



# THE NIGERIA SOCIAL COHESION SURVEY (REPORT) AUGUST 2021

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## The Nigeria Social Cohesion Survey #NSCS2021 Report [August 2021]

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Our mission is to promote the produce and dissemination of credible Africa-led and Africa-owned opinion polls, surveys, social research and evaluation studies to inform better decisions, public policy, practice and advocacy.

## DEDICATION

This report is dedicated to the memory of Mr. Innocent Chukwma, the immediate past Regional Director of Ford Foundation, Office for West Africa. API remains grateful for his remarkable support, display of confidence and outstanding contribution to the Institute.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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Signed

**Professor Bell Ihua**

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## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

<b>API</b>	Africa Polling Institute
<b>AYCF</b>	Arewa Youths Consultative Forum
<b>CPS</b>	Citizens Perception Survey
<b>CSO</b>	Civil Society of Nigeria
<b>Covid-19</b>	The Coronavirus Disease 2019
<b>EFCC</b>	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
<b>FRCN</b>	Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria
<b>ICPC</b>	Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission
<b>IDP</b>	Internally Displaced Persons
<b>IPOB</b>	Indigenous People of Biafra
<b>LGAs</b>	Local Government Areas
<b>MASSOB</b>	Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra
<b>MEND</b>	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
<b>NBC</b>	Nigerian Bitumen Company
<b>NDDC</b>	Niger Delta Development Commission
<b>NDPVF</b>	Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force
<b>NEITI</b>	Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
<b>NOA</b>	National Orientation Agency
<b>NSCI</b>	Nigeria Social Cohesion Index
<b>NSIP</b>	National Social Investment Programme
<b>OECD</b>	Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development
<b>OMPADEC</b>	Oil Mineral Producing Area Development Commission
<b>OPC</b>	Oodua People's Congress
<b>SARS</b>	Special Anti-Robbery Squad
<b>SPSS</b>	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
<b>SDGs</b>	Sustainable Development Goals
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNCTAD</b>	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

## PREFACE



I am absolutely delighted to share the 2021 Nigeria Social Cohesion Survey (#NSCS2021) Report to the public. The survey reports citizens perceptions and attitudes on the state of social cohesion in the country. Following the successful release and dissemination of the 1<sup>st</sup> Nigeria Social Cohesion Survey (#NSCS2019) report in October 2019, API was awarded a 2-year Ford Foundation grant to conduct 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> round of the survey in 2021 and 2022. This current study developed a national index on social cohesion, tagged the Nigeria Social Cohesion Index (NSCI). This report presents the results and findings on the Index, as well as the 2<sup>nd</sup> round of the Survey; with expanded scope to cover 10 indicators and Sub-Indices: *Identity, Trust, Social Justice, Participation & Patriotism, Natural Resources Governance, Gender Equity, Impunity, Corruption, Self-Worth and Future Expectation*. The #NSCS is one of the flagship research offerings of Africa Polling Institute (API).

Simply defined, social cohesion refers to the willingness of citizens to cooperate and work together towards ensuring the survival and prosperity of the country. There are two key elements in this definition. The survival element and the prosperity element. If we agree that Nigeria surviving as a nation, can Nigeria also be said to be prospering? This question leaves much to be desired.

The 2021 Nigeria Social Cohesion Index (NSCI) has been computed as 44.2%, which is below the average 50%, indicating that Nigeria is not as socially cohesive as it ought to be. The survey data reports growing citizens distrust towards the state and fellow citizens; as well as a proclivity towards ethnicity over nationalism. It also reports that the country has become more divided today than it was 4 years ago, as observed by 65% of citizens interviewed; representing a whopping 20-points increase from 2019's 45%. There's evidence to suggest that the country has become more divided along ethnic, social, political, economic and religious lines, thereby threatening the social fabric, unity and peaceful co-existence of the country.

We have provided some recommendations in the report. Firstly, we have advocated the need for federal, state and local governments to identify new tactical measures that would promote social cohesion, peaceful inter-relations amongst citizens, and a stronger social contract between the government and the governed at all levels. We believe this can be achieved through institutional reforms targeted at promoting the respect for fundamental human rights of citizens; as well as the independence of the press, civil society and the judiciary, which all contribute to promoting good governance. Secondly, we believe there's need to forge a new national movement for Nigeria and Nigerians. One which inhibits centrifugal tendencies that cause conflicts, division or separatism; and strengthens centripetal forces that promote unity, oneness and peaceful co-existence amongst citizens. Like a new Nigerian Dream, this movement needs to be stimulated by the government and marketed to the citizens. Consequently, institutions such as the Federal Ministry of Information & Culture, National Orientation Agency (NOA), Nigeria Television Authority (NTA), Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) and their affiliates have an increasing role to play, in shaping and amplifying narratives that help to promote social cohesion, inclusion and unity.

API considers this report quite timely and germane to the current conversation bordering on Nigeria's unity, stability, progress and peaceful coexistence, which have been threatened in recent times. I hope you will enjoy reading this report and benefit from its results and findings. We warmly welcome your feedback and suggestions for future rounds of the survey.

**Professor Bell Ihua (PhD Kent)**  
Executive Director, Africa Polling Institute (API)



# Executive Summary

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*The survey sought to develop a national Social Cohesion Index for Nigeria, as well as gauge citizens perception regarding the state of social cohesion in the country.*

# Executive Summary

The 2021 Nigeria Social Cohesion Survey (#NSCS2021) is a National Citizens Perception Survey, undertaken by Africa Polling Institute (API), with support from Ford Foundation. The survey sought to develop a national Social Cohesion Index for Nigeria, as well as gauge citizens perception regarding the state of social cohesion in the country. Building from the first survey round conducted in 2019, this current 2021 study focuses on 10 key indicators / sub-indices in examining the concept of social cohesion in Nigeria. We consider this report quite timely and germane to the current conversation bordering on Nigeria's unity, stability, progress and peaceful coexistence, which have been threatened in recent times.

## KEY OBJECTIVES

In recent decades, the state of social cohesion in Nigeria has been under serious threat, arising from seeming ethnic, religious, political, economic and social divisions. This trend is worrisome given that without social cohesion, other development goals could be unattainable. The willingness of Nigerians to live together and cooperate for the collective good of the country depends on the extent of the country's level of unity. Against this backdrop, the objectives of this study are: Firstly, to develop a measurement for the nationally representative Nigeria Social Cohesion Index; Secondly, to examine the state of social cohesion in Nigeria in the light of recent happenings within the polity. Thirdly, to conduct a Citizens perception Survey that seeks to measure the concept of social cohesion from the lens of 10 Key Indicators namely: *Identity, Trust, Social Justice, Participation & Patriotism, Natural Resources Governance, Gender Equity, Impunity, Corruption, Self Worth and Future Expectation*. And fourthly, to proffer recommendations to various stakeholders in Nigeria on how to improve the state of social cohesion in the country.

## METHODOLOGY

The study applied a purely quantitative, Citizens Perception Survey (CPS), research approach for the survey. A survey questionnaire was designed by the research team and a methodology workshop was organized on 26h January 2021, in Abuja; after which the questionnaire went through further reviews. For the data collection, all interviews were administered between April and May 2021, via face-to-face Household survey, using the Stratified Random Sampling Technique.

Interviews were conducted in five major languages: English, Pidgin, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. Geographic quotas were assigned to ensure that every Senatorial District and State were proportionately represented in the sample. A total of 6 Local Government Areas (LGAs) were visited in every state (2 LGAs per Senatorial District), except in FCT where enumerators visited all six area councils. A total of 8,114 interview contacts were attempted with 5,363 interviews completed, representing a response rate of 66.09%. All respondents were aged 18 and older. The average time per interview was 25 minutes.

Post-stratification gender and state weights were constructed and applied to the data to make it more representative of the population, allow for more accurate population totals of estimates and reduce non-response bias. The weights assigned were in proportion to the 2006 Nigerian population figures. The margin of error  $\pm 3$  per cent at the mid-range with a confidence level of 95 per cent.

## KEY FINDINGS

Overall, the results of the Nigeria Social Cohesion Survey 2021 and the Nigeria Social Cohesion Index with a computed score of 44.2%, suggest that Nigeria currently falls slightly below the average threshold of a socially cohesive country. There is evidence to suggest that social cohesion in Nigeria has weakened between 2019 and 2021. Presented below are some of the key findings and recommendations from the study.

### Nigeria Social Cohesion Index (NSCI) 2021

The 2021 Nigeria Social Cohesion Index (NSCI) has been computed as 44.2%. This score is below the 50% average, signifying that Nigeria is not as socially cohesive as it ought to be. This was derived from the computation of key indicators / sub-indices of identity, trust, social justice, participation & patriotism, natural resource governance, gender equity, impunity, corruption, self-worth and future expectation. It is worth mentioning that events in the country since the last survey such as the increasing level of insecurity, separatist agitations, increasing call for restructuring by groups, and a general sense of disaffection among the majority of citizens have continued to worsen the level of unity in the country. Therefore, the NSCI of 44.2%, which is below the average threshold for a socially cohesive country, is not surprising; considering that the data shows that the country has become more divided along ethnic, social, political, economic and religious lines, thereby threatening the social fabric, unity and peaceful co-existence of the country.

**NSCI** is derived from the proportion of Respondents that perceived '*average*' and '*high*' social cohesion in Nigeria, averaged over the 10- Indicators mentioned above. Cronbach's Alpha Value = 0.577. This is a measure used to assess the reliability or internal consistency, of a set of scale or test items. Values less than 0.5 are usually not acceptable. The average per cent (*presented in 1 decimal point*) represents the social cohesion computation from the survey of Nigerian citizens in 2021. If the value is less than 50.0%, it signifies '*below-average social cohesion*'. If greater than 50%, it signifies '*above average social cohesion*'. At 50%, it signifies an '*average social cohesion*'. *The NSCI has been computed as 44.2 per cent, and this implies that Nigerian Citizens have assessed the level of Social Cohesion in Nigeria as below average (<50.0 per cent).*

## Key Results & Findings from the 2021 Survey Round



### On Identity

From the survey, nearly half of the citizens (49%) said they “feel disappointed in Nigeria”, as against 42% who said they “feel truly proud of the country”, 7% who were indifferent, and 2% who simply were unsure about their feelings for the country.

Remarkably, 65% of citizens expressed concerns that the country is much more divided today than it was four years ago; compared to only a few (12%) who said the country is much more united today and 23% who believe that the country has stayed the same.

Overall, 82% of Nigerians feel comfortable with the dual identity of being both Nigerian and from their ethnic group, but to different proportions. Remarkably, 4 in 10 Nigerians are proud of being equally Nigerian and from their ethnic group; while about a third of citizens interviewed (33%) identify more with their ethnic group than being Nigerian; compared to only 9% feel more Nigerian than ethnic.

Reasons that make Nigerians proud of the country are Nigeria's blessing with natural resources (29%); the peace-loving and hardworking nature of Nigerians (22%), her art and cultural heritage (16%); and good land, weather and agricultural resources (16%) amongst others

The five major causes of conflicts in Nigeria are Ethnic / Tribal Differences (48%), Political Party affiliations (47%), Religious Differences (40%), Differences in Social Status (22%) and Access to land (22%), amongst others.



### On Trust

Religious leaders were rated more favourably by citizens (55%), followed by traditional leaders (44%). Citizens trust the government of President Buhari and the Judicial system (26% each), while the National Assembly (22%) and the Nigerian Police (22%) were the most poorly trusted.



### On Social Justice

71% of citizens believe that the Law does not apply equally to citizens in the country, as “there are persons above the law in Nigeria”; as against 23% who believe that the country's laws protect everyone equally.

68% of citizens hold the view that “Only the rich and powerful have access to justice”, compared to 27% who believe that “all citizens have equal access to civil justice”.

Almost 6 in 10 Nigerians (58%) express the view that the Federal Government isn't making enough effort to promote a sense of inclusion for all ethnic groups; as opposed to only 15% who assess the government's effort positively, and 27% who assess their efforts fairly.



### On Participation & Patriotism

63% of citizens are “Extremely or Somewhat Willing” to cooperate with fellow citizens to make Nigeria more united. While 62% say they are “Extremely and Somewhat Willing,” to participate in the political process to make Nigeria a better place. However, only 37% expressed willingness to join the military to defend the Nigerian state.



### On Natural Resource Governance

Almost 6 in 10 Nigerian (59%) believe that the government has been managing the revenues from natural resources “Poorly”; compared to 33% who assessed the government's management favourably.

The survey reported mixed feelings regarding the connection between the availability of natural resources and the promotion of corruption; as 41% of Nigerians “Agree or Strongly Agree” that the availability of natural resources fuels corruption in the country; similar to 40% of citizens who “Disagreed or Strongly Disagreed”.

45% of citizens consider the 13% derivation policy “Unfair and Insufficient”, while 46% feel it is okay. Unsurprisingly, a significant proportion of those who consider the policy “Unfair and Insufficient” is based in the South-South region (73%).



### On Gender Equity

About 8 in 10 Nigerians (81%) agree that boys and girls should have equal access to education; 72% agree that both males and females should be judged based on their qualifications, competence and track records; 67% agree that women should be given the opportunity to lead in politics, corporate entities and religious organizations; and 63% agree that women should be given equal opportunity to family inheritances.

Nearly half of Nigerians (49%) rate the current administration's efforts at promoting gender equity "Poorly"; as against about 2 in 10 Nigerians (21%) who rate government favourably.

51% of citizens rate the efforts of the current administration "Poorly" in the area of passing laws and implementing policies to protect women and girls from discrimination and violence, while only 20% rated their efforts favourably.

45% of citizens rate the efforts of government "Poorly" in the areas of providing more opportunities for women to be appointed into public offices; compared to only 22% who assessed their efforts positively.



### On Impunity

83% of Nigerians consider human rights abuses and violations a problem in the country; while 48% believe that such many cases of human rights violations are never reported to the Police. Interestingly, 56% of citizens "Very or Somewhat Likely" to report such cases to Community and Religious Leaders as opposed to the Police (52%).

Also, 53% of citizens believe that impunity thrives in the current administration; 83% believe impunity amongst government officials is "increasing"; 63% believe that state agents such as the Police and Military are often perpetrators of human rights abuses; while 58% believe that perpetrators of human rights abuses are likely to go unpunished and not convicted even when reported.



### On Corruption

Almost 7 in 10 citizens (69%) believe that the level of corruption has increased significantly in the past year, while 63% assess the government's efforts at tackling corruption "Poorly".

81% believe that access to justice is never free from corruption; compared to only 19% who believe that access to justice is most often free from corruption.



### On Self Worth

56% of Nigerians say they feel "Extremely or Somewhat Dissatisfied" about their lives as Nigerians right now, as against 31% said they feel "Extremely or Somewhat Satisfied".

If citizens would consider relocating to another state in the country, Lagos (16%), Abuja (13%) and Kano (8%) were identified as the most preferred. 73% of Nigerians surveyed said they would seize the opportunity to emigrate with their families; in search of better job opportunities (31%), greener pasture (30%) and better governance (12%). On the contrary, only 27% expressed their unwillingness to relocate.

Top destinations for those with a propensity to emigrate are the United States of America (27%), United Kingdom (14%), Canada (13%), Dubai (8%) and Saudi Arabia (7%) amongst others.



### On Future Expectation

Overall, almost 6 in 10 (59%) citizens believe that the future of the country would be much better than it is presently; compared to 27% who expressed pessimism that the future would be much worse; and 8% simply do not foresee any change in the future.

### Comparing Key Results & Findings from the 2019 and 2021 Survey Rounds

#### The 2019 and 2021 rounds of surveys show some marked differences:

There has been a decline in the proportion of Nigerians who say they are truly proud of the nation. In 2019, 55% of citizens said felt truly proud of Nigeria; however, by 2021 this proportion has declined to 42%, representing a 13% decline. Similarly, the proportion of Nigerians who say they feel truly disappointed in the country has increased – from 30% in 2019 to 49% in 2021, representing a 19% increase.

In 2019, 57% of citizens said they view themselves as equally Nigerian and ethnic; however, in 2021 only 40% see themselves that way, representing a 17% decline. Similarly, while about a quarter of citizens (25%) viewed themselves as more ethnic than Nigerian in 2019, that group of citizens have moved to a third of citizens (33%) in 2021, representing an 8% increase.

The data reports that significantly more citizens (65%) in 2021, compared to 45% in 2019, believe that the country is much more divided today than it was 4 years ago. This represents a whopping 20% increase in the proportion of Nigerians who say the country is much more divide today.

The data reveals a substantial trust deficit in the level of trust that citizens have for the Government of President Muhammadu Buhari. The difference of 42% in 2019 versus 26% in 2021 reveals a sharp 16% decline in citizens who say they have “A lot of Trust and Some Trust” in the Government of President Buhari.

Similarly, citizens trust for the National Assembly (NASS) also declined by 11% - from 33% in 2019 to 22% in 2021. Same for the Judiciary, where trust declined by 6% from 32% in 2019 to 26% in 2021.

The data reveal a 10% decline in the proportion of those “Extremely or Somewhat Willing” to cooperate with other ethnic groups – 73% in 2019 versus 63% in 2021. On the other hand, there was a 9% increase in those least willing to cooperate with people from other ethnic groups – 12% in 2019, as against 21% in 2021.

The proportion of citizens “Extremely or Somewhat Willing” to participate in the political process to make Nigeria a better place, declined by 8% - 2019 (70%) versus 2021 (62%). On the other hand, those who are “Extremely or Somewhat Unwilling” to participate in the political process increased by 9% - 2019 (15%) versus 2021 (24%). This gradual decline in the willingness of citizens to participate in the political process to make the country better further highlights the state of social cohesion in the country.

Willingness to join the military declined from 48% in 2019 to 37% in 2021. On the contrary, Nigerians who said they will NOT be willing to join the military to defend the Nigerian State, increased from 34% in 2019 to 48% in 2021.

There's been a whopping 41% increase in the proportion of citizens who would seize an opportunity to emigrate. In 2019, only about a third of citizens (32%) said they were willing to relocate with their families out of Nigeria; but by 2021, this proportion has grown dramatically to 73%.

Finally, in terms of the future expectations for Nigeria, the data reveals that the proportion of citizens who believe that the future of Nigeria will be better, decreased by 7% from 66% in 2019 to 59% in 2021. However, on the contrary, there was an increase in the proportion of citizens who believe that the future of Nigeria would be much worse than it is today – from 15% in 2019 to 27% in 2021.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

In conclusion, key findings from the Social Cohesion Survey coupled with Nigeria's Social Cohesion Index of 44.2% which is below the average social cohesion threshold, point to the fact that Nigeria is not as socially cohesive as it ought to be. In recent times, the country has become more divided along social, political, economic, ethnic and religious cleavage thereby questioning the roots of our social fabric and co-existence as a people. The increasing lack of social cohesion in the country could be plausibly linked to several factors including outright disconnection from the social contract, deep perceptions of inequality, increasing poverty level, high unemployment rate, marginalisation, heightened insecurity, exclusion, amongst others. Hence, the following recommendation will go a long way to shape policy that will revitalize the frightening socio-political and economic challenges currently bedeviling the state of Social Cohesion in Nigeria.

**The Nigerian Government:** Social cohesion is imperative for government to operate successfully, and the absence of social cohesion may threaten the peaceful co-existence of citizens.

1

There's need for the Federal Government to create a National Cohesion Commission, one with the crucial responsibility for ensuring that all policies and activities of government have components within them that create a sense of belonging, promotes trust, fosters inclusive governance, and continuously offers citizens opportunities for upward mobility. The government should, also, instruct public sector institutions to develop a social cohesion framework for public service delivery.

2

There's need to forge a new national movement for Nigeria and Nigerians. One which inhibits centrifugal tendencies that cause or promote conflicts, division or separatism; but strengthens centripetal forces that promote unity, oneness and peaceful co-existence amongst citizens. Like a new Nigerian Dream, this movement needs to be stimulated by the government and marketed to the citizens. In this regard, public institutions such as the Ministry of Information, National Orientation Agency (NOA), Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) and their affiliates have increasing roles to play in shaping and amplifying narratives that promote social cohesion and inclusion. For instance, showcasing exceptional examples of inter-ethnic and inter-religious marriages, and successful corporate partnerships of citizens from different parts of the country.

3

It is imperative that the federal, state and local governments identify new tactical measures that would promote social cohesion, peaceful inter-relations amongst citizens, and a stronger social contract between the government and the governed at all levels. This can be achieved through institutional reforms targeted at promoting the respect for fundamental human rights of citizens; as well as the independence of the press, civil society and the judiciary, which promote good governance at all levels. These are considered pertinent to addressing other prevailing socio-economic issues hindering the functionality of those living below the poverty line, as well as citizens of higher socio-economic demography.

4

Civil engagements and civil dialogues should be encouraged and organized at federal, state, local government and community levels; to enable citizens to express their opinions and grievances, especially those who feel alienated from governance. There's a need for a national dialogue, for various groups and stakeholders of the Nigeria Project – ethnic nationalities, social, professional, traditional, religious, and otherwise – to seat together and discuss the future of the country, and look for ways to mend the widening fault lines of the country. As it is still “better to jaw, than to war war”.

5

There's need to strengthen the National Social Investment Programme (NSIP) for sustainability and effective performance. The programmes and activities of NSIP, which target poor and vulnerable groups (children, women, persons with disabilities, the elderly and indigent groups) remain at the core of either promoting a sense of belonging and social inclusion or otherwise exclusion and deprivation, if not effectively managed. These groups constitute a significant proportion of citizens across the country, who hold deep resentments for state institutions and organized leadership, arising from feelings of exclusion, deprivation and marginalization.

**Traditional Rulers and Religious Leaders:** These groups of institutions play a significant role in fostering social cohesion in Nigeria because the citizens cannot subsist without ethnic and religious tolerance.

6

Religion and ethnicity play a huge role in fueling crisis and civil unrest. The religious and traditional institutions are key instruments for resolving local conflicts in communities since many Nigerians have been found to trust these institutions, as they also identify strongly with their ethnicity and religious affiliations.

7

The leaders should mitigate against hate speech, discrimination and hostility at the community level since they are closer to the people and earn more trust of the people than the government as evident in the findings.

8

There's need for religious and traditional rulers to collaborate with other key stakeholders including the Nigerian government to fashion out policy initiatives/programmes that seek to gain a better understanding of the issues, resolve conflicts, and promote peaceful co-existence and interdependence. Overall, these leaders must be transparent, honest, accountable and inclusive in their engagements.

### Civil Society of Nigeria (CSO):

1

CSOs contributions to social cohesion in Nigeria is imperative and viable because they possess the understanding, capacity and technical know-how to respond to societal issues and facilitate peaceful co-existence of the people.

2

In addition, collaboration with religious and traditional institutions to stimulate conflict resolution dialogues and initiatives would cement relationships across groups, as the study presents evidence to show that citizens have more trust in these institutions. Such trust in CSO's creates a platform for the CSO's to mediate, reconcile, build and monitor peacebuilding and social cohesion in Nigeria.

3

CSOs can also play a huge role in helping to rekindle public trust for civil authorities. While there's evidence to suggest that effective implementation of programmes and policies that improve the livelihood and wellbeing of citizens can help to rebuild trust; CSOs can guide government towards focusing on policies, programmes and projects that would have more impact on the lives of citizens, especially at the grass-root levels.

**Citizens:** The participation of citizens, particularly the youths, in governance is often mitigated by socio-economic and political challenges that they experience in the community. Howbeit, every citizen has an important role to play in promoting peaceful co-existence with neighbours and other community members.

9

We encourage Nigerians to embrace a new National Identity that emphasizes the strengths of Nigeria and her people. One that is reflective of the country's past victories and successes focuses on the current achievements and expresses optimism for a brighter future.

10

Nigeria is in dire need of Citizen Ambassadors. Citizens who will always think, speak, and act positively, about and towards the country. Citizens who will always see “the glass half full” about Nigeria from all walks of life and across various social demography's. Citizens who understand that nations are not defined by the boundaries and borderlines of their landmass, rather they are defined by people united by a common cause, value system and vision to fashion out the kind of society they wish to live in and bequeath to future generations.

11

Citizens are encouraged to participate in community dialogues, civil engagements and initiatives that promote cohesion and discuss the future of Nigeria; especially ideas and insights on how to build a more enduring and egalitarian society. Citizens should understand that no foreigner would come and change the country; and the responsibility of building a strong, prosperous and socially cohesive nation lies squarely in their hands.



Image source: <https://onlinenigeria.com/content/files/hausa-tribe.JPG>

01



## Background

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*The concept of Social Cohesion presupposes that citizens of a country have willingly decided to cooperate to survive and prosper as one united entity.*

## 1.0 Background

Nigeria is today in dire need of social cohesion. The concept of Social Cohesion presupposes that citizens of a country have willingly decided to cooperate to survive and prosper as one united entity. A socially cohesive society encourages participation, social inclusion of all groups minimises disparities and avoids marginalisation. On the other hand, a non-socially cohesive society is at risk of increased social vices and conflicts due to perceived exclusion, marginalisation and disconnection from the social contract.

In 2019, the Africa Polling Institute (API) conducted the 1<sup>st</sup> nationally representative survey on social cohesion in Nigeria – the Nigeria Social Cohesion Survey (#NSCS2019). The Survey measured social cohesion using 5 key indicators/components: Identity, Trust, Equity & Social Justice, Participation & Patriotism and Self Worth & Future Expectations. With the successful release and dissemination of the survey report into the social space, especially within the development and non-profit community, several conversations were stimulated; part of which led to further discussions on how to expand the indicators in line with the current realities in Nigeria.

With support from Ford Foundation, API recently conducted the 2<sup>nd</sup> round of the Nigeria Social Cohesion Survey (#NSCS2021) with expanded indicators to include burning issues which seem to undermine the unity and cohesion of the country; namely: **Natural Resource Governance, Gender, Impunity and Corruption**. These four indicators have been identified as precursors to the seeming perceptions of marginalization, upheavals and agitations in the country. For instance, the issue of natural resource governance and resource control has led to incessant agitations and civil unrest, which are threatening peaceful coexistence in the nation. In addition, impunity and corruption have been a bane to the nation's development, as evidenced in the widespread poverty, unemployment, inequality and gender disparity, despite the country's enormous natural and human resources.

Furthermore, economic inequalities, social exclusion, discrimination, marginalization of minorities, disconnection from the social contract, failures in protecting the well-being of the poor, and mutual mistrust among social groups in multi-ethnic societies, represent the greatest threat to social cohesion in a society. Social cohesion is a common issue in development studies, which when properly studied and projected improves the quality of the societies in which people live and help to avoid violent conflict with all its attendant ills<sup>1</sup>. A country/society that is united fosters peace and prosperity and gives a sense of belonging and identity to all its citizens irrespective of tribal, religious or other socio-cultural affiliation. Ensuring social cohesion is arguably one of the most fundamental challenges facing Nigeria as a country.

The OECD Development Centre (2011) describes a socially cohesive society as one that works towards the well-being of all its members, minimising disparities and avoiding marginalisation. The OECD's characterisation entails three major dimensions, namely: fostering cohesion by building networks of relationships, trust and identity between different groups; fighting discrimination, exclusion and excessive inequalities; and enabling upward social mobility<sup>2</sup>. This definition of social cohesion highlights the capacity of a society to pursue its members' welfare while at the same time reducing inequalities and promoting inclusion amongst diverse groups.

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<sup>1</sup> Langer, A; Stewart, F; Smedts, K & Demarest, L. (2017). Conceptualising and Measuring Social Cohesion in Africa: Towards a Perceptions-Based Index. *Social Indicators Research*, (131), 321-343

<sup>2</sup> OECD (2011), *Perspectives on Global Development 2012: Social Cohesion in a Shifting World*, OECD Publishing, Paris, [https://doi.org/10.1787/persp\\_glob\\_dev-2012-en](https://doi.org/10.1787/persp_glob_dev-2012-en).



02

## Literature Review

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*The three social cohesion indices are based on individuals shared perceptions. These include the levels of inequalities, trust and identities prevalence in the society.*

## 2.0 Literature Review

### 2.1 Measuring Social Cohesion

Based on survey data from 19 African countries from the Afro barometer, Langer *et al.* (2017) pointed out the three most critical areas in assessing the level of social cohesiveness in any society. The three social cohesion indices are based on individuals shared perceptions. These include the levels of inequalities, trust and identities prevalence in the society. In their own words:

“ We argue that to begin to capture the complexity of the concept such a measure should include three components. These are inequality (the chief feature of European approaches to defining social cohesion with reference to social exclusion), trust (the chief feature of the US approach to social cohesion with reference to social capital), and identity (national versus group), which is an important feature of multi-ethnic societies. We argued that all three of these components should focus on perceptions of people in the society in question, rather than any attempt to get at more 'objective' measures, since social cohesion is a matter of how people perceive the society in which they live”.<sup>3</sup>

They go on to construe social cohesion as being expressive of the sense of belongingness exhibited within a group and the individual perception of the whole group or 'society' as greater than its constituent parts. This individual sense of belongingness helps in bringing peaceful solutions to conflict that may arise among members. Part of this is communicated through shared values and 'shared norms of behaviour' which binds people together for social cohesion (or solidarity). Moreover, they found these shared norms of behaviour to be prevalent in the North American approach to conceptualizing social cohesion - which focuses on the government to ensure the objectives of people. Langer *et al.* (2017) however do not explain the issue of deviants from groups and how oligarchies emerge in groups, steering group interests to their whims and caprices.

Delhey and Dragolov (2016)<sup>4</sup> linked multifaceted dimensions of social cohesion to happiness. They explained social trust as 'trust in most people' and 'identification' as to how one is attached to his or her country. Trust for them should be viewed from individual perspectives as ones' trust in institutions. They further espouse that absolute values in society have multiplier effects, bringing about like values just like the existence of constitutionalism in the society. However, the import of these definitions and characterizations have not been well articulated in the African context - where there are still challenges to nationalism. Regardless, happiness can easily be thought of as a key product of positive social cohesion in different contexts.

Mann (1970)<sup>5</sup>, comes at social cohesion from the standpoint of justice. Here, justice is viewed in terms of social justice and is construed to have the same challenges in the conceptualization of 'shared values' in that like 'shared values', 'social justice' does not necessarily lead to cohesion. The same can be said for 'equality' which is synonymous with 'justice'. Mann argues that absolute values may not co-exist when members of the society stick to them as core values, given that abiding strictly to one means leaving out the other. This study is more on the abstract and argumentative part and does not bring about development. Even concepts as vague as they are, are definitive and are not strictly within their boundaries, yet they are building blocks for theory and practice. Thus, this view does not present a prospect for theoretical inquiry and thus still facing the problem of not being realistic.

<sup>3</sup> Arnim Langer & Frances Stewart & Kristien Smedts & Leila Demarest, 2017. "Conceptualising and Measuring Social Cohesion in Africa: Towards a Perceptions -Based Index," *Social Indicators Research: An International and Interdisciplinary Journal for Quality-of-Life Measurement*, Springer, vol. 131(1), pages 321 -343, March.

<sup>4</sup> Delhey, J. & Dragolov, G. (2016). Happier together: Social Cohesion and Subjective Well -being in Europe. *International Journal of Psychology*, 51 (3), 163 -176

<sup>5</sup> Mann, M., (1970). The social cohesion of liberal democracy, *American sociological review* 35 (3) 423-439.

Langer et al (2017) also defines social cohesion, posited that one of its determinants is the existence of common economic wellbeing. This is demonstrated by the reduction in disparities in income and wealth, and the perception of issues as a common enterprise by people. Arguably, this practically demonstrates social cohesion as a value that would be expectedly lacking in developing countries like Nigeria, where there is a wider gap between the rich and the poor.

Another aspect of social cohesion expressed in the literature is community engagement. For McCloskey et al. (2011)<sup>6</sup>, community engagement is grounded in the principles of community organization, fairness, justice, participation and self-determination. Hence, community participation is reinforced in a society that experiences engagement by other organisations, both public and private. In their characterisation, community participation extends beyond physical contribution to the execution of community projects to include 'generation of ideas, contributions to decision making and sharing of responsibility'.

### Definitions of Social Cohesion



#### Canada

Social cohesion is an ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunities within Canada, based on a sense of trust, hope and reciprocity among all Canadians.



#### France

Social cohesion is a set of social processes that help instil in individuals the sense of belonging to the same community and the feeling that they are recognised as members of that community.



#### New Zealand

Social cohesion describes where different groups and institutions knit together effectively despite differences. It reflects a high degree of willingness to work together, taking into account diverse needs and priorities. Social cohesion is underpinned by the four following conditions:

1. Individual opportunities - including education, jobs and health
2. Family well-being - including parental responsibility
3. Strong Communities - including safe and reliant communities
4. National identity - including history, heritage, culture and rights and entitlements of citizenship



#### Australia

Social cohesion is the bond between communities of people who co-exist, interact and support each other through material means and by sharing group beliefs, customs and expectations.



#### Denmark

Social cohesion refers to a situation where everyone has access to establishing basic social relationships in society, such as work participation, family life, political participation and activities in civil society.



#### European Union

Article 2 of the Treaty of the European Union states that the tasks of the union included: "Maintaining economic and social cohesion and solidarity between all member states of the Union".

The objective of social cohesion implies a reconciliation of a system of organization based on market forces, freedom of opportunity and enterprise, with a commitment to the values of solidarity and mutual support which ensures open access to benefit and to protect all members of society.

Source: Ritzen (2001)

<sup>6</sup> McCloskey, Silberberg, M., Cook, J Dreschers, C., D.J., Weaver, S. & Ziegahn, L., (Eds.) (June, 2011), Principle of Community Engagement, 2nded. U.S.A.: NIH Publication

## 2.2 Social Cohesion in Nigeria

According to Hofstede (1994; cited in Aluko and Ajani, 2009<sup>7</sup>), any nation united by ethnicity or language agitates for independent recognition of their own identity at a national or international level. This ideology aligns with the social circumstance of Nigeria, where a socio-conscious mindset of a united nation is gradually fading away amongst the people due to some peculiar issues. The threat to social cohesion has long existed before the emergence of Nigeria in 1914. The history of Nigeria is speckled with various ethno-nationalist conflicts characterised by a civil war between 1967 and 1970, ethno-religious crisis, secession agitations<sup>8</sup> and the amalgamation of over 250 ethnic groups to create Nigeria in 1914. Before colonial rule, the ethnic groups in the South-South region share a homogeneous cultural practice and were never united evidenced between the Efik and Ibibio; and the Urhobo and Itsekiris<sup>9</sup>. Similarly, Benin, the most powerful empire from the 15<sup>th</sup> century possessed extensive imperial control over some states in the Northern and Southern parts of Nigeria including the Oyo empire (Ajayi & Akintoye, 1980; cited by Edewor, et al., 2014)<sup>10</sup>. This action stirred rivalry, tension, distrust and cold war before the British colonization (ibid).

Before independence, the unification of over 250 ethnic groups (some of which were rivals) characterised with diverse cultural and religious practices to form Nigeria has made and mar social cohesion in Nigeria. Many consider the unification of the multiple ethnic groups as a 'forceful' political and economic union<sup>11</sup> and reportedly unacceptable by some ethnic groups, hence birthing "mutual suspicion, hatred and disunity"<sup>12</sup> amongst groups in Nigeria to date. To the late Chief Obafemi Awolowo:

“ Nigeria is not a nation. It is a mere geographical expression. There are no Nigerians in the same sense as there are English, Welsh, or French. The word 'Nigerian' is merely a distinctive appellation to distinguish those who live within the boundaries of Nigeria from those who do not” (West African Pilot 1946: 23<sup>13</sup>; cited in Olayode, 2011)<sup>14</sup>.

Unfortunately, the unification of multiple ethnic groups in 1914 aided colonialist rule through an Indirect Rule System and ethnically divided the people<sup>15</sup> sparking fear of dominance and calls for secession, national restructuring and good governance. For instance, adopting a disparate administration within the Southern and Northern Protectorates contributed to the disparate level of development between the regions. While the Southern region enjoyed trade, educational opportunities and urbanization, the Northern region (the most populated) protected their religion instead<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Aluko, M. A. O. & Ajani O. A. (2009). Ethnic nationalism and the Nigerian democratic experience in the Fourth Republic. *An International Multi-Disciplinary Journal* 3(1), 483-499.

<sup>8</sup> Nwokedi, M. E and Ngwu, E. C. (2018). The challenges of Nationhood and State-building in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. *AfriHeritage Working Paper Series*.

<sup>9</sup> Edewor, P. A., Aluko, Y. A. & Folarin, S. F. (2014). Managing Ethnic and Cultural Diversity for National Integration in Nigeria. *Developing Countries Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Ajayi, J.F.A. and Akintoye, S.A. (1980) "Yorubaland in the 19<sup>th</sup> century" in Ikime, O. (ed.) *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan: Heinemann

<sup>11</sup> Mbanefo, O. (2018). Agitations for Separation and Non-Negotiability of Nigeria's Unity: Bottling the Bomb?

<sup>12</sup> Mbanefo, O. (2018). Agitations for Separation and Non-Negotiability of Nigeria's Unity: Bottling the Bomb?

<sup>13</sup> West Africa Pilot (1946). *The Nigeria Nation*. Lagos: 2 March 1946, 23-32

<sup>14</sup> Olayode, K. O. (2011). Ethno-nationalist movements and political mobilisation in Africa: The Nigeria experience (1990-2003). *Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien*, No. 20, Pp. 69-93

<sup>15</sup> Olasupo, O., Oladeji, I. O. & Ijeoma, E. O. C. (2017). Nationalism and Nationalist Agitation in Africa: The Nigerian Trajectory. *The Review of Black Political Economy*, No. 44, Pp. 261-283

<sup>16</sup> Kavwam, S. (2011). *The Evolution of the Nigerian State from the Colonial Era through the present Democratic Dispensation*. GRIN Verlag: Munich.

The bane of developmental disparity in the regions is fuelling developmental strife of fear of domination of one ethnic group over others, thus threatening peaceful co-existence of the people. For example, the 1950's call for self-rule was approved by the Western and Southern regions and declined in the Northern region due to relative educational backwardness and fear that low employability public services may influence the domination of the Southern region at independence<sup>17</sup>. Such strife and grievances in Nigeria remarkably in the Northern region depict the “outcomes of high-income inequality which increase the chance of violence by worsening social distrust and also increases the perception of relative deprivation” (World Bank, 2014<sup>18</sup>; cited by Jaiyeola & Choga, 2020:7).

Similarly, post-independence adoption of the “colonial legacy of political culture, structure, culture and general policy” and the establishment of a central system of government is further infuriating fear of dominance, marginalization, social exclusion and injustice in Nigeria to date. The 1966 mass killings of Igbos and the 1967-1970 civil war could have been averted if the government had recognised the people, respected their fundamental rights, distributed resources equitably, protected the people, and did not fuel the perceived marginalization of occupying political positions in South-East<sup>19</sup>.

According to Nwuke (2021), “all ethnic groups are affected by the poor state of governance in Nigeria today and are protesting. The most intriguing thing is the discriminatory attitude of the federal government to particular protests and other threats to the integrity of the country”<sup>20</sup>. This discriminatory attitude is noticeable during the environmental degradation by non-indigenous oil-producing companies, particularly Shell and the herder-farmer crisis in recent times. For instance, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and Niger Delta Avengers share similar grievances concerning unethical environmental degradation, inequitable resource distribution, poor governance and social injustice causing high levels of poverty, unemployment and inequality in the Niger-Delta region. Similarly, the herder-farmer crisis may have been brought under control if the government had brought the unpatriotic herdsman to book and created a viable and feasible strategic solution than open ranching.

Visible marginalization, social injustice, inequality and politicising of resource distribution are thus fuelling rising and incessant agitations for secession groups such as the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State for Biafra (MASSOB), and the present Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and Yoruba Nation.

Agitators of IPOB (the current agitators for Biafra) and Yoruba nation previously differed in political ideologies for Nigeria but not anymore since the present administration has refused to restructure Nigeria. While the agitators for Biafra have always declared interest in secession, Afenifere agitated for restructuring based on true federalism<sup>21</sup>. According to Johnson et al (2021), Afenifere fronted the restructuring of Nigeria where powers move from the Federal Government to the State Government levels in Nigerians before the 2015

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<sup>17</sup> Raheem, W. M., Oyeleye, O. I., & Aladekoyi, O. C. (2014). Regional imbalances and Inequalities in Nigeria: Causes, consequences and Remedies. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 4, No. 18.

<sup>18</sup> World Bank. (2014). *World development report 2014*

<sup>19</sup> Lugard, S. B., Zechariah, M. & Ngufwang, T. (2015). Self-Determination a Right of the Marginalized in Nigeria: A Mirage or Reality? *Journal of International Human Rights Law*, Vol. 1, No.1.

<sup>20</sup> Nwuke, K. (2021). Nigeria: Resolving the so-called ‘Igbo Problem’. (Online). *The Africa Report*. (8 June 2021). Accessed on 24 June 2021. Available here: <https://www.theafricareport.com/95288/nigeria-resolving-the-so-called-igbo-problem/>

<sup>21</sup> Odum, M. (n.d). Agitations for Separation and Non-Negotiability of Nigeria’s Unity: Bottling the Bomb?

election. That is, more responsibilities will be allocated to the State governments to facilitate better development and social cohesion and control the distribution of resources, internally generate revenue and pay taxes to the Federal Government as evidenced during the First Republic<sup>22</sup>. The uneven distribution of natural resources informed incessant calls for restructuring by the Yorubas' and the tacit support given to the current administration in 2015 by the main Yoruba socio group Afenifere was hinged on the promise to restructure the country.

Having reneged on this promise, and the failure to accommodate opinion on restructuring, the calls for secession reached a crescendo during the rampage of Fulani herdsmen who wantonly destroy farmlands and the people. Yoruba Nation agitators are reportedly fuming about the impunity of Fulani herdsmen to poor open grazing on farmlands and incessant killings of farmers in Yoruba states, and the poor attitude of the current government to duly sanction the culprits. According to Sunday Igboho,

“We don't want one Nigeria again, but Yoruba nation. There is no essence for one Nigeria. We are being marginalised. We say enough is enough. Enough is enough, no going back... we are not scared of anybody, these killer herders are taking over our land and they are killing us, raping our wives, female children in our presence and would also take over our land. We are not safe in our own country, we can't sleep in peace, we can't travel in peace, we can't go to our farm in peace, what have we done? Is it a sin or are we slaves in our fatherland? Please what have done wrong? We have chosen the wrong leaders and we are now tired and saying that enough is enough”<sup>23</sup>

The agitators thus perceive the government's response as sheer nepotism and social injustice for the local farmers in Yoruba states and further degenerated farmers/herder's crisis in the states.

Furthermore, the MASSOB group (pro-Biafra) created in 1992 have longed agitated for secession following from the alienation of the Igbo group from enjoying the distribution of resources and occupying national leadership positions in government for over sixty years which they perceive as a strategic exclusion of Igbos from occupying certain positions of authority<sup>24</sup>. This marginalization informed the group's desire to break away the Eastern region from Nigeria to form the Biafran state thus renewing the secessionist movement between 1967 and 1970<sup>25</sup>, yet the goal was unsuccessful.

Despite the futile call for self-government, Biafra agitators believe that the Nigerian government prefer to 'forcefully' preserve the peace and unity of the country the same way the country was formed<sup>26</sup> by not granting a referendum to listen to the concerns of the people. Continuous deteriorating economic conditions, political instability and insecurity further influenced the emergence of the present Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) (Pro-Biafra) and intensified agitation for secession in the Eastern region of Nigeria. Nevertheless, with the increasing call for secession, there are significant indications that the unity of Nigeria is seriously questioned by the ethnic nationalities.

<sup>22</sup> Johnson, D., Ajayi, O., Ojo, S. A, Ojomoyela, R. & Ogunnaike, J. (2021). Restructuring without Zoning: Yoruba leaders cautious on ACF, NEF, others' move. (Online). Vanguard Newspaper. (11 April 2021). Accessed on 28 June 2021. Available here: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2021/04/restructuring-without-zoning-yoruba-leaders-cautious-on-acf-nef-others-move/>

<sup>23</sup> Adeyemo, S. (2021). No going back on Yoruba Nation – Sunday Igboho Insists. (Online). Vanguard Newspaper. 23 May 2021. (Accessed on 6 June 2021). Available here: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2021/05/no-going-back-on-yoruba-nation-sunday-igboho-insists/>

<sup>24</sup> Ikegbunam, P. C. & Agudoso, F. I. (2012). Cultivating Biafran agenda in Nigeria: Evaluation of the influence of radio Biafra's rhetoric of ethnic marginalization on rural dwellers in the South-East. *Journal of Media and Communication Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1, Pp.23-37

<sup>25</sup> Sandig, J. (2018). Framing Non-Violence : MASSOB and the Puzzling Non-Escalation of the Struggle for Biafra in Nigeria. Found in Frie. E., Kohl, T. & Meier, M. (Eds). *Dynamics of Social Change and perceptions of Threat*

<sup>26</sup> Odum, M. (n.d). Agitations for Separation and Non-Negotiability of Nigeria's Unity: Bottling the Bomb?

Considering the state of the nation, there is thus a generalized perception of marginalization and dissatisfaction amongst the ethnic groups, and which have worsened mistrust and influenced secession agitations, therefore, threatening cohesion in Nigeria.

## 2.3 Conceptualisation

### 2.3.1 Social Cohesion

Analysis of any kind in the research world rightly demands an understanding of the concept of variables being studied. The literature on social cohesion consistently criticizes the notion of lack of consensus in definition and indicators (Schiefer & van der Noll, 2017)<sup>27</sup>. As old as the concept is, dating back to the time of sociologist Durkheim and its pre-modern perspectives, the research community has yet to see a coherent theory and a definition that easily facilitates empirical studies. Batterman (2015)<sup>28</sup> has argued from a background knowledge provided by sociologists, fathers of the concept of social cohesion, Emile Durkheim and Ferdinand Tonnies, argue five dimensions of the theory, namely, common values and civic culture, social order and social control, social solidarity and reduction in wealth disparities, and social networks and social capital, and attachment to identity.

As Loris Vergolini (2011)<sup>29</sup> points out, “there are some problems with the theme of social cohesion”, such as the lack of clear definition and its heterogeneity. What Dick Stanley (2003, p.1)<sup>30</sup> means in defining the concept as “the willingness of members of society to cooperate to survive and prosper,” perhaps is, relationship or cooperation among citizens or groups in society is a function of choice, a rational one for that matter. The perception that equity, fairness and individual goals in life or society can be realized through cooperation is rationality. This means that social cohesion cannot be forced. It must be done voluntarily. In this sense, getting people to cooperate in society for the greater good of all is a task that policy should achieve, of which many countries are said to have fallen far behind.

The literature contains numerous components and determinants of social cohesion. Three key elements, according to Schiefer and van der Noll, are social relations, identification with a territorial zone and provision for the common good. Other determinants of social cohesion are equity, quality of life, shared values and cooperation. There is a wide range of further issues that add up to the confusion for the concept in societies trying to hold together and understand the differences that can bind them together or tear them (Lenshie, 2014)<sup>31</sup>. Some researchers believe that ethnic differences or diversity undermine social cohesion and have explored questions in this direction with findings that do not necessarily follow. Rather, they are individuals in positions of influence and power who, for personal and selfish reasons, frequently arm ethnicity. The decisive role of ethnicity in ethnic relationships threatens cooperation (van der Meer and Tolsma, 2014)<sup>32</sup>. Lanzi also

<sup>27</sup> Schiefer, D., & van der Noll, J. (2017). The Essentials of Social Cohesion: A Literature Review. *Social Indicators Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-016-1314-5>

<sup>28</sup> Batterman, Sarah (2015) An Empirical Multilevel Study of the relation between community level social cohesion indicators and individual social capital in Flanders, Belgium, doctoral dissertation

<sup>29</sup> Vergolini, L. (2011). Does Economic Vulnerability Affect Social Cohesion? Evidence from a Comparative Analysis. *The Canadian Journal of Sociology / Cahiers Canadiens de Sociologie*, 36(1), 1–23. JSTOR. [http://www.jstor.org/stable/canajs\\_ocicahican.36.1.1](http://www.jstor.org/stable/canajs_ocicahican.36.1.1)

<sup>30</sup> Stanley, D. (2003). What Do We Know about Social Cohesion: The Research Perspective of the Federal Government’s Social Cohesion Research Network. *The Canadian Journal of Sociology / Cahiers Canadiens de Sociologie*, 28(1), 5–17. JSTOR. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3341872>

<sup>31</sup> Lenshie, N. E. (2014). ‘Ties that Bind and Differences that Divide’: Exploring the Resurgence of Ethno-Cultural Identity in Nigeria. *Africa Development / Afrique et Développement*, 39(2), 153–212. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/afrdevafrdev.39.2.153>

<sup>32</sup> Van der Meer, T., & Tolsma, J. (2014). Ethnic Diversity and Its Effects on Social Cohesion. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 40, 459–478. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43049544>

explained social cohesion by exploring its connection with well-being by applying socio-psychological models to understanding the cohesion of communities and groups. The author then argues the need for a multi-dimensional understanding of the concept that emphasizes a wellness perspective (Lanzi, 2011)<sup>33</sup>.

The question of what we know of social cohesion begins with this debate about the meaning of the concept, which the literature continues to suggest gaps, has not been sufficiently asked. These gaps need to be filled by more empirical, theoretical studies on a case-by-case basis. There are even specific activities and organizations that have been proposed to have the capacity to promote social cohesion in society, like the executive, the legislative and the judiciary. This implies the deliberate pursuit of social cohesion as a goal through relevant behaviours, activities, and institutions of governance (Koonce, 2011)<sup>34</sup>. Some have even implied in their analyses that social cohesion is a function of happiness and used a subjective approach to describing what happiness or what makes a person happy to incline to cooperation and peaceful social relations (Chan et al., 2006)<sup>35</sup>. The bottom line here is that the state of happiness of a people can contribute to the harmony in society and suggest whether they will cooperate with policies and laws. On the other hand, those happier than others are more likely to want to retain a policy or advocate for its sustenance if it gives them opportunities to be happy (Becchetti et al., 2014<sup>36</sup>; Hirschauer et al., 2015<sup>37</sup>; Ip, 2014<sup>38</sup>; Kroll & Delhey, 2013<sup>39</sup>; Tandoc & Takahashi, 2013<sup>40</sup>; Gandelman & Porzecanski, 2013<sup>41</sup>).

