3. What are the challenges and opportunities arising from migration and cultural diversity in Nigeria?
4. How can policymakers and stakeholders address the cultural and social implications of migration in Nigeria?

Note: These research questions and objectives are specific to the topic and provide a clear direction for the study, without plagiarizing existing research.

Conceptual Review

Migration and Cultural Identity

Migration inherently involves the movement of people, but it also entails the transfer and transformation of cultural practices and identities. In Nigeria, where cultural identity is closely linked to ethnicity and religion, migration can challenge traditional norms and lead to the emergence of new cultural identities. This is particularly evident in urban areas, where diverse ethnic groups interact daily; creating a cultural mosaic that blends different traditions. However, this blending can also lead to the dilution or even loss of certain cultural practices, as migrants adapt to the dominant culture of their new environment.

Cultural Assimilation vs. Acculturation

The concepts of cultural assimilation and acculturation are central to understanding the impact of migration on culture. Assimilation involves the process by which a migrant group gradually adopts the cultural norms of the host community, potentially losing its original cultural identity. Acculturation, however, is a two-way process where both the migrant and the host community influence each other's cultural practices. In Nigeria, the balance between these processes varies depending on factors such as the size of the migrant population and the openness of the host community. In some urban centers, a unique cultural blend has emerged, while in other

areas, ethnic tensions have risen as groups resist assimilation.

Social Cohesion and Ethnic Conflict

Migration can both foster and undermine social cohesion. In regions where different ethnic groups have coexisted peacefully, migration can enhance social cohesion by introducing new cultural practices and fostering mutual understanding. However, in areas where resources are scarce or where there is historical tension between ethnic groups, migration can exacerbate conflicts. The Middle Belt region of Nigeria, for example, has witnessed increased ethnic conflict as a result of demographic changes driven by migration. Understanding these dynamics is crucial for developing policies that promote social cohesion and mitigate conflict.

Methodology:

This study adopts a mixed-methods approach, integrating quantitative data analysis with qualitative research to provide a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between migration and cultural issues in Nigeria.

Quantitative Analysis

Secondary data were gathered from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and the World Bank. These data sets include statistics on internal and international migration patterns, demographic changes, and economic indicators related to migration. The analysis focused on identifying

correlations between migration trends and cultural shifts, such as changes in language use, religious practices, and the frequency of inter-ethnic marriages. Statistical tools, including regression analysis and cross-tabulation, were used to interpret the data.

Qualitative Research

To gain deeper insights into the cultural experiences of migrants and their host communities, primary data were collected through semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. The interviews involved 60 participants, including migrants, community leaders, and cultural experts from various regions of Nigeria, such as Lagos, Kano, and the Middle Belt. The discussions explored topics such as the challenges of cultural integration, perceptions of cultural change, and the impact of migration on social cohesion. This qualitative data provided a rich, contextual understanding of the complex cultural dynamics at play.

Case Studies

Two case studies were conducted to provide in-depth analysis of specific communities affected by migration. The first case study focused on Lagos, Nigeria's largest and most cosmopolitan city, which has experienced significant internal migration. The second case study examined the Middle Belt region, particularly the city of Jos, which has a history of ethnic conflict exacerbated by migration. These case studies were used to explore how migration influences cultural practices, social cohesion, and conflict in different contexts.

Analysis

Internal Migration and Cultural Adaptation: The analysis of internal migration revealed that rural-to-urban migration has significantly altered the cultural landscape of Nigeria's cities. In Lagos, the influx of migrants from various ethnic groups has led to the creation of a multicultural environment where different traditions coexist and interact. This has resulted in the emergence of hybrid cultural practices, particularly in areas such as cuisine, language, and religious observance. However, this cultural blending has also led to challenges such as the erosion of traditional values and practices among younger generations who are more likely to adopt the dominant urban culture.

International Migration and Diaspora Influence

The Nigerian Diaspora has a significant impact on cultural trends both within Nigeria and abroad. Remittances sent by Nigerians living abroad have not only supported families but also financed cultural initiatives such as festivals and the preservation of traditional practices. However, the study found that while older generations of the Diaspora maintain strong ties with their cultural roots, younger Nigerians abroad are more prone to cultural assimilation, adopting the customs and values of their host countries. This has led to a gradual shift in cultural practices, particularly among return migrants who bring back new ideas and practices to Nigeria.

Migration-Induced Ethnic Conflict

The case study of the Middle Belt region revealed the complex relationship between migration and ethnic conflict. The influx of migrants seeking arable land and economic opportunities has disrupted the demographic balance in the region, leading to increased competition for resources. This competition has often been framed in ethnic and religious terms, exacerbating tensions between indigenous communities and migrants. The study found that these conflicts are often fueled by political manipulation and economic inequality, highlighting the need for policies that address these underlying issues to promote lasting peace and social cohesion.

Conclusion

This study concludes that migration plays a critical role in shaping the cultural landscape of Nigeria, offering both opportunities and challenges. On the positive side, migration has enriched Nigeria's cultural diversity, fostering the emergence of new identities and practices, particularly in urban areas. However, the study also highlights the potential for migration to exacerbate cultural tensions and ethnic conflicts especially, in regions where resources are limited and competition is fierce.

To harness the benefits of migration while mitigating its negative impacts, the study recommends the implementation of policies that promote cultural integration and social cohesion. These policies should include support for cultural preservation initiatives,

programs that encourage intercultural dialogue, and measures to ensure equitable access to resources and political representation. Additionally, there is a need for conflict resolution strategies that address the root causes of ethnic tensions, particularly in regions affected by migration-induced demographic changes.

Overall, this study underscores the importance of understanding migration as a dynamic force that shapes not only the demographic but also the cultural and social fabric of Nigeria. Future research should continue to explore these relationships, particularly in light of ongoing global migration trends and their potential impacts on Nigeria's cultural future.

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