According to Eurofund and Siftung (2014)<sup>42</sup>, there are three main domains of social cohesive: Connectedness (which involves Identification, Trust in Institutions, and Perceptions of Fairness); Social relations (which involves Social networks, Trust in people, and Acceptance of diversity); and Focus on the common (which involves Solidarity and helpfulness, Respect for social rules, and Civic participation).

<sup>33</sup> Lanzi, D. (2011). Capabilities and social cohesion. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 35(6), 1087–1101. JSTOR.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/24232490>

<sup>34</sup> Koonce, K. A. (2011). Social Cohesion as the Goal: Can Social Cohesion Be Directly Pursued? *Peabody Journal of Education*, 86(2), 144–154. JSTOR. <https://doi.org/10.2307/23048768>

<sup>35</sup> Chan, J., To, H.-P., & Chan, E. (2006). Reconsidering Social Cohesion: Developing a Definition and Analytical Framework for Empirical Research. *Social Indicators Research*, 75(2), 273–302. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27522534>

<sup>36</sup> Becchetti, L., Massari, R., & Naticchioni, P. (2014). The drivers of happiness inequality: Suggestions for promoting social cohesion. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 66(2), 419–442. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43772872>

<sup>37</sup> Hirschauer, N., Lehberger, M., & Musshoff, O. (2015). Happiness and Utility in Economic Thought —Or: What Can We Learn from Happiness Research for Public Policy Analysis and Public Policy-Making? *Social Indicators Research*, 121(3), 647–674. JSTOR.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/24721550>

<sup>38</sup> Ip, P.-K. (2014). Harmony as Happiness? Social Harmony in Two Chinese Societies. *Social Indicators Research*, 117(3), 719–741. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24720967>

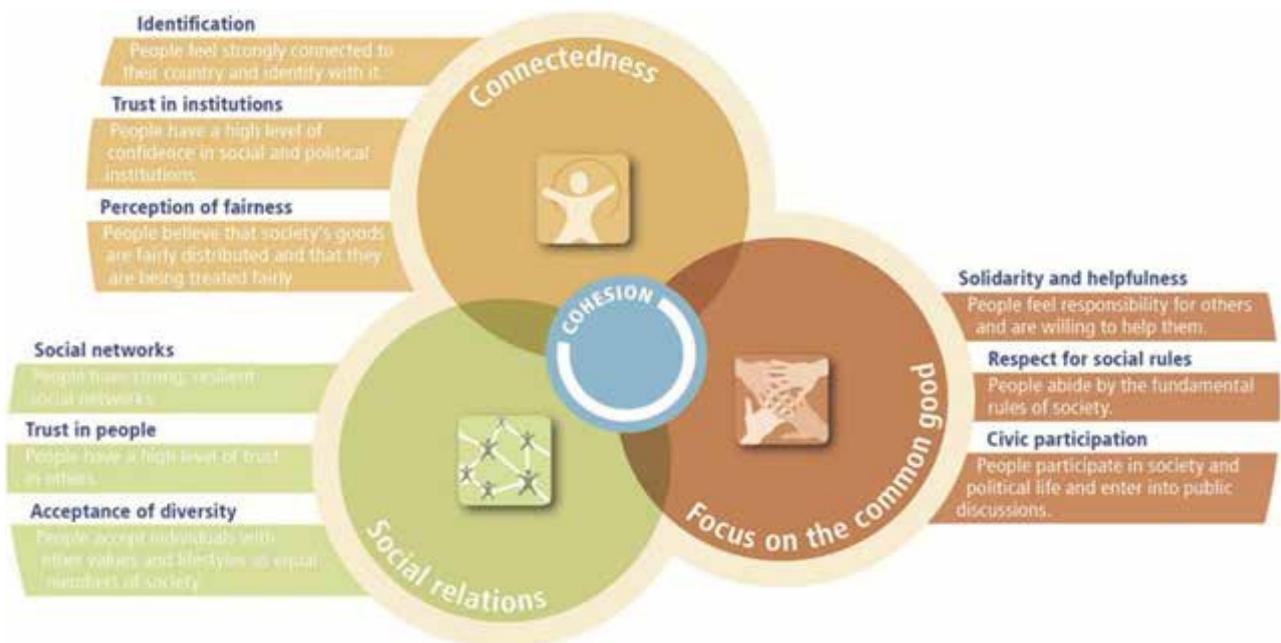
<sup>39</sup> Kroll, C., & Delhey, J. (2013). A Happy Nation? Opportunities and Challenges of Using Subjective Indicators in Policymaking. *Social Indicators Research*, 114(1), 13–28. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24719522>

<sup>40</sup> Tandoc, E. C., & Takahashi, B. (2013). The Complex Road to Happiness: The Influence of Human Development, a Healthy Environment and a Free Press. *Social Indicators Research*, 113(1), 537–550. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24719428>

<sup>41</sup> Gandelman, N., & Porzecanski, R. (2013). Happiness Inequality: How Much is Reasonable? *Social Indicators Research*, 110(1), 257–269. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24718703>

<sup>42</sup> Source: Eurofund and Bertelsman Siftung, 2014

Figure 1: Domains of Social Cohesion



Source: Eurofund and Bertelsman Stiftung, 2014

In addition, Langer *et al* (2014)<sup>43</sup> identified three pillars of social cohesion, which he articulated as the Social Cohesion Triangle: Trust, Inequality and Identity.

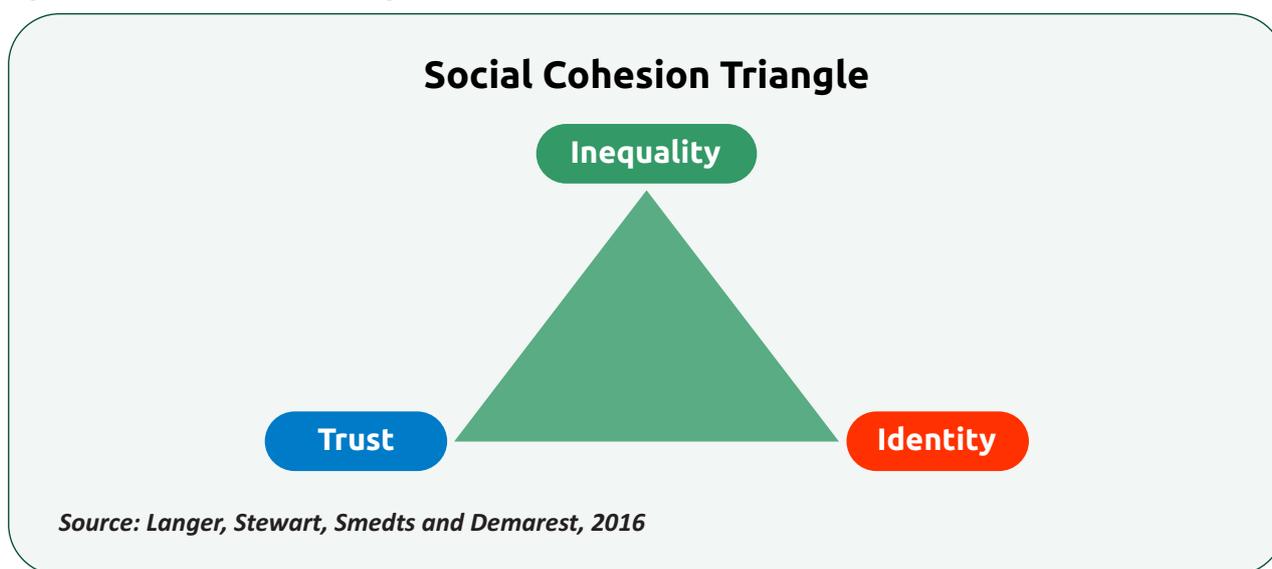
The first component in the social cohesion triangle is the extent of trust amongst people generally, and particularly across groups, and in relationship to the state. This is a powerful indicator of how cohesive society is—of the strength of the 'glue' that binds people together within a particular society. This element broadly reflects the North American perspective on social cohesion. Where trust across groups is low, conflict is more likely (Gambetta 1988) and economic progress can be impeded (Knack and Keefer 1997; Zak and Knack 2001; Beugelsdijk *et al.* 2004). In both cases, a two-way relationship is probable. It is also possible that trust increases with greater per capita income as institutions improve. While these two-way relationships may make it difficult to ascertain causality, they do not have bearing on the validity of the SCI. Trust in state institutions is highly relevant, given the importance of the state both in shaping economic and social relationships, and people's lives more generally. Lack of trust in state institutions may lead to violent protests and uprisings and impede Social Cohesion.

The second component in the social cohesion triangle is the extent of inequalities both horizontal (group) and vertical (individual). The inclusion of inequalities stems from the European approach. Horizontal (or group) inequalities (HIs) are particularly critical for SC in multi-ethnic societies because it is sharp inequalities between ethnic (or religious or regional) groups that usually fuel political conflict, often leading to violence (Stewart 2008; Cederman *et al.* 2011). Relevant here is not only perceived group inequalities but perceptions of fair or unfair treatment by the government. In addition, vertical inequalities, or inequalities among individuals, (VIs), are also relevant, since high and rising vertical inequality can undermine bonds among people (Uslaner 2008). One would expect less Social Cohesion in highly unequal societies since the feeling of belonging to a shared national project is likely to be less.

<sup>43</sup> Langer, Stewart, Smedts and Demarest, 2016

The third critical element of social cohesion in multi-ethnic societies is the strength of people's adherence to national identity with their group (or ethnic) identity. This component is important for multi-ethnic societies, especially those, such as in Africa, where national boundaries have not developed organically, and nations are not natural units but were created relatively recently by colonial powers. The strength of identities is related to the perceived importance of Horizontal Inequalities (HI), since if group identities are relatively weak HIs may not be perceived at all, or if perceived, not regarded as important. People's perceptions of their identity are also relevant to social cohesion because group conflict is more likely if group identities are perceived as strong relative to national ones. Conversely, if people put major emphasis on national identities, it indicates that they regard themselves as involved in a shared national project. A socially cohesive society requires diversity and unity, with both group and national identity valued. However, where only group identities take strong precedence over national ones, national cohesion likely to be threatened.

Figure 2: The Social Cohesion Triangle



There has been a lot of effort to measure social cohesion. Different approaches have given rise to different kinds of indicators and empirical findings (Berger-Schmitt 2000; Duhaime et al. 2004; Fenger, 2012) such as objective and subjective elements evident in Fenger (2012)<sup>44</sup>. The objective component of social cohesion involves the tendency by individuals to connect with others and participate in political and civic activities while the subjective component refers to the perceptions that others can be trusted and relied upon in case of need. As noted by Eurofund and Siftung (2014), there are three main indicators of social cohesion: social relations (which involves social networks, trust in people, and acceptance of diversity); focus on the common (which involves solidarity and helpfulness, respect for social rules, and civic participation); and connectedness (which involves identification, trust in institutions, and perceptions of fairness). In furtherance of the indicators of social cohesion, Africa Polling Institute (2019)<sup>45</sup> identified five domains of social cohesion as identity, trust, equity & social justice, participation & patriotism, and self-worth & future expectation.

<sup>44</sup>Fenger, M. (2012). Deconstructing social cohesion: towards an analytical framework for assessing social cohesion policies. *Corvi nus Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 3(2), 39-54.

<sup>45</sup>Africa Polling Institute (2019): The Nigeria Social Cohesion Survey 2019.

Drawing from the literature reviewed above, the concept of Social Cohesion is reflected in and can be measured by capturing some of the following indicators: Identity, Trust, Equity & Social Justice, Participation & Patriotism, and Self-Worth & Future Expectation. Each of these components is discussed further in the following paragraphs.

### ● Identity

The Identity component of social cohesion sees the cohesiveness of a multi-ethnic society in terms of how individuals view their national relationship to identifying with a tribe or group to which they belong. A socially inclusive society encourages opportunities for growth and social mobility through the provision of strong policies that discourage marginalisation, and encourage the integration of minorities in the society, by creating the perception of being accepted with the feeling of belonging.

### ● Trust

The Trust component reflects the different perceptions of people towards the reliability of others. This is not only reflected between people but also towards institutions. Trust strengthens unity and identification as well as a moral sense of solidarity. There are at least three levels of trust: Social Trust, Trust in institutions and Trust in politics. Social trust refers to trust in other people, Institutional trust refers to trust in organisations, and political trust refers to trust in politics and political institutions. Without trust, a society cannot attain cohesion.

### ● Equity and Social Justice

The Equity & Social Justice component reflects the acceptance of and compliance with established social order. A lack of social order results in anarchy where societal member's goals are no longer in harmony with the legitimate approaches of reaching the goals. Social Justice and Equity levels on the laws and policies of the government, the perception of fairness and equality amongst different groups in the society, the treatment of individuals and groups by the government and the trust of the people in the government.

### ● Participation and Patriotism

Participation & Patriotism as a component of social cohesion hinges on the willingness of individuals and groups to work together to ensure the growth of a society or an economy. Social cohesion is “a state of affairs in which a group of people demonstrate an aptitude for collaboration that produces a climate for change that, in the longer run, benefits all”<sup>46</sup>. The interests of individuals to participate in the political process for the progress of an economy are part of the questions to be expected when patriotism is discussed.

### ● Self-worth and Future Expectation

Worth is portrayed through the subjective measures of quality of life. The measurement of life satisfaction, individual happiness and future expectation explicitly convey the aspect of worth as a component of social cohesion. Are citizens satisfied with the present life they live? Is what they currently undergo a sufficient measurement of their happiness?

## 2.3.2 Natural Resource Governance

Natural resources can be classified into non-renewable and renewable categories. For example, oil, gas, and minerals fall into the first category, whereas, forests, biodiversity, and water, are examples of renewable natural resources (United Nations, 1997)<sup>47</sup>. This review adopts the United Nations definition which sees natural resources as “natural assets (raw materials) occurring in nature that can be used for economic

<sup>46</sup> Ritzen, Jo (2001), Social Cohesion, Public Policy, and Economic Growth: Implications for OECD Countries. OECD Quebec working paper.

<sup>47</sup> United Nations (1997) Glossary of Environment Statistics, Studies in Methods, Series F, No. 67, <http://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=1740>

production or consumption". It further explains that they are "naturally occurring assets that provide use benefits through the provision of raw materials and energy used in economic activity (or that may provide such benefits one day) and that is subject primarily to quantitative depletion through human use. They are subdivided into four categories: mineral and energy resources, soil resources, water resources, and biological resources" (United Nations, 1997).

Nigeria's vast, rich water and land resources are of immense economic, political, and social value. Community people have had age-long traditions of creating livelihood opportunities in their relationship to these resources. The creeks, land, rivers, seas, swamps, and forests, for example, provided rich sources of livelihoods for communities, as they depended on these resources, and still do, for a wide range of what they need for meeting daily social and economic needs. There are at least 35 specific natural/mineral resources of varying value to the government, companies and individuals. They include crude oil, gold, silver, coal, granite, iron-ore, barite, bitumen, gemstones, clay, feldspar, copper ore, zinc, dolomite, lead ore, limestone, phosphate, galena, gypsum, wolframite, kaolin, salt, quartzite, magnesium, fluorite, manganese, tar sand, columbite, diatomite, titanium, marble, and uranium. Others include talc, silica and tin ore. Out of all these resources, oil currently attracts the greatest attention to the government and the international capitalist establishment because of the role it plays in the economic life of the country and the profit-making ambitions of investors.

Natural resource governance and social cohesion issues in Nigeria, have been discussed differently in the literature at the intersection of struggles for control, access, ownership, uses, distribution of benefits, and the potential for social and economic development at the national and sub-national level. This is perhaps why the temptation for choosing crude oil as the subject of interest on issues of natural resource governance in Nigeria in many quarters such as academic conferences, policy debates, academic publications, research, and analysis, has remained high. The literature is crammed with suggestions that the dominance of government perspectives in the governance of crude oil is due to the importance the government attaches to the resource as a high revenue and foreign exchange yielding resource. Nigeria has progressively left agriculture as the main source of income and currency since it became an exporting country.

Natural resource governance implies the relationship between citizens and authoritative institutions concerning the control, access, and distribution of benefits which some scholars suppose has not been participatory and people-oriented (Brooks & Kurtz, 2016<sup>48</sup>; Annan & Edu-Afful, 2015<sup>49</sup>; Ovadia, 2013<sup>50</sup>; Akhaine, 2010<sup>51</sup>; Akinola, 2008<sup>52</sup>; Olarinmoye, 2008<sup>53</sup>). The governance process implies a relationship between government and other actors interested in the resources as seen in their role in the formulation and implementation of rules, guidelines, regulations, policies, laws, and extraction of these resources.

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<sup>48</sup> Brooks, S. M., & Kurtz, M. J. (2016). Oil and Democracy: Endogenous Natural Resources and the Political 'Resource Curse'. *International Organization*, 70(2), 279–311. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24758326>

<sup>49</sup> Annan, N., & Edu-Afful, F. (2015). Confronting the 'Oil Curse': South African Institute of International Affairs; JSTOR. <https://doi.org/10.2307/resrep25892>

<sup>50</sup> OVADIA, J. S. (2013). The Nigerian 'One Percent' and the Management of National Oil Wealth Through Nigerian Content. *Science & Society*, 77(3), 315–341. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24583641>

<sup>51</sup> Akhaine, S. O. (2010). Nigeria: Politics and the end of oil. *Review of African Political Economy*, 37(123), 89–91. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27860750>

<sup>52</sup> Akinola, S. R. (2008). Coping with Social Deprivation through Self-Governing Institutions in Oil Communities of Nigeria. *Africa Today*, 55 (1), 89–107. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27666952>

<sup>53</sup> Olarinmoye, O. O. (2008). Politics Does Matter: The Nigerian State and Oil (Resource) Curse. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24483994>

The approach in the governance of oil in Nigeria has taken the form of appropriating key decision-making powers of ownership and control by the Federal Government through the formulation and implementation of laws, policies, rules, and regulations that lack provisions for adequate reflection of the interest of those at the bottom of society, especially those in the communities where the oil is produced, who regularly complain about the unintended negative consequences of industry activities on their environment and also complain about what they see as exclusion from legitimate involvement in the oil business. This approach is based on a policy objective that targets the collective benefit of using the resource to promote development. This pattern of governance also hinges on the perception of a need for uninterrupted production to serve the purpose of generating national income and foreign exchange needed for economic development and provision of essential social services and infrastructure from the perspective of government.

## 2.4 Social Cohesion and Natural Resource Governance

Nigeria has been presented in the literature as a country that has not been able to properly govern its rich oil and gas resources in ways that protect the environment, and lead well to development. The country has not been able to instil enough trust in citizens and those in communities directly affected by the activities of companies and individuals in the oil industry (Busse & Gröning, 2013<sup>54</sup>; McFerson, 2009<sup>55</sup>; Uche, 2008<sup>56</sup>; Ukiwo, 2020<sup>57</sup>).

Ukoha Ukiwo (2020) explained the trend and classified it into generational regimes with each having implications for the cohesion of the country. The oil regimes before independence were marked by the interest, control, ownership and appropriation of oil. The policies then, like today, allowed for large-scale exploratory activities. The Nigeria Minerals Ordinance of 1914 gained control and ownership of all lands, waters, oil and minerals in northern and southern Nigeria in the British Crown. The Ordinance had provisions for the issuance of licenses for exploration of oil by the Crown or representative in Nigeria and provide a 50-50 split of production between the oil companies and the government (Ukiwo, 2020). The main provisions of that act were retained by the Petroleum Act of 1958 and the Mineral Acts of 1958.

The postcolonial state has known the tradition of the open quest for state control, ownership and appropriation of oil and minerals. The Petroleum Decree of 1969 (renamed the Petroleum Act of 1969). This Act gave the Minister of Petroleum enormous powers of control and exercise of ownership rights on behalf of the federal government, in matters of issuance of exploratory and prospecting licenses. It also provided for the involvement of the private sector and aboriginal peoples in the petroleum industry, as well as the powers of the minister in decisions regarding refining and distribution of products.

In the immediate post-civil war era (1967-70), Nigeria took steps to participate in the industry by signing its initial Participation Agreement and securing 35 per cent equity in international oil companies at the instance of nationalization of British Petroleum. It was quickly brought up to 55 per cent of the equity and rose again to 60 per cent in 1960.

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<sup>54</sup> Busse, M., & Gröning, S. (2013). The resource curse revisited: Governance and natural resources. *Public Choice*, 154(1/2), 1–20. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23326390>

<sup>55</sup> McFerson, H. M. (2009). Governance and Hyper-Corruption in Resource-Rich African Countries. *Third World Quarterly*, 30(8), 1529–1547. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40388333>

<sup>56</sup> Uche, C. (2008). Oil, British Interests and the Nigerian Civil War. *The Journal of African History*, 49(1), 111–135. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40206616>

<sup>57</sup> Ukiwo, U. (2020). Nigeria's Oil Governance Regime: In U. Ukiwo, A. Langer, & P. Mbabazi (Eds.), *Oil Wealth and Development in Uganda and Beyond* (pp. 309–330). Leuven University Press; JSTOR. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvt9k690.20>

Second, the oil governance phase was marked by increasing awareness among local elites of communities on the front lines of exclusion from the oil sector. Elites' articulation of their grievances was based on a sound critique of the federal government, and it is bent towards destabilizing the 50-50 formula in the sharing of benefits (derivation principle) from natural resources that characterized regimes before the emergence of oil as an important national revenue earner for the government. The regions shared the benefits of this formula and there were no frictions that threatened social cohesion. The 1960 Constitution (Constitution of Independence) confirmed this formula that the elites referred to in their articulation of injustice in the case of oil. The Petroleum Act of 1969 saw a reduction in the share of benefits going to states from 50 per cent to 45 per cent in favour of the federal government, now has 55 per cent. This would mark the beginning of stronger resistance and resentment toward the federal government by the oil-producing state elites.

This reduction continued in the federal government's pursuit of better control and ownership of oil. The mobilizations against these cuts were based on perceptions of poor governance of the resource and injustice regarding the control, ownership and appropriation of profits. These grievances have increased and have gradually generated strategic responses from the federal government with the sole aim of reducing the power of threats to the resource. The Oil Mineral Producing Commission (OMPADEC), created in 1993, Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), established in 1999, and the Ministry of Niger Delta are examples of specialised agencies the federal government has created to specifically address the needs of the oil-producing states in Nigeria.

The next oil governance regime was in part seen in the emergence of laws, regulations, and institutions as part of the response of the government to growing community agitations against environmental problems resulting from the activities of international oil companies. Agitators pointed to the failure of colonial laws and policies to prevent these environmental problems--oil spills and flaring. For example, petroleum laws in the years before independence and immediate or fairly long post-colonial era took advantage of the meagre financial compensation for crops destroyed during exploratory and production activities. Protecting the environment was not considered essential in the development of these acts and regulations.

Protests by communities in Nigeria's oil-producing states for environmental protection against regular oil spills and gas flaring have intensified. Agencies and practices such as the National Oil Spill Detection Agency and Joint Investigation Visits (JIVs), the Nigerian Extractive Transparency Initiative, have also emerged from the government's perspective. The government has taken time to respond to many questions about its oil governance.

Nigeria's 2004 energy policy, National Environmental Policy and moribund Federal Environmental Protection Agency (FEPA, replaced with Federal Ministry of Environment) and several piecemeal legislation in the post-colonial state of Nigeria, all came after several years of running the oil industry. The obvious implications include the governance of an industry with a significant impact on the environment and challenges to the control, ownership, and allocation of benefits.

### Natural Resource Governance in Nigeria

Governors of states in the South-South of Nigeria have been calling for ownership and control of crude oil and gas, in contrast to what currently obtains with the Federal Government as the sole owner of these resources. But a coalition of armed groups in the region recently responded, painting the Governors as lacking the legitimacy to make such a call or speak for the region. While not disputing the urgency of fiscal federalism and change in the way the oil is managed, they reproached the Governors for their failure to properly account for the 13 per cent derivation fund from the production of oil they have been receiving for decades without much to show in the lives of people in communities who directly suffer the environmental consequences of extractive activities. They, therefore, asked the Federal Government to pay the money to the communities

and not the Governors. These issues, claims, and counterclaims around the oil provide a clue to how governance of the resource has continued to create resentment, tension, and grievances that have the potential for a large-scale face-off between groups. It also raises the question of whether natural resource governance contributes to or undermines social cohesion.

Without necessarily using the concept of social cohesion to frame analyses, scholars have suggested that oil and gas governance matters in achieving a socially cohesive Nigeria. The intersection of resource governance and contests over control, ownership, and distribution of benefits is critical for understanding social cohesion. One area of the gap in the literature is the lack of clear, unemotional, and objective policy prescriptions that privilege social cohesion goals. This may as well be contributing to the growing sense of marginalization, exclusion, and powerlessness in oil-related public decision-making. The net outcome of all this is the feeling that the present federal arrangement is fundamentally flawed with fiscal inequality. The government has continued to make efforts at checking and managing this trend through constitutional and statutory concessions with the 13 per cent derivation to producing states and establishing agencies to specifically address development issues in those states.

On the other hand, there are growing concerns about many issues on the part of communities, including the clean-up of places polluted by crude oil, access to legitimate oil business and adequate benefits from the resource. Existing laws, policies, regulations, and institutions governing extraction and the use of the resource in Nigeria centralize decision-making powers in the federal government and its agencies and makes no provisions for the inclusion of those prone to the environmental impact of the oil business.

The question, therefore, is about whether the governance of this resource matter for a socially cohesive Nigeria. This review addressed this question through a narrative literature review to highlight what is known, and by extension what needs to be known for policy. Although an identifiable comprehensive and coherent theory of social cohesion is presently lacking, this review draws from the premise that resource governance has a crucial role to play regarding social cohesion, the threats posed, and what to do to hold the people together, in the context of a socially, ethnically, religiously, and politically divided society, where belonging to the political class seems access to decision-making centres on the distribution of resource benefits. And in this case, benefiting from the distributive federal arrangement through a monthly sharing of money generated from the sale of crude oil involves being in positions of authority at the local, state and federal government levels in the context of an overarching centralizing power of the federal government. The context, therefore, is the contests for control and decisions about the distribution of the benefits of the resource that clearly shows decisions around them are not producing social outcomes that promote a socially cohesive Nigeria at the level of communities, state and federal government (Busse & Gröning, 2013<sup>58</sup>; Ukiwo, 2020<sup>59</sup>; Wilson & VAN Van Alstine, 2014<sup>60</sup>).

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<sup>58</sup> Busse, M., & Gröning, S. (2013). The resource curse revisited: Governance and natural resources. *Public Choice*, 154(1/2), 1–20. JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23326390>

<sup>59</sup> Ukiwo, U. (2020). Nigeria's Oil Governance Regime: In U. Ukiwo, A. Langer, & P. Mbabazi (Eds.), *Oil Wealth and Development in Uganda and Beyond* (pp. 309–330). Leuven University Press; JSTOR. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvt9k690.20>

<sup>60</sup> Wilson, E., & Van Alstine, J. (2014). *Origins And Evolution Of Transparency In Resource Governance* (Localising Transparency, pp. 10–13). International Institute for Environment and Development; JSTOR. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep01393.7>

## 2.5 Social Cohesion and Gender

Gender is a multi-dimensional social construction, with distinct roles assigned to men and women in a specific society (Cuberes & Teignier, 2014)<sup>61</sup>. Gender stereotypes result in inequities in access to fundamental human rights, including nutrition, education, employment, health care, autonomy and freedom. “Gender inequity can be defined as allowing people to have different opportunities due to perceived differences based solely on gender issues” (Coffe & Bolzendahl, 2011)<sup>62</sup>. Moreover, “it is the biased treatment of members of a specific gender due to perceptions that they are inferior in their roles”. According to Makama (2013)<sup>63</sup>, “gender inequality refers to the disparity and discrimination in the rights, responsibilities and opportunities that all people should have, whether born male or female or not.” Gender inequality is a reality in most parts of the world, particularly in developing countries, where significant gaps between men and women are present in the labour market as well as in political representation or bargaining power in the household (Klasen & Lamanna, 2009<sup>64</sup>; Cuberes and Teignier, 2014). In line with this, Matthew et al (2020)<sup>65</sup> opined that gender inequality in terms of income, wages, skill, health, wealth and poverty have broadened the gaps in developing countries because women do not have access and control over the benefit from economic opportunities and resources.

Moreover, inequality in access to resources, and in education, may inhibit reductions in child mortality and fertility rates and prevent the expansion in the education of the next generation (Busse and Spielmann, 2006)<sup>66</sup>. As a result, Salau et al. (2018)<sup>67</sup> opined that major factors that break the chains of poverty are access to education, economic opportunities and resources and these leads to the transformation, advancement and progress of the economy. Studies such as Jones et al. (2010)<sup>68</sup> claim that the low status of women and girls in the household might result in reduced levels of educational attainment, low employment potential and job quality, increased maternal and infant mortality rates, increased present and intergenerational poverty. More importantly, gender inequity may subject women and girls to legal discrimination and lead to social exclusion. Various discussions of social cohesion arise from causes and consequences of violence, social upheaval, slow or negative economic growth, misallocation of aid, and failures to realise welfare gains from market-oriented economic reforms (Easterly et al. 2006<sup>69</sup>). Over the years, the term “social cohesion” has drawn a multitude of definitions from different specialists and practitioners (Green and Janmaat, 2016<sup>70</sup>; OECD Development Centre, 2011). While some initiatives emphasize 'shared identity and sense of belonging', others emphasize 'active civil society' or 'equality and social solidarity' (Green & Janmaat, 2016). The OECD Development Centre (2011) describes a socially cohesive society as a society committed to the well-being of all its members,

<sup>61</sup> Cuberes, D., & Teignier, M. (2014). Gender inequality and economic growth: A critical review. *Journal of International Development*, 26(2), 260-276.

<sup>62</sup> Coffe, H., & Bolzendahl, C. (2011). Gender gaps in political participation across sub-Saharan African nations. *Social indicators research*, 102(2), 245-264.

<sup>63</sup> Makama, G. A. (2013). Patriarchy and gender inequality in Nigeria: The way forward. *European scientific journal*, 9(17).

<sup>64</sup> Klasen, S., & Lamanna, F. (2009). The impact of gender inequality in education and employment on economic growth: new evidence for a panel of countries. *Feminist economics*, 15(3), 91-132.

<sup>65</sup> Matthew, O., Adeniji, A., Osabohien, R., Olawande, T., & A tolagbe, T. (2020). Gender inequality, maternal mortality and inclusive growth in Nigeria. *Social Indicators Research*, 147(3), 763-780.

<sup>66</sup> Busse, M., & Spielmann, C. (2006). Gender inequality and trade. *Review of International Economics*, 14(3), 362-379.

<sup>67</sup> Salau, O., Osibanjo, A., Adeniji, A., & Igbinoba, E. (2018). An integrated dataset on organizational retention attributes and commitment of selected ICT and accounting firms. *Data in Brief*, 19, 1930–1936.

<sup>68</sup> Jones, N., Harper, C., Watson, C., Espey, J., Wadu godapitiya, D., Page, E., Stavropoulou, M., Presler - Marshall, E., & Clench, B. (2010). Stemming girls' chronic poverty: Catalysing development change by building just social institutions. Technical report, Chronic Poverty Research Centre, University of Manchester.

<sup>69</sup> Easterly, W., Ritzen, J., & Woolcock, M. (2006). Social cohesion, institutions, and growth. *Institutions, and Growth* (August 2006).

<sup>70</sup> Green, A., & Janmaat, J. G. (2016). Education and social cohesion: a panglossian global discourse. *Handbook of global education policy*, 169-188.

minimizing disparities and avoiding marginalization. It entails local patterns of cooperation (Fearon et al., 2009)<sup>71</sup>, the affective bond between citizens (Chipkin and Ngqulunga, 2008)<sup>72</sup>, promoting harmony, a sense of community, a degree of commitment to promoting the common good, and the glue that binds society together (Colletta et al. 2001<sup>73</sup>; King et al, 2011<sup>74</sup>).

In recent years, it has become increasingly apparent that social cohesion is declining in both developed and developing countries. According to Grimalda and Tänzler (2018)<sup>75</sup>, social cohesion is mainly countered by factors of social division such as ethnicity, political parties, population pressures, drug abuse, poverty and inequality. Inequality continues to be one of the main factors affecting social cohesion in many cities worldwide. There is widespread agreement on the negative impact that high levels of inequality can have on a country's economic and social development. This is a major challenge for social cohesion for several reasons. The study by Wilkinson and Pickett (2009)<sup>76</sup> argued that inequality has a pernicious impact on levels of trust in society and, as such, it undermines social cohesion. Inequalities can be measured by several dimensions, such as income, geography and gender. Of interest and attention in this study are the problems associated with gender inequality that continue to thwart the cohesiveness of people in the countries of the global south and north. It is difficult to claim that society is socially cohesive when through gender discrimination and marginalization, 50 per cent or more of the population is denied their proper role and status in society (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2016)<sup>77</sup>. In most countries in Africa, the scale of gender inequality and gender-based violence has assumed a monumental dimension despite the active stance taken in national policies and national plans by some of these countries to eradicate violence and inequality against women and children. For example, only 30 per cent of family farms in Rwanda are owned and run by women, even though they do most of the production work (UNCTAD, 2014)<sup>78</sup>. In Nigeria, despite the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women in 1985 and similar local policies, such as the National Gender Policy of 2006, inequality still exists due to a myriad of cultural and structural challenges. Lesejane (2018)<sup>79</sup> says women are deterred from reporting abuse because of tradition and culture. It is in this context that this study seeks to deal with issues related to gender inequality in the context of social cohesion in developed and developing countries.

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<sup>71</sup> Fearon, J. D., Humphreys, M., & Weinstein, J. M. (2009). Can development aid contribute to social cohesion after civil war? Evidence from a field experiment in post-conflict Liberia. *American Economic Review*, 99(2), 287-91.

<sup>72</sup> Chipkin, I., & Ngqulunga, B. (2008). Friends and family: social cohesion in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34(1), 61-76.

<sup>73</sup> Colletta, N. J., Lim, T. G., & Kelles-Viitanen, A. (Eds.). (1999). *Social cohesion and conflict prevention in Asia. Managing diversity through development*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

<sup>74</sup> King, E., Samii, C., & Snilstveit, B. (2010). Interventions to promote social cohesion in sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of development effectiveness*, 2(3), 336-370.

<sup>75</sup> Grimalda, G., & Tänzler, N. (2018). *Understanding and fostering social cohesion*. G20 Insights. T20 Task Force on Global Inequality and Social Cohesion.

<sup>76</sup> Wilkinson, R. G., & Pickett, K. E. (2009). Income inequality and social dysfunction. *Annual review of sociology*, 35, 493-511.

<sup>77</sup> United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (2016). *Social Cohesion in Eastern Africa*. Economic Commission for Africa. Addis Ababa.

<sup>78</sup> UNCTAD, W. (2014). *United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Review of Maritime Transport*.

<sup>79</sup> Lesejane, D. (2018). *Ender, Masculinities, and Social Cohesion*. Tearfund, United Kingdom.

## Gender Inequality and Social Cohesion

Various studies have been carried out on gender differences in social cohesion in developed and developing countries (McDaniel, 2003; Delpont, 2009<sup>80</sup>; Ashraf and Waqar, 2012<sup>81</sup>). For example, McDaniel (2003)<sup>82</sup> suggested that gender must be addressed to ensure the spirit of social cohesion. The study further points out that issues related to social cohesion focus on a growing sense of inequality compounded by increasing diversities. The importance of addressing gender differences in social cohesion was also echoed by Segalo (2015)<sup>83</sup> who stated that achieving social cohesion needs to be addressed from the “intersection”. The intersection in this context refers to gender inequality that continues to persist in accessing education and silenced voices of many women who remain absent in the room when policies are made.

The study by Kelles-Viitanen and Shrestha (2011)<sup>84</sup> examined how women were excluded from the process and the results of sustained peace and inclusive development in Nepal. The study argued that despite commitments to end gender discrimination, gender-responsive policies and laws have not yet been implemented. The study found that gender was often equated with activities for girls and women rather than actions that address the relationship between men and women. They concluded that deeply entrenched cultural norms and practices are important factors that influence gender inequality, as women are seen primarily in their roles as wives and mothers. Similarly, the study by Hooghe and Stolle (2004) identified potential gender differences in commitment or willingness to engage in politics and civil society. The first factor according to the study is that women, in general, have fewer civic skills, as only a limited number of women occupy positions in the labour market that allow for their development, such as speaking in public or chairing meetings. The availability of time that can be spent on non-domestic activities has been identified as the second factor of gender differences in the willingness to engage in politics and civil society. The study stressed that women, who are more likely to be housewives, are socialized outside the public sphere. The third factor is related to parenting and childcare, especially when children are young. The availability of women for activities in public life is more limited, as women are more engaged in childcare than men. From these observations, it can be concluded that cultural norms and practices are key factors that affect gender inequality in social and political engagement.

Apart from social and political participation, gender differences occur in other ways, such as access to economic resources and education. For example, in European countries, it has been reported that there are still significant gender differences in employment or participation in political and other public spheres (Schmeets & Te, 2014)<sup>85</sup>. The European Commission (2000)<sup>86</sup> reported that the average earnings of women in the private sector were 28% less than men's or the share of women in the national parliaments of the EU countries, which on an average amount only to 18.6% in 1999. It was also reported that in Rwanda, only 30 per

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<sup>80</sup> Delpont, E. (2009). Social cohesion and gender: Raising issues of human rights: Raising issues of human rights and policy frameworks relevant to women in Africa. Extraordinary lecturer COFI Forum on gender and social cohesion in Latin America and Africa. Centre for Human Rights of University of Pretoria, South Africa.

<sup>81</sup> Ashraf, D., & Waqar, K. (2012). Gender equality and social cohesion: Reflection on the experiences of strengthening teacher education in Pakistan.

<sup>82</sup> McDaniel, S. A. (2003). Social cohesion and gender: Reflections on tendencies and tensions. *Canadian Journal of Sociology/Cahiers canadiens de sociologie*, 43-50.

<sup>83</sup> Segalo, P. (2015). Gender, social cohesion and everyday struggles in South Africa. *Psychology in Society*, (49), 70 -82.

<sup>84</sup> Kelles-Viitanen, A. & Shrestha, A. (2011). Gender Equality and Social Inclusion: Promoting the Rights of Women and the Excluded for Sustained Peace and Inclusive Development. Evaluation Report Prepared for United Nations Resident and

<sup>85</sup> Schmeets, H., & Te Riele, S. (2014). Declining social cohesion in the Netherlands?. *Social Indicators Research*, 115(2), 791 -812.

<sup>86</sup> European Commission. Enterprise DG. (2000). European Competitiveness Report 2000: Working Document of the Services of the European Commission. Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

cent of family farms are owned and managed by women even though women do the bulk of the production work (UNCTAD, 2014)<sup>87</sup>. In the United Republic of Tanzania, wages for women are 63 per cent lower than for men (Wane and Morisset, 2012)<sup>88</sup>.

In the area of education, several studies have illustrated how discriminatory practices and norms, such as early pregnancy or early marriage, gender-based violence, and restricted inheritance rights pose significant and enduring obstacles for girl child educational attainments. Field and Ambrus (2008)<sup>89</sup>, and Lloyd and Mensch (2008)<sup>90</sup> give evidence of connections between early marriage and lower levels of female education as a result of girl child not completing their education or get pregnant. By the way, Alam and al. in 2010<sup>91</sup> and Jones et al. (2010)<sup>92</sup> provide an overview of the negative consequences of sexual harassment and violence against girls' educational outcomes. This implied that persistent practices and social norms that limit girl child and young women access to education also affect their educational aspirations negatively which in turn undermine their economic and social opportunities. As a result, in countries with discriminatory social institutions, academic achievement is more unequal.

### State of Social Cohesion and Gender Inequality in Nigeria

Over the years, lack or poor social cohesion has been a major challenge for many multi-ethnic nations, including Nigeria. In recent decades, the state of social cohesion in Nigeria has been under serious threat, crossing religious, ethnic and social divisions. This could be attributed to factors such as lack of confidence, social justice, exclusion, government abandonment and inequality (Africa Polling Institute, 2019)<sup>93</sup>. Gender inequality has been a major challenge to Nigeria's cohesion since its creation in 1914 (Umukoro, 2014)<sup>94</sup>. Despite decades of efforts to achieve equality (FRN 2006)<sup>95</sup>, women remain under-represented in the economic and social development space and policy of the country.

Several studies have investigated gender inequality in social and political participation, access to economic resources and education (Owoyemi and Olusanya, 2014<sup>96</sup>; Bako & Syed, 2018<sup>97</sup>; Lesejane (2018)<sup>98</sup>; Aderemi and Alley, 2019<sup>99</sup>; Idike et al., 2020<sup>100</sup>). Lesejane (2018) investigated current social norms around gender, particularly concepts of masculinities, and attitudes to and understanding of sexual and gender-based

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<sup>87</sup> *ibid*

<sup>88</sup> Wane, W., & Morisset, J. (2012). Is this a woman's world? Gender equality in Tanzania. Africa Can End Poverty (Accessed April 29, 2014: <http://blogs.worldbank.org/africacan/is-this-awomans-world-gender-equality-in-tanzania>).

<sup>89</sup> Field, E., & Ambrus, A. (2008). Early marriage, age of menarche, and female schooling attainment in Bangladesh. *Journal of Political Economy*, 116(5), 881-930.

<sup>90</sup> Lloyd, C. B., & Mensch, B. S. (2008). Marriage and childbirth as factors in dropping out from school: an analysis of DHS data from sub-Saharan Africa. *Population Studies*, 62(1), 1-13.

<sup>91</sup> Alam, N., Roy, S. K., & Ahmed, T. (2010). Sexually harassing behavior against adolescent girls in rural Bangladesh: Implications for achieving millennium development goals. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 25(3), 443-456.

<sup>92</sup> *ibid*

<sup>93</sup> *ibid*

<sup>94</sup> Umukoro, N. (2014). Democracy and Inequality in Nigeria." *Journal of Developing Societies*, 30 (1): 1-24.

<sup>95</sup> FRN (Federal Republic of Nigeria). 2006. National Gender Policy. Abuja: Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development. [http://www.aacoalition.org/national\\_policy\\_women.Htm](http://www.aacoalition.org/national_policy_women.Htm)

<sup>96</sup> Owoyemi, O., & Olusanya, O. (2014). Gender: A Precursor for Discriminating Against Women in Paid Employment in Nigeria. *American Journal of Business and Management*, 3(1), 10-14.

<sup>97</sup> Bako, M. J., & Syed, J. (2018). Women's marginalization in Nigeria and the way forward. *Human Resource Development International*, 21(5), 425-443.

<sup>98</sup> *ibid*

<sup>99</sup> Aderemi, T., & Alley, I. (2019). Gender pay gap in the workplace: the case of public and private sectors in Nigeria. *Journal of Social and Economic Development*, 21(2), 370-391.

<sup>100</sup> Idike, A. N., Okeke, R. C., Okorie, C. O., Ogba, F. N., & Ugodulunwa, C. A. (2020). Gender, Democracy, and National Development in Nigeria. *SAGE Open*, 10(2), 2158244020922836.

violence in six communities in the cities of Jos and Tafawa Balewa in Nigeria. The study found that both male and female participants embraced the notion of the superiority of men over women, by defining men as leaders in society and heads of their families. The study found that women are kept away from reporting when they have been abused due to tradition and culture. This was also emphasized by Ogunjuyigbe and Liasu (2007)<sup>101</sup>, who wrote that women or wives are seen as properties of their husbands and their husbands have the moral right to beat their wives as a form of correction for insubordination and doing something wrong as a result of tradition, culture and religious beliefs. In the case of rape, women remain silent because they see it as a social stigma if it comes to the public's notice.

Political participation is also a factor in perpetual gender discrimination in Nigeria. According to a study by Oxfam (2017)<sup>102</sup>, Nigeria has the lowest share of women MPs in sub-Saharan Africa. Furthermore, Mark and Asheazi (2016)<sup>103</sup> noted that women in Nigeria are normally denied the political positions of influence and as a result, there is a wide gender gap in Nigerian politics. This was also pointed out by Ezeifeka and Osakwe (2013)<sup>104</sup>, who wrote that women are usually set aside on national issues and are not hired on executive positions in government offices. Mofoluwawo (2014)<sup>105</sup> also highlighted that women are marginalized in Nigerian policy. The author further argued that discrimination against women greatly represents a waste of human resources as women constitute about half the population of Nigeria and play important roles in the economic development of any society.

Studies have also posited that marginalization of women is also persistent in other sectors such as the economy and education in Nigeria (Owoyemi and Olusanya, 2014; Sam 2014; Anyoha et al. 2015; Adegoke, Adegoke, and Oyedele 2016). For example, Owoyemi and Olusanya (2014) noted that women are constantly confronted with enormous inequalities in Nigeria's labour market. That statement was also echoed by Anyoha et al. (2015)<sup>106</sup> who wrote that women have higher unemployment rates, fewer career options and lower salaries. In the education sector, it was reported that there are about 15% of women in the academic faculty reportedly experience harassment, discrimination, and, in some cases, violence (Johnson 2014)<sup>107</sup>. In furtherance of the sexual harassment faced by many women in the education sector, Bakari and Leach (2009)<sup>108</sup> also pointed out that women are not just marginalized but also sexually harassed by male lecturers and staff in Nigerian higher education institutions despite the complaints, the authorities took little or no action.

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<sup>101</sup> Ogunjuyigbe, P. O., & Liasu, A. (2007). The Social and Economic Determinants of Maternal Morbidity and Mortality in Nigeria. *African Journal of Population Studies*, 7, 16-21.

<sup>102</sup> OXFAM. (2017). Inequality in Nigeria exploring the drivers. Oxfam International May 2017. [www.oxfam.org/files/file\\_attachments/bp210-economy-one-percent-tax-havens-180116-en\\_0.pdf](http://www.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/bp210-economy-one-percent-tax-havens-180116-en_0.pdf)

<sup>103</sup> Mark, M. S., and N. R. Asheazi. (2016). Mitigating the Environmental Impact of Poverty among Female Gender in Nigeria through Advocacy. *International Journal of Innovative Research and Development* 5 (1): 423–429.

<sup>104</sup> Ezeifeka, C. R., & Osakwe, N. N. (2013). Gender representation in the 1999 Nigerian constitution: A critical discourse analysis for socio-political equity. *Discourse & Society*, 24(6), 687–700.

<sup>105</sup> Mofoluwawo, E. O. (2014). Social, cultural and economic discrimination to women participation in African politics: The case of Nigeria. *International Journal of Learning and Development*, 4(1), 169-175.

<sup>106</sup> Anyoha, N. O., J. U. Chikaire, and R. N. Nwakwasi. (2015). "Effects of Gender Based Discriminatory Practices on Poverty Reduction and Women Empowerment in Ngor–Okpala Area of Imo State, Nigeria." *International Journal of Development and Emerging Economics*, 3 (1): 39–48.

<sup>107</sup> Johnson, A. T. (2014). Performing and Defying Gender an Exploration of the Lived Experiences of Women Higher Education Administrators in sub-Saharan Africa. *Educational Management Administration & Leadership*, 42 (6): 835–850.

<sup>108</sup> Bakari, S., and F. Leach. (2009). I Invited Her to My Office': Normalising Sexual Violence in a Nigerian College of Education. In *Buying Your Way into Heaven: Education and Corruption in International Perspective in Higher Education*, edited by Heyneman. Netherland: Sense Publishers.

In terms of access to education and outcome, the inequality faced by women is evident as there are striking differences between men and women, rich and poor, and rural and urban areas. The most marginalized are women from rural areas and the poorest quintile of the population (Oxfam, 2017). For example, it has been reported that 75.8 per cent of poor women in Nigeria do not attend school. This could be attributed to early marriage and further compounded by childbirth, which may lead to a physically traumatic experience for young mothers, perforating their reproductive organs and causing Vesical Vaginal Fistula (VVF). These and many more represent major challenges of gender equity in Nigeria and it, therefore, becomes a challenge to imagined cohesiveness when a group of people (especially women) are marginalized or underrepresented in social and political participation, access to economic resources, and education.

Gender inequality infiltrates every society but is particularly challenging in developing countries where political, economic, cultural, and religious problems afflict the society, impeding women's development and resulting in social exclusion and underdevelopment of affected nations. In Nigeria, the situation is unique because of patriarchal culture and religious norms that have a strong influence on society (particularly on the marginalization of women). Therefore, Nigeria is proclaimed as one of the most unequal societies in the world and continues to languish on the road to cohesion. To reverse this trend, it is urgently necessary to ensure equal access to participation and decision-making in the social, political, and economic life of the nation. This will ensure the inclusion of economically marginalized groups such as women and indigenous people in the promotion of a socially inclusive economy and society. Furthermore, advocacy and awareness-raising to raise awareness and address gender inequality is the way forward to achieve women's empowerment and development. It is also important to create a framework for continuous reform of our law enforcement system to allow every Nigerian to engage others across the country with sufficient guarantee of the right to seek redress whenever individual or group rights are infringed upon or agreements breached. This will go a long way in ensuring that there is justice for every offender whether man or woman, rich or poor, Muslim or Christian, farmer or herder, Northerner or Southerner in the country. Implementing these and other recommendations would bring peaceful co-existence and a foundation for the development of unique national consciousness in Nigeria and other developing countries.

## 2.6 Social Cohesion and Impunity

The term “impunity” has attracted a myriad of definitions of different specialists and practitioners over the years (Afflito, 2000<sup>109</sup>; Opotow, 2001<sup>110</sup>; Eke and Tonwe, 2016<sup>111</sup>; McGregor, 2017<sup>112</sup>). According to Afflito (2000), impunity is the waiver of responsibility, punishment, or legal sanction for perpetrators of illegal acts. Impunity occurs when crimes are not investigated; suspected offenders are not brought to trial; verdicts to convict are not reached despite convincing evidence that would establish offenders' guilt beyond a reasonable doubt; those convicted are not sentenced or, if sentenced, their punishment is so minor that it is completely out of proportion to the gravity of their crimes; or sentences of those convicted are not enforced

<sup>109</sup>Afflito, F. M. (2000). Victimization, survival, and the impunity of forced exile: A case study from the Rwandan genocide. *Cri me Law Soc. Change* 34: 77–97.

<sup>101</sup>Opotow, S. (2001). Reconciliation in times of impunity: Challenges for social justice. *Social Justice Research*, 14(2), 149-170.

<sup>111</sup>Eke, S. J., & Tonwe, D. A. (2016). Address causes not symptoms: engaging the festering culture of impunity from the dimension of fragility in Nigeria. *African Studies*, 75(1), 133-152.

<sup>112</sup>McGregor, K. (2017). Exposing impunity: Memory and human rights activism in Indonesia and Argentina. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 19(4), 551-573.

(Penrose, 1999<sup>113</sup>; United Nations Commission on Human Rights, 2005). In other words, impunity exists when nobody is held responsible for violations of the law. Impunity, therefore, implies a political and social context in which laws against human rights abuses are ignored or perpetrators are poorly punished by the state (Muntingh & Dereymaeker, 2013<sup>114</sup>). According to McGregor (2017), impunity is especially common in countries that lack a tradition of the rule of law, suffer from corruption or that have entrenched systems of patronage, or where the judiciary is weak, or members of the security forces are protected by special jurisdictions or immunities.

There are three interconnected facets of impunity: structural, strategic, and political/psychological impunity (McSherry & Molina, 1992; Opotow, 2001). According to McSherry and Molina (1992)<sup>115</sup>, structural impunity implies institutional structures of the state, such as the constitutional authority vested in the army for internal security. Strategic impunity connotes specific procedures and structures adopted to prevent criminal investigation or prosecution, such as tampering with evidence and thwarting investigation, while political/psychological impunity refers to the manipulation of fear, distrust, and isolation among citizens (Opotow, 2001). In pursuance of the classification of impunity, Viñuales (2007)<sup>116</sup> identified the two-dimensional concept of impunity with causes or conditions as a first dimension and actors as a second dimension. The cause or condition is divided into structural and functional aspects. The structural aspects refer to all legal and institutional procedures that need to be taken to increase accountability from the ratification of a treaty or the revocation of an amnesty law to the building of better penitentiary facilities. The functional aspects of impunity are used to cover those cases where all institutional/legal structures are in place but they are simply not used, whether this inertia is itself legal or not. The second dimension of impunity concerns the status of those responsible for alleged acts. He also emphasized that the fundamental distinction between the two dimensions of impunity is between state and non-state actors.

### State of Impunity in Developed and Developing Countries

Ending pervasive impunity and ensuring that people and communities with legitimate grievances can access judicial mechanisms that address their complaints in an effective and efficient manner remain a challenge in many developed and developing countries. For example, Rochlin (2016)<sup>117</sup> assessed the state of impunity for human rights abuses against workers and unionized workers in Colombia. The study argued that impunity is socially entrenched in Colombia due to a historical legacy of a weak state, a concomitant lack of institutionalized conflict resolution mechanisms, and a lack of knowledge of the residents of the rural communities about human rights. The study concluded that while global entities can assist Colombia in its battle against impunity and human rights abuses, it is the Colombians themselves who need to re-strategize and apply positive pressure to reduce impunity and human rights violations in the country.

Jorgensen (2009)<sup>118</sup> attributed impunity in India to three major factors: permissive legislation that insulates security forces from legal consequences for human rights violations; multiple armed challenges that have spread the state's coercive resources thin and have compelled the state to delegate some of its coercive tasks to poorly disciplined and ill-trained irregular and paramilitary forces, and an inefficient legal system that

<sup>113</sup> Penrose, M. M. (1999, Fall). Impunity—inertia, inaction, and invalidity: A literature review. *Boston Univ. Int. Law J.* 17: 269–310.

<sup>114</sup> Muntingh, L., & Dereymaeker, G. (2013). Understanding impunity in the South African law enforcement agencies. *Civil Society Prison Reform Initiative*, Cape Town

<sup>115</sup> McSherry, J. P., and Molina Mejía, R. (1992). Confronting the question of justice in Guatemala. *Soc. Just.* 19(3): 1–28.

<sup>116</sup> Viñuales, J. E. (2007). Impunity: elements for an empirical concept. *Law & Inequality.*, 25, 115.

<sup>117</sup> Rochlin, J. (2016). The political economy of impunity in Colombia: the case of Colombian labour. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 16(2), 173-196.

<sup>118</sup> Jorgensen, N. (2009). Impunity and Oversight: When Do Governments Police Themselves? *Journal of Human Rights*, 8(4), 385–404.

historically has lacked the resources to handle citizen complaints against the military and police. The study stressed that impunity is further compounded in India by the fact that the victims of human rights abuses have usually been members of marginal groups who have lacked the financial, legal, political, and social resources to make successful complaints against state actors.

Muntingh and Dereymaeker (2013) evaluated the underlying structural and functional reasons behind de facto impunity in South African law enforcement. The study argued that the reasons for prevailing impunity in respect of rights violations perpetrated by state officials are attributed to the country's historical development and in particular the security forces inherited by the Government of National Unity (GNU) in 1994 and the failure of the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) to prosecute apartheid-era perpetrators of rights violations following the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The study concluded that transparency and responsibility are needed to fight impunity in the country.

In Nigeria, many studies have dealt specifically with the factors influencing the state of impunity in the country (Amnesty International. 2007<sup>119</sup>; Oguchi 2008<sup>120</sup>; Amnesty International. 2011<sup>121</sup>; Musa, 2013<sup>122</sup>; Eke, 2016<sup>123</sup>). For instance, Eke and Tonwe (2016) opined that relations between patrons and clients, a weak justice system, rule of law deficiency, corruption, and the abuse of special immunities all work together to create an environment that shelters impunity in Nigeria. Furthermore, the study situates the culture of impunity in Nigeria within the context of institutional constraints, such as inadequate manpower (both in strength and expertise), insufficient education and training, inadequate equipment, and poor conditions of service of the average policeman. The study also argued that the state of impunity in Nigeria has created untoward hardship for its citizens through unemployment, poverty, and terrorism. The study found that strengthening law enforcement and reforming the electoral process is key to addressing the problem of impunity in Nigeria. In a similar vein, Musa (2013) contends that no combat against crime, corruption and other social vices plaguing the country can either be credible or complete unless at the end of the day there is in place an independent, effective, and robust judicial system to count on.

Work by Trejo et al. (2018)<sup>124</sup> said the transnational variation of criminal violence in the new democracies is strongly dependent on the adoption by elites of transitional justice processes to address a repressive past. The study concluded that by breaking state impunity and redefining the rules of state coercion, transitional justice processes can make new democracies less vulnerable to large-scale criminal violence, even when the socio-economic conditions that favour such violence are present. A quick look at the studies discussed above showed that the emphasis was on impunity as procedures and structures adopted to prevent criminal investigations or prosecutions. However, some studies have argued that impunity is a pathology of public life and a social phenomenon that goes beyond the simple reference to crimes that don't receive a legal sanction

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<sup>119</sup> Amnesty International. 2007. Nigeria: Impunity for Political Violence in the Run-up to the April 2007 Elections'. London: Amnesty International.

<sup>120</sup> Oguchi, A. 2008. 'Radio weblog', in J.A. Ayoade (ed), Godfather Politics in Nigeria. Abuja: International Foundation for Electoral System IFES

<sup>121</sup> Amnesty International. 2011. Nigeria: Loss of Life, Insecurity and Impunity in the Run-up to Nigeria's Elections. London: Amnesty International.

<sup>122</sup> Musa, Charles, (2013) Judicial Overhaul Urgently Needed In Nigeria, Premium Times, July 11, 2013

<sup>123</sup> ibid

<sup>124</sup> Trejo, G., Albarracín, J., & Tiscornia, L. (2018). Breaking state impunity in post-authoritarian regimes: Why transitional justice processes deter criminal violence in new democracies. *Journal of Peace Research*, 55(6), 787-809.

(Dworkin, 2000<sup>125</sup>; Rothstein, 2005<sup>126</sup>; Acemoglu and Robinson, 2012<sup>127</sup>; Oxfam, 2013<sup>128</sup>; Le Clercq, 2018<sup>129</sup>). In a study conducted by Oxfam (2013), it was established that the relation between attributes of institutional design and levels of performance of the rule of law in context is characterized by the existence of deep social inequalities. Also, Acemoglu and Robinson (2012) argued that the existence of excluding and extractive institutions generates conditions that lead to economic failure and reproduces poverty and inequality over time, and at the same time, the conditions of social exclusion produced by the institutional design make it impossible for actors to access institutions or enjoy the benefits of development with equal opportunities.

Literature from authors such as Balogun and Obosi (2018)<sup>130</sup> and Ferroni et al. (2008)<sup>131</sup> have posited that social cohesion can be achieved through the strengthening of the common ties that binds society together such as the equitable distribution of the commonwealth, justice, having a common goal and vision for a community or region. It can also be achieved by reducing interpersonal income inequality, promoting balanced development among different communities in different geographic areas of the country (King, Samii & Snilstveit, 2010)<sup>132</sup>. In recent years, there is a growing perception that social cohesion is decreasing as a result of widening inequality between the rich and the poor, men and women, religious bodies among others. Inequalities are drastically becoming one of the biggest challenges facing the world due to the disparities between the rich and the poor, especially in developing countries. Inequality is often an important factor in the violation of human rights, the weakness of the legal system and the absence of punishment for illegal conduct (Le Clercq, 2018). In other words, inequality leaves room for impunity.

Some noteworthy studies have highlighted the strong relationship between inequality and impunity. A good example of this is that of Le Clercq (2018) who hypothesized the correlation between impunity and inequality in Mexico. The study argued that what is relevant in understanding the complexity of impunity is that the existence of deep social inequalities establishes the context that leads to the erosion of the rule of law and generalized impunity. The study adds that once widespread impunity exists, it potentiates the vulnerability of those affected by conditions of marginalization and poverty. The study concluded that impunity represents a complex of social and institutional relations that is maintained by terrifying institutional conceptions, insecurity and socioeconomic inequality. In a similar vein, Dworkin (2000) opined that the legitimacy of a government depends on treating all citizens with equal consideration with the respect to their human rights and access to public goods and resources and that this consideration does not exist when richness is distributed in a profoundly unequal way within a country.

The study of Githinji and Holmquist (2012)<sup>133</sup> argued that modern Kenya's history of economic and political inequality has resulted in a population whose very division makes it difficult for politicians to be disciplined. The study further stressed that when vertical and horizontal accountability is absent, narrow personal and local interests prevail, politicians remain unaccountable to the nation as a whole and lead to levels of impunity and inequality.

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<sup>125</sup> Dworkin, Ronald (2000). *Sovereign Virtue*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

<sup>126</sup> Rothstein, Bo (2005). *Social Traps and the Problem of Trust*, New York, Cambridge.

<sup>127</sup> Acemoglu, Daron; James A. Robinson (2012). *Why Nations Fail*, New York, Crown Business.

<sup>128</sup> *ibid*

<sup>129</sup> Le Clercq, J. A. (2018). The Relationship Between Impunity and Inequality Globally and in Mexico. In *Risks, Violence, Security, and Peace in Latin America* (pp. 195-205). Springer, Cham.

<sup>130</sup> Balogun, S. K., & Obosi, A. C. (2018). Role of cultural identity and social cohesion in national development. *Nigerian Journal of Social Psychology*, 1(1).

<sup>131</sup> Ferroni, M., Mateo, M., & Payne, M. (2008). Development under conditions of inequality and distrust: Social cohesion in Latin America. Intl Food Policy Res Inst.

<sup>132</sup> *ibid*

<sup>133</sup> Wa Githinji, M., & Holmquist, F. (2012). Reform and political impunity in Kenya: transparency without accountability. *African Studies Review*, 53-74.

Wilkinson and Pickett (2009)<sup>134</sup>, in an investigation that incorporates the analysis of inequality and its social dimensions beyond economic performance, warned that the deterioration of living standards that come from the increase of inequality gaps tends to affect societies since it reduces the quality of life in a community, deteriorates trust relations between members of society, increases levels of violence and distorts the process of access to justice. Similarly, Stiglitz (2015)<sup>135</sup> points out that increasing inequality levels threaten democratic life and distort access to justice, among other things. From these perspectives, it can be inferred that the extreme concentration of richness results in the possibility for certain privileged groups to have improper influence in decision-making processes, impose their interest's agenda in the law-making process, and benefit from privileged treatment limited to power positions in the procurement of justice.

## 2.7 Social Cohesion and Corruption

Corruption is commonly defined as the misuse of entrusted power for private gain. With regards to Nigeria, corruption could be conceptualized as an act of dishonesty or criminal activity to acquire illicit benefit at the expense of the citizens. Despite the existence of anti-corruption agencies such as; Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC), the Fiscal Responsibility Act and recently, the whistle-blower policy, corruption has become one of the major challenges facing Nigeria today and has increasingly dampened the spate of development. Sometimes, corruption also manifests in nepotism and ethnicity in appointment and promotion in public offices. Unfortunately, corrupt practices in the country are not only exclusive to politicians but cut across civil servants, the private sector, individuals and the society at large. The prevalence of corruption in Nigeria is evident, giving her consistent poor ratings among the top most corrupt countries in the world by Transparency International. In 2020, Nigeria scored 25 out of 100 points and ranked among the top corrupt countries in the world, and the second in West Africa after Guinea-Bissau; ranking 146 out of 179 countries<sup>136</sup>.

The magnitude of widespread corruption in the country no doubt poses a serious threat to national development, group identity, patriotism and social cohesion. Again, uncontrolled corruption could further exacerbate citizens' distrust for government, leading to disloyalty and lack of support for national development. A greater source of danger and threat to national unity is when the masses perceive corruption as a ploy by the rich and politically connected individuals to exploit the poor. In the views of Okeke (2020)<sup>137</sup>, corruption and abuse of office have weakened the institution of government and have increasingly polarized the nation. This was further evident in the study by Adegboyega (2020)<sup>138</sup>, who opined that without the restoration of public trust and confidence in the fight against corruption, the social cohesion needed to resolve the seeming persistent problems of instability and disintegration in the country will remain unattainable. Plausibly, the negative consequence of corruption is huge and has contributed immensely to the nation's low human development and misery. Low human development impedes economic growth, increases poverty and weakens social cohesion.

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<sup>134</sup> *ibid*

<sup>135</sup> Stiglitz, Joseph E. (2015). *La gran brecha* (2015), México, D.F., Taurus.

<sup>136</sup> <https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2020/index/nga>

<sup>137</sup> Okeke, M., C (2020). Restructuring the Nigerian State for Sustainable Development. *Journal of accounting, business and social sciences*. 3 (2) 2672-4235.

<sup>138</sup> Adegboyega, O. O (2020). Public Morality as a Fulcrum for Social Cohesion and Development in Nigeria: *A Philosophical Approach*. *KIU Journal of Humanities*. 5(1): 37-48

The more worrisome is that the approach to fighting corruption has been perceived to be seriously politicized along with the political party, ethnic and religious lines and further aggravating ethnic and religious tensions, thereby threatening the social cohesiveness of the country. In some instances, there is the likelihood to bend the rule because of the ethnic or political affiliation of the person involved in the corrupt case. Thus, equality before the law is relegated to the back seat while sentiment becomes the determining factor for deciding who to prosecute. In Nigeria today, it is a widespread belief that the moment a person undergoing a corrupt trial aligns with the party in power, the person's corrupt charges are dropped immediately. These abysmal practices and setbacks have made Nigerians think that the fight against corruption is nothing but only hypocrisy and a tool to witch-hunt political enemies of the government. This is further evident in the views of Matthew Page, an Advisor with Transparency International, who stated that the anti-corruption fight by the current government of President Buhari had made some remarkable impacts, but the approach remained political and selective<sup>139</sup>. Some CSOs also share a similar opinion that the fight against corruption has been selective. As aptly captured by CISLAC, the rules do not apply equally to all citizens, as prominent personalities in politics and business cannot be prosecuted despite evidence of corruption against them<sup>140</sup>. Again, recent actions of the government have tended to cast doubt on the operation of its anti-corruption crusade and further created divisions across ethnic and religious cleavages. Some of these actions include discrimination in the choices of those to be arraigned for corruption, inconsistencies in the prosecutions of alleged corrupt senators and rep members of the ruling political party, dropping and closing cases of alleged corrupt ex-governors, senators and others who defect to the ruling political party, nomination and appointment of alleged corrupt ministers to head ministries, ignoring allegations of corruption based on ethnic or religious inclinations, etc. Undoubtedly, this abysmal trend began from President Obasanjo's administration, pervasive in President Jonathan's era and is intensified by the current President Buhari government, implying that the lopsided anti-corruption fight in the country has been persistent over the 19 years existence of the anti-corruption agencies.

There is no gainsaying that all these unwholesome corrupt practices weaken social values of fairness, equity and common citizenship while breeding feelings of marginalisation and oppression that has fuelled inter-group animosity, suspicion, intolerance and further polarized the country. Ogundiya (2009) stated that beginning from the fourth republic; the privileged elite has successfully disillusioned the psyche of the masses with the virus of ethnicity to the extent that when corrupt acts are unveiled and the perpetrators are under probe, it is customary in Nigeria to associate such probe with ethnic politics<sup>141</sup>. As witnessed in the country today, some people from the northern part of the country utilize every opportunity to defend corrupt individuals from the north, while some people from the south also act similarly. In most cases, corrupt individuals or their associates mobilize members of their ethnic groups to court to show solidarity during trials; thus, corruption is coated and celebrated by giving it an ethnic and religious identity (Abada and Onyia, 2020)<sup>142</sup>. However, where ethnic, religious and political boundaries coincide, rivalries, agitations and disunity become entrenched.

<sup>139</sup> <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/10/anti-corruption-war-political-selective-ai-advisor/>

<sup>140</sup> <https://www.thecable.ng/selective-prosecution-attack-on-whistleblowers-ti-lists-reasons-nigeria-dropped-on-corruption-index>

<sup>141</sup> Ogundiya I (2009) Political corruption in Nigeria: Theoretical perspectives and some explanations. *Anthropologist* 11(4): 281 -292.

<sup>142</sup> Abada, M. I and Onyia F O (2020). Nepotism, Cronyism and Prebendalism: An Exploration of The Mores That Reinforce Corruption in Nigeria's Political System. *Global Journal of Political Science and Administration*. Vol.8, No.3, pp.1 -13)

The foregoing may not be unconnected with the reason behind the emergence of different ethnic and separatists' formations spread across the geo-political zones of the country with various agendas. Needless to say that no part of the country is currently immune from one form of agitating group or the other; ranging from the activities of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF) in the South, Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) in the East, the Arewa Youth Consultative Forum (AYCF) and Boko Haram insurgency in the North, the Oodua People's Congress (OPC) in the West. Added to the civil unrest orchestrated by these formations is the ubiquitous issue of insecurity in the country. According to Efeurhobo and Fredrick (2020)<sup>143</sup>, the security challenges and incessant agitations threatening the peaceful co-existence in the country is partly a result of several years of corruption and marginalization; leading to social inequality and political exclusion, injustice and economic deprivation in the allocation and distribution of state resources. This imbalance has consequently led to agitation across the nation and the call for restructuring, thereby threatening national security and social cohesion.



Photograph: Afolabi Sotunde/Reuters

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<sup>143</sup> Efeurhobo, D and Fredrick C. (2020). Restructuring and National Security for Socio-Economic Development in Nigeria. UJAH Vol 21 No.3



03

## Key Objective

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*Ethno-religious crises have often rocked parts of the country and have over the years placed significant strain on social cohesion to the point of near collapse.*

### 3.0 Key Objective

Nigeria is a pluralistic and multicultural society with people of diverse ethnic origins and who identify with different religions. The country grapples with the twin evils of high levels of poverty and unemployment. It has also had to grapple with social upheavals that have threatened the existence of the Nigerian nation as we know it<sup>144</sup>. These social upheavals have been manifested in the creation of several regional interest groups each protesting perceived marginalisation and agitating for self-actualization and self-government. This includes the creation of such groups as IPOB, MASSOB, Niger Delta Avengers, OPC, Egbesu Boys, Arewa Youths etc, many of which emerged in the late 90s and most of which claim to be aimed at fighting the menace of the injustice of marginalization, disparity and the many ills which they perceive to be against their collective will. The religious divide in the country has also been seen to cause tensions between Christians and Muslims – the two major religions in the country. Ethno-religious crises have often rocked parts of the country and have over the years placed significant strain on social cohesion to the point of near collapse.

Aghedo (2007)<sup>145</sup> argued that at the core of the social upheavals in Nigeria are lopsided power-sharing formula, discriminatory access to public service and political appointments, and ethnic minorities' phobia for marginalization by large ethnic blocks. Marginalisation and agitations for self-existence are rooted in ethnicity and the major cause of ethnic rivalry is a sentimental attachment to the differences in languages and cultures among members of different ethnic groups. This sentimental attachment and feeling of loyalty towards one's ethnic group is what makes citizens put their ethnic interests first and above national interests. Suffice it to say that social cohesion in the context of any nation cannot thrive where there is a lack of a unifying sense of national identity and a superseding pursuit of the National interest.

Hence, genuine attention towards building national identity and “oneness” is the panacea to achieving a socially cohesive Nigerian society. This requires a deliberate strategy to build a free society where people can pursue common goals irrespective of their ethnic, religious and cultural beliefs. The federal government needs to put more effort into promoting a more inclusive society. The failure of the government to promote policies that strengthen cohesion always may be exacerbated by biased reports, falsifications of stories, unprofessionalism in printed and electronic media, including social media.

The literature on social cohesion in Nigeria has mostly highlighted social cohesion issues with many labels such as deprivation, grievances, national cohesion, nation-building, exclusion, marginalisation, state-building, national identity, and ethnic relations. A single search with the heading, “social cohesion in Nigeria” on [www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org) produced 5,489 results, out of which less than 30 have used the concept in framing the title of their articles. The rest neither used it in the title nor as a conceptual framework for organizing analyses. Interesting indicators to aid conceptualization have been suggested by scholars, but there is a clear lack of a comprehensive theory of social cohesion. And as previously mentioned, literature, now lacks clear definitions of the concept due to its many dimensions. This means that the tendency of researchers to choose specific aspects related to the context of the messages about the definitions of the concept remains rightly an option. The Nigerian case highlights a set of issues that instead divide the submission groups and the country together.

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<sup>144</sup> Agbedo, Chris. Problems of Multilingual Nations: The Nigerian Perspective. Enugu -Nigeria: Fidgina Global books. 2007.

<sup>145</sup> *ibid.*

Despite the confusion, social cohesion in Nigeria has been portrayed as a state relating to the efforts of people and institutions that support nation-building and state-building goals, such as remaining as one country in the face of socio-economic and political forces of disintegration, though these forces themselves imply threats posed or working against social cohesion. The interpretation and implications of lawful activities of a country's executive, legislative and judicial institutions at different levels of government—local, state, and federal- concerning natural resources are yet to be fully understood concerning social cohesion. Nigeria continued to face the dilemma of poor perceptions of the actions and political preferences of those who conduct affairs from an ethno-geographical, socio-political and religious perspective. The willingness to cooperate, sense of belonging, shared values, and trust in the pursuit of the common good, which some scholars have suggested is suspicious when it comes to defining the concept, are yet to advance a comprehensive and proper conceptualization of social cohesion that makes sufficient sense for measurement and policy work.

In recent years, the state of social cohesion in Nigeria has been under serious threat, crossing religious, political, ethnic and social divisions. This trend calls for concerns, given that without social cohesion, other development goals would be unattainable. The willingness of Nigerians to live together and work for the collective good of the country depends on the extent of the country's level of unity.

Against this backdrop, the key objectives of this study are as follows:

- 1 To develop a measurement for the nationally representative Nigeria Social Cohesion Index.
- 2 To examine the state of social cohesion in Nigeria in the light of recent happenings within the polity
- 3 To conduct a Citizens perception Survey that seeks to measure the concept of social cohesion from the lens of 10 Key Indicators namely:
 

 Identity	 Trust	 Social Justice	 Participation & Patriotism	 Natural Resources Governance
 Gender Equity	 Impunity	 Corruption	 Self Worth	 Future Expectation
- 4 To proffer recommendations to various stakeholders in Nigeria on how to improve the state of social cohesion in the country.

We consider this study an extremely pertinent one, especially at a time like this; as the results and findings of this social cohesion study would shed light on the current socio-economic and political dynamics in the country; and help shape policy that will promote social cohesiveness in Nigeria.

04



## Methodology

“

*The study applied a purely quantitative, Citizens Perception Survey (CPS), research approach for the survey.*

## 4.0 Methodology

Building on the 1st Nigeria Social Cohesion Survey conducted in 2019, API with the support of the Ford Foundation conducted the 2nd round of the Nigeria Social Cohesion Survey 2021, as a tool to elicit the views, opinions and perceptions of Nigerians regarding the current state of social cohesion in Nigeria. Ten (10) Key Indicators, as sub-indices, were measured to develop the 'Nigeria Social Cohesion Index' (NSCI). The 10 Key Indicators / sub-indices are *Identity, Trust, Social Justice, Participation and Patriotism, Natural Resources Governance, Gender Equity, Impunity, Corruption, Self-Worth, and Future Expectation*.

The study applied a purely quantitative, Citizens Perception Survey (CPS), research approach for the survey. A survey questionnaire was designed by the research team and a methodology workshop was organized on 26h January 2021, in Abuja; after which the questionnaire went through further reviews. For the data collection, all interviews were administered between April and May 2021, via face-to-face Household survey, using the Stratified Random Sampling Technique.

Interviews were conducted in five major languages: English, Pidgin, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. Geographic quotas were assigned to ensure that every Senatorial District and State were proportionately represented in the sample. A total of 6 Local Government Areas (LGAs) were visited in every state (2 LGAs per Senatorial District), except in FCT where enumerators visited all six area councils. A total of 8,114 interview contacts were attempted with 5,363 interviews completed, representing a response rate of 66.09%. All respondents were aged 18 and older. The average time per interview was 25 minutes.

Before fielding the survey, a pilot interview was completed, and all issues identified with the survey instrument were resolved. These pilot interviews were not incorporated into the final data set. The data analysis was undertaken with the aid of the statistical packages for social sciences (SPSS) software, and it involved tabulation and cross-tabulation of responses into frequency tables and generating charts from the summaries. The Nigeria Social Cohesion Index were also created using some set of related variables. The index values presented in 1 decimal point were the proportion of Nigerians that perceived an 'average' and 'high' positive direction in each of the indicators.

Post-stratification gender and state weights were constructed and applied to the data to make it more representative of the population, allow for more accurate population totals of estimates and reduce non-response bias. The weights assigned were in proportion to the 2006 Nigerian population figures. The margin of error  $\pm 3$  per cent at the mid-range with a confidence level of 95 per cent.

To further ensure that the sets of variables used for the index are reliable, a Reliability Test was conducted. The Cronbach's Alpha value was used to assess the reliability or interval consistency of the scale or test items that compose the index. The resulting coefficient of reliability ranges from 0 to 1 in providing the overall assessment of the measure's reliability. In order words, the higher the Cronbach's Alpha value, the more the variables have shared covariance and probably measure the same underlying concept. Table 1 below, presents the breakdown of the achieved survey sample per state.

Region	State	Achieved Samples
North Central	Abuja (FCT)	63
	Benue	153
	Kogi	116
	Kwara	86
	Nasarawa	72
	Niger	155
	Plateau	133
<b>Total</b>		<b>778</b>
North East	Adamawa	121
	Bauchi	177
	Borno	160
	Gombe	90
	Taraba	90
	Yobe	88
<b>Total</b>		<b>725</b>
North West	Jigawa	165
	Kano	346
	Kaduna	237
	Katsina	218
	Kebbi	127
	Sokoto	137
	Zamfara	141
<b>Total</b>		<b>1372</b>
South East	Abia	108
	Anambra	147
	Ebonyi	92
	Enugu	119
	Imo	160
<b>Total</b>		<b>626</b>
South South	Akwa-Ibom	144
	Bayelsa	61
	Cross Rivers	102
	Delta	160
	Edo	113
	Rivers	223
<b>Total</b>		<b>804</b>
South West	Ekiti	93
	Lagos	338
	Ogun	135
	Ondo	121
	Osun	125
	Oyo	247
<b>Total</b>		<b>1059</b>
<b>Overall Sample Achieved</b>		<b>5363</b>

Table 1: Breakdown of Achieved Survey Sample Per State

#### 4.1 Nigeria Social Cohesion Index

The 2021 Nigeria Social Cohesion Index (NSCI) has been computed as 44.2%. This score is below the 50% average, signifying that Nigeria is not as socially cohesive as it ought to be. This was derived from the computation of key indicators / sub-indices of: identity, trust, social justice, participation & patriotism, natural resource governance, gender equity, impunity, corruption, self-worth and future expectation. It is worth mentioning that events in the country since the last survey such as the increasing level of insecurity, separatist agitations, increasing call for restructuring by groups, and a general sense of disaffection among most citizens have continued to worsen the level of unity in the country. Therefore, the NSCI of 44.2%, which is below the average threshold for a socially cohesive country, is not surprising; considering that the data shows that the country has become more divided along ethnic, social, political, economic and religious lines, thereby threatening the social fabric, unity and peaceful co-existence of the country.

**NSC Index** is derived from the proportion of Respondents that perceived '*average*' and '*high*' social cohesion in Nigeria, averaged over 10-Indicators namely: *Identity, Trust, Social Justice, Participation and Patriotism, Worth, Future, Gender Equity, Natural Resources Governance, Impunity, and Corruption*

*Cronbach's Alpha Value = 0.577. This is a measure used to assess the reliability or internal consistency, of a set of scale or test items. Values less than 0.5 are usually not acceptable.*

The average per cent (*presented in 1 decimal point*) represents the social cohesion computation from the survey of Nigerian citizens in 2021. If the value is less than 50.0%, it signifies '*below-average social cohesion*'. If greater than 50%, it signifies '*above average social cohesion*'. At 50%, it signifies an '*average social cohesion*'.

*The NSCI has been computed as 44.2 per cent, and this implies that Nigerian Citizens have assessed the level of Social Cohesion in Nigeria as below average (<50.0 per cent)*



Figure 3: Nigeria Social Cohesion (NSC) Index, 2021

### Definition of Sub-Indices



**IDENTITY** = Recognition of being a Nigerian and Unity of Nigerians.



**PARTICIPATION AND PATRIOTISM** = Cooperation with other ethnic group to work for a more united Nigeria, and marriage between two different ethnic / religious group.



**TRUST** = Level of trust of Nigerians in the Government and Other Institutions.



**NATURAL RESOURCE GOVERNANCE** = Management of the funds/resources from the country's natural resources, such as crude oil etc.



**SOCIAL JUSTICE** = Feelings of 'equal protection of the nation's law on everyone' and 'access of all to civil justice'.



**GENDER EQUITY** = Government efforts towards promoting gender equity and Participation of women in political activities.



**IMPUNITY** = Reduced human right abuses, reported cases of human right abuses, and reduced involvement of state agents such as the police and army in human rights abuses.



**SELF-WORTH** = Feeling about self fulfilment and willingness NOT to relocate with family out of Nigeria if given the opportunity



**CORRUPTION** = Perceived general level of reduced corruption in Nigeria, Fight against corruption, and reduced corrupt practices in access to Justice.



**FUTURE EXPECTATION** = Feelings about the future of being better.

Overall, with regards to the sub-indices of social cohesion, the result revealed that most Nigerians (79.9%) indicated a somewhat high level of participation and patriotism in the country, 68.3% expressed optimism on the country's future and another 67% believed that there is average gender equity. It is noteworthy that the part of this patriotism and confidence expressed by citizens stems from their general religious belief of faith in the country despite the numerous challenges facing the country. Again, an average of the population believed that the level of corruption is high (50%) and that the management of the country's natural resources has been fair (53.8%). On the flipside, the majority of Nigerians (78.2%) believed that there is a high level of impunity, 77.4% indicated a negative identity, 73% showed low self-worth and willingness to relocate out of the country, 69.5% have little or no trust at all in government and another 62.8% believed that there is low access to social justice in the country. The plausible explanations for the negative social cohesion indices expressed by Nigerians include the insincerity of the successive governments in handling the Nigeria project and poor distribution/allocation of the country's resources in abeyance with the principle of equity, fairness and justice.

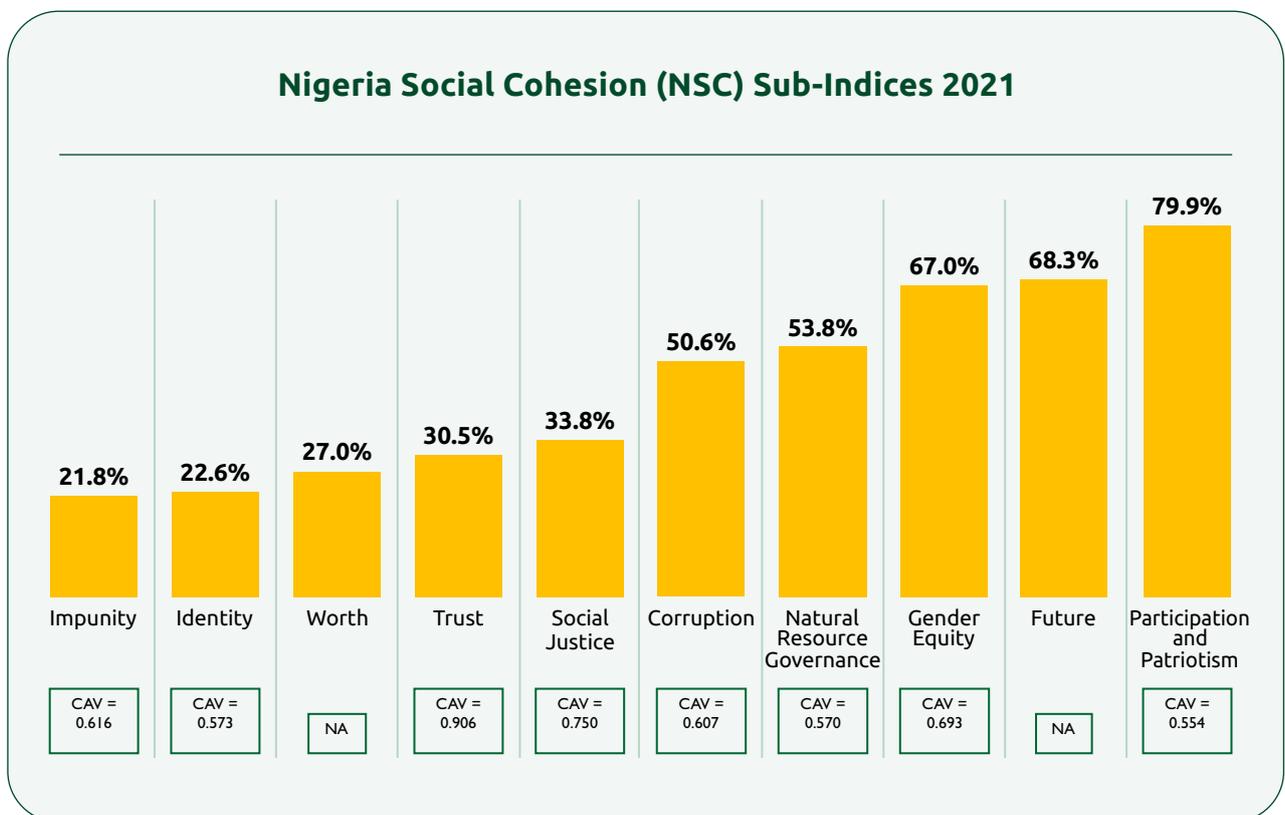


Figure 4: NSC Sub-indices, 2021

**\*Index values** (presented in 1 decimal point) were the proportion of Nigerians that perceived an 'average' and 'high' positive direction in each of the indicators.

**CAV = Cronbach's Alpha Value.** This is a measure used to assess the reliability or internal consistency, of a set of scale or test items. Values less than 0.5 are usually not acceptable.

**NA = Not Available**

**1. Identity' Sub-Index (Recognition of being a Nigerian and Unity of Nigerians)**

Over the past few years, Nigerians are becoming increasingly unattached and disillusioned with the Nigeria project. As such, in the assessment of the recognition of being a Nigerian and Unity of Nigerians, 77.6% of respondents indicated a negative identity of being a Nigerian and recognizing the unity of the country, compared to only 22.4% who showed positive identity. This negative identity displayed by Nigerians could reflect the current worsened state of the economy, characterized by massive poverty, rising unemployment, heightened insecurity amongst others.

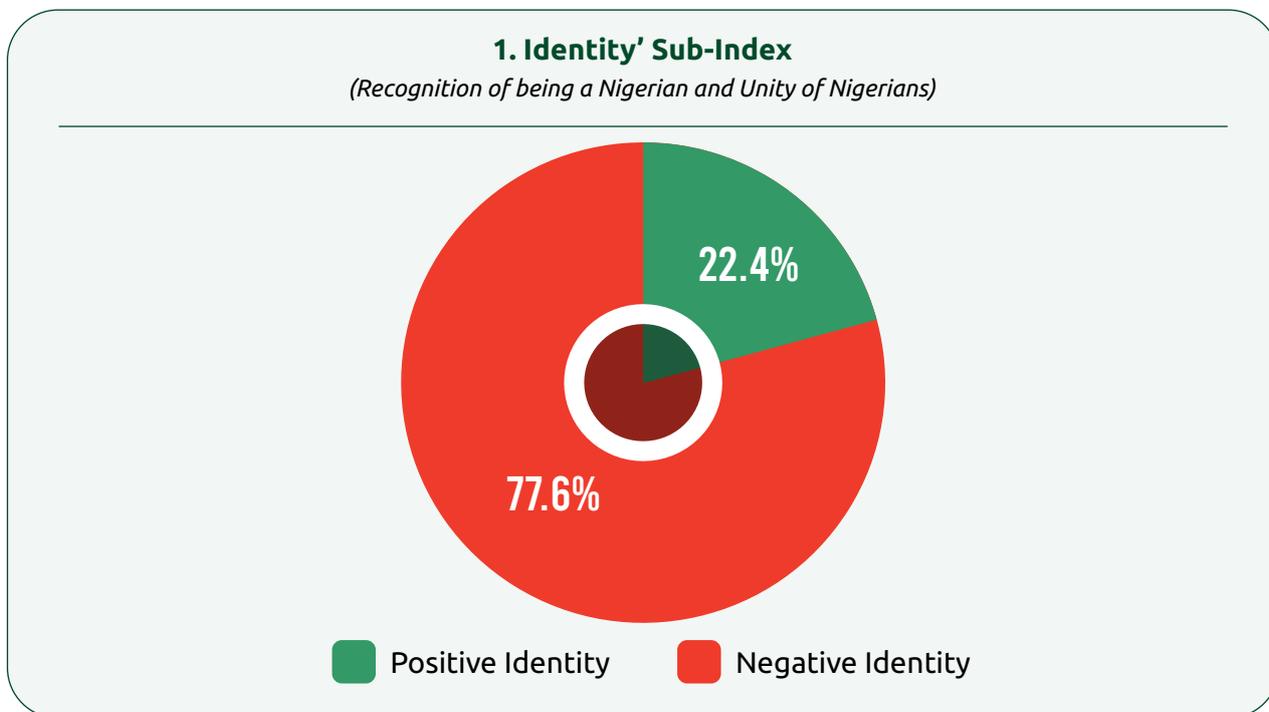


Figure 5: Identity Sub-Index

Further disaggregation of the identity index data showed that 46% of Nigerians feel truly proud of the country, as against 54% who feel disappointed. Similarly, an overwhelming majority of Nigerians (84%) believed that the country is much more divided in 2021 than it was four years ago. This raises an important concern for the state of social cohesion in the country and therefore, an indication that the requisite policy needs to be urgently implemented to make the country more united. The willingness of Nigerians to live together and work for the collective good of the country depends on the implementation of a national inclusive policy to reduce the growing feeling of disunity

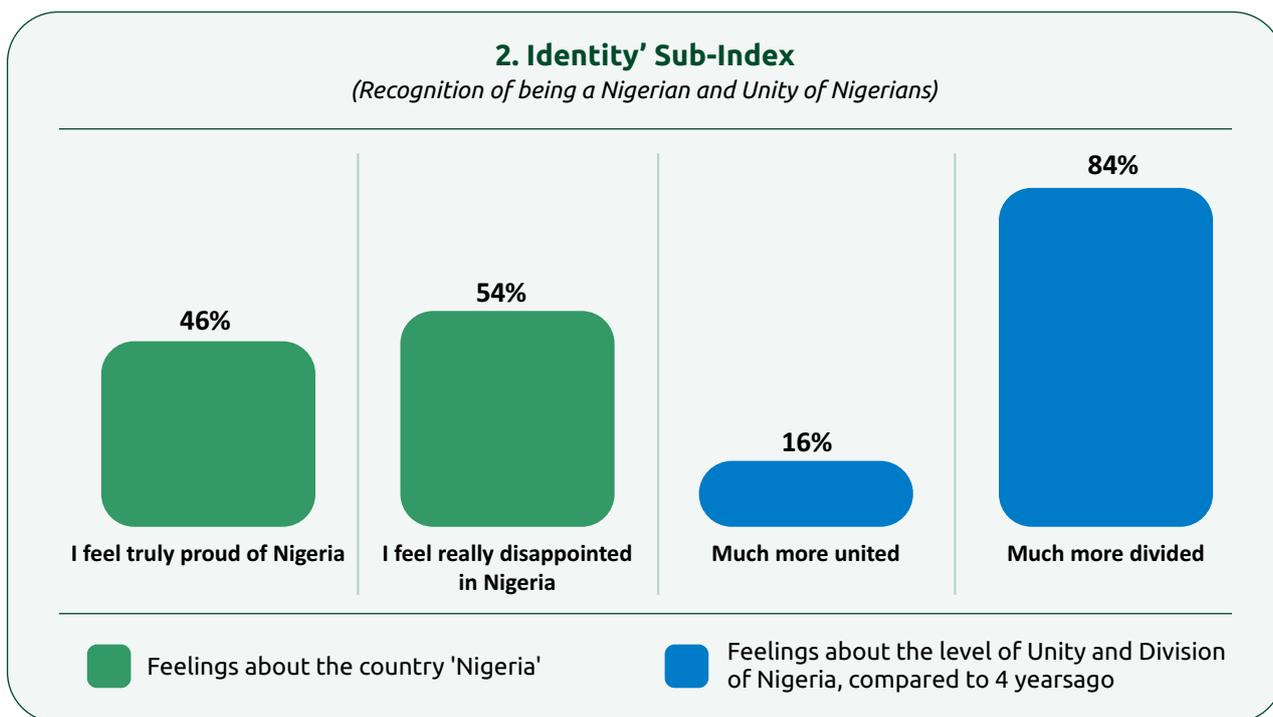


Figure 6: Questions that constitutes the Identity Sub-Index

## 2. Trust' Sub-Index *(Level of trust Nigerians have in the Government and Other Institutions)*

Trust is one of the key elements of social cohesion and largely determines the extent of a citizen's allegiance to a country. In assessing the level of citizens' trust, the results showed an overwhelming lack of trust for the government. Instructively, most of the respondents (69.4%) expressed little or no trust in the government, compared to only a few 27.4% and 3.1% who have some trust and a lot of trust for the government respectively. The overwhelming lack of trust for the country is worrisome, given that citizens' trust enhances allegiance which is essential for the country's economic growth, unity and development.

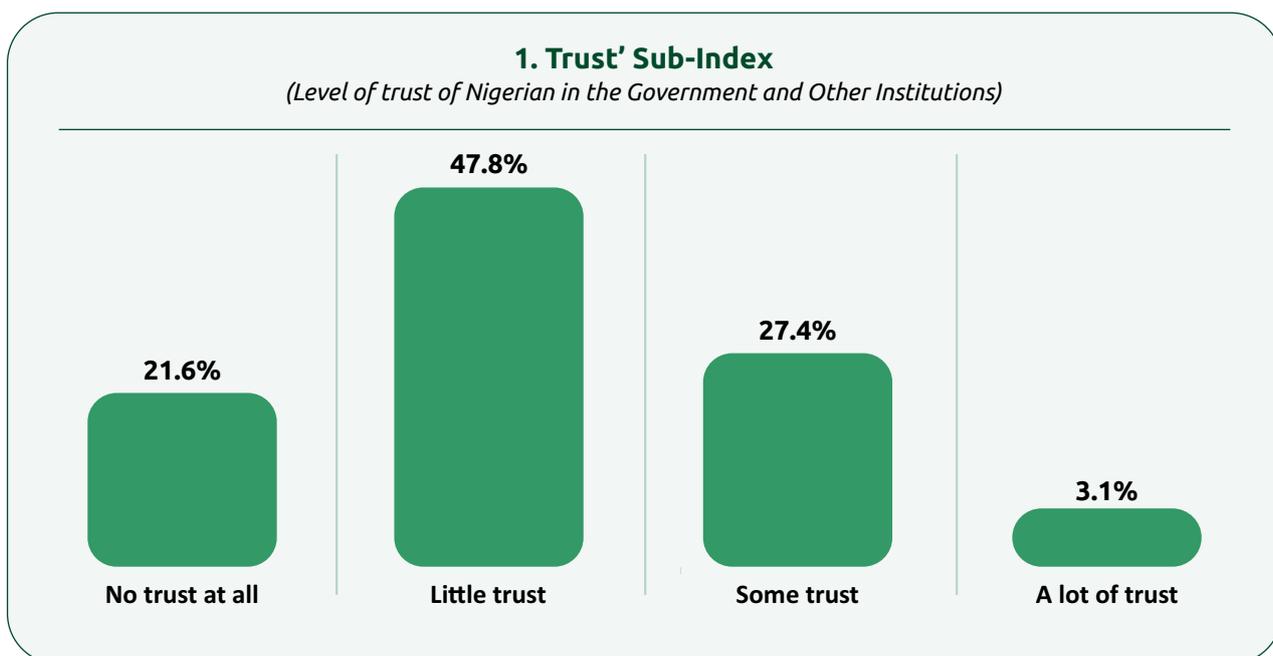


Figure 7: Trust Sub-Index

Digging further and pertaining to the level of trust the citizens have for the government of President Muhammad Buhari, government, other leaders and institutions, the results indicated that those who have 'no trust at all', 'little trust' and 'some trust' in the government and other institutions cumulatively add up to 96.8% on the average, compared to a marginal 3.2% who reported otherwise. When the respondents were asked to indicate their level of trust on a scale of 1-4 for the Government, leaders and other institutions, the rating of 'little trust' and 'no trust at all' was highest in Police with 78%; followed by the National Assembly (78%); the government of President Muhammad Buhari (74%) and the Judiciary (73%). Similarly, 62% of Nigerians have 'little trust' and 'no trust at all' in the Army and other religious affiliations respectively. The obvious lack of trust in government and its institutions expressed by citizens could hamper the move towards collective unity for national development. It is worth noting that the expression of 'a lot of trust' and 'some trust' by Nigerians was highest in religious leaders (55%) and traditional leaders (44%). This signifies that in the country today where trust is an issue, religious and traditional leaders appeared to be more trusted by citizens than institutions of government. In these wise, religious and traditional leaders need to be considered as critical stakeholders and mediators between the government and the citizens in times of conflict, kidnapping, civil unrest and insecurity.

## 2. 'Trust' Sub-Index

(Level of trust of Nigerian in the Government and Other Institutions)

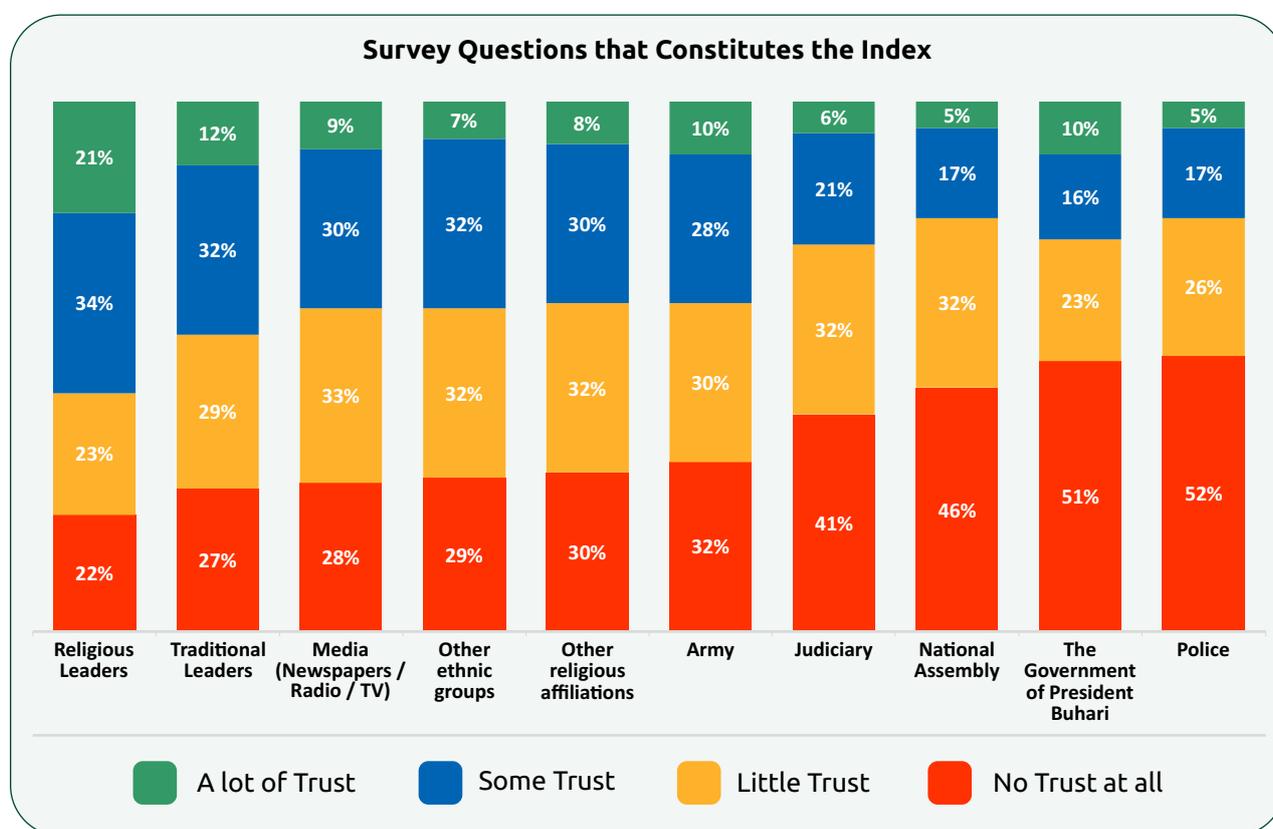


Figure 8: Questions that constitutes the Trust Sub-Index

### 3. Social Justice Sub-Index (Feelings of 'equal protection of the nation's law on everyone' and 'access of all to civil justice')

Access to social justice is considered one of the most cherished dividends of democracy, as it promotes equity and fairness across economic, social and political activities. As the result showed, most respondents (66.2%) believed that there is a low level of social justice in the country; Compared to 33.8% who believe that social justice is high. This result corroborates the 2019 social cohesion survey conducted by Africa Polling Institute (API) which indicated that 70% of Nigerians believed certain persons are 'above the law'; compared to only 20% who believe the law protects everyone equally.

### 3. 'Social Justice' Sub-Index

(Feelings of 'equal protection of the nation's law on everyone' and 'access of all to civil justice')

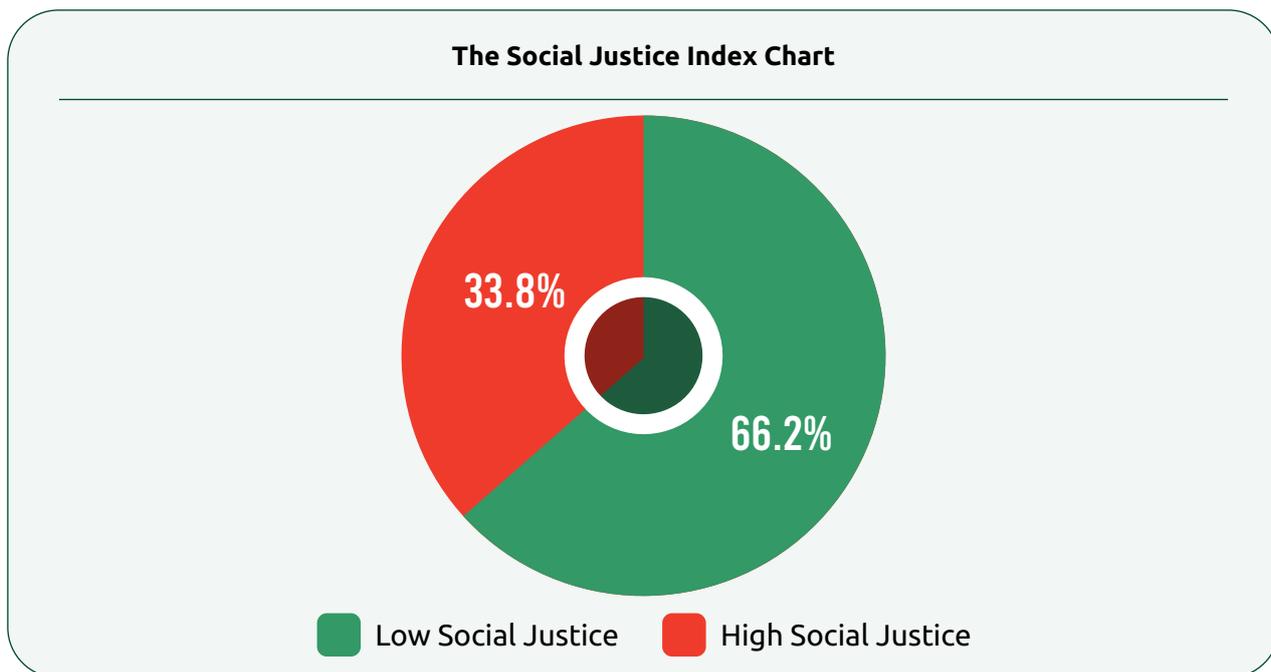


Figure 9: Social Justice Sub-Index

Based on the results, most citizens (75%) believed that there are persons above the law in Nigeria. Similarly, another 72% said 'only the rich and powerful can access civil justice.' 25% and 28% indicated 'the laws protect everyone equally' and 'all citizens can access civil justice when they need to,' respectively. These responses, no doubt, illustrate the weakening state of the law and access to civil justice in the country. It is sufficient to say that these reasons could partly account for the civil unrest currently rocking the country today, given that there cannot be peace and harmony without justice and equality of the law.

### 3. 'Social Justice' Sub-Index

(Feelings of 'equal protection of the nation's law on everyone' and 'access of all to civil justice')

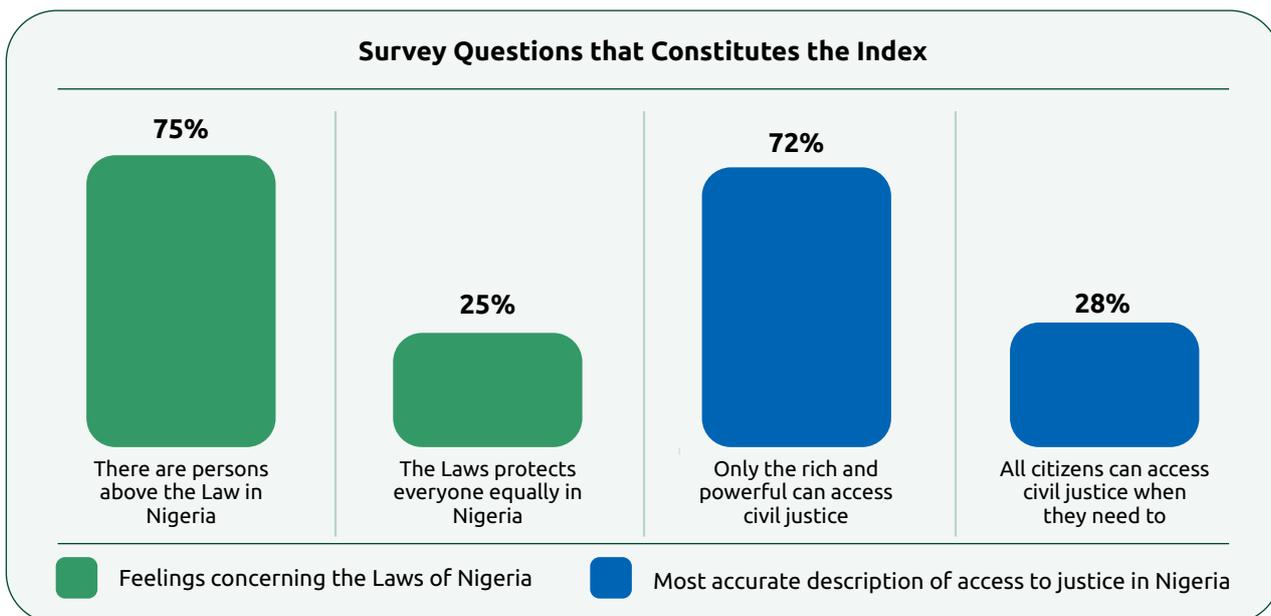


Figure 10: Questions that constitutes the Social Justice Sub-Index

**4. Participation & Patriotism Sub-Index (Cooperation with other ethnic group to work for a more united Nigeria, and marriage between two different ethnic / religious group)**

Patriotism and citizens' participation in national activities is closely linked to each other. One way to measure or ascertain citizens' patriotism is through active political participation. Remarkably, the result showed that most Nigerians (79.9%) expressed high participation and patriotism, while 20.1% opted for low participation and patriotism. The high level of patriotism opined by the citizens could be responsible for the country's resilience in overcoming the countless obstacles threatening its corporate existence as a nation. This further implied that though there may be diversities in language, culture, religion and ethnic affiliations, the shared ground of patriotism is one of the strongest national bonds that bind Nigerians together as a people.

**4. 'Participation & Patriotism' Sub-Index**

*(Cooperation with other ethnic group to work for a more united Nigeria, and marriage between two different ethnic / religious group)*

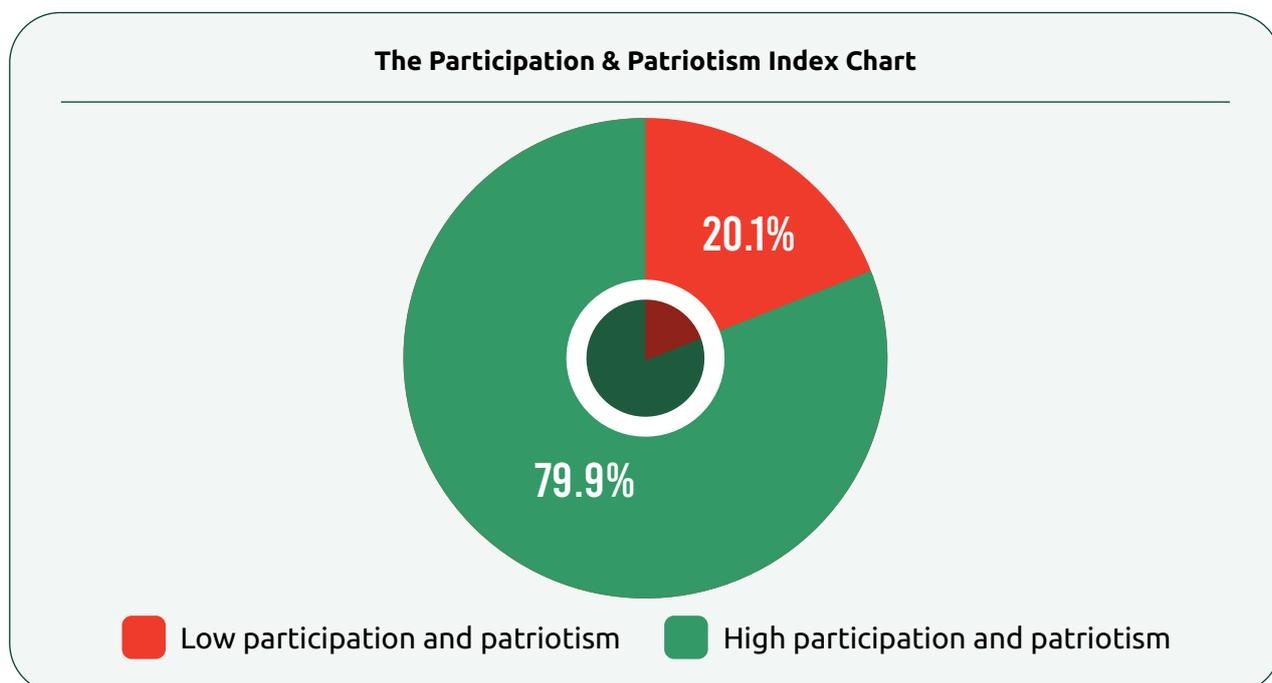


Figure 11: Participation & Patriotism Sub-Index

From the Participation & Patriotism Sub-Index, it was gathered that amongst those that showed high participation and patriotism, 75% are 'Somewhat/Extremely willing to cooperate with other ethnic groups to work for a more united Nigeria. In addition, 86% said they are willing to support inter-ethnic marriage, while another 54% are willing to support marriage between two people of different religions. The willingness of majority of the citizens to support inter-ethnic marriages is key to forging national unity and social integration that helps in nation-building. Meanwhile, across this category, there were more respondents (46%) unwilling to support inter-religious marriage, compared to those unwilling to cooperate with other ethnic groups (25%), as well as those that would not support inter-ethnic marriage (14%).

#### 4. 'Participation & Patriotism' Sub-Index

(Cooperation with other ethnic group to work for a more united Nigeria, and marriage between two different ethnic / religious group)

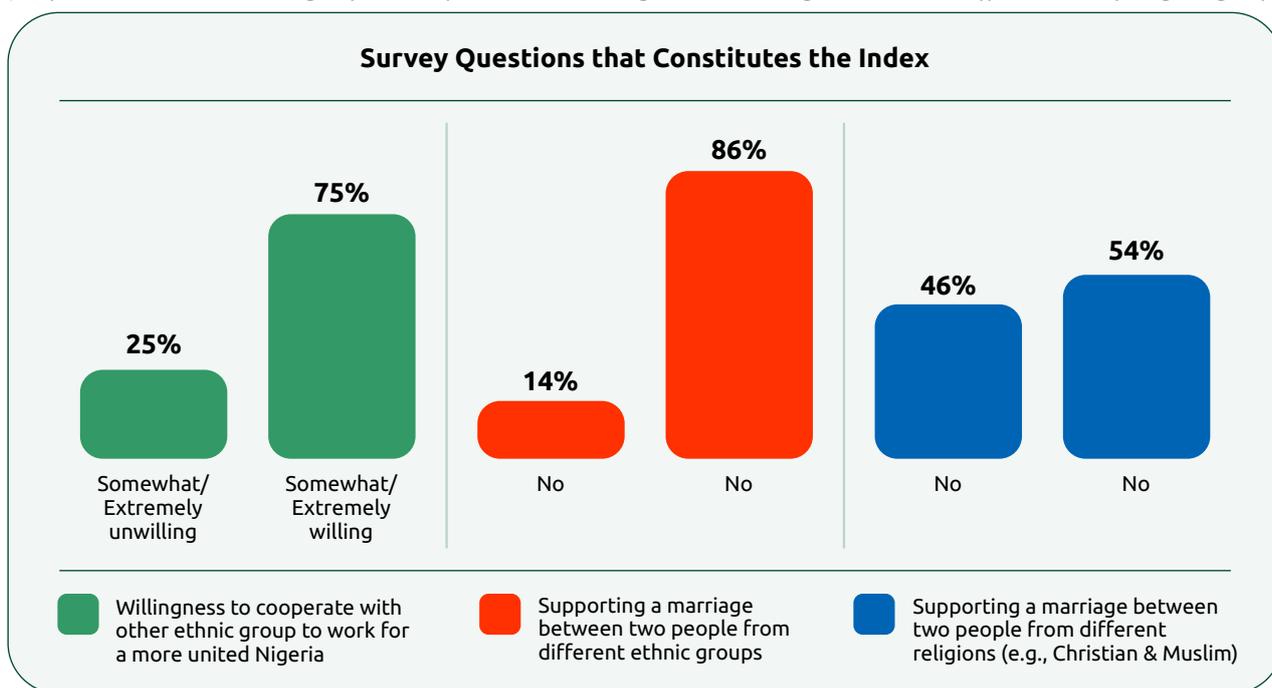


Figure 12: Questions that constitutes Patricipation and Patriotism Sub-Index

#### 5. Natural Resource Governance Sub-Index (Management of the funds/resources from the country's natural resources, such as crude oil etc.)

The issue of natural resource governance is indisputably one of the critical burning issues in the country today. Aside from being a sensitive matter, it has assumed a political dimension and debated along state and geopolitical lines. From the survey, respondents were asked to give their opinions about natural resource governance in the country. Findings from the survey revealed that overall, 5 in 10 Nigerians (50%) rated government average in the management of natural resources. Again, while 46% of the respondents believed the management of natural resources has been poor, a few respondents (4%) believed that the government has performed well. The issue of natural resource governance in Nigeria has become progressively debated, as scholars and the policy community, including the civil society, have expressed concern about the role of natural resource governance in the development of the country as well as its implication for continued peace and cohesion.

#### 5. 'Natural Resource Governance' Sub-Index

(Management of the funds/resources from the country's natural resources, such as crude oil etc.)

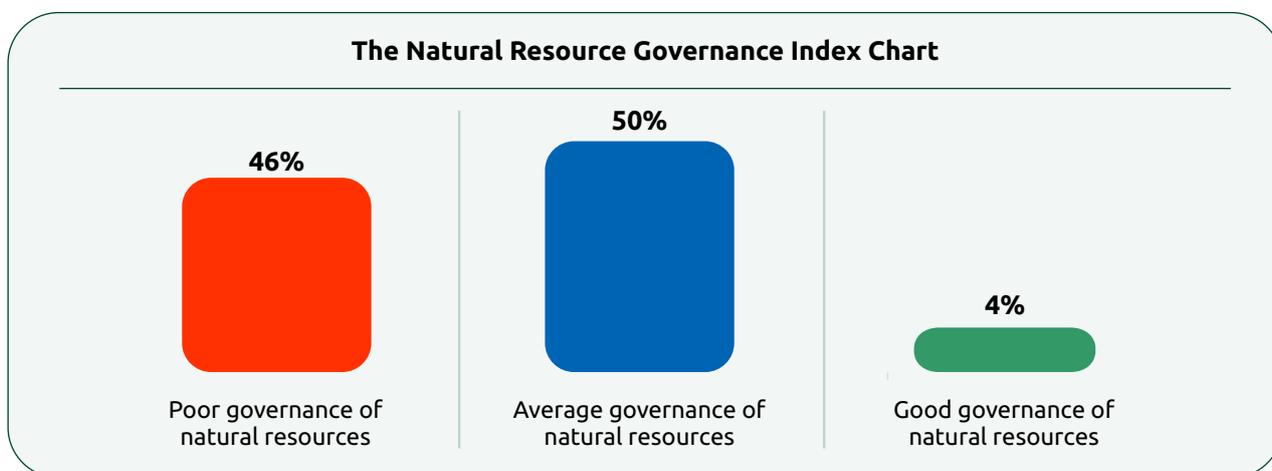


Figure 13: Natural Resource Governance Sub-Index

However, to further validate the findings above on natural resource governance, respondents were asked to give their views on how the government manages the natural resource funds. As the result showed, 59% of the respondents rated government effort poorly, 33% considered it fair, while 8% gave a good rating of government effort. With regards to the impression of Nigerians about the derivation fund, 45% considered it unfair and insufficient, 46% felt it is good, while only 9% claimed it is too much and should be slashed. In addition, when respondents were asked about their level of trust for the current administration to restructure Nigeria in a way that would give ownership and control of natural resources to the states where they are domiciled, the majority of Nigerians (58%) said they do not trust the ability of current government to give autonomy of natural resources to states, 38% have a little trust, while only a few (4%) have a lot of trusts. Obviously, poor resource management has huge implications for peace and security in the region and has however created an unending suspicion between the Southern and the Northern divide in Nigeria, therefore, the need to address it becomes very pertinent

### 5. 'Natural Resource Governance' Sub-Index

(Management of the funds/resources from the country's natural resources, such as crude oil etc.)

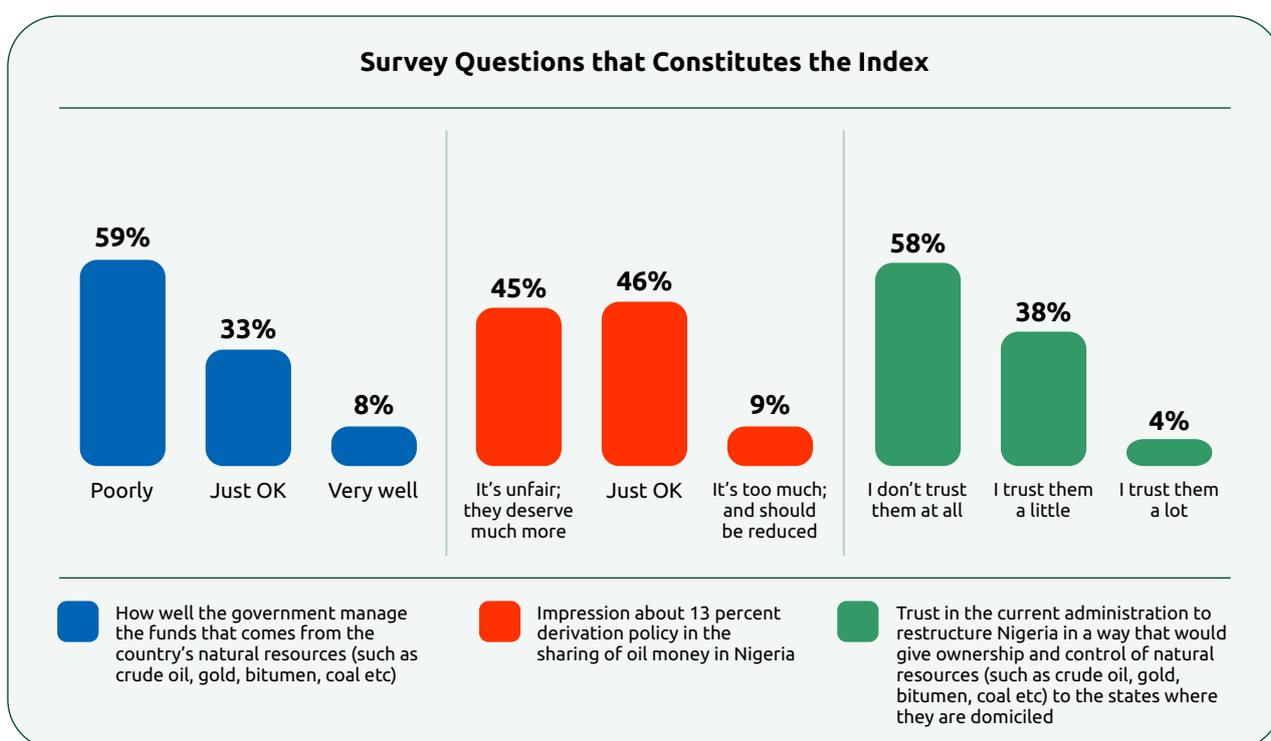


Figure 14: Questions that constitutes Natural Resource Governance Sub-Index

### 6. Gender Equity Sub-Index (Government efforts towards promoting gender equity and Participation of women in political activities)

The issue of gender equity has been keenly debated across the globe. However, aside from being a fundamental human right, gender equity is essential to achieving a peaceful and inclusive society. From the survey, it was found almost 6 in 10 Nigerians (59%) believed that there is average gender equity in the country. Again 3 in 10 Nigerians (30%) believed gender equity is low. There were few respondents (9%) who either believed that gender equity is high (9%) or no gender equity (2%) in the country. Most Nigerians who believed that there is average gender equity in Nigeria is not surprising, considering that in recent times and as against the old-fashioned patriarchal system in the country, there have been fundamental changes in the traditional roles of women across the country. The social barriers of tradition and patriarchal structure are gradually giving way to, new values, practices and ways of life. For instance, in Nigeria today, women are increasingly making colossal progress and breaking new ground in almost every field of human endeavour, including in areas that were previously men-dominated and considered the exclusive territory of men.

### 6. 'Gender Equity' Sub-Index

(Government efforts towards promoting gender equity and Participation of women in political activities)

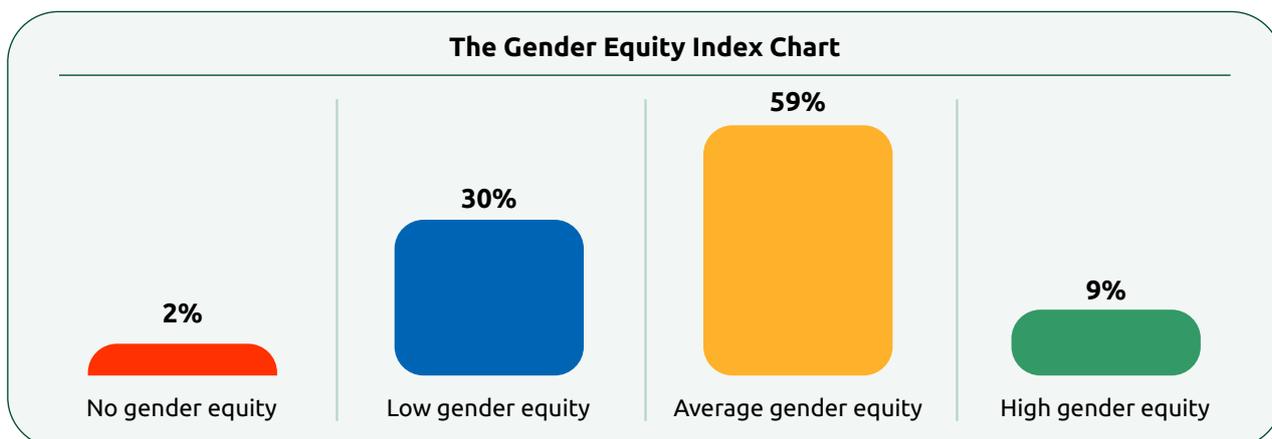


Figure 15: Gender Equity Sub-Index

The finding further highlights citizens' assessment of the effort of the current administration in the area of passing laws and implementing policies to protect women and girls from discrimination and sexual violence. From the results, while 29% of the respondents rated government effort fairly, the same 29% believed that government effort has been poor. Again, while a paltry 3% thought that government effort has been very good, 22% believed otherwise. Similar ratings were also given by the respondents with regards to the effort of the government at punishing and preventing sexual violence against women in the country. Again, women participation in politics is crucial to the unity and inclusive development of the country's democracy. To this end, the survey sought to ascertain how often should women participate in political activities in Nigeria. From the results, an average of 48% of the citizens believed that women should always participate in political activities including being part of a political rally, voting during an election, contesting during an election, as well as holding political party leadership positions. Conversely, only a meagre average of 8% of the respondents reported that women should never participate in any of the political activities. It is important to note that the widespread approval of women participation in politics by Nigerians is not unconnected with the increasing number of women in politics today who are exceptionally exemplary and had exhumed good leadership skills.

### 6. 'Gender Equity' Sub-Index

(Government efforts towards promoting gender equity and Participation of women in political activities)

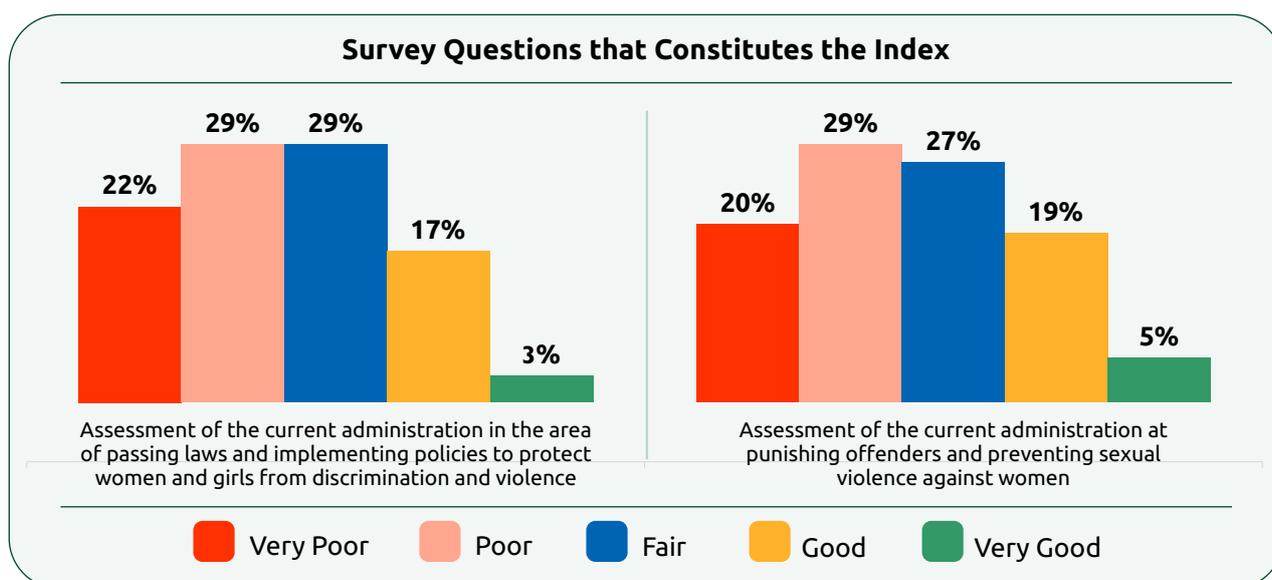


Figure 16: Questions that constitutes Gender Equity Sub-Index

### 6. 'Gender Equity' Sub-Index

(Government efforts towards promoting gender equity and Participation of women in political activities)

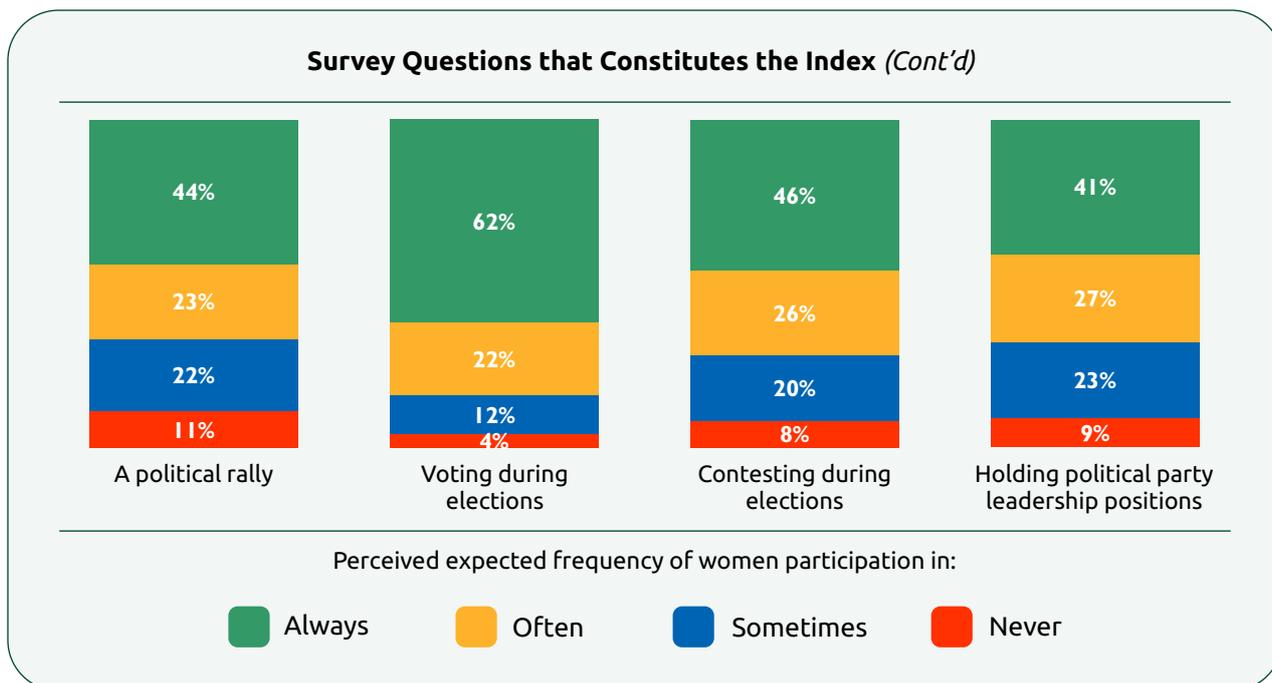


Figure 17: Questions that constitutes Gender Equity Sub-Index (Cont'd)

### 7. Impunity Sub-Index (Level of seriousness of human right abuses, unreported cases of human right abuses, and involvement of state agents such as the police and army in human rights abuses)

In recent times, impunity in public space has become a subject of intense debate which has not been sufficiently explored within the concept of social cohesion. It is seemingly hard to discuss Nigeria's socio-political activities without mentioning the level of impunity in the country. Hence it becomes vital to elicit responses from Nigerians with regards to their perception of the level of impunity in the country. From the survey, the consensus, amongst the citizens is that there exists an average level of impunity in the country. In specific, 63% of citizens believed that there is an average level of impunity; followed by 21% who believed that there is low impunity. Again, while few respondents (15%) believed that there is a high level of impunity, only 1% considered the country to have zero levels of impunity. Most of the respondents believed that there is the existence of an average level of impunity in the country is not out-of-place, considering the culture of impunity and other vices that are fast becoming a norm perpetuated at all levels of governance. Thus, the prevalence of impunity in Nigeria is not only exclusive to politicians, but it cuts across civil servants, the private sector, individuals and the society at large.

### 7. 'Impunity' Sub-Index

(Level of seriousness of human right abuses, unreported cases of human right abuses, and involvement of state agents such as the police and army in human rights abuses)

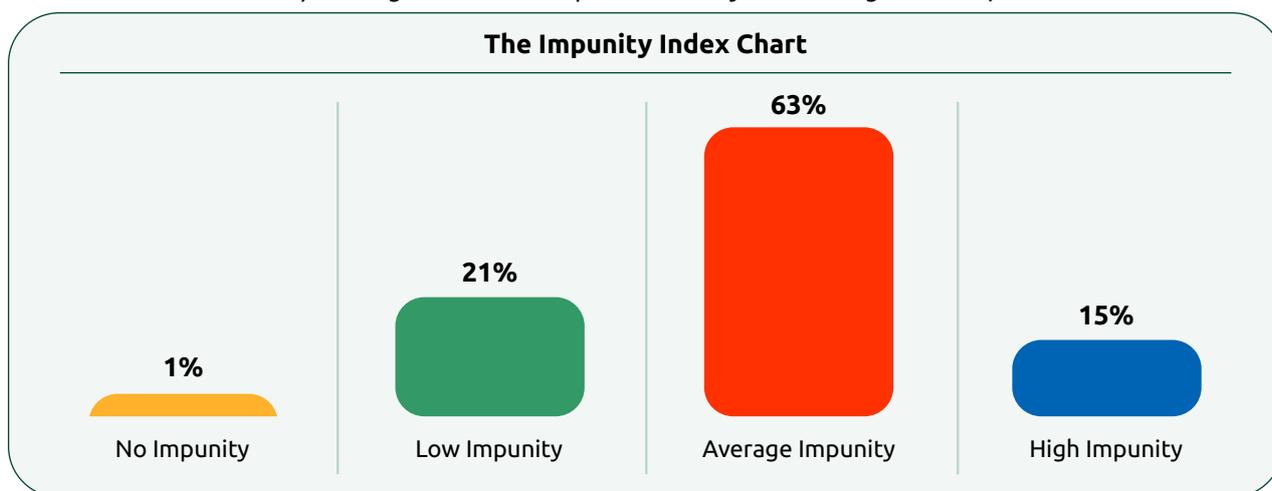


Figure 18: Impunity Sub-Index

To further probe the findings above on the level of impunity in the country, respondents were asked to give their opinions about the seriousness of the issue of human rights abuses and violations in Nigeria. As the survey revealed, over half of the respondents (55%) stated that human rights abuses and violations are serious issues, compared to a paltry (3%) respondents who considered it as not a problem. Also, regarding the opinion of Nigerians on the level of unreported cases of human rights abuses in the country, a greater percentage of the population (40%) held the opinion that the unreported cases of human rights abuses are high, 29% believed it is moderate, 16% said low, while 15% considered it to be extremely high. Similar in gauging the extent to which states agents (such as the police and military) themselves perpetrators of human rights abuses, as the results showed, most of the citizens (63%) are confident that security personnel never or sometimes perpetrate human rights abuses, as opposed to 37% of the citizens who opined that security personnel always and often engage in human right abuses. This concern raised by nearly 4 in 10 Nigerians is a source of worry given that over the years, successive governments in Nigeria do not effectively investigate allegations of human rights violations and abuses by security personnel or bring suspected perpetrators to justice.

### 7. 'Impunity' Sub-Index

(Level of seriousness of human right abuses, unreported cases of human right abuses, and involvement of state agents such as the police and army in human rights abuses)

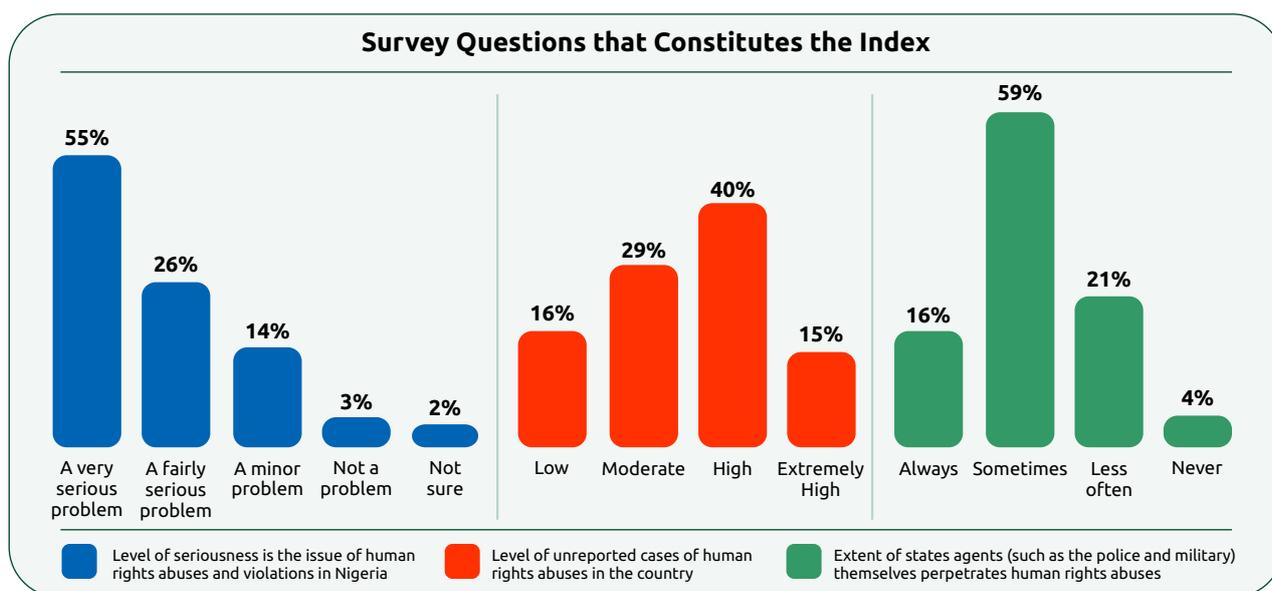


Figure 19: Questions that constitutes Impunity Sub-Index

## 8. Corruption Sub-Index (*Perceived general level of corruption in Nigeria, Fight against corruption, and corrupt practices in access to Justice*)

Corruption has been one of the major challenges to economic development in Nigeria and has been pervasive over the years. The negative consequences of corruption in Nigeria are quite glaring; it reduces government revenue and expenditures, lower human development, slow economic growth, and increases poverty and unemployment. As such, the survey sought to gauge the perception of Nigerians concerning the level of corruption in the country. From the results, 5 in 10 Nigerians said there is a high corruption level in the country. This was followed by 45% of respondents who said there is an average corruption level, and only 5% said it is low. However, most of the respondents who either believed that there is a high or average level of corruption is a pointer to the deep-rooted corruption which has plausibly contributed immensely to the nation's low human development and poverty.

### 8. 'Corruption' Sub-Index

(*Perceived general level of corruption in Nigeria, Fight against corruption, and corrupt practices in access to Justice*)

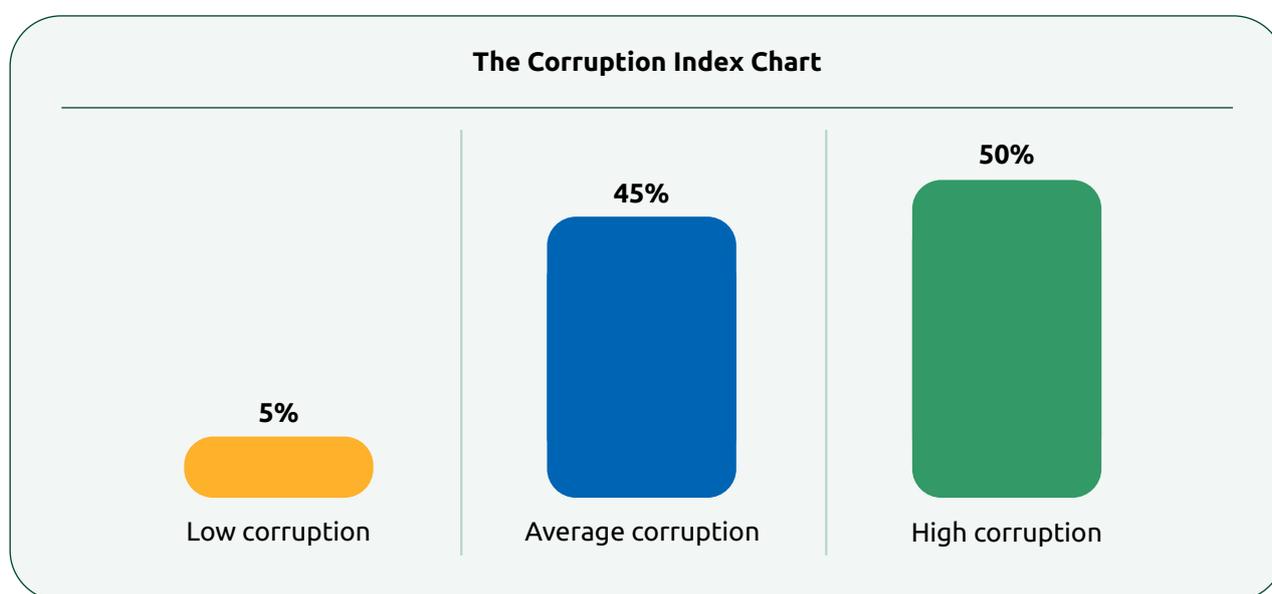


Figure 20: Corruption Sub-Index

The survey results further revealed that most Nigerians perceived the level of corruption to be on the rising trend. While almost 7 in 10 Nigerians (69%) stated that corruption is rising, 28% opined that it has remained the same and a few respondents (5%) considered the level of corruption to be decreasing. In the same vein, 63% of Nigerians rated government effort at fighting corruption poorly, compared to a few respondents (13%) who opined that government effort at fighting corruption has been good. In addition, majority of Nigerians (80%) equally expressed concerns that access to justice in the country is never and sometimes free from corruption, as against 2 in 10 Nigerians opined that access to justice is always and often free from corruption. However, the majority concerns that access to justice in the country is never and sometimes is instructive and should be taken seriously. Addressing these legal challenges will be essential to restore citizens' confidence and because access to justice is vital to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and inclusive economic growth and development.

### 8. 'Corruption' Sub-Index

(Perceived general level of corruption in Nigeria, Fight against corruption, and corrupt practices in access to Justice)

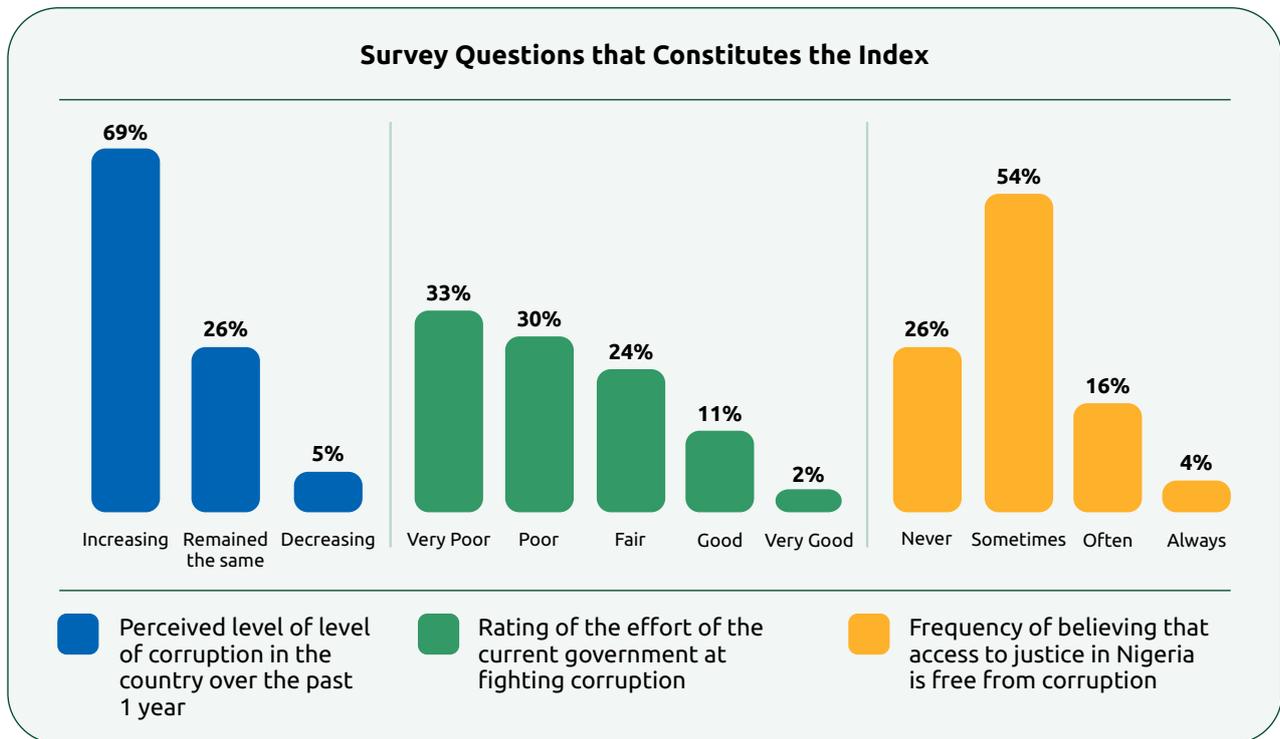


Figure 21: Questions that constitutes Corruption Sub-Index

### 9. Self-Worth Sub-Index (Willingness NOT to relocate with family out of Nigeria if given the opportunity)

Over the last decade, there has been a new trend of Nigerians relocating out of the country in search of greener pastures. Hence the Worth Sub-Index sought to measure citizens' perception of the willingness to relocate from Nigeria. Interestingly from the results, a majority, slightly more than 7 in 10 Nigerians (73%) indicated a willingness to relocate from Nigeria with family overseas. Although, the reason for the massive willingness of citizens was not asked plausibly, the decision to relocate must have been influenced by the search for a better life. This could assume different dimensions including increased employment opportunities, improved living conditions, better-guaranteed security and improved life outcomes for their children. As noted by Africa Polling Institute (API) 2020<sup>146</sup> the trend of Nigerians emigrating out of the country appears to have witnessed an increasing wave. According to the report, the top 5 important reasons influencing Nigerians to relocate out of the country include: search for better career opportunities (75%), heightened insecurity and violence (60%), better future for children (55%), further education (40%), and poor governance in Nigeria (35%).

<sup>146</sup> Deconstructing the Canada Rush: A Study on the Motivations for Nigerians Emigrating to Canada - Report [March 2020]

### 9. 'Worth' Sub-Index

(Willingness NOT to relocate with family out of Nigeria if given the opportunity)

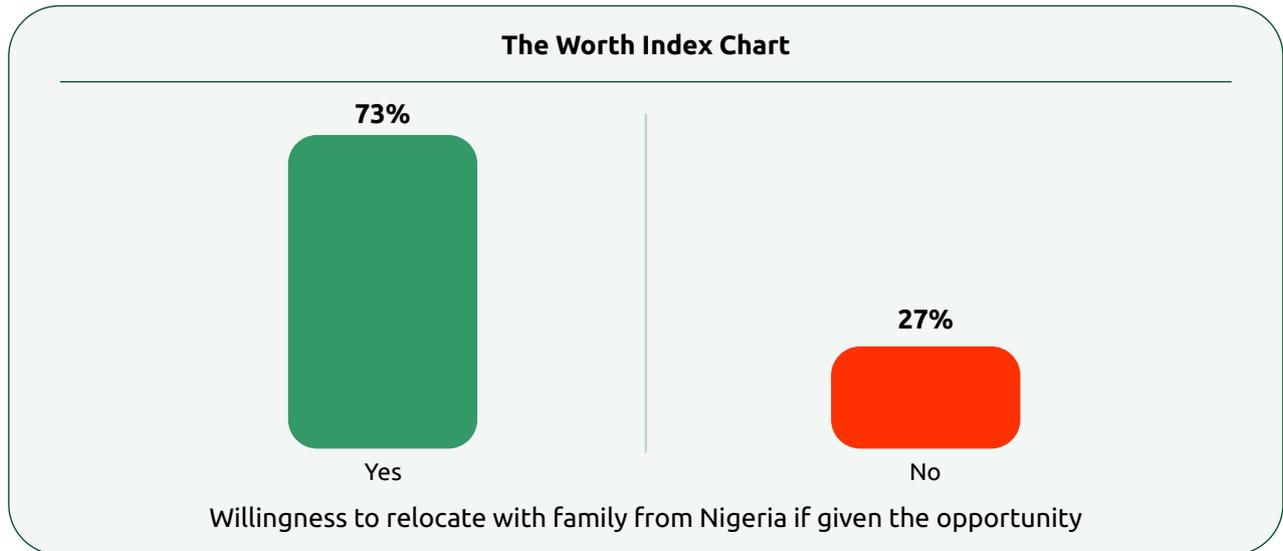


Figure 22: Self-Worth Sub-Index

#### 1. Future Expectation Sub-Index (Feelings about the future of being better)

Amidst the current economic hardship, increasing unemployment and poverty, and heightened insecurity and violence in the country, the survey sought to ascertain the level of confidence that citizens have about the future of the country. Interestingly and despite the current state of the economy, 68.33% of Nigerians expressed positive hope and confidence that the future would be better than today. On the contrary, 31.7% of the respondents' state that the future would be worse than it is today. Remarkably, this finding corroborates earlier findings from the 2019 Nigeria Social Cohesion Survey (NSCS) by Africa Polling Institute (API)<sup>147</sup>, which reported that most respondents (66%) believed that the future of the country would be much better than it is today, compared to 15% who opposed that the future would be much worse. However, despite the high hope expressed by Nigerians, it is rational to allude that the quest to secure a better future for the country rests on Nigeria's ability to adequately harness and utilized the enormous human and natural resources for inclusive economic growth and development.

### 10. 'Future' Sub-Index

(Feelings about the future of being better)

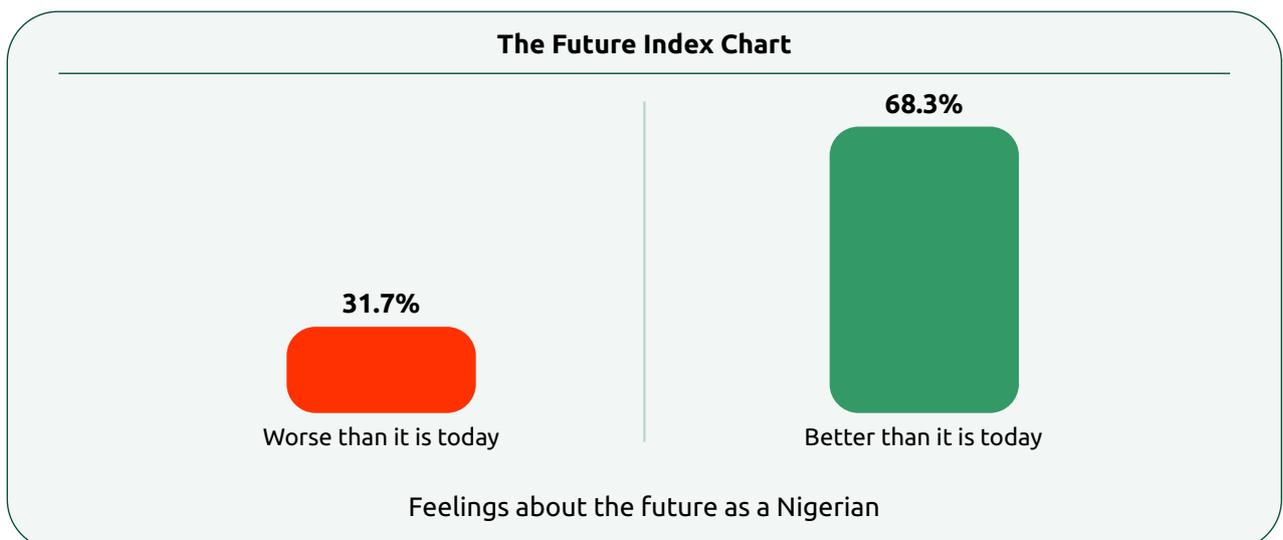


Figure 23: Future Sub-

<sup>147</sup> <https://africapolling.org/2019/10/28/nigeria-social-cohesion-survey-2019/>

## 4.2 Summary of Demographic Distribution



### Gender:

Slightly more male (51%) than female respondents (49 per cent) participated in the survey.



### Geo-Political Zone:

The distribution of respondents by geo-political zones in the survey are as follows: North-West (26 per cent) with the highest frequency, followed by South-West (20 per cent), South-South (15 per cent), North-Central (14 per cent), North-East (13 per cent), and South-East (12 per cent) with the lowest frequency.



### Age-Group:

The distribution of age groups of the respondents in the survey includes 18-35 years (57 per cent) with the highest frequency, followed by 36-60 years (39 per cent), and 61 and above (4 per cent) with the lowest frequency.



### Locality:

The distribution of locality are as follows: urban dwellers (50 per cent) and rural dwellers (50%)



### Occupation:

The majority of respondents are self-employed (23 per cent), followed by 20 per cent who engage in one business or another, students (11 per cent), farmers (10 per cent), unemployed (9 per cent), artisan (8 per cent), civil servant (8 per cent), professionals (6 per cent), Religious leaders (1 per cent), Corps Members (1per cent), and others (3 per cent).



### Literacy Level:

The distribution of respondents by literacy level in the survey includes respondents who completed secondary school (47 per cent) with the highest frequency, completed tertiary education and above (34 per cent), completed primary education (9 per cent), informal education (6 per cent), and those with no formal education (3 per cent) with the lowest frequency.

Variables		Count	Column N %	
		5,363	100	
Gender	Male	2,725	50.8	
	Female	2,638	49.2	
Marital Status	Single	2,131	39.7	
	Married	3,059	57.0	
	Widowed	111	2.1	
	Divorced/Separated	61	1.1	
Religion	Christian	3,138	58.5	
	Muslim	2,203	41.1	
	Traditional	21	.4	
Ethnic group	Yoruba	1,142	21.3	
	Hausa	1,496	27.9	
	Igbo	909	16.9	
	Others	1,816	33.9	
Age Category	18-35 years	3,070	57.2	
	36-60 years	2,103	39.2	
	61 and above	190	3.5	
Education Attainment	No formal Education / Illiterate	173	3.2	
	Informal Education (Arabic, Nomadic etc.)	322	6.0	
	Completed Primary School	485	9.0	
	Completed Secondary School	2,548	47.5	
	Completed Tertiary and above	1,835	34.2	
Geo-Political Zone	North Central	778	14.5	
	North East	725	13.5	
	North West	1,372	25.6	
	South East	626	11.7	
	South South	804	15.0	
	South West	1,059	19.7	
Occupation	Self-Employed Trader	1,226	22.9	
	Business Man / Woman	1,060	19.8	
	Student	626	11.7	
	Farmer / Agric. Worker	518	9.7	
	Unemployed Youth / Adult	515	9.6	
	Artisan	429	8.0	
	Govt. Worker / Civil Servant	424	7.9	
	Professional Worker	315	5.9	
	Religious Leader / Missionary	46	.9	
	Youth Corper	37	.7	
	Others	168	3.1	
	Average monthly income (in Naira):	Less than N50,000	2,756	51.4
		N50,001 – N100,000	1,458	27.2
N100,001 – N200,000		481	9.0	
N200,001 – N300,000		147	2.7	
N300,001 – N400,000		65	1.2	
N400,001 – N500,000		14	.3	
Above N500,000		6	.1	
Urbanization	Don't Know / Refused	436	8.1	
	Urban	2,699	50.3	
	Rural	2,664	49.7	

Table 2: Socio-Demographic Information



05

## Survey Results

“

*The survey assessed the concept of “Identity” as a component of Social Cohesion in Nigeria, to capture the perception of how Nigerians view their national identity to identifying with a tribe or group to which they belong versus identifying with the country.*

## 5.0 Survey Results

### 5.1 Assessment of Identity as a Component of Social Cohesion

The survey assessed the concept of “Identity” as a component of Social Cohesion in Nigeria, to capture the perception of how Nigerians view their national identity to identifying with a tribe or group to which they belong versus identifying with the country.

#### 5.1.1 Feelings of Nigerians about the Nation

The survey began with respondents being asked which statement best expresses their feelings about the country. Interestingly nearly half of the citizens (49%) said they “feel disappointed in Nigeria”. At the same time, the survey showed a significant proportion of citizens (42%) who “feel truly proud of the country”. A few of the respondents (7%) were indifferent, and a paltry 2% were simply not sure about their feelings for the country.

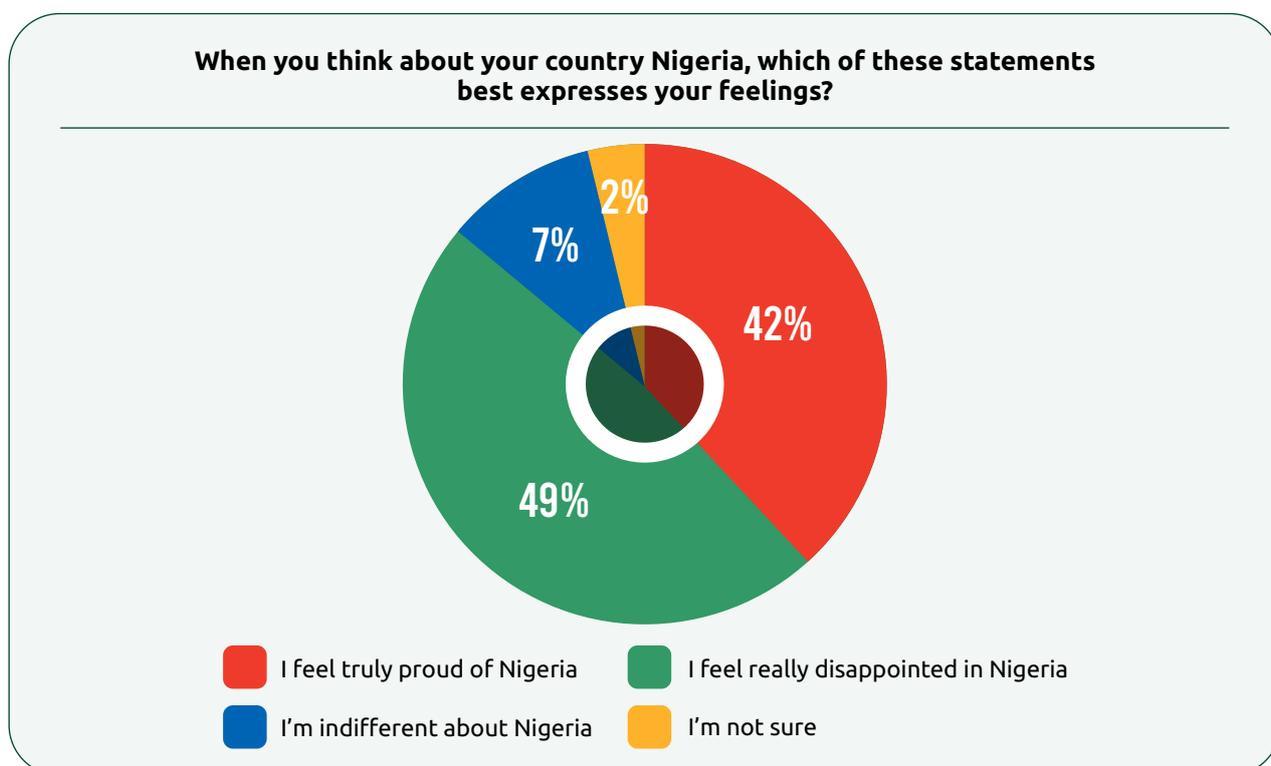


Figure 24: How Nigerians Feel about the Nation

In addition, the views shared by respondents on how they feel about the country were disaggregated by some socio-demographics such as gender, age and geo-political zones. The results showed that, across the board, the proportion of Nigerians who felt truly disappointed in the country were more, particularly in South-East (72%); followed by South-South (56%) and South-West (52%). The level of disappointment expressed here could stem from the inability of citizens of this region to appreciate the much-cherished dividends of democracy and inclusive government. On the contrary, the proportion of Nigerians who felt truly proud of the country were observed more in the President's regional base of the North-West (58%). Again, equal male and female respondents (49%) each felt truly disappointed about the country, compared to those (42%) who felt truly proud of the country.

**When you think about your country Nigeria, which of these statements best expresses your feelings?**  
by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
I feel truly proud of Nigeria	<b>42%</b>	42%	42%	43%	42%	35%	49%	41%	58%	16%	34%	39%
I feel really disappointed in Nigeria	<b>49%</b>	49%	49%	48%	49%	54%	44%	51%	31%	72%	56%	52%
I'm indifferent about Nigeria	<b>7%</b>	7%	7%	7%	7%	8%	6%	6%	7%	9%	7%	8%
I'm not sure	<b>2%</b>	2%	2%	2%	2%	3%	1%	2%	4%	3%	3%	1%

Table 3: Socio-Demographic of how Nigerians feel about the Nation by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

Furthermore, with regards to religion, educational attainment and urbanization, there was a slight difference in how citizens felt about the country. As the results showed, more Christians (56%) and Traditionalists (50%) than Muslims (38%) felt truly disappointed about the country. Remarkably, more respondents (52%) with primary education /no formal education and Muslims (52%), felt truly proud of the country; compared to respondents (51%) with secondary education and above who felt truly disappointed about the country.

**When you think about your country Nigeria, which of these statements best expresses your feelings?**  
by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal / Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
I feel truly proud of Nigeria	<b>42%</b>	42%	42%	35%	52%	32%	52%	40%
I feel really disappointed in Nigeria	<b>49%</b>	49%	48%	56%	38%	50%	39%	51%
I'm indifferent about Nigeria	<b>7%</b>	7%	7%	7%	7%	14%	6%	7%
I'm not sure	<b>2%</b>	2%	3%	2%	3%	4%	3%	2%

Table 4: Socio-Demographic of how Nigerians feel about the Nation by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

### 5.1.2 Identification as Nigerian or Member of an Ethnic Group

Overall, 82% of Nigerians feel comfortable with the dual identity of being both Nigerian and from their ethnic group, but to different proportions. Remarkably, 4 in 10 Nigerians are proud of being equally Nigerian and from their ethnic group. Also, about a third of citizens interviewed (33%) identify more with their ethnic group than being Nigerian; compared to only 9% feel more Nigerian than ethnic. On the other hand, 13% say they feel only ethnic, compared to 5% patriots who said they feel only Nigerian.

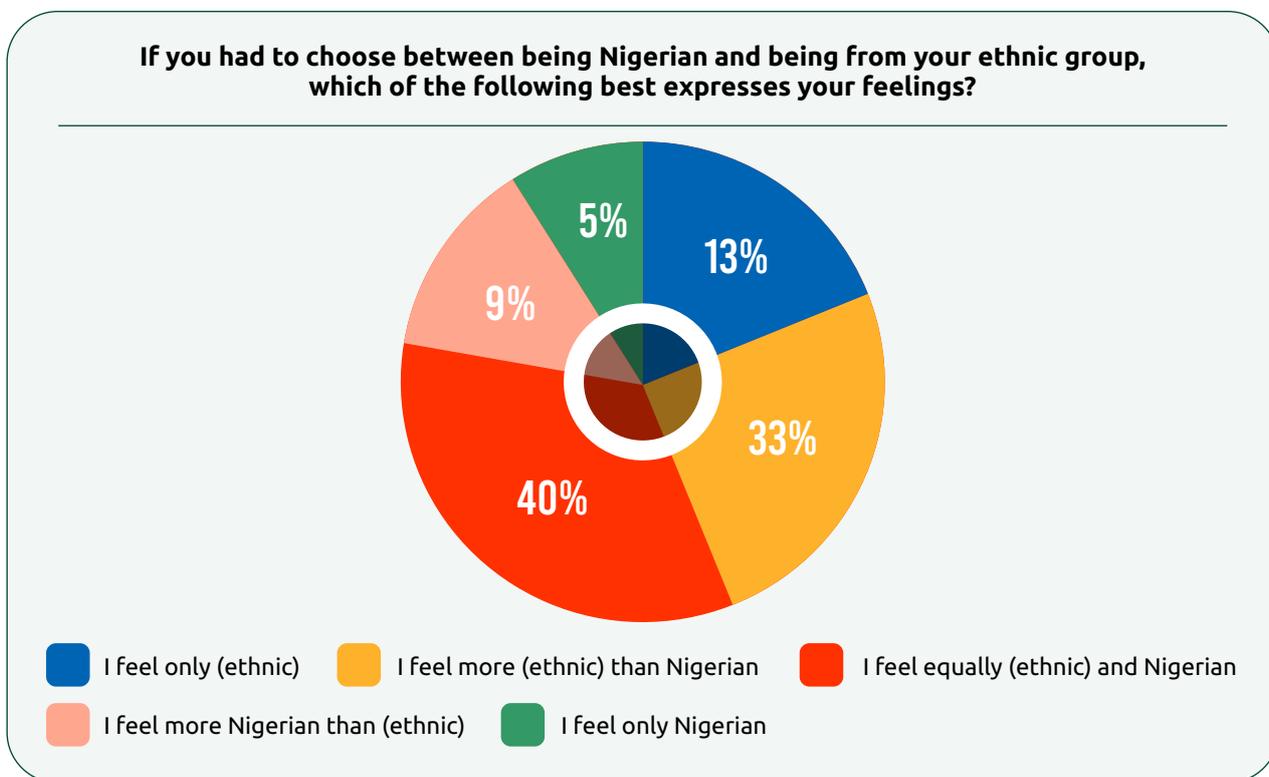


Figure 25: Choices between being Nigerian and being from a Particular Ethnic Group

In addition, when the findings were cross-analysed by key socio-demographic like gender, age and geopolitical zones, some striking observations were noticed. For instance, across geo-political zones, a greater proportion of respondents from southern Nigeria (39.3%) compared to Northern Nigeria (32.3%) identify more with ethnic than Nigerian. Those who identify as being equally ethnic and Nigerian were highest in North-West (50%); followed by South-South (40%); South-West (34%); North-East (36%); North-Central (35%); and lowest in South-East (25%). Remarkably, those who identify with only their ethnic identity were highest in the South-East (21%) and lowest in the North-East (8%). Conversely, those who identify as being only Nigerian were highest in the North-East (11%) and lowest in the South-East (2%). Similarly, across age groups, those who identify as being equally ethnic and Nigerian were highest in aged 35-60years (41%). Surprisingly aged 61 and above topped those who feel more ethnic than Nigerian (36%) and those being only ethnic (17%) compared to other age categories. Interestingly, while equal male and female, 5% each, feel only Nigerian, more male (14%) than female (12%) are likely to identify being only ethnic. Instructively, it is clear from this finding that there's a significant ethnic attachment by citizens from certain geo-political zones, which may not be unconnected with the inability of every ethnic group to have equal access to opportunities and enjoy dividends of governance, and this has continued to impact negatively on the centripetal forces of national integration and cohesion in the country.

**If you had to choose between being Nigerian and being from your ethnic group, which of the following best expresses your feelings?**

*by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone*

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
I feel only (ethnic)	13%	14%	12%	14%	12%	17%	13%	8%	9%	21%	14%	16%
I feel more (ethnic) than Nigerian	33%	33%	33%	33%	33%	36%	36%	33%	25%	44%	37%	34%
I feel equally (ethnic) and Nigerian	40%	38%	42%	38%	41%	37%	35%	36%	50%	28%	40%	39%
I feel more Nigerian than (ethnic)	9%	10%	8%	9%	9%	6%	12%	12%	11%	5%	6%	6%
I feel only Nigerian	5%	5%	5%	6%	5%	4%	4%	11%	5%	2%	3%	5%

*Table 5: Socio-Demographic on Choices between being Nigerian and from an Ethnic Group by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone*

Interestingly, as it relates to urbanization, religion and education, findings revealed that more Christians (37%) than Muslims (28%) identify more with ethnic attachments than being Nigerian, while more Muslim (45%) than Christian (36%) identify being equally ethnic and Nigerian. Those who feel only Nigerian were highest amongst Traditionalists (14%) than Muslims (7%) and Christians (4%). With regards to literacy levels, respondents with secondary education and above (34%) feel more ethnic than Nigeria, compared to those with no formal education/primary school (31%). Again, while those that feel only ethnic were highest with respondents with secondary education and above (14%), on the contrary, those that feel only Nigerian were highest with those having no formal education/primary school (8%). In terms of urbanisation, there was an equal proportion of respondents across rural and urban areas (40% each), who identify as being equally ethnic and Nigerian.

**If you had to choose between being Nigerian and being from your ethnic group, which of the following best expresses your feelings?**

*by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level*

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal / Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
I feel only (ethnic)	13%	12%	15%	15%	10%	5%	11%	14%
I feel more (ethnic) than Nigerian	33%	33%	33%	37%	28%	28%	31%	34%
I feel equally (ethnic) and Nigerian	40%	40%	40%	36%	45%	49%	40%	40%
I feel more Nigerian than (ethnic)	9%	10%	7%	8%	10%	4%	10%	8%
I feel only Nigerian	5%	5%	5%	4%	7%	14%	8%	4%

*Table 6: Socio-Demographic on Choices between being Nigerian and from an Ethnic Group by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level*

### 5.1.3 What Makes Nigerians Proud of Being Nigerian

Following the perception of citizens between being Nigerian and from their ethnic groups, respondents were asked a hypothetical question: If there was one factor that makes you proud of being Nigerian, what would that be? The findings showed that the country's endowment and blessing with natural resources (29%) came first. This was followed by: the peace-loving and hardworking nature of Nigerians (22%), our art and cultural heritage (16%) and good land, weather and agricultural resources (16%) were ranked highest. In addition, other factors that make Nigerians proud of the country include resilience and can-do spirit, and religious nature of Nigerians (4%), delicious food delicacies (3%), free movement and home of tourism (2%). As the study found, most citizens are proud of the country's endowments and blessing of natural resources. However, it has been argued that the huge revenues derived from the country's natural resource especially from crude oil, has not translated into improving the living conditions of the citizens; as the country continues to witness high poverty, high inflation, massive unemployment, low human development indices amongst others.



Figure 26: What are Nigerians most proud of in being Nigerian

Further, the survey showed that among the top reasons respondents indicated to be proud of in Nigeria, the South-South and South-East (34% each), came highest with those who said the Blessing from Natural Resources, followed by South-West (33%), North-East (31%), North-West (24%) and lastly, the North-Central (22%). Interestingly, respondents who were proud of Nigeria for the seeming Peace Loving and Hardworking Nature of the average Nigerian were more in Northern Nigeria (24.6%) compared to Southern Nigeria (19%). Similarly, those who were proud of Nigeria for its Good Land, Weather and Agricultural Resources, were more in North-East (19%), followed by North-Central, South-West and North-West (17% each) and lowest in South-South (12%) and South-East (11%). For the age demography, the majority of those who feel proud of Nigeria due to its Natural Resources were adults between the ages 36 to 60 years and youths aged 18-35 years (29% each). Again, more respondents aged 61 years and above (25%) were proud of Nigeria's art and cultural heritage, compared to those aged 18-35 years (17%) and 36 to 60 years (16%).

### If there was one factor that makes you proud of being Nigerian, what would that be?

by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
We are blessed with mineral resource	<b>29%</b>	30%	27%	29%	29%	25%	22%	31%	24%	34%	34%	33%
Our peace loving, hardworking & talented people	<b>22%</b>	23%	22%	21%	24%	16%	24%	24%	26%	18%	19%	20%
Our art and cultural heritage	<b>17%</b>	17%	18%	17%	16%	25%	19%	13%	20%	20%	16%	16%
Our good land, weather & agricultural resources	<b>16%</b>	15%	16%	15%	17%	18%	17%	19%	17%	11%	12%	17%
We are religious people	<b>4%</b>	4%	4%	4%	3%	5%	6%	6%	4%	2%	2%	3%
Our resilience & Can-Do Spirit	<b>4%</b>	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	5%	2%	3%	5%	6%	3%
Our delicious food and delicacies	<b>3%</b>	2%	4%	4%	3%	2%	2%	2%	3%	6%	4%	2%
Nigeria is a home tourism	<b>2%</b>	2%	1%	2%	1%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%
Freedom of movement	<b>2%</b>	2%	3%	3%	2%	3%	2%	2%	2%	2%	5%	2%
Nothing to be proud of in Nigeria	<b>1%</b>	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	1%	%	0%	1%	1%	2%

Table 7: Socio-Demographic of what makes Nigerians most proud being Nigerian by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

The differences in opinion across urbanization, religion and education were also observed, as the findings showed, respondents who were proud of the country due to its natural resources, were highest amongst those with secondary education and above (30%), compared to those with no formal education/primary school (28%). On the other hand, respondents, who were proud of Nigeria due to its peace-loving and hardworking nature were more with those with no formal education/primary school (24%), compared to those with secondary education and above (22%). Interesting equal respondents from rural and urban (29%) each, were proud of the country due to its natural resources; and equal respondents from rural and urban (22%) each, were proud of Nigeria due to its peace-loving and hardworking nature. In addition, across religion, more Christians (31%) than Muslims (25%) and Traditionalists (14%), identified with the blessing of natural resources. Conversely, more Traditionalists (36%) than Muslims (26%) and Christian (19%), chose the peace-loving and hardworking nature of Nigerians.

**If there was one factor that makes you really proud of being Nigerian, what would that be?**  
*by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level*

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal / Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
We are blessed with mineral resource	29%	29%	29%	31%	25%	14%	28%	30%
Our peace loving, hardworking & talented people	22%	22%	22%	19%	26%	36%	24%	22%
Our art and cultural heritage	17%	17%	18%	18%	17%	23%	15%	18%
Our good land, weather & agricultural resources	16%	16%	15%	15%	17%	14%	19%	15%
We are religious people	4%	4%	4%	3%	5%	0%	5%	3%
Our resilience & Can-Do Spirit	4%	4%	4%	5%	2%	5%	3%	4%
Our delicious food and delicacies	3%	3%	3%	4%	3%	0%	2%	3%
Nigeria is a home tourism	2%	2%	1%	1%	2%	4%	1%	2%
Freedom of movement	2%	2%	3%	3%	2%	4%	2%	2%
Nothing to be proud of in Nigeria	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	1%	1%

Table 8: Socio-Demographic of what makes Nigerians most proud being Nigerian by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

**5.1.4 Unity and Division of Nigeria**

Furthermore, respondents' perception of how united or divided Nigeria is today compared to four years ago was quite revealing. Remarkably, the majority (65%) expressed worry that the country is much more divided today than it was four years ago. This is compared to only a few (12%) who said the country is much more united today than it was four years ago. Only 23% believe that the country has stayed the same. The extent of divisiveness expressed by most citizens is a source of concern and needs to be further interrogated, given that the task of uniting the different religious, ethnic, political and social imbalances remains one of the greatest challenges facing Nigeria as a nation today.

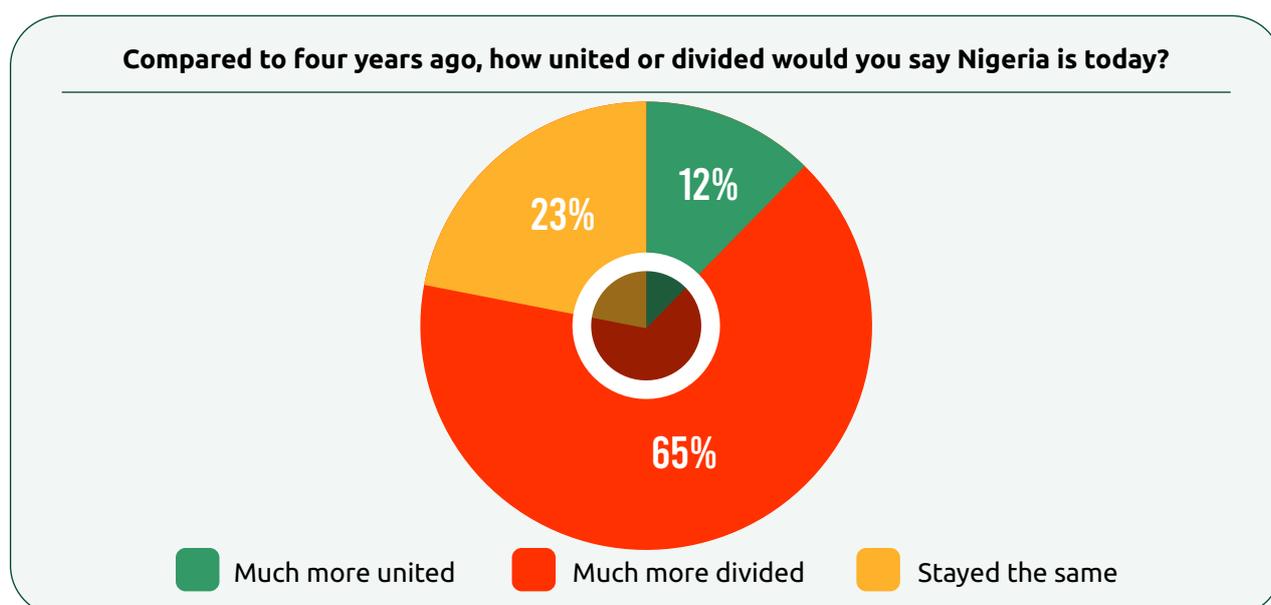


Figure 27: Extent of Unity or Division among Nigerians

Similar to the national average, the finding that Nigeria is much more divided was widespread across all socio-demographic classifications such as gender, age group, literacy level, urbanization, religion and geo-political zones. Interestingly, respondents aged 61 years and above (72%), and Citizens based in the South-East (79%) and South-South (76%) regions of the country were amongst the highest proportion of Citizens who opined that the country is much more divided today than it was 4 years ago. The expression by citizens of these regions could be due to some recent political happenings in the country. According to Uche and Okonkwo (2020)<sup>148</sup>, there are perceptions that the South-East geopolitical zone has been largely ignored from the President's appointments and the key position of governments both at the executive, legislative and judiciary arms. He further argued that political leadership in Nigeria has been dominated by the North to the detriment of the South, particularly the South-East, reinforcing the feeling of disunity, exclusion and marginalization. A similar trend could be observed from citizens aged 18-60 years (65%), as well as across North-Central (68%), South-West (67%), North-East (56%) and North-West (52%). In addition, slightly more males (67%) than females (63%) also expressed the consensus opinion that the country is much more divided than as it was 4 years ago

### Compared to four years ago, how united or divided would you say Nigeria is today?

*by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone*

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Much more united	12%	12%	12%	13%	11%	11%	19%	16%	16%	6%	7%	8%
Much more divided	65%	67%	63%	65%	65%	72%	68%	56%	52%	79%	76%	67%
Stayed the same	23%	21%	25%	22%	24%	17%	13%	28%	32%	15%	17%	25%

*Table 9: Demographic Analysis on the Extent of Unity and Division among Nigerians by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone*

Related to the findings above, more Traditionalists (82%) than Christian (73%) and Muslims (54%) equally expressed concern that the country is much more divided than as it was 4 years ago. Again, more respondents with secondary education and above (67%), compared to those without formal and informal education (58%) also opined that the country is much more divided. This concern about the country was also shared by the majority of rural (63%) and urban (66%) respondents.

<sup>148</sup> Uche and Okonkwo (2020). Nigeria and the Challenges of National Unity. Proceedings of INTCESS - 7th International Conference on Education and Social Sciences - DUBAI (UAE)

**Compared to four years ago, how united or divided would you say Nigeria is today?**  
by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal / Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
Much more united	12%	12%	13%	9%	17%	4%	17%	11%
Much more divided	65%	66%	63%	73%	54%	82%	58%	67%
Stayed the same	23%	22%	24%	18%	29%	14%	25%	22%

Table 10: Demographic Analysis on the Extent of Unity and Division among Nigerians by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

**5.1.5 Sources of Conflict in the Country**

From the results, the top five causes of conflicts across communities in Nigeria are Ethnic / Tribal Differences (48%), Political Party affiliations (47%), Religious Differences (40%), Differences in Social Status (22%) and Access to land (22%). Furthermore, other causes of conflicts include Income Differences (19%), Educational Differences (13%), Age Differences (12%), and Gender Differences (10%).

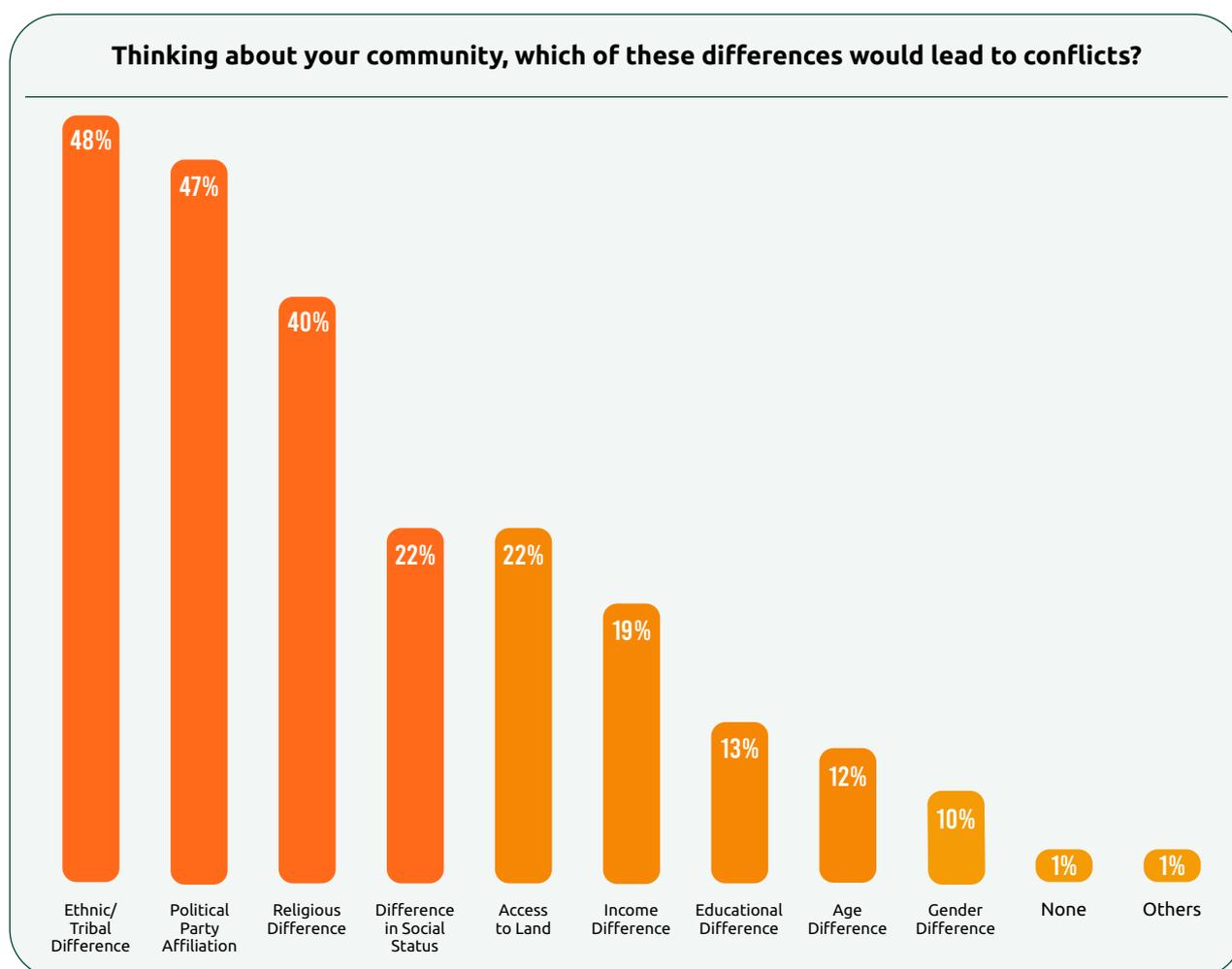


Figure 28: Major Causes of Conflicts in the Nation

The disaggregation of these national averages into geopolitical zone and age categories showed that most respondents who favoured ethnic and tribal differences as causes of conflict were from the South-East (61%), South-South (53%) and South-West (52%). In addition, those who believed religious differences could lead to conflicts the most were highest in North-East (52%), followed by North-West (49%) and lowest in South-South (27%). More respondents aged 36-60 years (50%) believed that ethnic and tribal differences could lead to conflicts the most, compared to respondents aged 61 years and above (49%) and aged 18-35 years (47%).

### Thinking about your community, which of these differences would lead to conflicts?

*by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone*

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Ethnic / Tribal Difference	48%	48%	49%	47%	50%	49%	29%	45%	50%	61%	53%	52%
Political Party Affiliation	47%	48%	46%	46%	48%	46%	45%	42%	48%	46%	61%	39%
Religious Difference	40%	40%	41%	40%	41%	37%	37%	52%	49%	40%	27%	33%
Difference in Social Status	22%	21%	23%	22%	22%	24%	8%	19%	24%	33%	24%	25%
Access to Land	22%	23%	22%	22%	23%	20%	22%	13%	13%	34%	41%	20%
Income Difference	19%	16%	21%	18%	19%	21%	10%	24%	18%	26%	19%	17%
Educational Difference	13%	12%	13%	12%	14%	10%	9%	7%	16%	19%	8%	16%
Age Difference	12%	11%	12%	12%	11%	10%	7%	8%	13%	18%	7%	15%
Gender Difference	10%	9%	10%	11%	9%	11%	4%	8%	10%	19%	7%	11%
Others	1%	1%	%	1%	%	0%	%	0%	%	0%	3%	%
None	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	%	1%	%	0%	%	2%

*Table 11: Demographic Analysis on the Causes of Conflicts in Nigeria by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone*

In terms of urbanisation, religion and education, findings revealed that more Christians (51%) than Muslims (45%) and Traditionalists (45%) believed that ethnic/tribal differences lead to conflicts. Similarly, more Christians (48%) than Muslims (45%) and Traditionalists (45%) also believed that differences in political party affiliations would lead to conflicts. With regards to educational attainment, more respondents with secondary education and above (50%) believed that ethnic/tribal differences would lead to conflicts, compared to those with no formal education/primary school (42%). Again, more respondents with secondary education and above (41%) believed that religious differences would lead to conflicts, compared to those with little to no formal education (37%).

**Thinking about your community, which of these differences would lead to conflicts?**  
by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal / Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
Ethnic / Tribal Difference	<b>48%</b>	50%	47%	51%	45%	45%	42%	50%
Political Party Affiliation	<b>47%</b>	46%	47%	48%	45%	45%	47%	47%
Religious Difference	<b>40%</b>	43%	38%	39%	42%	23%	37%	41%
Difference in Social Status	<b>22%</b>	23%	21%	22%	22%	32%	19%	23%
Access to Land	<b>22%</b>	22%	23%	27%	16%	32%	17%	24%
Income Difference	<b>19%</b>	21%	16%	19%	18%	5%	20%	18%
Educational Difference	<b>13%</b>	14%	12%	12%	14%	9%	11%	13%
Age Difference	<b>12%</b>	11%	12%	11%	12%	5%	12%	12%
Gender Difference	<b>10%</b>	11%	9%	10%	10%	5%	7%	10%
Others	<b>1%</b>	1%	1%	1%	%	0%	%	1%
None	<b>1%</b>	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	2%	%

Table 12: Demographic Analysis on the Causes of Conflicts in Nigeria by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

## 5.2 Assessment of Trust as a Component of Social Cohesion

In this section, the survey explores the concept of “Trust” as a major indicator of Social Cohesion in Nigeria. It reports citizens' trust in the Presidency, the National Assembly, the Judiciary, Religious and Traditional Institutions, the Military and Police, and the Media. It also reports the level of trust Citizens have for members of other ethnic groups and religious affiliations, amongst others.

### 5.2.1 Trust in Government and Institutions in Nigeria

Respondents were asked to indicate how much trust they have in some key institutions in Nigeria, including the Government of President Buhari, National Assembly, Judiciary and the Police. Religious leaders were rated more favourably by respondents on “a lot of trust and some trust” (55%), followed by traditional leaders (44%). The Judicial system (26%), the government of President Buhari (26%), the National Assembly (22%) and the Nigerian Police (22%) were the most poorly assessed.

The police (78%); National Assembly (78%); The Government of President Buhari (74%) and the Judiciary (62%) are either trusted “Little or not at all”. This obvious lack of trust situation is worrisome and could be the reason for the incessant civil unrest and conflicts in the country.

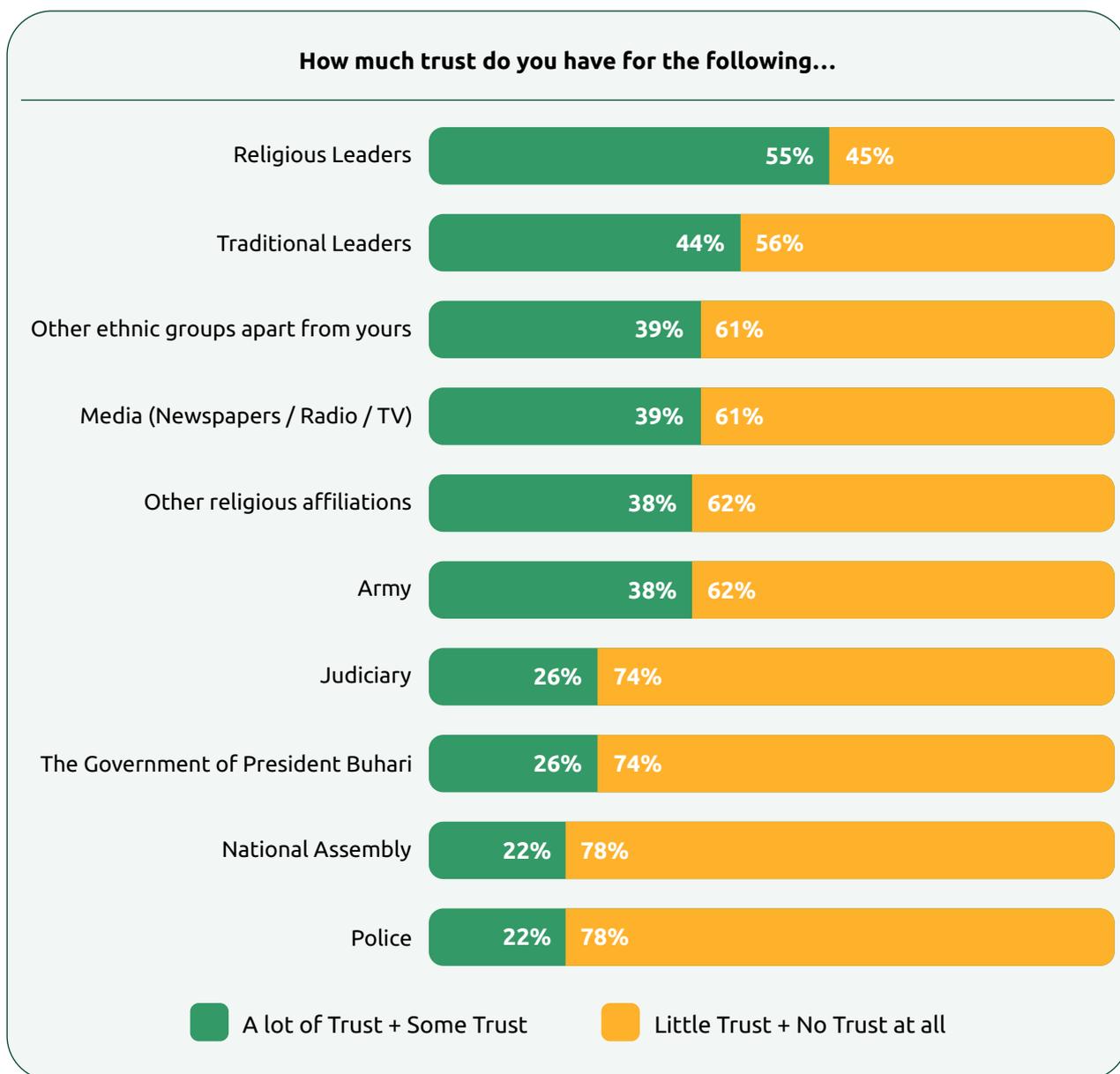


Figure 29: Extent of Trust in the Government and Institutions in the Nation

Furthermore, across socio-demographics, the result showed the South-South (93%) and the South-East (90%) have the most “Little or no trust in the President and his government”. Following this is 74% from North-Central, 57% from the North-East and 55% from the North-West sharing this view. Interestingly, religious leaders are highly trusted in the North-East (72%) and North-West (68%). As far as the Judiciary is concerned, only 19% in the South-East and 18% in the South-South and South-West said they have a lot of trusts or some trust in the judiciary. The apparent lack of trust for the country’s key arms of government expressed by the citizen is worrisome; if citizens fail to trust the country, it will be difficult for them to support the country and obey government laws. Ali and Yasin, (2015<sup>149</sup>) further corroborated this assertion by arguing that when citizens lack trust in government, there is a high tendency to resist the rules, avoid taxpaying or even involve in incessant protests.

<sup>149</sup> Ali, S. and Yasin, T (2015), “Citizens’ Trust in Public Institutions: International Congress of the International Institute of Administrative. A Field Study”, IIASISA

**How much trust do you have for the following.....?**  
by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
<b>The Government of President Buhari</b>												
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	<b>26%</b>	25%	27%	26%	27%	23%	26%	43%	45%	10%	7%	16%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	<b>74%</b>	75%	73%	74%	73%	77%	74%	57%	55%	90%	93%	84%
<b>National Assembly</b>												
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	<b>22%</b>	22%	22%	22%	24%	21%	20%	30%	35%	11%	10%	17%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	<b>78%</b>	78%	78%	78%	76%	79%	80%	70%	65%	89%	90%	83%
<b>Judiciary</b>												
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	<b>26%</b>	27%	27%	26%	28%	24%	23%	37%	40%	19%	18%	18%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	<b>74%</b>	73%	73%	74%	72%	76%	77%	63%	60%	81%	82%	82%
<b>Religious Leaders</b>												
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	<b>55%</b>	53%	57%	54%	57%	55%	52%	72%	68%	41%	48%	43%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	<b>45%</b>	47%	43%	46%	43%	45%	48%	28%	32%	59%	52%	57%
<b>Traditional Leaders</b>												
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	<b>44%</b>	44%	45%	43%	46%	46%	44%	60%	58%	29%	29%	36%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	<b>56%</b>	56%	55%	57%	54%	54%	56%	40%	42%	71%	71%	64%

*Table 13: Demographic Analysis on Extent of Trust in the Government and Institutions in the Nation by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone (1)*

Like the findings above, the overwhelming lack of trust for the government and its institutions cut across socio-demographics. Instructively, an overwhelming majority of the respondents from the South-South (92%), South-East (88%), South-West (85%) expressed little or no trust in Police. In the same vein, most respondents from North-Central (74%), North-East (68%) and North-West (66%) equally expressed little or no trust in Police. The Army was also not trusted by most respondents from the South-East (74%), South-West (69%), and South-South (69%).

**How much trust do you have for the following.....?**  
by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
		<b>Media (Newspapers / Radio / TV)</b>										
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	<b>39%</b>	39%	38%	40%	40%	32%	37%	44%	47%	26%	40%	34%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	<b>61%</b>	61%	62%	60%	60%	68%	63%	56%	53%	74%	60%	66%
		<b>Police</b>										
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	<b>22%</b>	21%	23%	23%	23%	14%	26%	32%	34%	12%	8%	15%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	<b>78%</b>	79%	77%	77%	77%	86%	74%	68%	66%	88%	92%	85%
		<b>Army</b>										
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	<b>38%</b>	38%	38%	38%	37%	34%	39%	43%	49%	26%	31%	31%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	<b>62%</b>	62%	62%	62%	63%	66%	61%	57%	51%	74%	69%	69%
		<b>Other ethnic groups apart from yours</b>										
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	<b>39%</b>	39%	39%	38%	40%	37%	40%	55%	44%	21%	27%	39%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	<b>61%</b>	61%	61%	62%	60%	63%	60%	45%	56%	79%	73%	61%
		<b>Other religious affiliations</b>										
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	<b>38%</b>	38%	38%	37%	40%	30%	40%	53%	41%	24%	25%	39%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	<b>62%</b>	62%	62%	63%	60%	70%	60%	47%	59%	76%	75%	61%

Table 14: Demographic Analysis on Extent of Trust in the Government and Institutions in the Nation by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone (2)

The national average on a lot of trusts plus some trust for the government of President Buhari is 26%, which is low. The huge difference or gap in the percentage of Christians (16%) and Muslims (42%) suggests the support base of the present federal government under President Buhari when compared with the huge percentage of those who have little trust or no trust at all, as in the case of traditional leaders. Urban and rural respondents are particularly mentioned for having had very little difference in percentage concepts of little trust and no trust at all.

**How much trust do you have for the following.....?**  
by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal / Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
<b>The Government of President Buhari</b>								
lot of Trust + Some Trust	<b>26%</b>	27%	25%	16%	42%	5%	39%	24%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	<b>74%</b>	73%	75%	84%	58%	95%	61%	76%
<b>National Assembly</b>								
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	<b>22%</b>	22%	22%	15%	31%	5%	30%	21%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	<b>78%</b>	78%	78%	85%	69%	95%	70%	79%
<b>Judiciary</b>								
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	<b>26%</b>	27%	27%	21%	35%	14%	33%	25%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	<b>74%</b>	73%	73%	79%	65%	86%	67%	75%
<b>Religious Leaders</b>								
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	<b>55%</b>	56%	54%	49%	65%	46%	63%	54%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	<b>45%</b>	44%	46%	51%	35%	54%	37%	46%
<b>Traditional Leaders</b>								
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	<b>44%</b>	45%	44%	35%	57%	46%	56%	42%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	<b>56%</b>	55%	56%	65%	43%	54%	44%	58%

Table 15: Demographic Analysis on Extent of Trust in the Government and Institutions in the Nation by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level (1)

Again, the widespread lack of trust in the arms of government and its institutions is demonstrated across urbanization, religion and educational attainment lines. On average, 60% of respondents that cut across urbanization, religion and educational attainment, have little or no trust in the Media, an average of 78% have little or no trust in the Police, an average of 56% have little or no trust in the Army, an average of 60% have little or no trust in Other ethnic groups and an average of 61% have little or no trust in Other religious affiliations. Remarkably, an overwhelming majority of respondents with secondary education and above (80%), compared to those with no formal education (70%) have little or no trust' in Police. Interestingly also, more than 9 in 10 Traditionalists (95%) compared to over 8 in 10 (84%) Christian and Roughly 7 in 10 Muslims (69%) have little or no trust in the Police. This finding suggests that the Police is the least trusted institution of

government in Nigeria. The lack of trust in the Police as opined by the citizens is not different from that of Fayemi (2020)<sup>150</sup> who expressed concern that many Nigerians do not trust the Police; adding that citizens do not also see Police officers as their friends, and therefore suggested key reforms within the Police Institution to address trust issue.

**How much trust do you have for the following.....?**  
by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal / Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
<b>Media (Newspapers / Radio / TV)</b>								
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	<b>39%</b>	41%	38%	36%	44%	46%	41%	39%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	<b>61%</b>	59%	62%	64%	56%	54%	59%	61%
<b>Police</b>								
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	<b>22%</b>	23%	22%	16%	31%	5%	30%	20%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	<b>78%</b>	77%	78%	84%	69%	95%	70%	80%
<b>Army</b>								
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	<b>38%</b>	37%	38%	32%	47%	56%	44%	36%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	<b>62%</b>	63%	62%	68%	53%	44%	56%	64%
<b>Other ethnic groups apart from yours</b>								
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	<b>39%</b>	40%	38%	32%	47%	14%	47%	36%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	<b>61%</b>	60%	62%	68%	53%	86%	53%	64%
<b>Other religious affiliations</b>								
A lot of Trust + Some Trust	<b>38%</b>	39%	37%	33%	46%	19%	43%	37%
Little Trust + No Trust at all	<b>62%</b>	61%	63%	67%	54%	81%	57%	63%

Table 16: Demographic Analysis on Extent of Trust in the Government and Institutions in the Nation by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level (2)

<sup>150</sup> <https://punchng.com/many-nigerians-dont-trust-police-says-fayemi/>

### 5.3 Assessment of Social Justice as a Component of Social Cohesion

In this section, the survey explores the concept of “Social Justice” as a major indicator of Social Cohesion in Nigeria. It reports citizens' perception of Social Justice, vis-à-vis their feelings about the laws, access to justice, fairness towards ethnic groups and religious affiliations, and assessments of governments efforts at promoting a sense of inclusion for all citizens.

#### 5.3.1 Feelings of Nigerians Regarding the Country's Laws

Citizens were asked to express their feelings concerning the laws of Nigeria, under the theme of social justice. The survey revealed that a significant majority of Nigerians (71%) believe that the Law does not apply equally to citizens in the country, as “there are persons above the law in Nigeria”. The survey also showed that only 23% of citizens believe that the country's laws protect everyone equally. In addition, a marginal 6% were simply unsure of their feelings regarding the laws of the country.

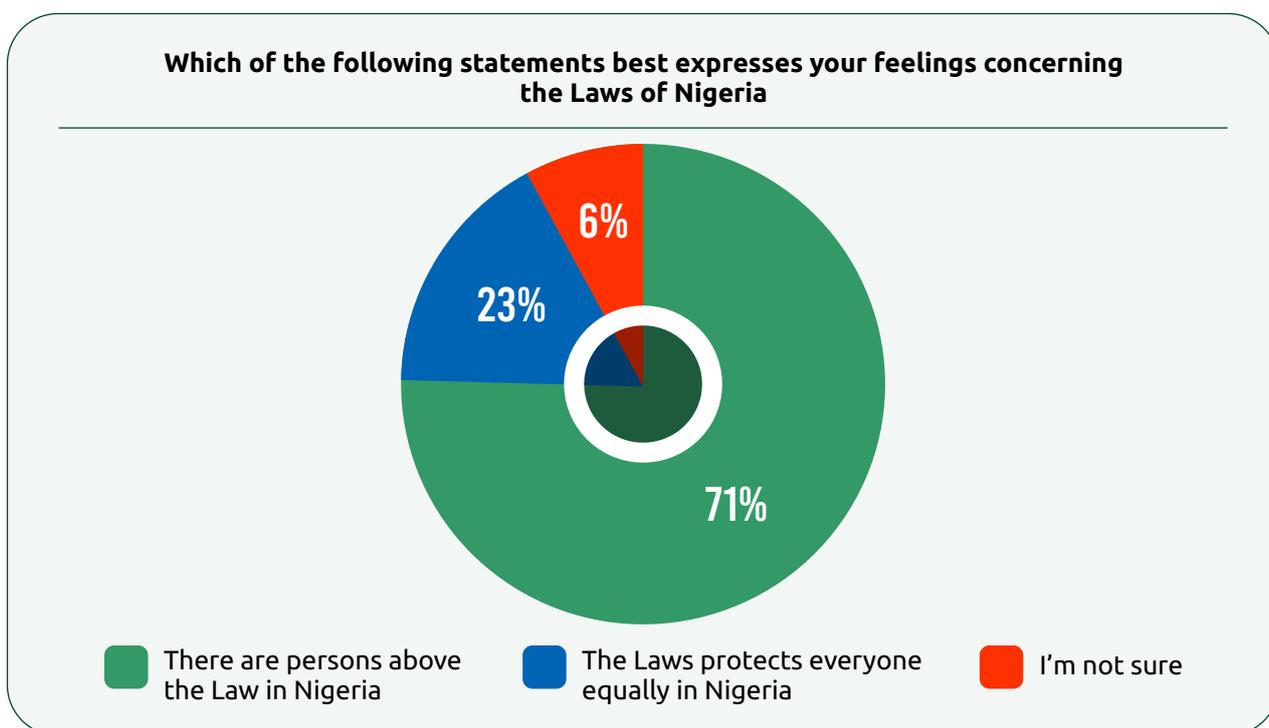


Figure 30: Feelings of Nigerians concerning the Laws of Nigeria

The view that some persons are above the law in Nigeria is widely shared across different socio-demographics. Citizens resident in South-East (84%), South-South (83%) and South-West Nigeria (69%) are those with the highest proportion who believe that there are persons above the law in Nigeria. This point of view by Nigerians have been echoed by some scholars who suggest that ending pervasive impunity and ensuring that people and communities with legitimate grievances can access judicial mechanisms that address their complaints in an effective and efficient manner remain a challenge in Nigeria. As argued by Eke and Tonwe (2016), relations between patrons and clients, a weak justice system, rule of law deficiency, corruption, and the abuse of special immunities all work together to create an environment that shelters impunity in Nigeria

**Which of the following statements best expresses your feelings concerning the Laws of Nigeria**  
by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
There are persons above the Law in Nigeria	<b>71%</b>	72%	70%	72%	70%	72%	62%	66%	67%	84%	83%	69%
The Laws protects everyone equally in Nigeria	<b>23%</b>	23%	23%	22%	25%	22%	35%	27%	26%	9%	14%	24%
I'm not sure	<b>6%</b>	5%	7%	6%	5%	6%	3%	7%	7%	7%	3%	7%

Table 17: Demographic Analysis on Feelings of Nigerians concerning the Laws of Nigeria by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

Again, the widely held opinion that some persons are above the law in Nigeria did not change even across urbanization, religion and educational attainment. As the findings showed, respondents who believed that some persons are above the law were highest with those having secondary education and above (72%), compared to those with no formal education (64%). Similarly, more Traditionalists (82%) than Christian (76%) and Muslims (63%) also opined that some persons are above the law. Again, a slight majority of urban respondents (71%) compared to rural respondents (70%) equally shared the same sentiments.

**Which of the following statements best expresses your feelings concerning the Laws of Nigeria**  
by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal / Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
There are persons above the Law in Nigeria	<b>71%</b>	71%	70%	76%	63%	82%	64%	72%
The Laws protects everyone equally in Nigeria	<b>23%</b>	22%	25%	18%	31%	18%	29%	22%
I'm not sure	<b>6%</b>	7%	5%	6%	6%	0%	7%	6%

Table 18: Demographic Analysis on Feelings of Nigerians concerning the Laws of Nigeria by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

### 5.3.2 Perception of Nigerians Regarding Access to Justice

Moving further, respondents were asked to give their opinions concerning access to justice in the country. As the result showed, most of the respondents (68%) opined that “Only the rich and powerful have access to justice”, as against 27% who stated otherwise, that “all citizens have equal access to civil justice”. Only a few respondents (5%) were unsure regarding the description of access to justice in the country.

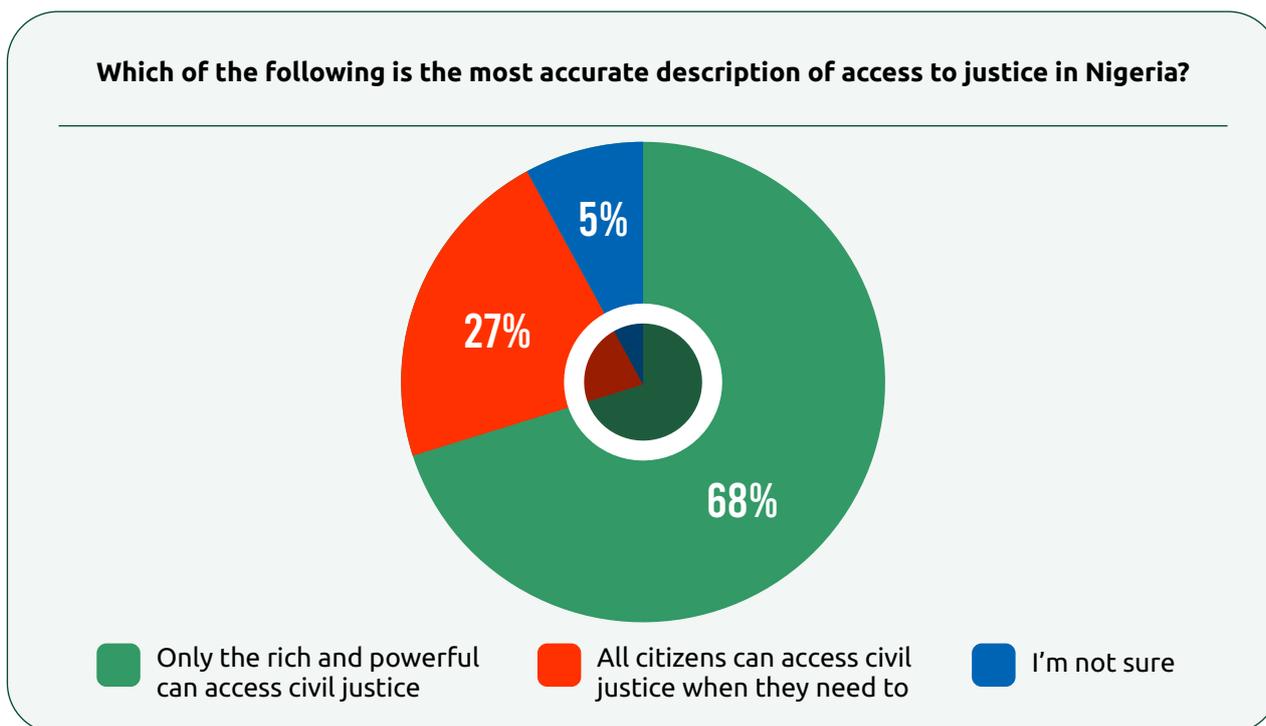


Figure 31: How Nigerians feel about Access to Justice

The consensus that “Only the rich and powerful have access to civil justice in Nigeria” was widespread across; Gender- male (68%) and female (68%); Age Groups- 18-35years (68%), 36 to 60years (68%) and 61years and above (73%); Geopolitical Zones- South-South (81%), South- East (79%), South- West (67%), North-East (66%), North-West (63%) and North-Central (60%). On the other hand, Citizens who believed that “all citizens can access civil justice” were highest in North-Central (37%), followed by North-East (30%) and North-West (30%). From this finding, the perception of inequality before the law is one of the reasons why many ordinary citizens do not even attempt to seek justice whenever their rights are trampled upon, especially in cases involving agents of the state, such as Police brutality. This condition has continued to worsen as citizens increasingly feel that only the rich, powerful and governmental officials are usually being excused from the application of the law (Haruna and Yusuf, 2017)<sup>151</sup>.

**Which of the following is the most accurate description of access to justice in Nigeria?**  
by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Only the rich and powerful can access civil justice	68%	68%	68%	68%	68%	73%	60%	66%	63%	79%	81%	67%
All citizens can access civil justice when they need to	27%	27%	26%	27%	27%	23%	37%	30%	30%	15%	17%	25%
I'm not sure	5%	5%	6%	5%	5%	4%	3%	4%	7%	6%	2%	8%

Table 19: Demographic Analysis on How Nigerians feel about Access to Justice by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

<sup>151</sup> Haruna and Yusuf (2017). A Conceptual Analysis of the Rule of Law in Nigeria. Bayero Journal of International Law and Jurisprudence (BJILJ)

Digging further, the findings revealed that most of the respondents with secondary education and above (69%) believe that “Only the rich and powerful can access to civil justice in Nigeria”, compared to those with no formal education/primary school (63%). This finding is not different from the views of Haruna and Yusuf (2017), who stated that it is only on paper that the idea of equality before the law is obtained and that the actual situation of law in Nigeria is practically a far cry from reality. In terms of urbanization, a slightly higher number of urban majority respondents (69%) than rural respondents (68%) also shared the same concern. Similarly, an average of 70% of respondents across religion- Traditionalist (77%), Christian (73%) and Muslim (60%) also believed only the rich and powerful can have access to civil justice in Nigeria. However, fewer Christians (22%) and Traditionalists (23%) than Muslims (34%) stated contrarily that all citizens can access civil justice in Nigeria.

### Which of the following is the most accurate description of access to justice in Nigeria?

*by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level*

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal / Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
Only the rich and powerful can access civil justice	<b>68%</b>	69%	68%	73%	60%	77%	63%	69%
All citizens can access civil justice when they need to	<b>27%</b>	26%	27%	22%	34%	23%	31%	26%
I'm not sure	<b>5%</b>	5%	5%	5%	6%	0%	6%	5%

*Table 20: Demographic Analysis on How Nigerians feel about Access to Justice by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level*

### 5.3.3 Perception of Fairness Towards Ethnic Groups

Respondents to the survey were also asked how often they believe their ethnic groups are treated unfairly by the government. The findings revealed that 7 in 10 Nigerians (70%) believe that their ethnic groups are only sometimes or never treated unjustly by the government. On the contrary, 3 in 10 citizens (30%) stated otherwise, expressing that their ethnic groups are always or often treated unjustly by the government.

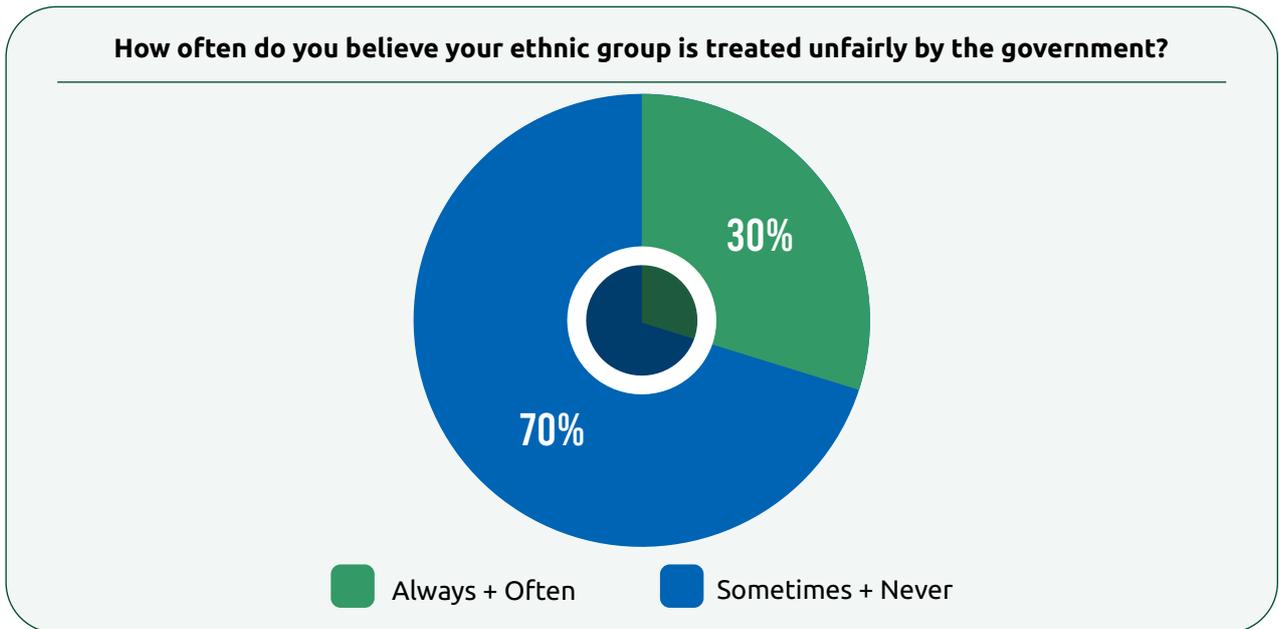


Figure 32: Perception on Fairness towards Ethnic Groups by the Government

As a follow up to the above, respondents were asked to give their opinion on whether their religion is treated unfairly by the government. Similarly, the findings showed that most of the respondents (68%) believed that their religion is sometimes and never treated unfairly by the government, while few respondents (30%) believed that their religion is always and often treated unjustly by the government.

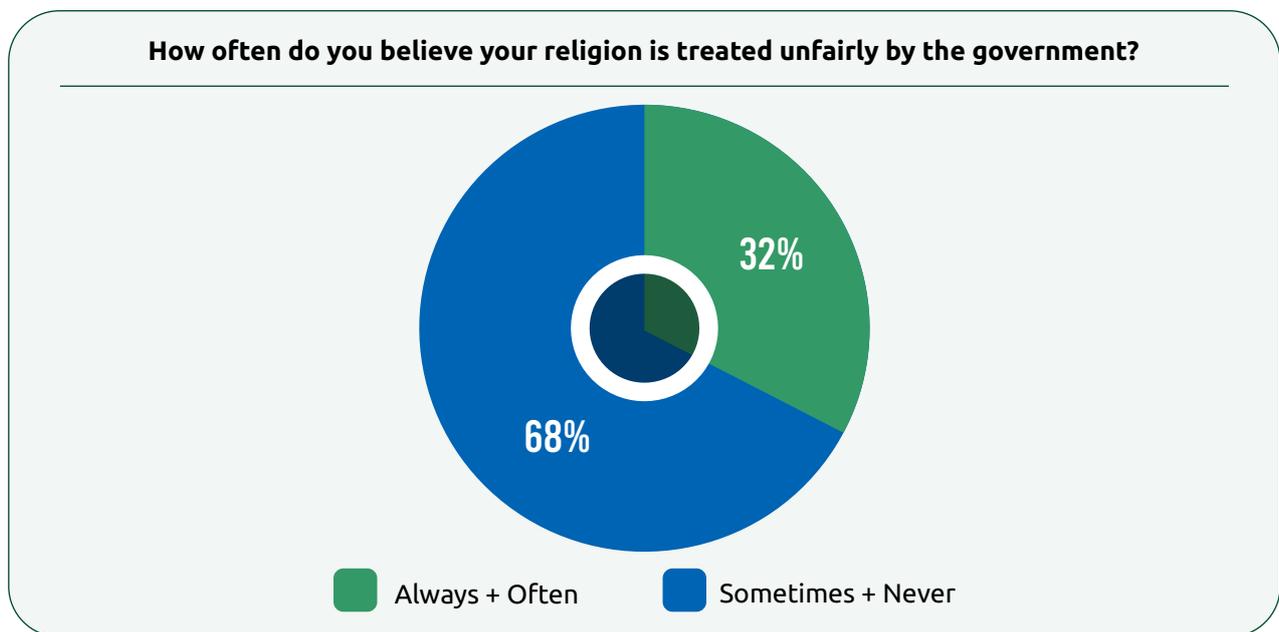


Figure 33: Perception on Fairness towards Religion by the Government

Digging further through the socio-demographics, respondents in the South-East geo-political zone (49%) make up the highest proportion of citizens who expressed concern that their ethnic group is often or always treated unfairly by the government. This finding could be a pointer to the persistent civil unrest and agitations for secession by separatist groups like the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and the Movement for the

Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) in South-Eastern Nigeria, which has continued to threaten the nation's peace and unity. There is little difference in the proportion of respondents from North-Central (35%); South-South (31%) and South-West (32%) who opined that their ethnic groups are always and often treated unfairly. On the other hand, citizens from the North-East (22%) and North-West (23%) are less likely to think that their ethnicities are always and often treated unfairly. Also, more females (32%) than male respondents (29%) are likely to think that their ethnicity is unfairly treated. A similar trend is observed for religion, as 5 in 10 respondents from the South-East geopolitical zone feel that their religion is always or often treated unfairly.

### How often do you believe your ethnic group and religion is treated unfairly by the government?

by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
<b>Q9. How often do you believe your ethnic group is treated unfairly by the government?</b>												
Always + Often	<b>30%</b>	29%	32%	31%	29%	43%	35%	22%	23%	49%	31%	32%
Sometimes + Never	<b>70%</b>	71%	68%	69%	71%	57%	65%	78%	77%	51%	69%	68%
<b>Q10. How often do you believe your religion is treated unfairly by the government?</b>												
Always + Often	<b>32%</b>	32%	31%	31%	31%	43%	38%	24%	26%	50%	33%	30%
Sometimes + Never	<b>68%</b>	68%	69%	69%	69%	57%	62%	76%	74%	50%	67%	70%

Table 21: Demographic Analysis on the Treatment of Various Ethnic Groups and Religion in Nigeria by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

As the survey revealed, respondents with secondary education and above are more likely to think that their ethnicity and religion are always or often treated unfairly, compared to those with little to no formal education. Similarly, more Traditionalist- (64%) and (45%), than Christian- (36%) and (36%), and Muslim- (23%) and (26%) respondents, think that their religion and ethnicity are always or often treated unfairly by the government.

### How often do you believe your ethnic group and religion is treated unfairly by the government?

by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal / Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
<b>Q9. How often do you believe your ethnic group is treated unfairly by the government?</b>								
Always + Often	30%	32%	29%	36%	23%	64%	26%	32%
Sometimes + Never	70%	68%	71%	64%	77%	36%	74%	68%
<b>Q10. How often do you believe your religion is treated unfairly by the government?</b>								
Always + Often	32%	33%	31%	36%	26%	45%	30%	32%
Sometimes + Never	68%	67%	69%	64%	74%	55%	70%	68%

Table 22: Demographic Analysis on the Treatment of Various Ethnic Groups and Religion in Nigeria by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

### 5.3.4 Perception on Efforts of Government to Promote a Sense of Inclusion for all Ethnic Groups

Overall, almost 6 in 10 Nigerians (58%) surveyed believed that the Federal Government's effort at promoting a sense of inclusion for all ethnic groups in the country has been "Poor". On the contrary, 15% of citizens assessed the government's effort positively, while 27% assessed the government's effort "Fairly".

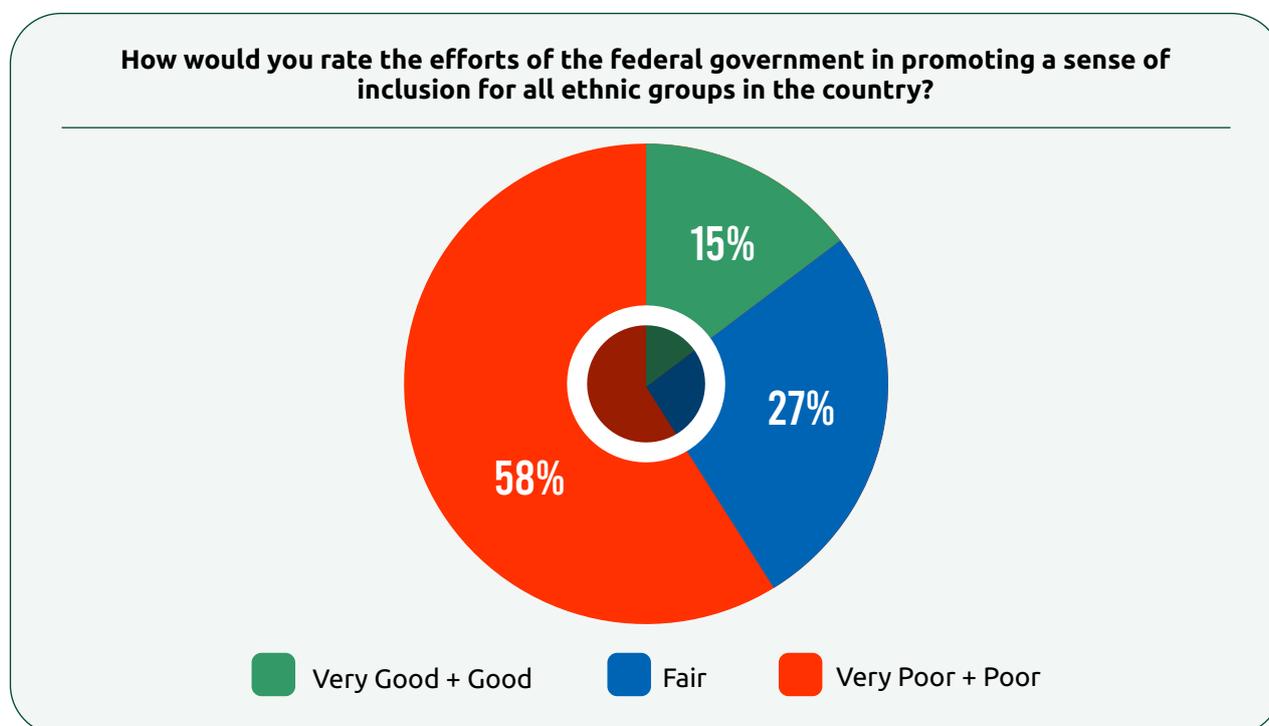


Figure 34: Efforts of the Federal Government in Promoting a Sense of Inclusion

The view of Nigerians regarding the efforts of the federal government at promoting a sense of inclusion for all ethnic groups in the country differs across gender, age groups and geopolitical zones. Across Southern Nigeria, the consensus was that the Federal Government has performed "Poorly" at promoting a sense of inclusion for all - South-South (81%), South-East (69%) and South-West (53%). Similarly, citizens in the North-Central (57%) also assessed the Federal Government's efforts "Poorly". Regarding age groups, Senior citizens aged 61 years and above (65%) constituted the largest proportion of those who assessed the efforts of the Federal Government "Poorly". In addition, a slightly greater proportion of females (68%) than males (57%) shared the same thought as well. Undoubtedly, this negative perception by Nigerians about government efforts at promoting a sense of inclusion may also be associated with the rising ethnic rivalries and agitations in the country. Ethnic identity and consciousness as against national identity are key divisive factors that can perpetuate the country's instability and contribute to disunity. As stated in Igwe and Amadi (2021)<sup>152</sup>, the increasing ethnic fractionalization within the Nigerian State is a potential time bomb for political violence and a strong challenge to democratic practice in Nigeria.

<sup>152</sup> Igwe and Amadi, (2021). Democracy and Political Violence in Nigeria Since Multi -Party Politics in 1999: A Critical Appraisal. *Open Political Science*; 4: 101–119

### How would you rate the efforts of the federal government in promoting a sense of inclusion for all ethnic groups in the country?

by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Very Good + Good	15%	15%	16%	16%	14%	14%	19%	24%	16%	13%	6%	14%
Fair	27%	28%	26%	28%	27%	21%	24%	31%	35%	18%	13%	33%
Very Poor + Poor	58%	57%	58%	56%	59%	65%	57%	45%	49%	69%	81%	53%

Table 23: Demographic Analysis on Effort of the Government in Promoting Inclusion by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

The feeling that the federal government effort has been poor in promoting a sense of inclusion for all ethnic groups was also widespread across urbanization, religion and literacy levels. More Citizens who are Traditionalists (68%) and Christians (66%), than Muslims (45%) rated Government effort “Poorly”. The poor rating also cut across literacy levels- secondary education and above (59%) and little to no formal education (51%). Similar opinions were expressed by more than average respondents from rural (58%) and Urban areas (56%).

### How would you rate the efforts of the federal government in promoting a sense of inclusion for all ethnic groups in the country?

by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal/Informal/Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
Very Good + Good	15%	16%	15%	12%	20%	13%	21%	14%
Fair	27%	28%	27%	22%	35%	19%	28%	27%
Very Poor + Poor	58%	56%	58%	66%	45%	68%	51%	59%

Table 24: Demographic Analysis on Effort of the Government in Promoting Inclusion by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

## 5.4 Assessment of Participation and Patriotism as a Component of Social Cohesion

In this section, the survey explores the concepts of “Participation and Patriotism” as major indicators of Social Cohesion in Nigeria. It reports citizens' willingness to cooperate with others for a more united Nigeria, willingness to participate in the political process, willingness to join the military to defend the territorial integrity of the country, and support for inter-ethnic and inter-religious marriages.

### 5.4.1 Willingness to Co-operate with Other Fellow Citizens to Work for a More United Nigeria

Respondents were also asked how willing they are to cooperate with citizens from other ethnic groups to work for a more united Nigeria. As the findings revealed, the majority (63%) were “Extremely or Somewhat Willing” to cooperate with fellow citizens to make Nigeria more united. On the other hand, 21% were “Extremely and Somewhat Unwilling” to cooperate with fellow citizens. Also, 16% were simply indifferent.

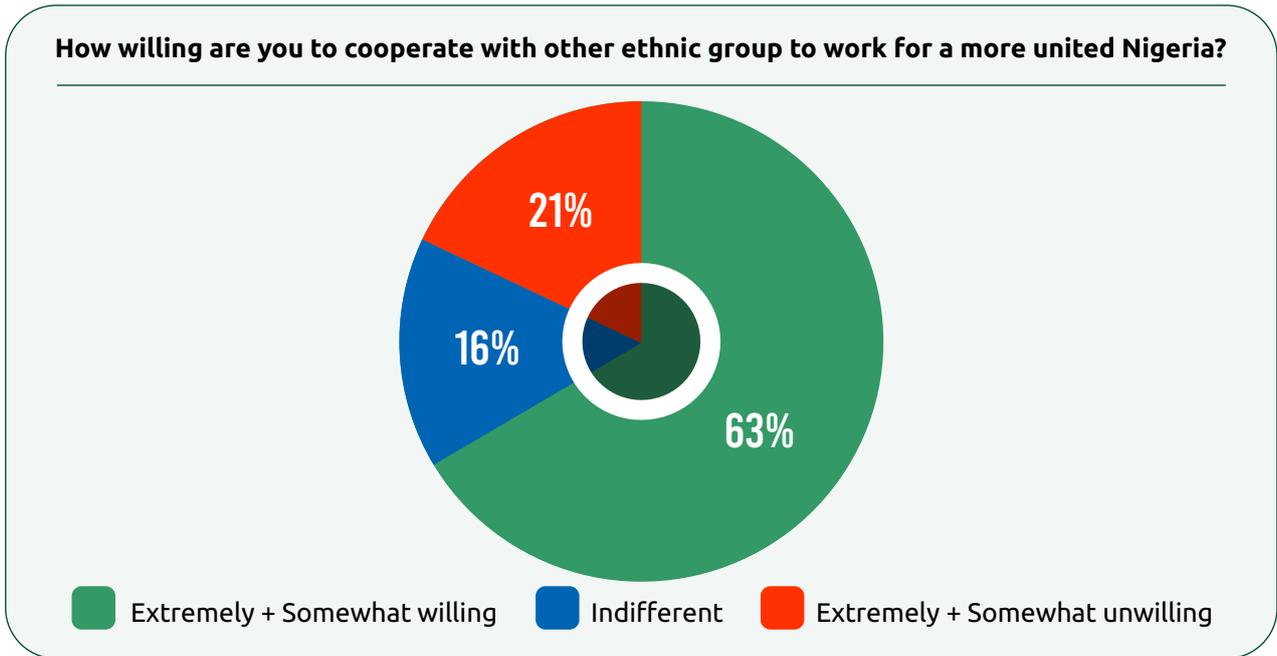


Figure 35: Extent Nigerians are willing to Work with Fellow Citizens for a More United Nigeria

**5.4.2 Willingness to Participate in the Political Process to Make Nigeria a Better Place**

Again, when asked whether they would be willing to participate in the political process to make Nigeria better, most of the citizens (62%) were “Extremely and Somewhat Willing,” to participate in the political process to make Nigeria a better place. This level of positive response indicates that Nigerians are ready to cooperate and make the desired positive change in the country happen. On the contrary, 24% indicated that they are “Extremely and Somewhat Unwilling”; while (14%) were simply indifferent. Interestingly, these findings show that most Nigerians remain resilient, patriotic and optimistic about the country, with the ardent belief that the future of the country would be much better than it is today.

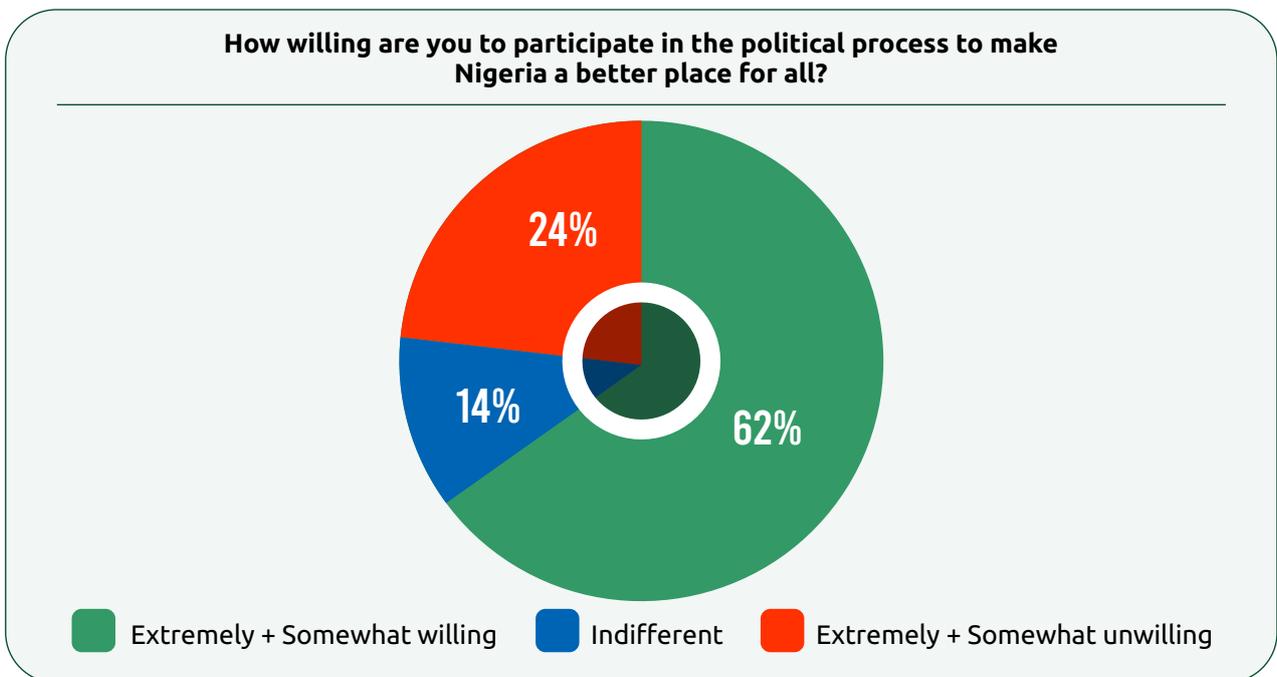


Figure 36: Extent Nigerians are willing to Participate in political processes

### 5.4.3 Willingness to Join the Military to Defend the Nigerian State

Citizens were also asked if they would be willing to join the Military to defend the territorial integrity of the Nigerian state. Overall, the survey results showed that nearly half of Nigerians (48%) are “Extremely or Somewhat Unwilling” to join the military to defend the Nigerian state. On the contrary, only 37% said they are “Extremely or Somewhat Willing” to defend Nigeria if called upon. The data showed that 15% were simply indifferent as to whether they would be willing to join the military to defend the Nigerian state.

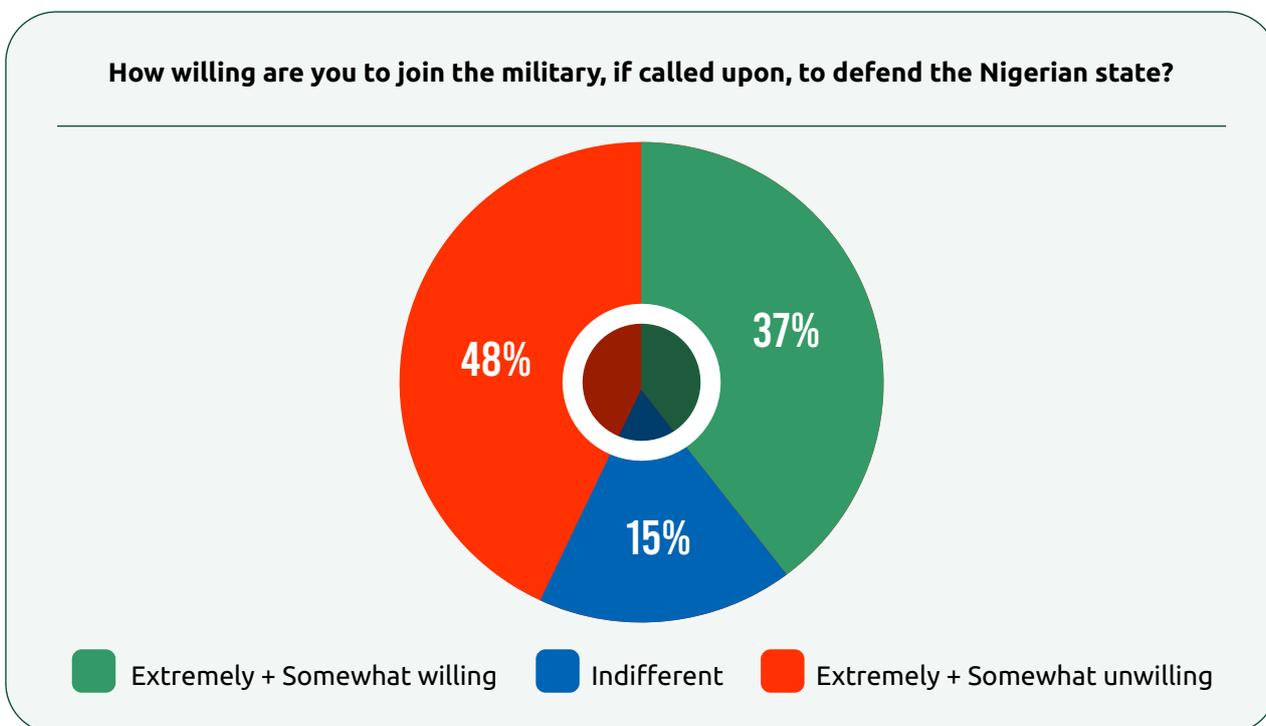


Figure 37: Extent Nigerians are willing to join the Military

In terms of demographics, citizens from Northern Nigeria (43%) expressed more willingness to join the military to defend Nigeria, than those from Southern Nigeria (28.7%). On average, there was significant willingness across the Southern and Northern regions to work together with other ethnic groups for a more united Nigeria and also to participate in the political process to make Nigeria a better place for all.



Image source: Defense News Nigeria

### How willing are you to cooperate, participate & join any of the following to make Nigeria a better place...

by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
<b>Cooperate with other ethnic group to work for a more united Nigeria</b>												
Extremely + Somewhat willing	<b>63%</b>	63%	64%	63%	63%	65%	64%	62%	65%	55%	72%	60%
Indifferent	<b>16%</b>	15%	16%	15%	16%	15%	16%	18%	21%	13%	9%	13%
Extremely + Somewhat unwilling	<b>21%</b>	22%	20%	22%	21%	20%	20%	20%	14%	32%	19%	27%
<b>Participate in the political process to make Nigeria a better place for all</b>												
Extremely + Somewhat willing	<b>62%</b>	63%	61%	61%	63%	60%	60%	60%	62%	53%	70%	58%
Indifferent	<b>14%</b>	13%	15%	14%	14%	10%	15%	18%	17%	12%	8%	13%
Extremely + Somewhat unwilling	<b>24%</b>	24%	24%	25%	23%	30%	25%	22%	21%	35%	22%	29%
<b>Join the military, if called upon, to defend the Nigerian state</b>												
Extremely + Somewhat willing	<b>37%</b>	40%	33%	37%	36%	35%	45%	43%	41%	21%	37%	28%
Indifferent	<b>15%</b>	14%	16%	14%	16%	14%	17%	17%	20%	11%	9%	13%
Extremely + Somewhat unwilling	<b>48%</b>	46%	51%	49%	48%	51%	38%	40%	39%	68%	54%	59%

Table 25: Demographic Analysis on Nigerians willingness to cooperate with fellow citizens, participate in politics, and to join the Military by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

The question of cooperating with other ethnic groups to work for a better Nigeria was further disaggregated by urbanization, religion and educational attainment. The findings showed that urban and rural dwellers have the same positive response rate (63%). This is the same with Christians (64%) and Muslims (63%), with the Traditional having the highest (82%). Again, more citizens with secondary education and above (64%) than citizens having no formal education (59%) were willing to cooperating with other ethnic groups to work for a better Nigeria.

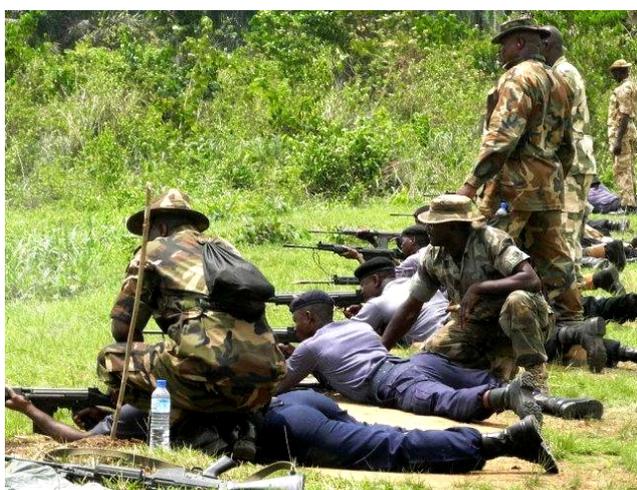


Image source: [https://adebiyisblog.files.wordpress.com/2015/08/army\\_training.jpg?w=600&h=450](https://adebiyisblog.files.wordpress.com/2015/08/army_training.jpg?w=600&h=450)



Image source: <https://www.icirnigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/NigerianArmySpecialForce.jpg>

### How willing are you to cooperate, participate & join any of the following to make Nigeria a better place...

by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal / Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
<b>Cooperate with other ethnic group to work for a more united Nigeria</b>								
Extremely + Somewhat willing	<b>63%</b>	63%	63%	64%	63%	82%	59%	64%
Indifferent	<b>16%</b>	17%	14%	13%	19%	9%	18%	15%
Extremely + Somewhat unwilling	<b>21%</b>	20%	23%	23%	18%	9%	23%	21%
<b>Participate in the political process to make Nigeria a better place for all</b>								
Extremely + Somewhat willing	<b>62%</b>	60%	62%	61%	61%	64%	58%	61%
Indifferent	<b>14%</b>	15%	13%	12%	17%	9%	14%	14%
Extremely + Somewhat unwilling	<b>24%</b>	25%	25%	27%	22%	27%	28%	25%
<b>Join the military, if called upon, to defend the Nigerian state</b>								
Extremely + Somewhat willing	<b>37%</b>	36%	37%	34%	42%	41%	36%	37%
Indifferent	<b>15%</b>	17%	13%	12%	19%	4%	18%	14%
Extremely + Somewhat unwilling	<b>48%</b>	47%	50%	54%	39%	55%	46%	49%

Table 26: Demographic Analysis on Nigerians willingness to cooperate with fellow citizens, participate in politics, and to join the Military by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

#### 5.4.4 Support of Inter-Ethnic and Inter-Religious Marriages

Citizens were also asked if they would be willing to support inter-ethnic and Inter-religious marriages. From the results, Nigerians express their support for inter-ethnic marriages. An overwhelming majority of Nigerians (86%) say they would support marriage between two people from different ethnic groups. On the other hand, only 14% say they would not support inter-ethnic marriages.



Image source: [https://www.nta.ng/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Screenshot\\_20190814\\_203118.jpg](https://www.nta.ng/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Screenshot_20190814_203118.jpg)

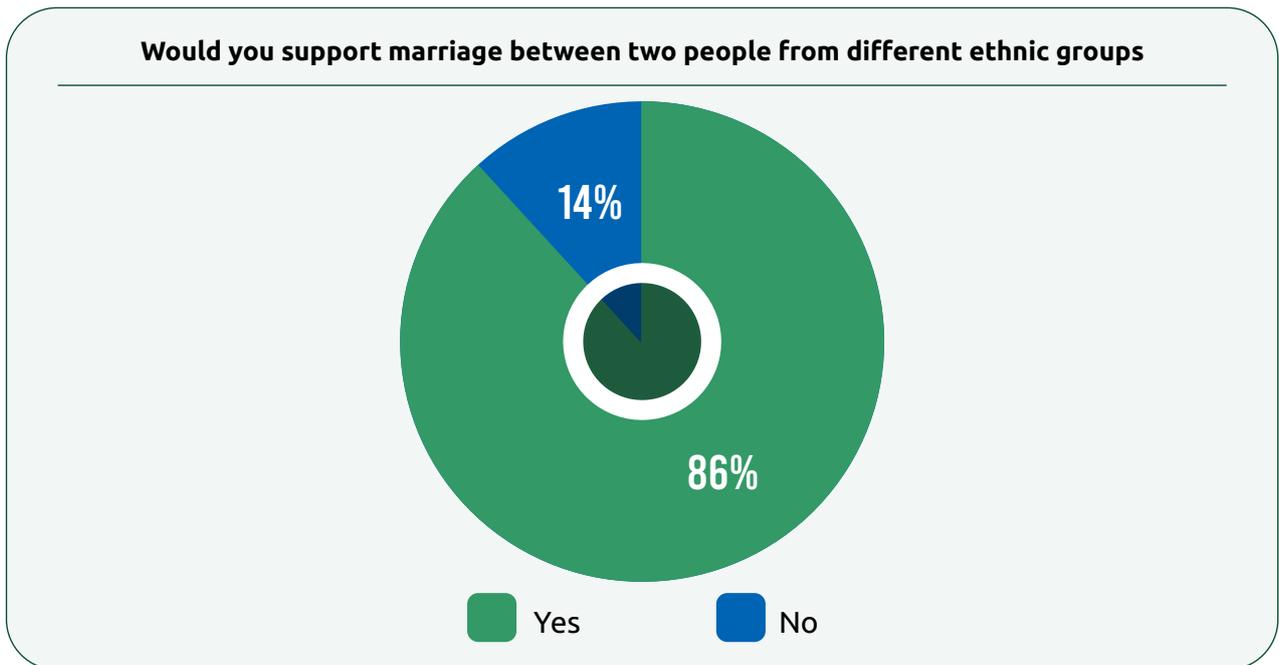


Figure 38: Willingness to support inter-ethnic marriages

Additionally, on the question of whether they would support marriage between two people from different religions, the response showed a mixed reaction for inter-religious marriage. The data showed that slightly more than half of Nigerians (54%) said they would support marriage between two people from different religions; compared to 46% who would not support inter-religious marriages. The opinions expressed here seem encouraging, considering that inter-ethnic and inter-religious marriages can contribute not only to forging national unity but also to enabling social integration that helps in nation-building.

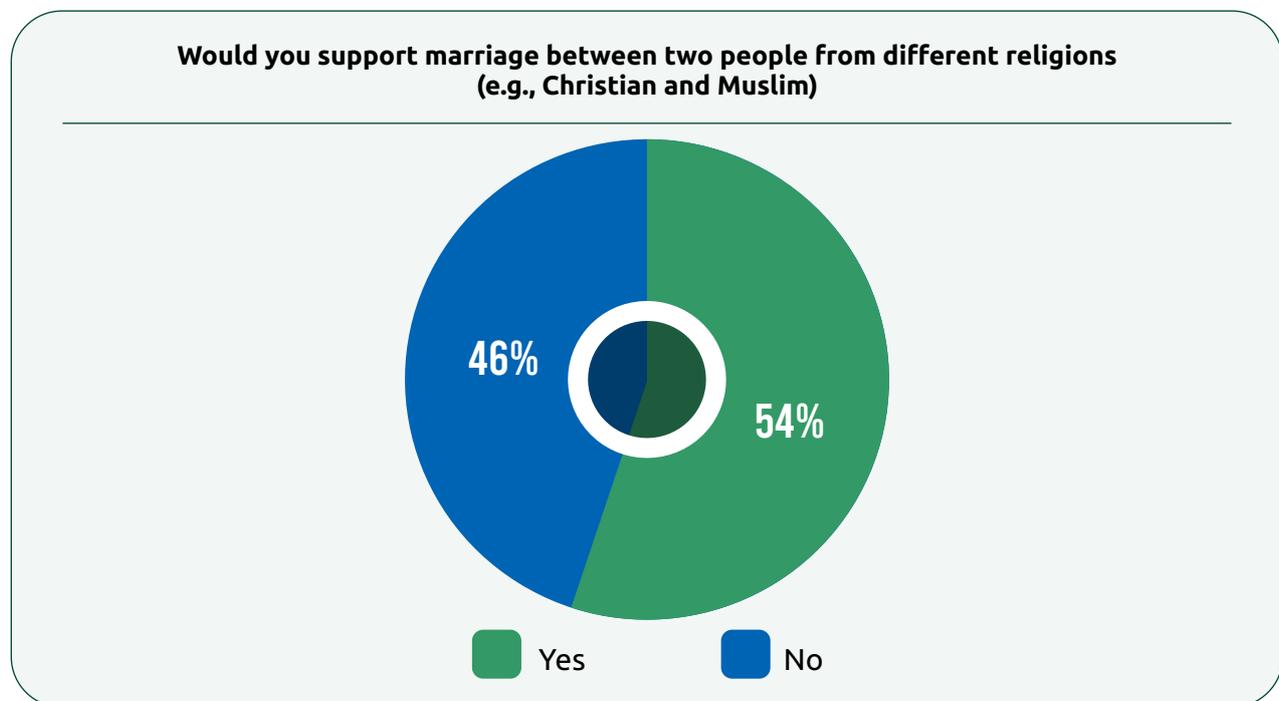


Figure 39: Willingness to support interreligious marriages

Interestingly, the willingness of Nigerians to support marriage between two people from different ethnic groups was widespread and cut across socio-demographics. In specifics, an average of 85% of respondents across gender, age category and geopolitical zones are willing to support marriages between two people from different ethnicities. However, South-South (96%) is most likely to support compared to other zones. With regards to supporting marriage from different religions, there are little variations in proportions, across the age groups. Overall, citizens in the South-West (77%) express a higher propensity to support marriage from different religions compared to other zones.

**Would you support marriage based on the following?**  
by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
<b>Marriage between two people from different ethnic groups</b>												
Yes	<b>86%</b>	87%	84%	86%	85%	85%	91%	90%	84%	70%	96%	83%
No	<b>14%</b>	13%	16%	14%	15%	15%	9%	10%	16%	30%	4%	17%
<b>Marriage between two people from different religions (e.g., Christian and Muslim)</b>												
Yes	<b>54%</b>	57%	51%	53%	55%	57%	54%	46%	47%	39%	53%	77%
No	<b>46%</b>	43%	49%	47%	45%	43%	46%	54%	53%	61%	47%	23%

Table 27: Demographic Analysis on Nigerians support for interethnic and interreligious marriages by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

On average, across urbanization, religion and literacy levels, more than 86% and 52% would support marriage between two people from different ethnic groups and marriage from different religions, respectively. However, slightly more Christians (56%) than Muslims (51%) support marriage between people from different religions.

**Would you support marriage based on the following?**  
by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal/Informal/Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
<b>Marriage between two people from different ethnic groups</b>								
Yes	<b>86%</b>	87%	85%	87%	84%	96%	84%	86%
No	<b>14%</b>	13%	15%	13%	16%	4%	16%	14%
<b>Marriage between two people from different religions (e.g., Christian and Muslim)</b>								
Yes	<b>54%</b>	56%	52%	56%	51%	58%	47%	55%
No	<b>46%</b>	44%	48%	44%	49%	42%	53%	45%

Table 28: Demographic Analysis on Nigerians support for interethnic and interreligious marriages by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

## 5.5 Assessment of Natural Resource Governance as a Component of Social Cohesion

In this section, the survey explores the concept of “Natural Resource Governance” as an indicator of Social Cohesion in Nigeria. It reports citizens' perception of the management of funds from natural resources; availability of natural resources and its impact on corruption, prices of goods and services, and foreign exchange; and perception regarding the derivation formula amongst others.

### 5.5.1 Citizens Perception on Government's Efforts at Managing Revenues from Natural Resources

In terms of Natural Resource Governance, citizens were asked their perception of how well the government manages the revenues from natural resources. Regarding how well the government manages funds that come from the country's natural resources, about 6 in 10 Nigerian (59%) said that the government has been managing the funds “Poorly”. On the other hand, a third of the respondents (33%) assessed the government's management of natural resource revenues as “Just OK”; while only 8% assessed the management as “Very Well”.

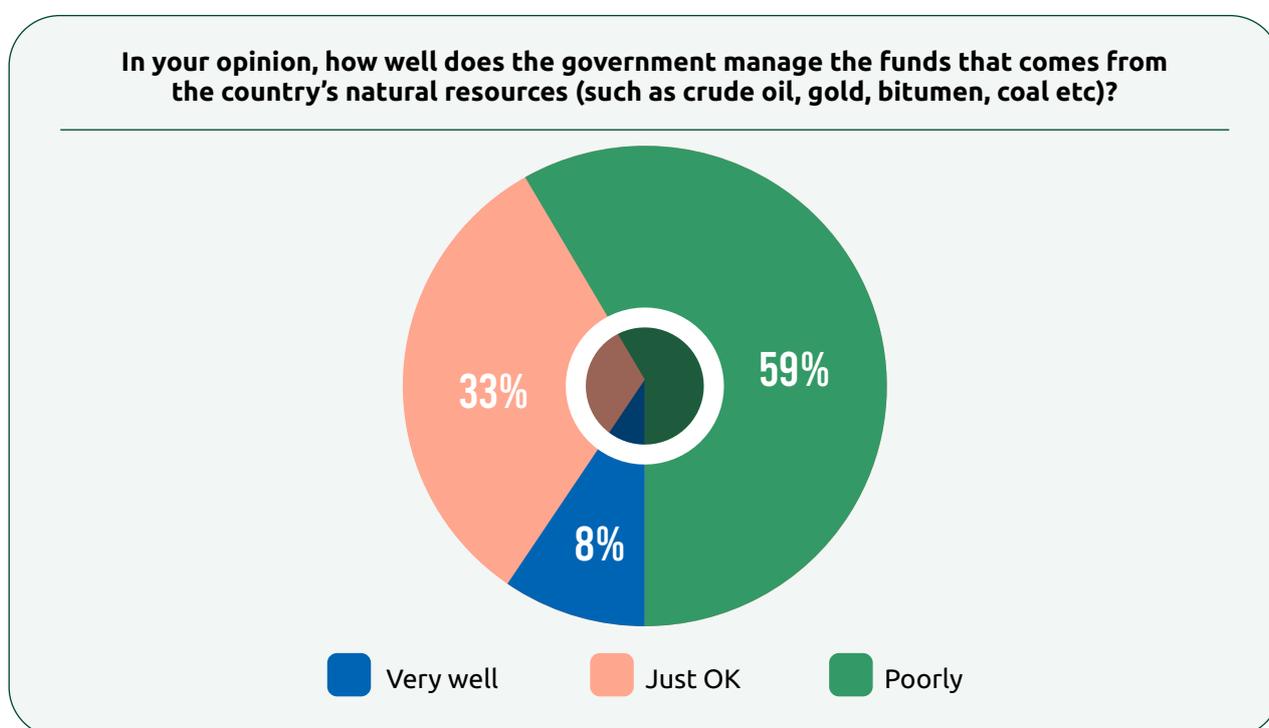


Figure 40: Effort of the Government at managing revenues from natural resources

Majority of those who believe the government has managed natural resource revenues “Poorly” come from the South-South (88%), South-East (76%), South-West (64%), and North-Central (60%). There is no disputing the fact that the issue of resource control and revenue allocation has been fiercely contested in Nigeria. In particular, citizens from South-South have consistently argued that farming and fishing which are their main means of livelihood are being seriously destroyed by the activities of crude oil exploration in the region, thus agitating for better revenue sharing formula. On the contrary, most of the respondents from the North-East (61%) think the management has been fair.

**In your opinion, how well does the government manage the funds that comes from the country's natural resources (such as crude oil, gold, bitumen, coal etc)?**

*by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone*

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Very well	8%	8%	7%	8%	7%	7%	12%	9%	9%	5%	3%	7%
Just OK	33%	33%	33%	33%	34%	23%	28%	61%	44%	19%	9%	29%
Poorly	59%	59%	60%	59%	59%	70%	60%	30%	47%	76%	88%	64%

Table 29: Demographic Analysis on Effort of the Government in managing funds from natural resources by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

**5.5.2 Citizens Perception on Availability of Natural Resources and the Increase of Corruption**

Respondents were asked to give their opinion on whether they agree or disagree that the availability of natural resources increases corruption in Nigeria. Overall, the survey revealed mixed feelings to this question; as 41% of Nigerians affirmed that they “Agree or Strongly Agree” that the availability of natural resources increases corruption in the country; similar to 40% of citizens who “Disagreed or Strongly Disagreed” that there's a link between the availability of natural resources and corruption in Nigeria. Also, 19% neither agreed nor disagreed.

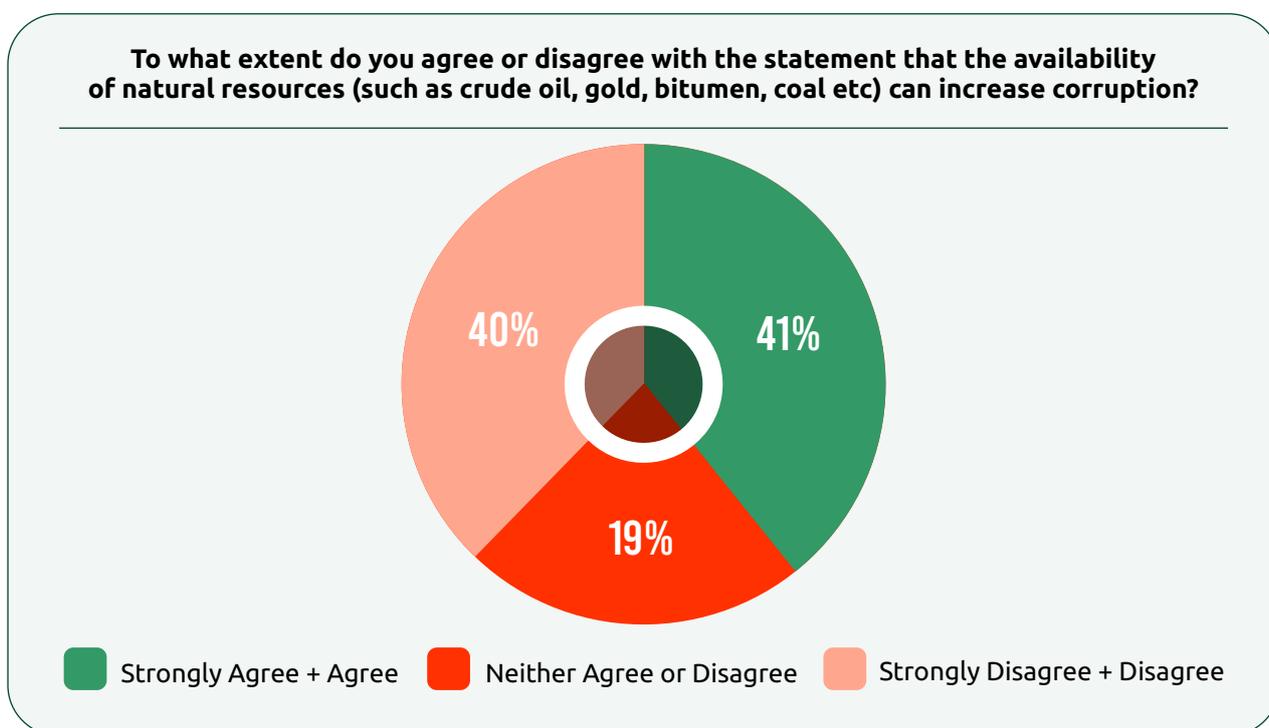


Figure 41: Perception on the availability of natural resources and increase of corruption

Nigerians in the South-South (59%) were the highest respondents who strongly expressed that the availability of natural resources increases corruption in the country. This opinion is buttressed in NEITI<sup>153</sup> report which observed that 90 per cent of the corrupt practices in Nigeria is being perpetrated in the oil and gas sector. However, the citizens from the South-East (49%), South-West (48%) and North-East (45%) seemed not to agree that the availability of natural resources increases corruption in the country.

**To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement that the availability of natural resources (such as crude oil, gold, bitumen, coal etc) can increase corruption?**

*by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone*

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Strongly Agree + Agree	<b>41%</b>	43%	38%	43%	37%	39%	48%	34%	36%	35%	59%	35%
Neither Agree or Disagree	<b>19%</b>	18%	20%	19%	20%	11%	12%	21%	31%	16%	10%	17%
Strongly Disagree + Disagree	<b>40%</b>	39%	42%	38%	43%	50%	40%	45%	33%	49%	31%	48%

*Table 30: Demographic Analysis on Perception on natural resources towards corruption by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone*

### 5.5.3 Citizens Perception on Availability of Natural Resources and Increase in Commodity Prices

Respondents were asked to give their opinion on whether they agree or disagree that the availability of natural resources can lead to an increase in prices of goods and services in the country. In response, the results showed that 45% of citizens “Disagreed or Strongly Disagreed” that the availability of natural resources has led to inflation or an increase in prices of commodities in the country. On the other hand, 35% of the respondents “Agreed and Strongly Agreed” that there's a link between the availability of natural resources and increase in prices of goods and services. About 20% of respondents seemed uncertain.



Image source: [https://furtherafrica.com/content-files/uploads/2020/04/900oil\\_spill\\_nigeria.jpg](https://furtherafrica.com/content-files/uploads/2020/04/900oil_spill_nigeria.jpg)

<sup>153</sup> <https://sweetcrudereports.com/90-corruption-in-nigeria-in-oil-sector-says-neiti/>

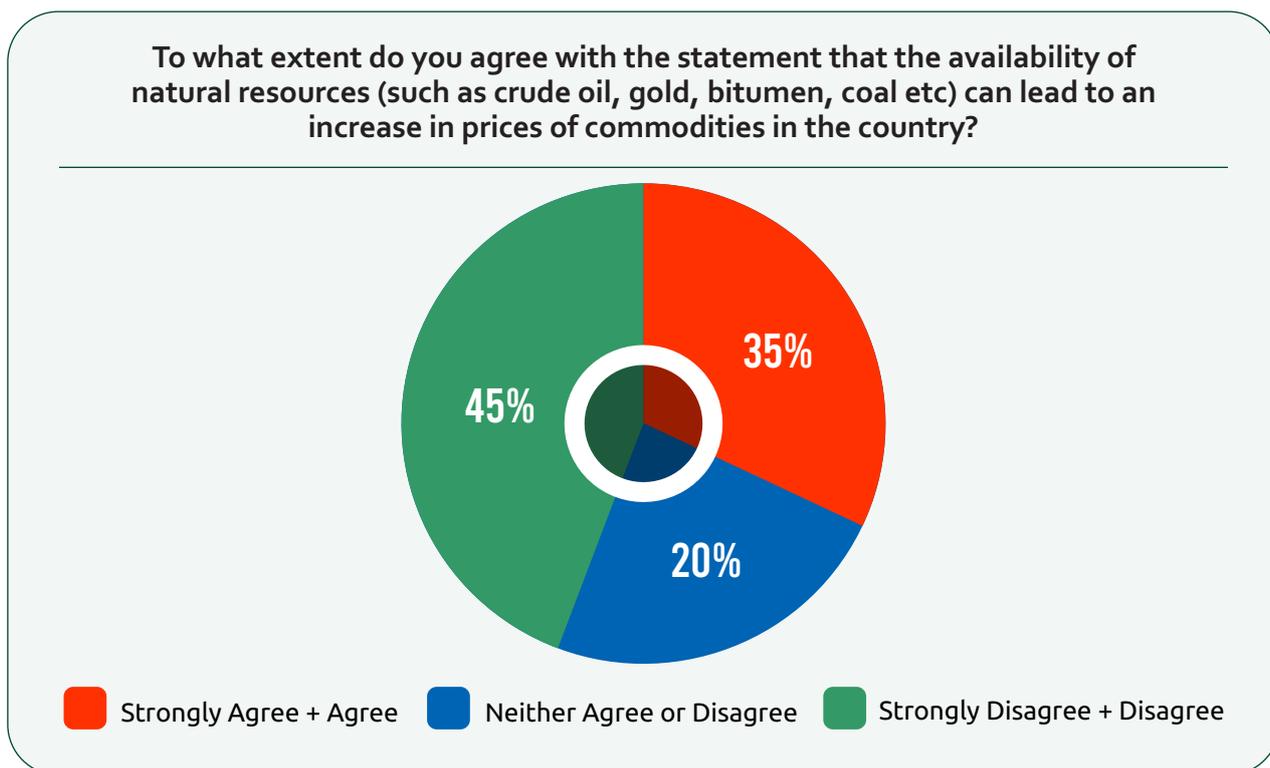


Figure 42: Perception on natural resources towards an increase in the price of commodities

From a further look at key social demographics, the data showed that more Senior Citizens (53%) and respondents based in South-East and North-East Nigeria (53% each) constitute the bulk of those who “Disagree or Strongly Disagree” that there's a connection between the availability of natural resources and increase in commodity prices.

**To what extent do you agree with the statement that the availability of natural resources (such as crude oil, gold, bitumen, coal etc) can lead to an increase in prices of commodities in the country?**

*by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone*

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Strongly Agree + Agree	35%	37%	33%	37%	32%	31%	38%	29%	35%	34%	49%	26%
Neither Agree or Disagree	20%	20%	21%	19%	22%	16%	16%	18%	32%	13%	13%	18%
Strongly Disagree + Disagree	45%	43%	46%	44%	46%	53%	46%	53%	33%	53%	38%	56%

Table 31: Demographic Analysis on Perception on natural resources towards increase in commodity prices by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

### 5.5.4 Citizens Perception on Availability of Natural Resources and Fluctuation in Foreign Exchange

Respondents were asked to give their opinion on whether they agree or disagree that the availability of natural resources can lead to fluctuations in Foreign Exchange. Interestingly, 43% of Nigerians “Agreed or Strongly Agreed” that the country's reliance on natural resources can have a negative effect on the country's economy due to fluctuations in foreign exchange. On the other hand, 33% of respondents “Disagreed or Strongly Disagreed”. The data also showed that almost a fourth of citizens (24%) neither agreed nor disagreed.

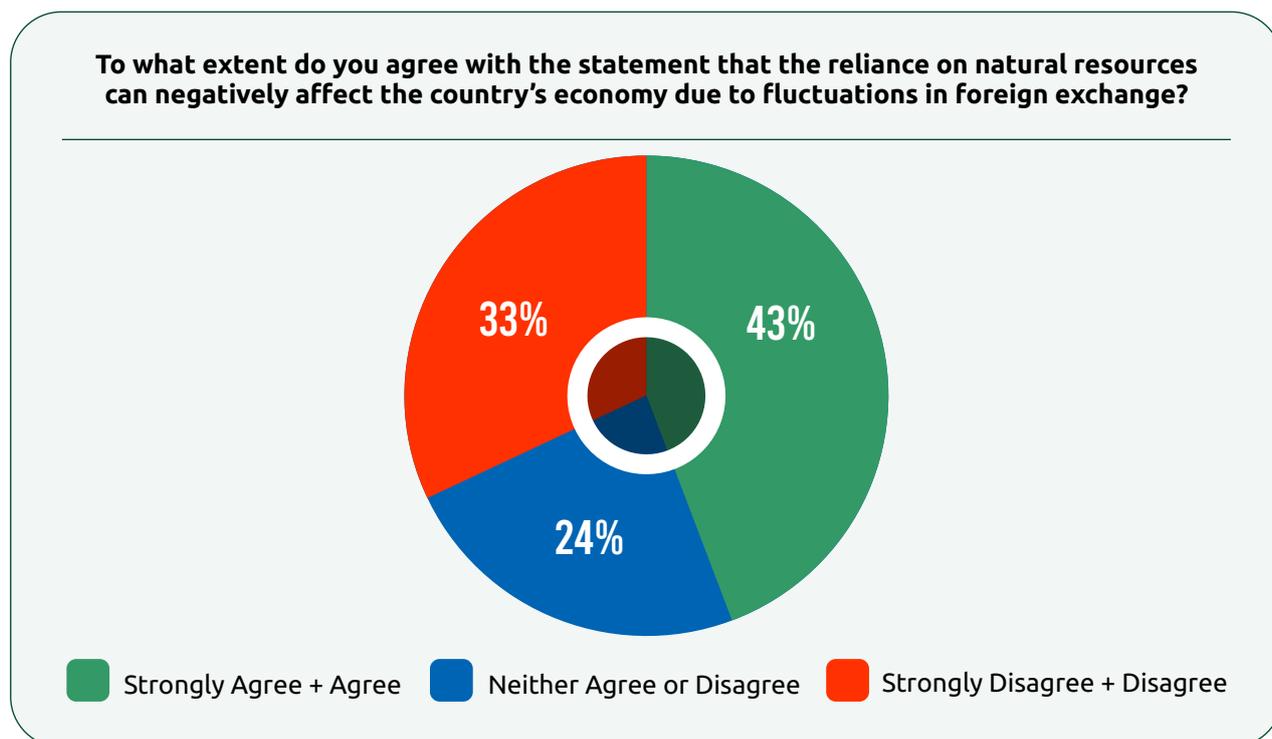


Figure 43: Perception on natural resources affecting foreign exchange

When comparing demographics, more Nigerians who reside in the South-South (53%) and North-Central (44%) “Agreed or Strongly Agreed” that there's a link between the availability of natural resources and the fluctuation of foreign exchange. The citizens' point of argument could be because the Nigerian economy is still essentially dependent on oil, both in terms of production and prices. This over-reliance on oil has continuously made the economy vulnerable to shocks from international oil prices. As evident in the country over the years, when oil price rises, the economy improves and deteriorates as the price falls. On the contrary, Nigerians who disagreed were found more in North-East (40%).



Image source: YASUYOSHI CHIBA / AFP / Getty Images

**To what extent do you agree with the statement that the reliance on natural resources can negatively affect the country's economy due to fluctuations in foreign exchange?**

*by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone*

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Strongly Agree + Agree	<b>43%</b>	43%	43%	43%	42%	45%	44%	32%	46%	40%	53%	40%
Neither Agree or Disagree	<b>24%</b>	23%	24%	24%	25%	17%	18%	28%	32%	22%	17%	21%
Strongly Disagree + Disagree	<b>33%</b>	34%	33%	33%	33%	38%	38%	40%	22%	38%	30%	39%

Table 32: Demographic Analysis on Perception on natural resources affecting foreign exchange by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

**5.5.5 Citizens Awareness of Derivation Policy**

The level of awareness of the 13% derivation policy was also assessed. Respondents were asked about their awareness of the 13% derivation policy, where the constitution stipulates the payment of 13% of oil revenues from the Federation Account to the states as a derivation fund. Surprisingly, most of the citizens (65%) said they were not aware of the policy, compared to only 35% who said they were aware of it.

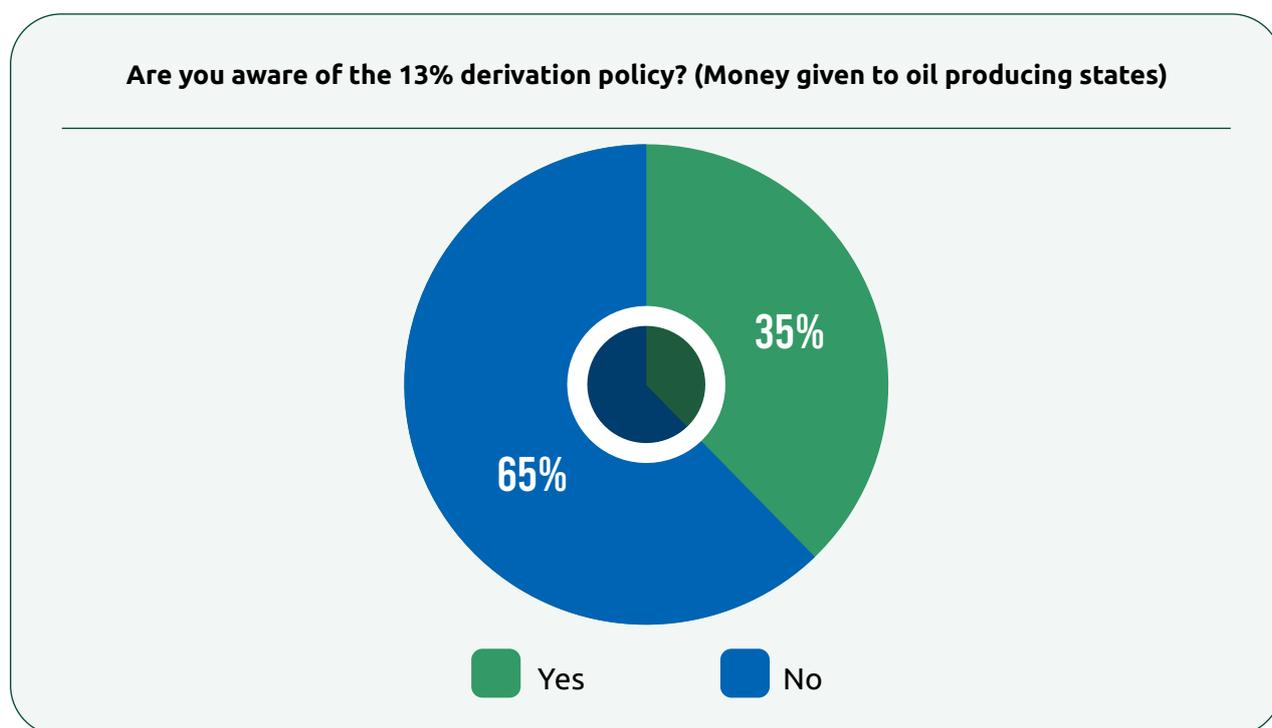


Figure 44: Nigerians Awareness on derivation Policy

As would be expected, more citizens (57%) based in the six South-South states (which form the bulk of the 8 oil-producing states) seemed to be more aware of the 13% derivation policy. On the contrary, the same cannot be said of other geopolitical zones of the country. This could be largely attributed to the fact the policy is targeted at oil-producing communities in the South. Digging deeper on some key social demographics, the data showed that, interestingly, more women (71%) than men (59%) seemed to be aware of the 13% derivation policy. Again, the majority of those who were not aware of the policy are from North-West (72%), North-Central (71%) and North-East (60%).

**Are you aware of the 13% derivation policy? (Money given to oil producing states)**  
by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Yes	35%	41%	29%	31%	40%	48%	29%	40%	28%	31%	57%	31%
No	65%	59%	71%	69%	60%	52%	71%	60%	72%	69%	43%	69%

Table 33: Demographic Analysis on awareness on the Derivation Policy by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

### 5.5.6 Citizens Perception on the Derivation Policy

Following the assessment of citizens awareness of the derivation formula, respondents were also asked their impression about the 13% derivation policy. The results showed that citizens expressed mixed perceptions regarding the 13 per cent derivation fund. From the data, 45% considered the 13% policy “Unfair and Insufficient”, while 46% felt it is okay, and only 9% claimed it is too much and should be slashed.

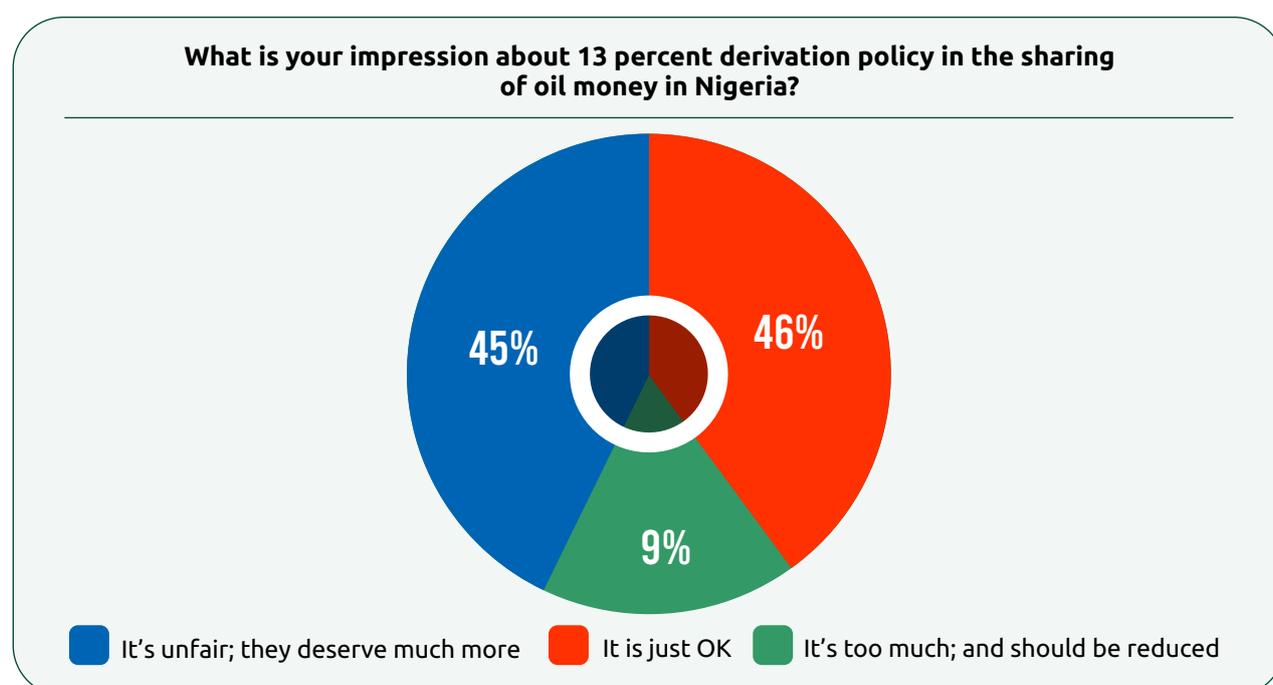


Figure 45: Nigerians perception on the derivation policy

Again, respondents who said the policy is “Unfair and Insufficient” were more in South-South (73%). This partly explains the fact that citizens of the country that are domiciled in the Niger Delta region have continued to push for more revenue allocation to oil-producing communities arguing that farming and fishing which are their main occupations in the region are being seriously damaged. On the other hand, the North-West (67%) and North-East (63%) had the highest number of respondents who felt the policy is “Just Okay”.

**What is your impression about 13 percent derivation policy in the sharing of oil money in Nigeria?**  
by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
It's unfair; they deserve much more	45%	46%	42%	44%	45%	48%	46%	30%	19%	50%	73%	44%
It is just OK	46%	45%	48%	46%	46%	49%	40%	63%	67%	45%	19%	48%
It's too much; and should be reduced	9%	9%	10%	10%	9%	3%	14%	7%	14%	5%	8%	8%

Table 34: Demographic Analysis on Nigerians perception on the derivation policy by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

**5.5.7 Trust in the Current Administration to Restructure the Country for Effective Management of Natural Resources**

About 6 in 10 Nigerians (58%) said they do not trust the current administration to restructure Nigeria in a way that would give ownership and control of natural resources to the states where they are domiciled, compared to 35% of Nigerians who said they have little trust in the government to restructure.

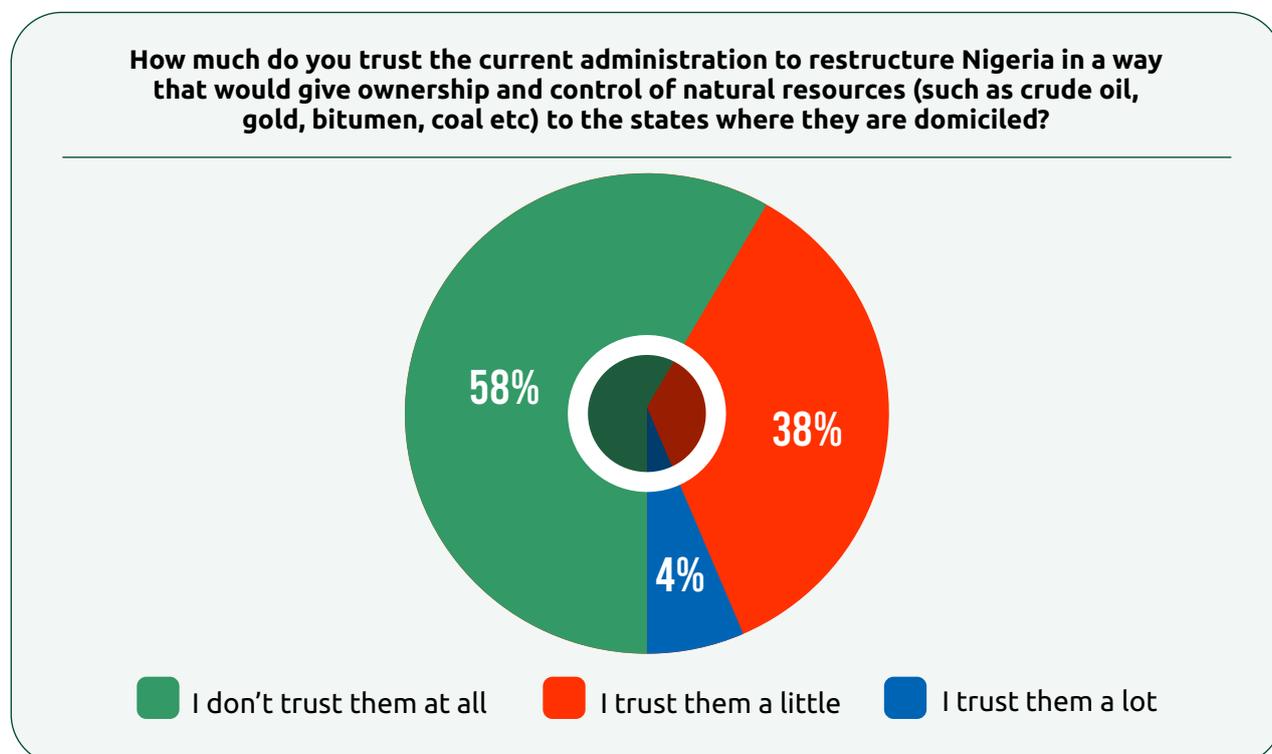


Figure 46: Extent of Trust in Nigerian Government to restructure

Disaggregating the data across demographics, respondents who said they do not trust the current administration to restructure were found more in the South-South (76%), South-East (74%), South-West (68%), and North-Central (60%). While respondents who expressed little trust in the government to restructure were more in North-East (55%) and North-West (55%)

**How much do you trust the current administration to restructure Nigeria in a way that would give ownership and control of natural resources (such as crude oil, gold, bitumen, coal etc) to the states where they are domiciled?**

*by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone*

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
I don't trust them at all	58%	57%	59%	58%	57%	63%	60%	40%	41%	74%	76%	68%
I trust them a little	38%	39%	38%	39%	39%	32%	36%	55%	55%	25%	22%	27%
I trust them a lot	4%	4%	3%	3%	4%	5%	4%	5%	4%	1%	2%	5%

Table 35: Demographic Analysis on Extent of Trust in Nigerian Government to restructure by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

### 5.6 Assessment of Gender Equity as a Component of Social Cohesion

This section explores citizens perceptions on issues of gender equity in Nigeria, in terms of access to education, political participation, sexual violation and implementation of policies on discrimination and violence in the country.

#### 5.6.1 Perception on Gender Equity in Nigeria

On perception towards gender equity on access to education, results indicated that 8 in 10 Nigerians (81%) strongly believed that boys and girls should have equal access to education. A larger percentage of respondents (72%) strongly believed that both males and females should be judged based on their qualifications, competence and track records. Concerning gender equity in leadership roles, the survey also found that 67% opined that women should be given the opportunity to lead in politics, corporate entities and religious organizations. Further findings revealed that 63% of Nigerians strongly agreed that women should be given equal opportunity to family inheritances while 23% strongly disagreed with the statement.



Image Source: <https://newafricanmagazine.com/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Screenshot-2019-09-22-at-12.12.54.png>

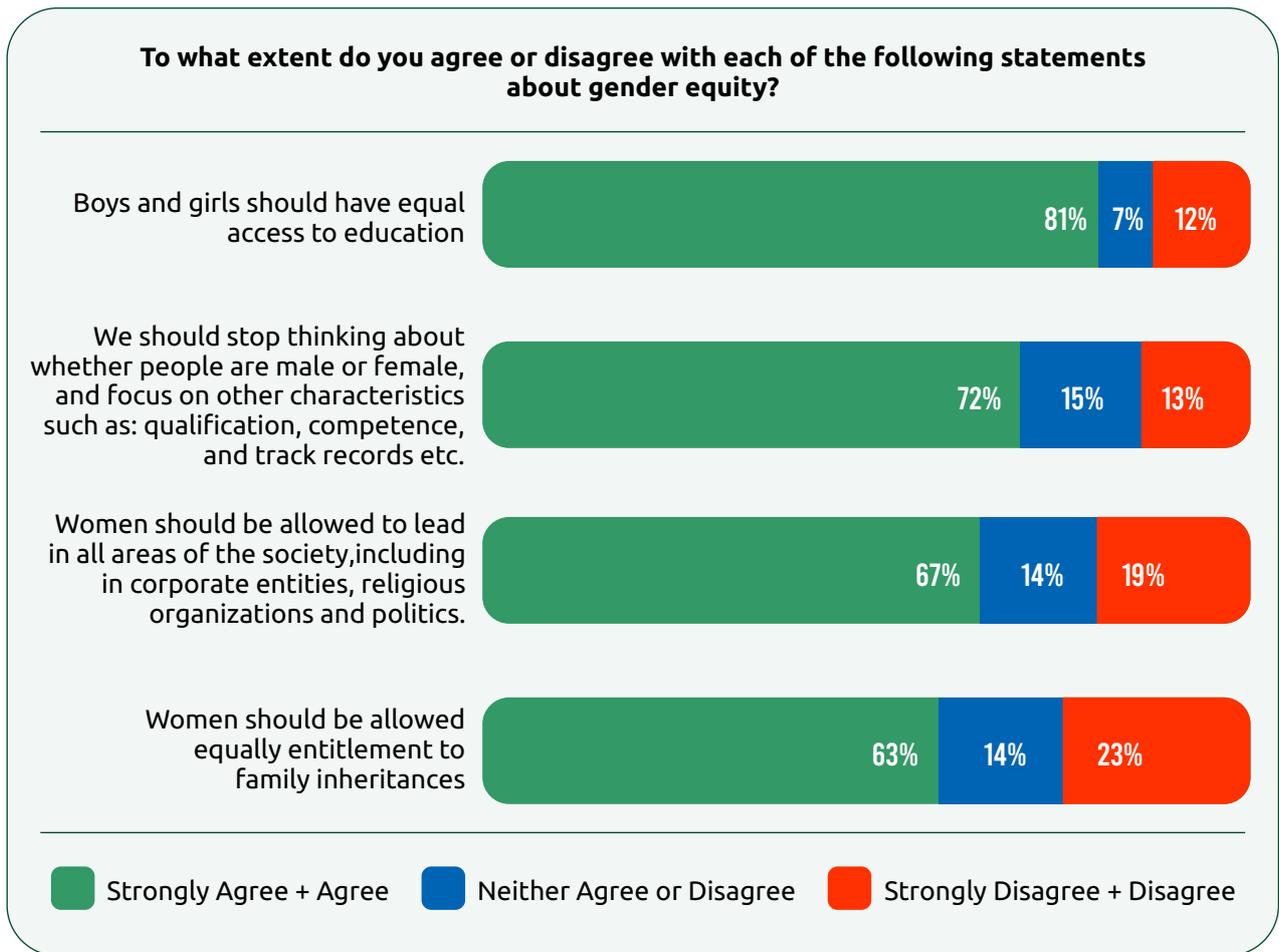


Figure 47: Perception of Nigerians on gender equity



Image source: <https://globalupfront.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/women-protesting.jpeg>

Generally, most Nigerians agree that both Boys and Girls should have equal access to education (81%), Women should be allowed to lead in all areas of the society (67%); that the Country should stop thinking about whether people are male or female, should be the focus on their qualifications, competence and track records (72%); and Women should be allowed equal entitlement to family inheritances (63%). These sentiments were shared by respondents across all social demographics and geo-political zones. However, there seems to be some disparity of opinion in the North-East (29%) and North-West (24%) that women should be allowed to lead in all areas of the society. These sentiments are further amplified in the same regions – North-West (34%) and North-East (32%) – against women having an equal entitlement to family inheritances.

**To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about gender equity?**  
by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
<b>Boys and girls should have equal access to education</b>												
Strongly Agree + Agree	81%	81%	83%	81%	81%	87%	81%	69%	77%	90%	92%	81%
Neither Agree or Disagree	7%	6%	7%	7%	7%	4%	6%	9%	10%	5%	2%	7%
Strongly Disagree + Disagree	12%	13%	10%	12%	12%	9%	13%	22%	13%	5%	6%	12%
<b>Women should be allowed to lead in all areas of the society, including in corporate entities, religious organizations and politics.</b>												
Strongly Agree + Agree	67%	62%	73%	67%	66%	70%	68%	54%	54%	81%	83%	69%
Neither Agree or Disagree	14%	15%	13%	14%	15%	11%	12%	17%	22%	10%	7%	12%
Strongly Disagree + Disagree	19%	23%	14%	19%	19%	19%	20%	29%	24%	9%	10%	19%
<b>We should stop thinking about whether people are male or female, and focus on other characteristics such as: qualification, competence, and track records etc.</b>												
Strongly Agree + Agree	72%	69%	74%	71%	71%	80%	75%	60%	58%	82%	87%	76%
Neither Agree or Disagree	15%	16%	14%	15%	16%	8%	14%	19%	24%	10%	5%	11%
Strongly Disagree + Disagree	13%	15%	12%	14%	13%	12%	11%	21%	18%	8%	8%	13%
<b>Women should be allowed equally entitlement to family inheritances</b>												
Strongly Agree + Agree	63%	55%	69%	62%	62%	69%	63%	47%	49%	73%	80%	72%
Neither Agree or Disagree	14%	16%	12%	13%	15%	12%	13%	21%	17%	13%	6%	11%
Strongly Disagree + Disagree	23%	29%	19%	25%	23%	19%	24%	32%	34%	14%	14%	17%

Table 36: Demographic Analysis on Perception of Nigerians on gender equity by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

On equal access to family inheritance, more respondents who are Christians (71%) and Traditionalists (69%) “Agree and Strongly Agree” that women should be allowed to have equal entitlement to family inheritance, compared to Muslim respondents (49%).

**To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about gender equity?**  
by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal / Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
<b>Boys and girls should have equal access to education</b>								
Strongly Agree + Agree	81%	83%	79%	87%	74%	87%	72%	84%
Neither Agree or Disagree	7%	7%	7%	4%	10%	0%	11%	6%
Strongly Disagree + Disagree	12%	10%	14%	9%	16%	13%	17%	10%
<b>Women should be allowed to lead in all areas of the society, including in corporate entities, religious organizations and politics.</b>								
Strongly Agree + Agree	67%	69%	64%	76%	54%	58%	55%	69%
Neither Agree or Disagree	14%	13%	15%	11%	20%	9%	20%	13%
Strongly Disagree + Disagree	19%	18%	21%	13%	26%	33%	25%	18%
<b>We should stop thinking about whether people are male or female, and focus on other characteristics such as: qualification, competence, and track records etc.</b>								
Strongly Agree + Agree	72%	74%	69%	80%	60%	59%	60%	74%
Neither Agree or Disagree	15%	14%	16%	11%	21%	14%	22%	13%
Strongly Disagree + Disagree	13%	12%	15%	9%	19%	27%	18%	13%
<b>Women should be allowed equally entitlement to family inheritances</b>								
Strongly Agree + Agree	63%	64%	60%	71%	49%	69%	50%	66%
Neither Agree or Disagree	14%	14%	14%	12%	17%	18%	18%	13%
Strongly Disagree + Disagree	23%	22%	26%	17%	34%	13%	32%	21%

Table 37: Demographic Analysis on Perception of Nigerians on gender equity by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

### 5.6.2 Citizens Perception on Efforts of the Government at Promoting Gender Equity

When respondents were asked to rate the efforts of the current administration in promoting gender equity in the country, nearly half of Nigerians (49%) rated the current administration's efforts "Poorly". On the other contrary, about 2 in 10 Nigerians (21%) rated government favourably with "Good and Very Good"; while 3 in 10 Nigerians (30%) rated the efforts of the administration as "Fair".

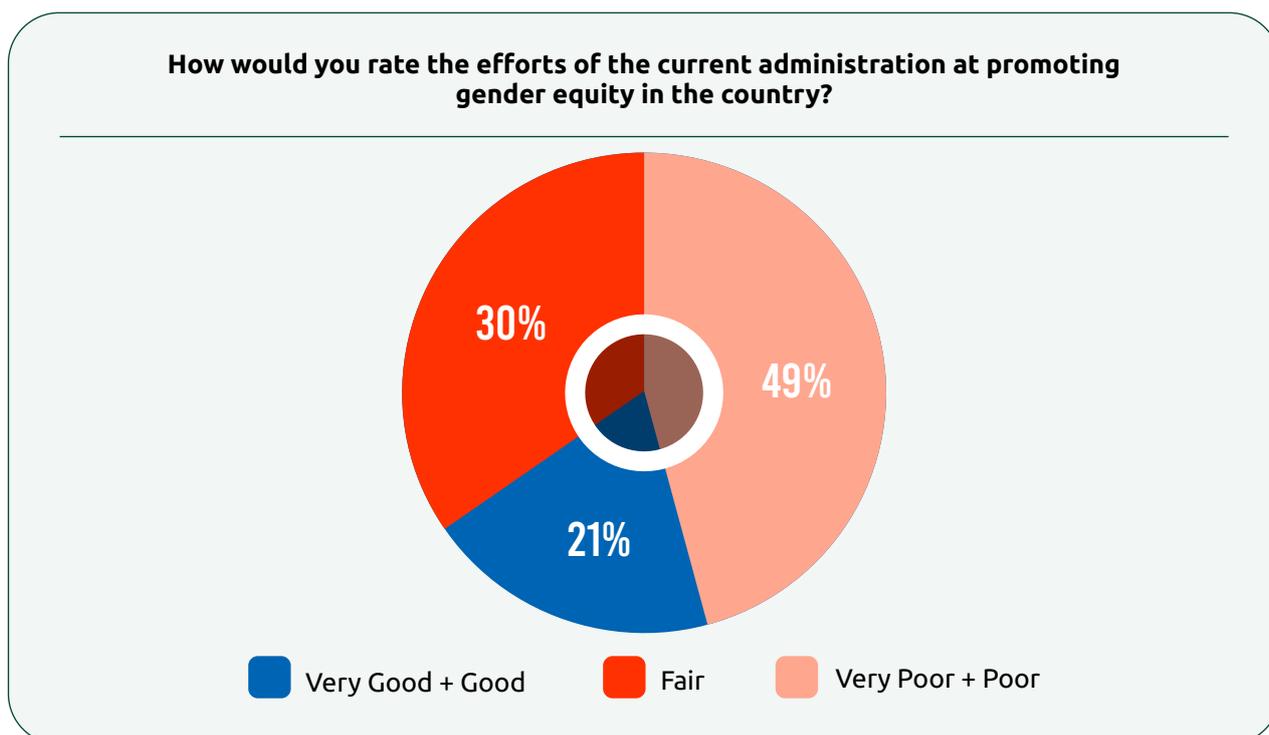


Figure 48: Effort of the Current Administration in promoting gender equity

However, across geopolitical zones, the poor rating of government effort was observed as highest in South-South (72%), South-East (56%) and North-Central (56%) geo-political zones. Again, slightly more female (51%) than male (47%) respondents, and Senior Citizens aged 60 years and above (60%), rated the government's efforts "Poorly".

**How would you rate the efforts of the current administration at promoting gender equity in the country?**

*by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone*

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Very Good + Good	21%	21%	21%	22%	18%	17%	21%	25%	21%	18%	12%	24%
Fair	30%	32%	28%	30%	31%	23%	23%	41%	38%	26%	16%	31%
Very Poor + Poor	49%	47%	51%	48%	51%	60%	56%	34%	41%	56%	72%	45%

Table 38: Demographic Analysis on Effort of the Current Administration in promoting gender equity by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

Further disaggregation across religion revealed that more Traditionalists (60%) and Christians (56%) rated the efforts of the current administration at promoting gender equality "Poorly", compared to Muslims (40%).

**How would you rate the efforts of the current administration at promoting gender equity in the country?**

*by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level*

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal / Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
Very Good + Good	<b>21%</b>	20%	20%	18%	24%	9%	23%	20%
Fair	<b>30%</b>	31%	29%	26%	36%	31%	30%	30%
Very Poor + Poor	<b>49%</b>	49%	51%	56%	40%	60%	47%	50%

Table 39: Demographic Analysis on Effort of the Current Administration in promoting gender equity by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

**5.6.3 Citizens Perception on Efforts of the Current Administration at Prohibiting Gender-Based Discrimination and Violence**

Respondents were asked to assess the current administration's effort at passing laws and implementing policies to protect women and girls from discrimination and violence. From the data, more than half of respondents (51%) rated the efforts of the current administration "Poorly"; while only 20% rated their efforts as "Very Good or Good". Also, 29% assessed the efforts of the current administration as "Fair".

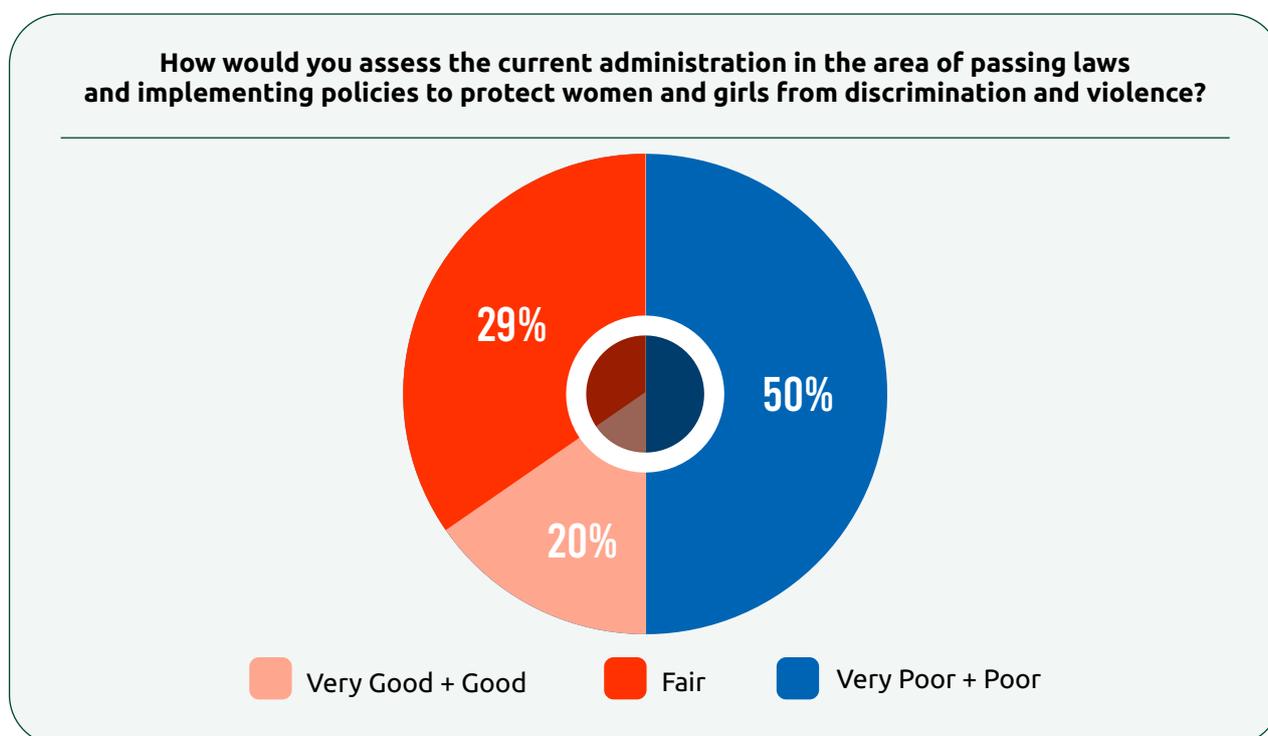


Figure 49: Effort of the Current Administration in Implementing Policies on Discrimination and Violence

Looking at some key social demographics, the data showed that citizens resident in the South-South (70%) and South-East (60%) geopolitical regions constitute the bulk of those who rate the efforts of the current administration's effort at passing laws and implementing policies to protect women and girls against discrimination and violence as “Very Poor or Poor”.

**How would you assess the current administration in the area of passing laws and implementing policies to protect women and girls from discrimination and violence?**  
by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Very Good + Good	20%	21%	21%	22%	19%	15%	19%	28%	21%	18%	12%	25%
Fair	29%	30%	27%	29%	29%	25%	24%	39%	35%	22%	18%	30%
Very Poor + Poor	51%	49%	52%	49%	52%	60%	57%	33%	44%	60%	70%	45%

Table 40: Effort of the Current Administration in Implementing Policies on Discrimination and Violence by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

**5.6.4 Citizens Perception on Efforts of the Government at Creating Opportunities for Political Appointments for Women**

Again, when asked to assess the efforts of the current administration at providing opportunities for women to be appointed into political offices; overall 45% of Nigerians assessed the efforts “Poorly”. On the other hand, 22% assessed the efforts of the current administration as “Very Good or Good”; while 33% assessed the effort of the government as “Fair”.

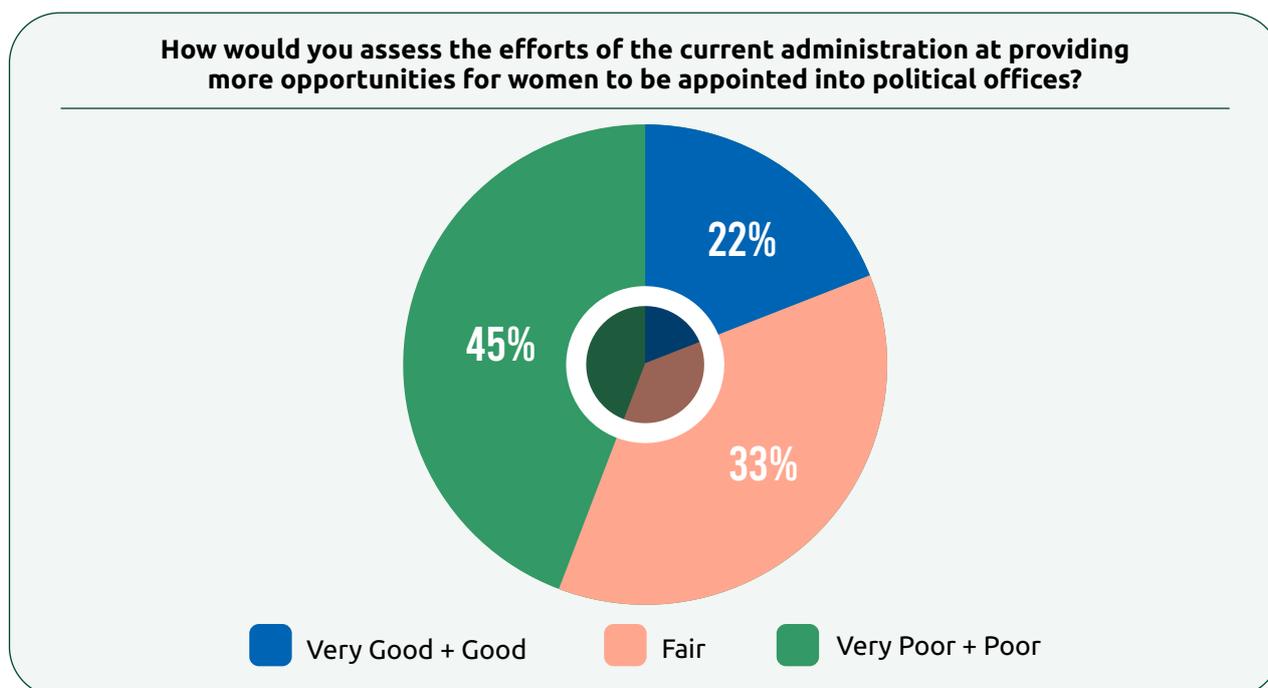


Figure 50: Effort of the Current Administration for Women in Political Appointments

Similarly, further demographic data showed that citizens resident in the South-South (60%) and South-East (58%) geopolitical regions constitute the majority of those who rate the efforts of the current administration's effort at providing opportunities for women to be appointed into political offices as "Very Poor or Poor".

**How would you assess the efforts of the current administration at providing more opportunities for women to be appointed into political offices?**  
by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Very Good + Good	<b>22%</b>	22%	21%	23%	20%	21%	23%	29%	22%	16%	15%	26%
Fair	<b>33%</b>	34%	32%	33%	34%	31%	31%	39%	39%	26%	25%	34%
Very Poor + Poor	<b>45%</b>	44%	47%	44%	46%	48%	46%	32%	39%	58%	60%	40%

Table 41: Effort of the Current Administration in Creating Opportunities for Women in Political Appointments by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

### 5.6.5 Perception on Efforts of the Government at Prohibiting Sexual Violence Against Women

When respondents were asked to rate the efforts of the current administration at prosecuting offenders and preventing sexual violence against women, half the respondents (50%) rated the efforts of the government "Poorly". On the other hand, almost a fourth of respondents (24%) rated the efforts of the government as "Very Good or Good"; while 26% simply assessed the efforts as "Fair". This finding mirrors the view of Chiazor, et al. (2016)<sup>154</sup> who observed that the laws in Nigeria appear to further victimize and humiliate women; they do not bring justice to the victims. They further emphasized that the difficult condition involved in producing reliable proof of rape such as getting a medical and police report and within the permissible interval of any rape incident in question, seems to play down the whole matter.

<sup>154</sup> Chiazor, I., Ozoya, I., Udume, M. & Egharevba, M. (2016). Taming the Rape Scourge in Nigeria: Issues and Actions. *Gender & Behaviour*, 14 (3), 2016, 7764-7785

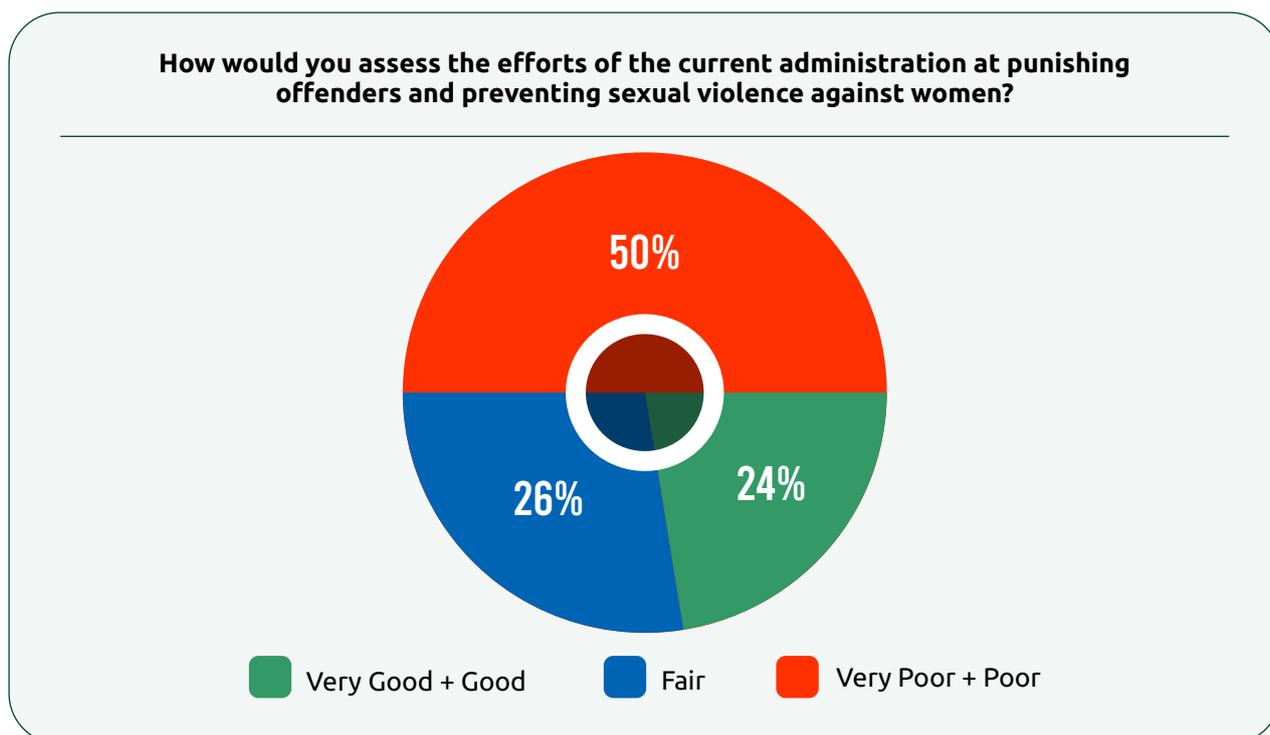


Figure 51: Effort of the Current Administration in prosecuting offenders of sexual violence against women

Across the geo-political zone, the South-South (60%) and South-East (58%) geopolitical regions constitute the majority of those who rate the efforts of the current administration's effort at prosecuting offenders and preventing sexual-based violence against women and girls as “Very Poor or Poor”. On the other hand, more than one-third (37%) of respondents from the North-East believe that the efforts of the government have been “Very Good or Good”.

**How would you assess the efforts of the current administration at punishing offenders and preventing sexual violence against women?**

*by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone*

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Very Good + Good	24%	24%	23%	25%	22%	21%	20%	37%	21%	18%	16%	28%
Fair	26%	28%	25%	26%	28%	19%	25%	32%	31%	26%	18%	28%
Very Poor + Poor	50%	48%	52%	49%	50%	60%	55%	31%	48%	56%	66%	44%

Table 42: Demographic Analysis on Effort of the Current Administration in prosecuting offenders of sexual violence against women by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

### 5.6.6 Citizens Perception on Women Participation in Politics

On citizens perception of women participation in politics, the findings revealed significant support for women in political activities. For instance, on how often should participate in political activities, a significant majority (84%), expressed support for women's suffrage, i.e. the right for women to vote during elections. In the same vein, 72% of citizens supported the notion that women should be allowed “Always or Often” to vie/contest during elections, compared to 28% who think women should only “Sometimes or never” be given the opportunity to contest during elections. On the political appointment of women in the government, roughly 7 in 10 Nigerians (71%) affirmed that women should “Always” be given the chance to hold a political appointment in the country, while 68% of Nigerians supported the notion that women should be allowed to hold leadership positions in political parties. Furthermore, 67% of respondents surveyed indicated support for women participation in a political rally. It can thus be inferred from the result that citizens agree that the capacity of a person to participate in politics should not be determined by gender but by the competence, experience and capacity of the person.

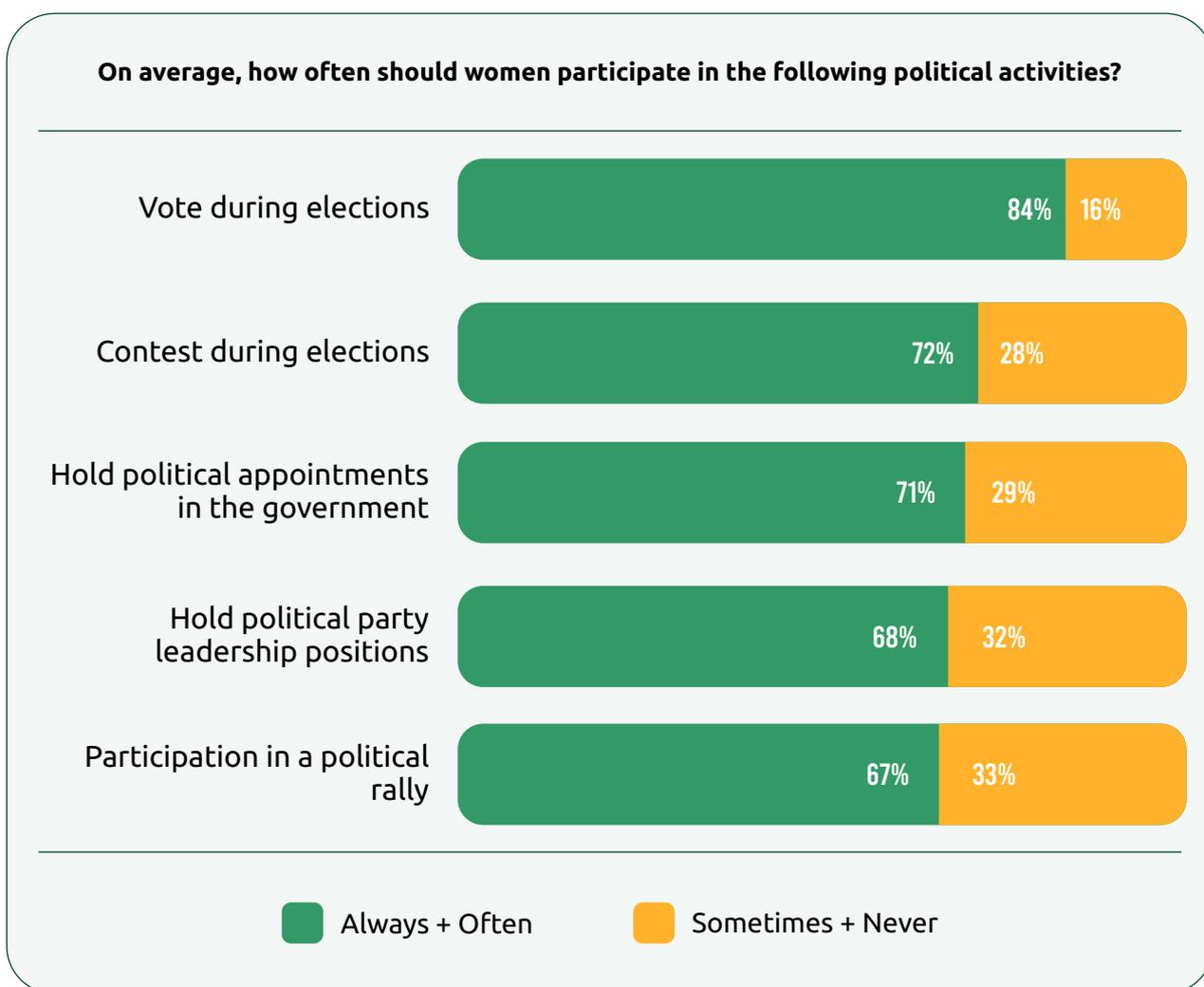


Figure 52: Perception on Women Participation in Politics

Interestingly, further disaggregated data showed that there are more Citizens from the South-South (92%), South-East (83%) and South-West (72%) who expressed strong support for Women's participation in political rallies. Although this finding was supported across the board, yet the data showed that more Citizens from the South-South (97%), South-East (91%) and South-West (86%) expressed strong support for Women's suffrage. However, for those who do not believe women should be allowed to contest during elections (28%) and hold leadership positions in political parties (32%) most of these respondents are based in the North-Central geopolitical zone (41% and 44% respectively).

**On average, how often should women participate in the following political activities?**  
by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
<b>Participation in a political rally</b>												
Always + Often	<b>67%</b>	64%	70%	66%	68%	68%	64%	50%	51%	83%	92%	72%
Sometimes + Never	<b>33%</b>	36%	30%	34%	32%	32%	36%	50%	49%	17%	8%	28%
<b>Vote during elections</b>												
Always + Often	<b>84%</b>	83%	86%	84%	84%	88%	86%	70%	80%	91%	97%	86%
Sometimes + Never	<b>16%</b>	17%	14%	16%	16%	12%	14%	30%	20%	9%	3%	14%
<b>Contest during elections</b>												
Always + Often	<b>72%</b>	68%	76%	72%	71%	79%	75%	62%	59%	85%	83%	77%
Sometimes + Never	<b>28%</b>	32%	24%	28%	29%	21%	25%	38%	41%	15%	17%	23%
<b>Hold political party leadership positions</b>												
Always + Often	<b>68%</b>	63%	72%	68%	66%	74%	68%	61%	56%	80%	80%	71%
Sometimes + Never	<b>32%</b>	37%	28%	32%	34%	26%	32%	39%	44%	20%	20%	29%
<b>Hold political appointments in the government</b>												
Always + Often	<b>71%</b>	68%	75%	71%	71%	80%	72%	66%	61%	81%	82%	74%
Sometimes + Never	<b>29%</b>	32%	25%	29%	29%	20%	28%	34%	39%	19%	18%	26%

Table 43: Demographic Analysis of Women Participation in Politics by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone



Image source: <https://i1.wp.com/newswirengr.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/PIC-1-1.jpeg?resize=1000%2C600&ssl=1>

In addition, data from the disaggregated socio-demographics showed that there are generally more Christians and Traditionalists than Muslims, who expressed strong support for Women to participate in political rallies, to vote during elections, to be allowed to contest for elections, to hold political party leadership positions and to hold political appointments in the government.

**On average, how often should women participate in the following political activities?**  
by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal / Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
<b>Participation in a political rally</b>								
Always + Often	<b>67%</b>	67%	66%	77%	51%	72%	58%	69%
Sometimes + Never	<b>33%</b>	33%	34%	23%	49%	28%	42%	31%
<b>Vote during elections</b>								
Always + Often	<b>84%</b>	86%	83%	89%	77%	91%	76%	86%
Sometimes + Never	<b>16%</b>	14%	17%	11%	23%	9%	24%	14%
<b>Contest during elections</b>								
Always + Often	<b>72%</b>	72%	72%	80%	59%	76%	63%	74%
Sometimes + Never	<b>28%</b>	28%	28%	20%	41%	24%	37%	26%
<b>Hold political party leadership positions</b>								
Always + Often	<b>68%</b>	69%	67%	75%	57%	81%	60%	70%
Sometimes + Never	<b>32%</b>	31%	33%	25%	43%	19%	40%	30%
<b>Hold political appointments in the government</b>								
Always + Often	<b>71%</b>	72%	70%	78%	62%	86%	64%	73%
Sometimes + Never	<b>29%</b>	28%	30%	22%	38%	14%	36%	27%

Table 44: Demographic Analysis of Women Participation in Politics by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

## 5.7 Assessment of Impunity as a Component of Social Cohesion

This section presents the results of the analysis of citizens perception on the concept of Impunity, as a factor either promoting or hindering social cohesion in Nigeria. In particular, it focuses on issues regarding the respect, protection, guarantee, and promotion of human rights in Nigeria.

### 5.7.1 Feeling of Nigerians about Human Rights Abuses and Violations

Respondents were asked specifically about the problem of human rights abuses and violations in Nigeria. Overall, an aggregation of 83% of Nigerians surveyed consider human rights abuses and violations a problem in the country. In particular, about 56% consider human rights abuses and violations “a very serious problem”, while 27% consider it “a fairly serious problem”. However, about 14% of Nigerians perceived human rights abuses to be “a minor problem”. Only a meagre 3% of citizens thought that human rights abuses and violations are not a problem.

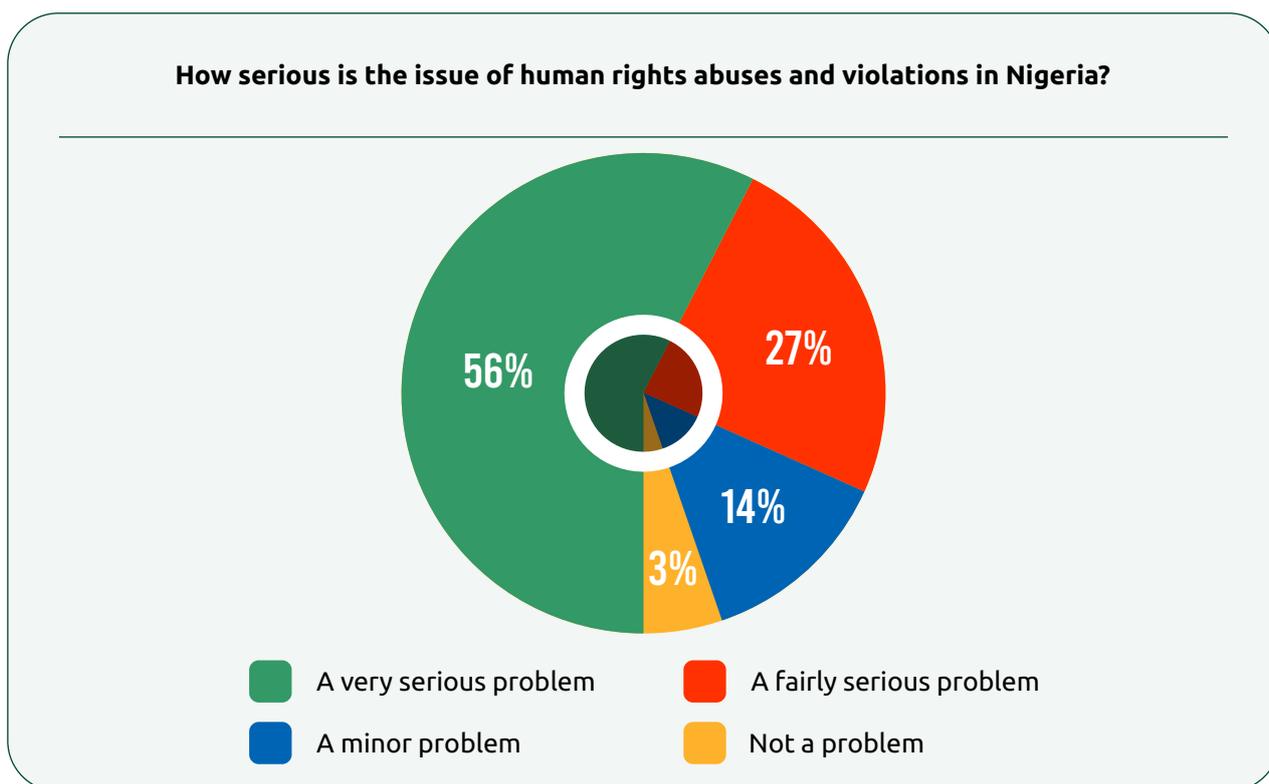


Figure 53: Extent of Human Rights abuses and violations

Further disaggregation of the data across the geo-political zones showed that a larger percentage of citizens from South-South (80%) consider human rights abuses and violations as “a serious problem in Nigeria”, while 28% of respondents in the North-East saw it as a minor problem. The opinion expressed by citizens from the North-East is somewhat surprising, considering the activities of insurgents and incessant attacks on communities and IDPs in the region, who are faced with severe insecurity and rights abuses.

### How serious is the issue of human rights abuses and violations in Nigeria? by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
<b>A very serious problem</b>	<b>56%</b>	56%	55%	56%	57%	67%	58%	40%	48%	59%	80%	57%
<b>A fairly serious problem</b>	<b>27%</b>	25%	30%	27%	25%	20%	26%	28%	30%	31%	18%	27%
<b>A minor problem</b>	<b>14%</b>	16%	13%	14%	15%	11%	13%	28%	18%	9%	1%	14%
<b>Not a problem</b>	<b>3%</b>	3%	2%	3%	3%	2%	3%	4%	4%	1%	1%	2%

Table 45: Demographic Analysis on Extent of Human Rights abuses and violations by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

### 5.7.2 Likelihood to Report Human Rights Abuses to the Police

Nigerians were asked to describe how likely or unlikely the victims of human rights abuses report cases of abuse to the Police. Interestingly, more than half of Nigerians surveyed (52%) believed that human rights abuses are likely to report to the Police. On the other hand, 48% of Nigerians believed that such cases are never reported to the Police.

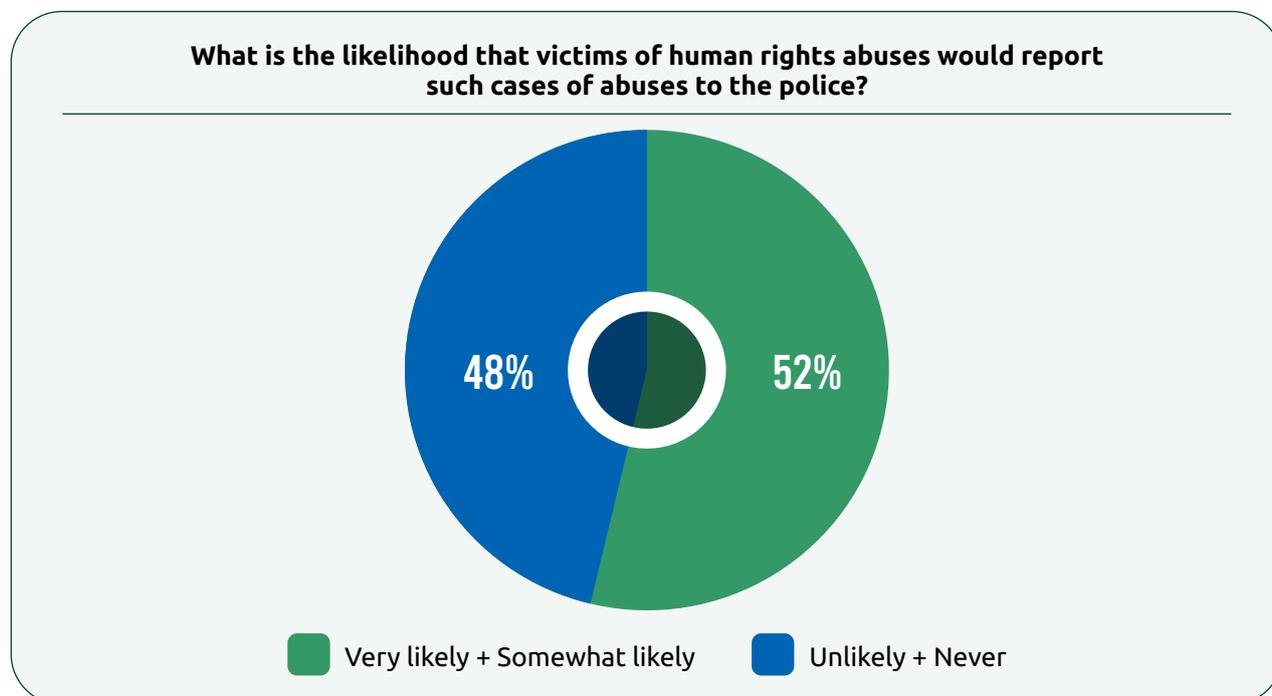


Figure 54: Likelihood to report Human Rights abuses to the Police

Across geo-political zones, more than half of respondents from North-Central (53%) and North-West (52%) regions said that human rights abuses are unlikely to be reported to the police. The citizens' viewpoint could be largely attributed to the difficulty in securing justice for the victims and this further contribute to the culture of tolerance for human right abuses. As revealed by Alhassan (2013)<sup>155</sup>, “Over a hundred cases of violence against children and women often go without any of the culprits being prosecuted and jailed.

#### What is the likelihood that victims of human rights abuses would report such cases of abuses to the police?

by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Very likely + Somewhat likely	52%	53%	51%	52%	52%	50%	47%	58%	48%	52%	52%	56%
Unlikely + Never	48%	47%	49%	48%	48%	50%	53%	42%	52%	48%	48%	44%

Table 46: Demographic Analysis on reporting Human Rights abuses to the Police by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

<sup>155</sup> Alhassan, A. (2013), “Child Rape: Who Speaks for the Victims?” <http://www.hopefornigeriaonline.com/child-rape-who-speaks-for-the-vivtims>.

### 5.7.3 Likelihood to Report Human Rights Abuses to Community or Religious Leader

On the other hand, when respondents were asked about the likelihood that victims of human rights abuses would bring cases of abuse before community or religious leaders; 56% of respondents believed that it is “Very or Somewhat Likely” to happen, compared to 44% who said it is “Unlikely” or it would never happen. The findings reported here clearly revealed that citizens have more trust for Community and Religious Leaders (56%) than they have for the Police (52%).

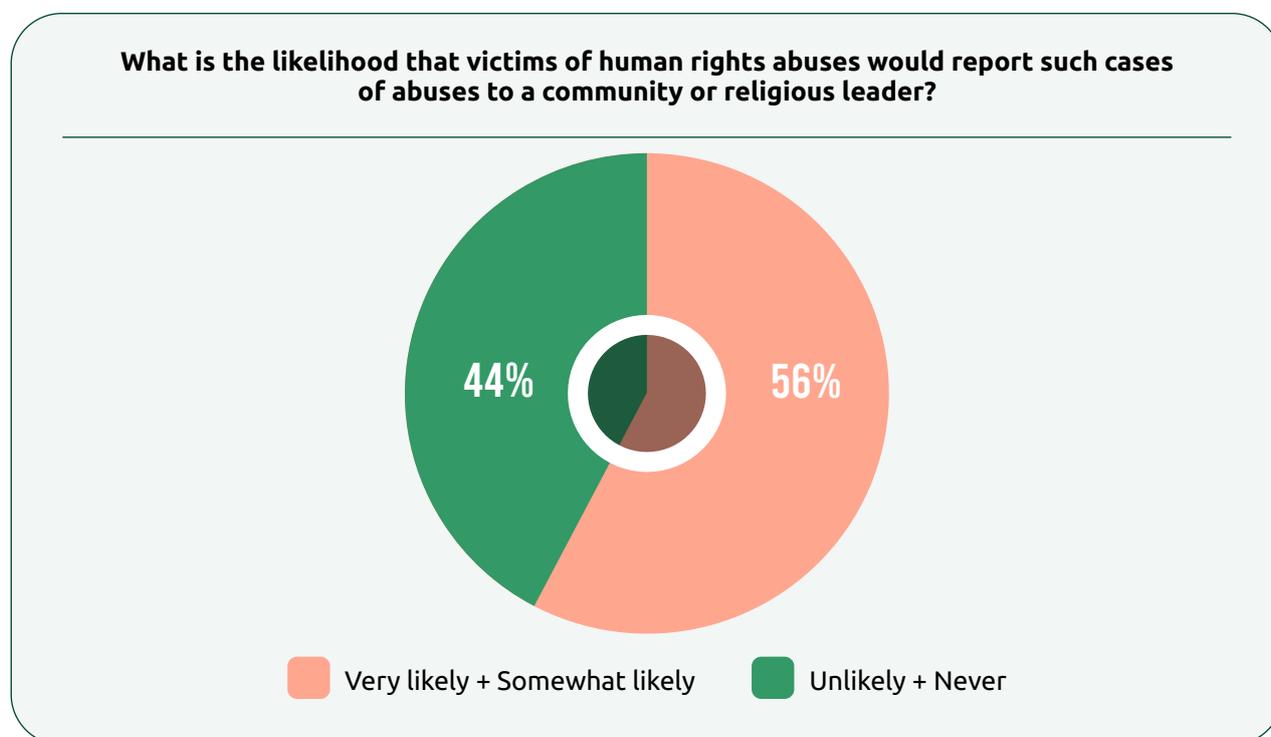


Figure 55: Likelihood to report Human Rights abuses to a community or religious leader

Among the geo-political zones, the South-South (62%) had the largest number of people who believed that cases of human rights abuses are likely to be reported. In addition, slightly more females (57%) than male respondents (56%) believed that victims of human rights abuses are very likely to be reported to the community or religious leaders.

#### What is the likelihood that victims of human rights abuses would report such cases of abuses to a community or religious leader?

*by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone*

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
<b>Very likely + Somewhat likely</b>	<b>56%</b>	56%	57%	58%	54%	52%	49%	62%	54%	56%	62%	57%
<b>Unlikely + Never</b>	<b>44%</b>	44%	43%	42%	46%	48%	51%	38%	46%	44%	38%	43%

Table 47: Demographic Analysis on reporting Human Rights abuses to a community or religious leader by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

Across religious groups, more than half of the respondents who are Muslims (57%) and Christians (56%) believed that human rights abuses and violations are very likely to be reported to community and religious leaders. However, 44% of Traditionalists did not share this sentiment.

**What is the likelihood that victims of human rights abuses would report such cases of abuses to a community or religious leader?**

*by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level*

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal / Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
Very likely + Somewhat likely	<b>56%</b>	54%	58%	56%	57%	44%	53%	57%
Unlikely + Never	<b>44%</b>	46%	42%	44%	43%	56%	47%	43%

Table 48: Demographic Analysis on reporting Human Rights abuses to a community or religious leader by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

**5.7.4 Citizens Perception of Unreported Cases of Human Rights Abuses in Nigeria**

The survey asked respondents to assess the level of unreported cases of human rights abuses in Nigeria. Overall, 55% of Nigerians said the cases of unreported human rights abuses and violations in the country are “Extremely high” (15%) and ‘High’ (40%). On the other hand, 45% of citizens surveyed believed that unreported cases of human rights abuses and violations are “Moderate” (29%) and “Low” (16%).

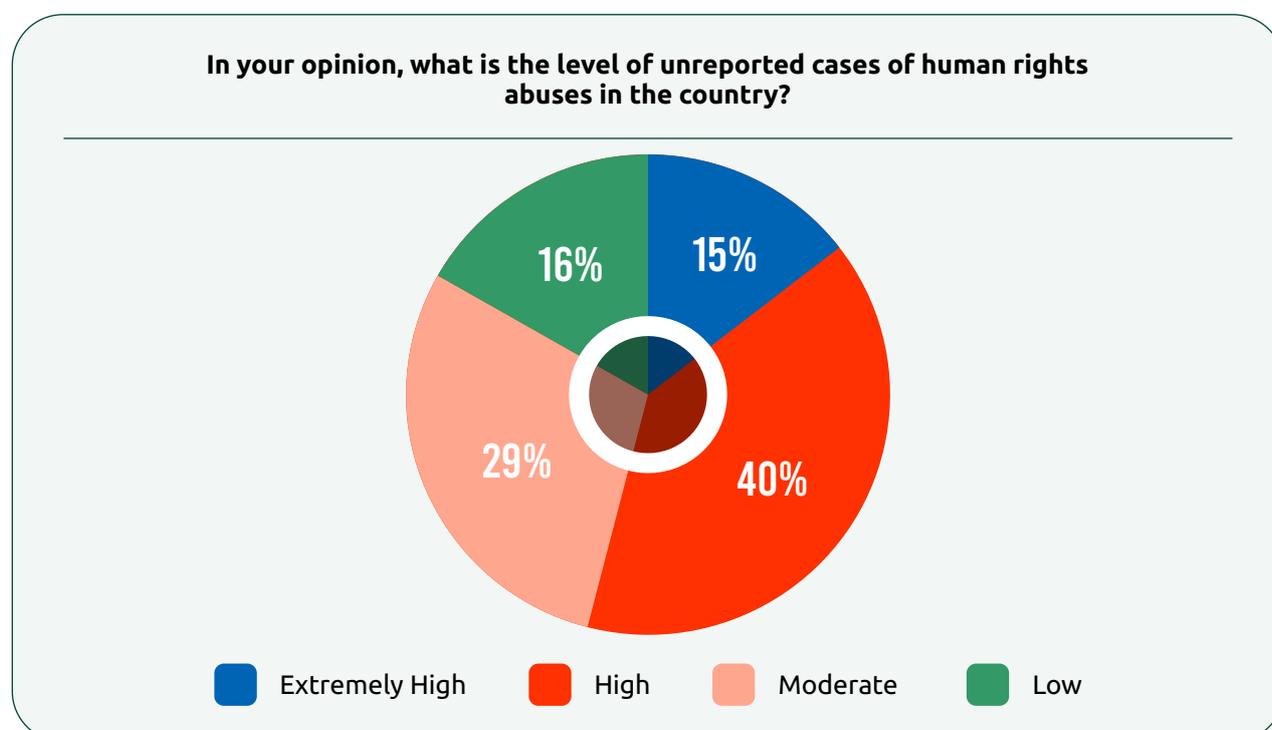


Figure 56: Extent of unreported cases of Human Rights abuses in Nigeria

While there are no significant differences across gender and age demographics on account of unreported cases of human rights abuses, the same cannot be said across geo-political zones. The data showed that citizens from the South-South (76%) expressed strong sentiments of unreported cases of human rights abuses, while respondents from the North-East (46%) had the least in those who shared their opinion.

**In your opinion, what is the level of unreported cases of human rights abuses in the country?**  
by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
<b>Extremely High</b>	<b>15%</b>	15%	15%	14%	16%	23%	18%	9%	13%	14%	25%	13%
<b>High</b>	<b>40%</b>	39%	40%	40%	40%	36%	34%	37%	43%	34%	51%	33%
<b>Moderate</b>	<b>29%</b>	30%	29%	29%	30%	24%	27%	44%	30%	30%	16%	31%
<b>Low</b>	<b>16%</b>	16%	16%	17%	14%	17%	21%	10%	14%	22%	8%	23%

Table 49: Demographic Analysis on Extent of unreported cases of Human Rights abuses in Nigeria by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

**5.7.5 Likelihood Perpetrators of Human Rights Abuses to go Unpunished**

Overall, more than half of Nigerians surveyed (58%) seemed to believe that it is very likely for perpetrators of human rights abuses to go unpunished and not convicted even when reported. On the other hand, 42% of the respondents surveyed think perpetrators of human rights abuses would be punished and convicted if reported.

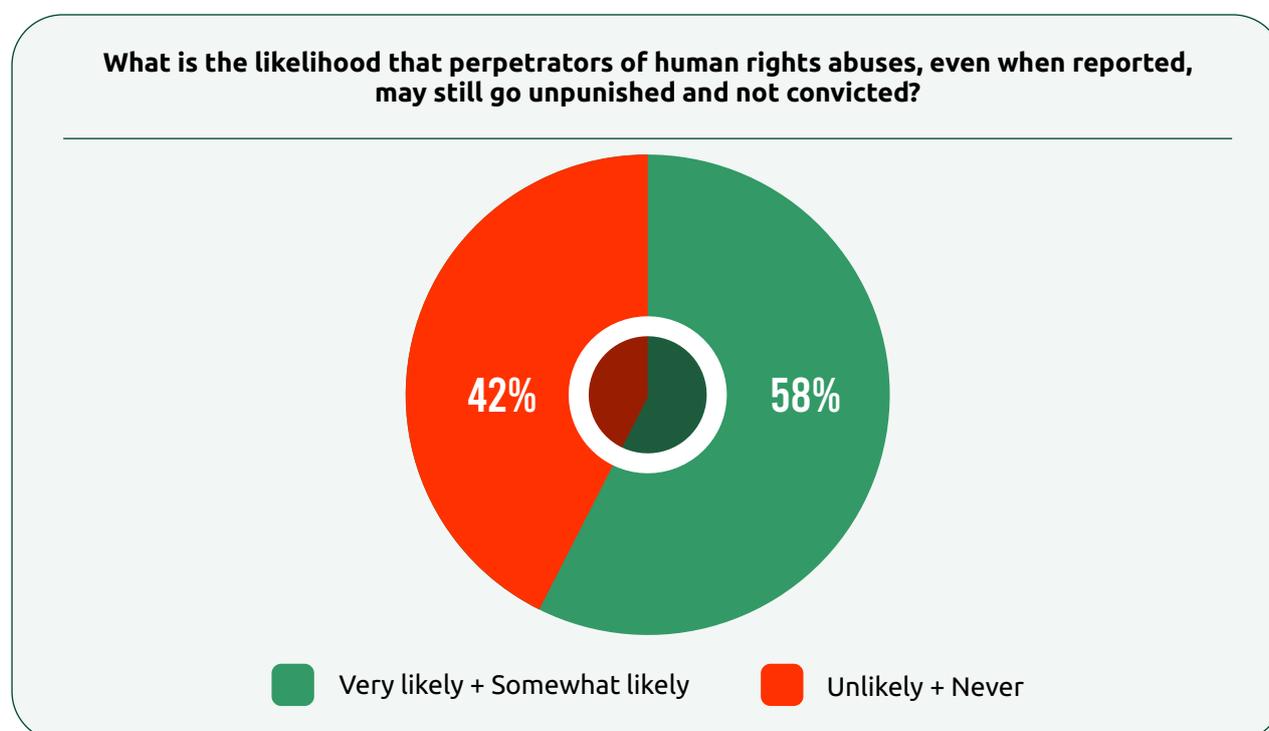


Figure 57: Likelihood perpetrators of report Human Rights abuses to go unpunished

Across the several geo-political zones, the South-South (68%) and South-West (61%) had more respondents who believed that offenders of human rights abuses are never punished and convicted compared to other geo-political zones.

**What is the likelihood that perpetrators of human rights abuses, even when reported, may still go unpunished and not convicted?**

*by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone*

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
<b>Very likely + Somewhat likely</b>	<b>58%</b>	59%	56%	57%	58%	65%	50%	46%	59%	57%	68%	61%
<b>Unlikely + Never</b>	<b>42%</b>	41%	44%	43%	42%	35%	50%	54%	41%	43%	32%	39%

Table 50: Demographic Analysis on Likelihood perpetrators of report Human Rights abuses to go unpunished by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

**5.7.6 Perception on State Agent's Involvement in Human Rights Abuses**

Furthermore more, the survey responses showed more than one-third of Nigerians surveyed (37%) think that states agents, such as the Police and Military are “Always or Often” perpetrators of human rights abuses themselves. However, 63% of respondents believed that states agents are “Sometimes or Never” involved in human rights abuses.

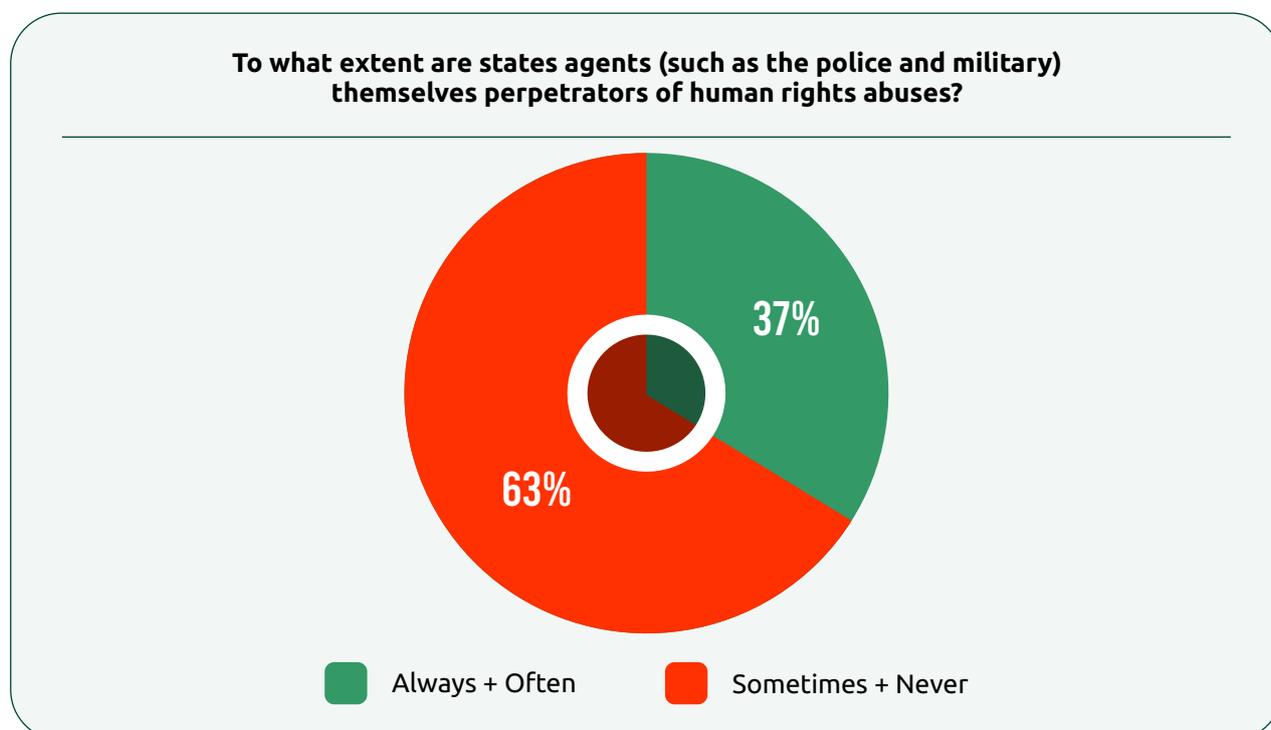


Figure 58: Perception of State Agent's involvement in Human Rights abuses

From the survey, the results indicated that two-third of Nigerians from the North-East (77%) and North-West (67%) believed that states agents are not involved in human rights abuses as against respondents from geo-political zones who shared the same sentiment. However, contrary to this finding, citizens in the South-West (46%) and South-East (41%) constitute the majority of those who believe state agents are “Always and Often” the perpetrators of human rights abuses. This is not surprising, given the activities of the Police Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), known to use brutality and different forms of human rights abuses against citizens, in South-West Nigeria, and the Military operations such as Python Dance witnessed in South-East Nigeria. To buttress this point, the increased brutality of the Police and the violation of human rights resulted in the recent #EndSARS protest by Nigerian youths against the reported incidence of extra-judicial killings by officers of SARS. It was on this basis that Amnesty International (2020)<sup>156</sup> articulated that the ongoing impunity by SARS officers in the violation of human rights points to deficiencies in Nigeria's Policing System.

### To what extent are states agents (such as the police and military) themselves perpetrators of human rights abuses?

by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
<b>Always + Often</b>	<b>37%</b>	37%	37%	37%	37%	44%	43%	23%	33%	41%	38%	46%
<b>Sometimes + Never</b>	<b>63%</b>	63%	63%	63%	63%	56%	57%	77%	67%	59%	62%	54%

Table 51: Demographic Analysis on perception of state Agent's involvement in Human Rights abuses by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

#### 5.7.7 Perception of Impunity among Government Officials

Respondents were asked specifically if there is impunity among government officials in the current administration led by President Muhammadu Buhari. Overall, 53% of Nigerians said impunity thrives in the current administration. However, about 28% of citizens expressed that there is no impunity in the current administration; while 19% said they were unsure.

<sup>156</sup> Amnesty International. (2020). Nigeria police brutality issue attract global attention. Retrieved from <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/AFR4495052020ENGLISH.PD>.

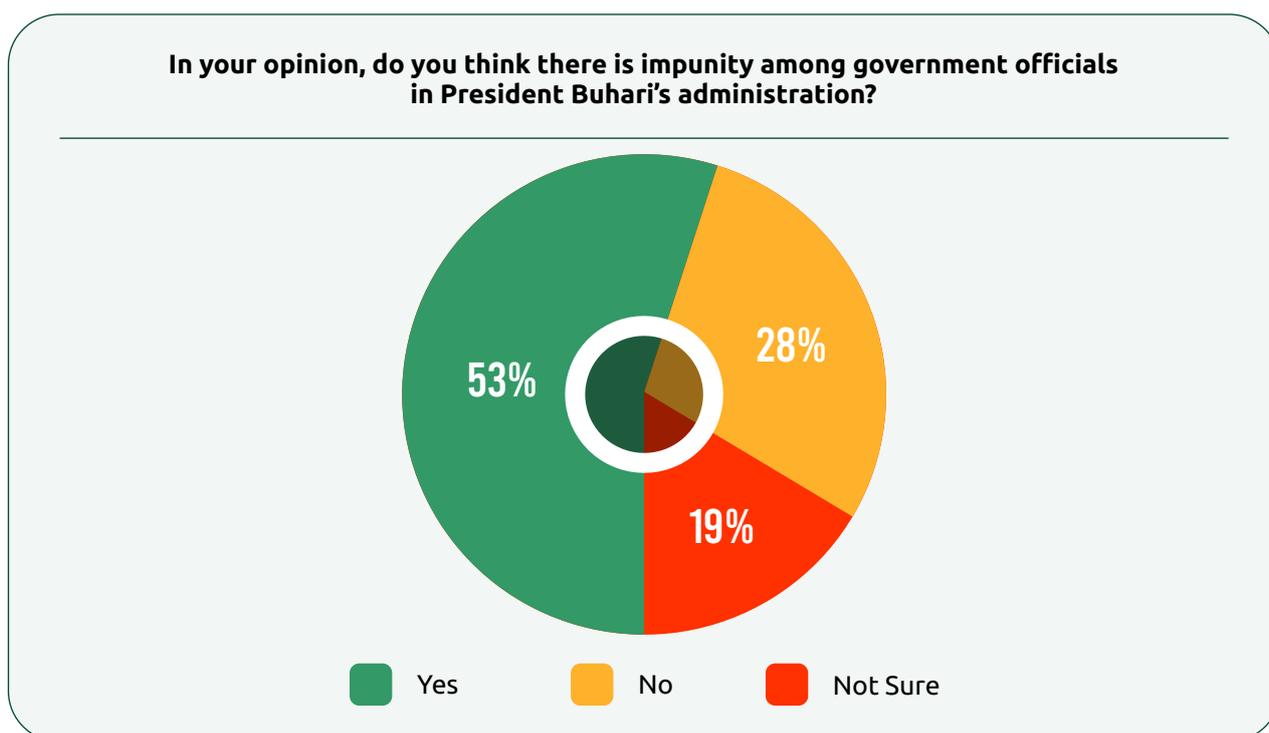


Figure 59: Perception of impunity among government officials

Opinion concerning the level of impunity in the current administration differs across age groups and geo-political zones. In terms of age groups, a larger percentage of those aged 61 years and above (62%) think there is impunity among government officials. This view was further affirmed by Oikhala (2020)<sup>157</sup>, who argued that the flagrant impunity in Nigeria has manifested in form of extortion, oppression, corruption, brutality, extra-judicial killing, illegal detention amongst others. However, over a quarter of youths aged 18-35 years (28%) and adults aged 30-60 years (27%) believe that impunity has no place in the current administration led by President Muhammadu Buhari.

**In your opinion, do you think there is impunity among government officials in President Buhari's administration?**

*by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone*

	Nigeria	Gender			Age Category			Geo-Political Zone				
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
<b>Yes</b>	<b>53%</b>	54%	53%	52%	55%	62%	61%	48%	46%	64%	66%	45%
<b>No</b>	<b>28%</b>	28%	27%	28%	27%	21%	28%	34%	28%	20%	19%	33%
<b>Not Sure</b>	<b>19%</b>	18%	20%	20%	18%	17%	11%	18%	26%	16%	15%	22%

Table 52: Demographic Analysis on perception of impunity among government officials by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

<sup>157</sup> Oikhala, G I (2020). Effects of Administrative Law on Development Administration in Nigeria. Kampala International Journal: 5 (4); 33–53

### 5.7.8 How Nigerians Feel about Impunity in the current Administration

The result from the survey further revealed that, amongst the 53% of citizens who affirmed that impunity exists under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari, 83% of them believe impunity amongst government officials is “increasing”, followed by 15% who believe it has remained the same; and leaving only a measly 2% of respondents who perceive the rate of impunity as decreasing in the current administration in Nigeria.

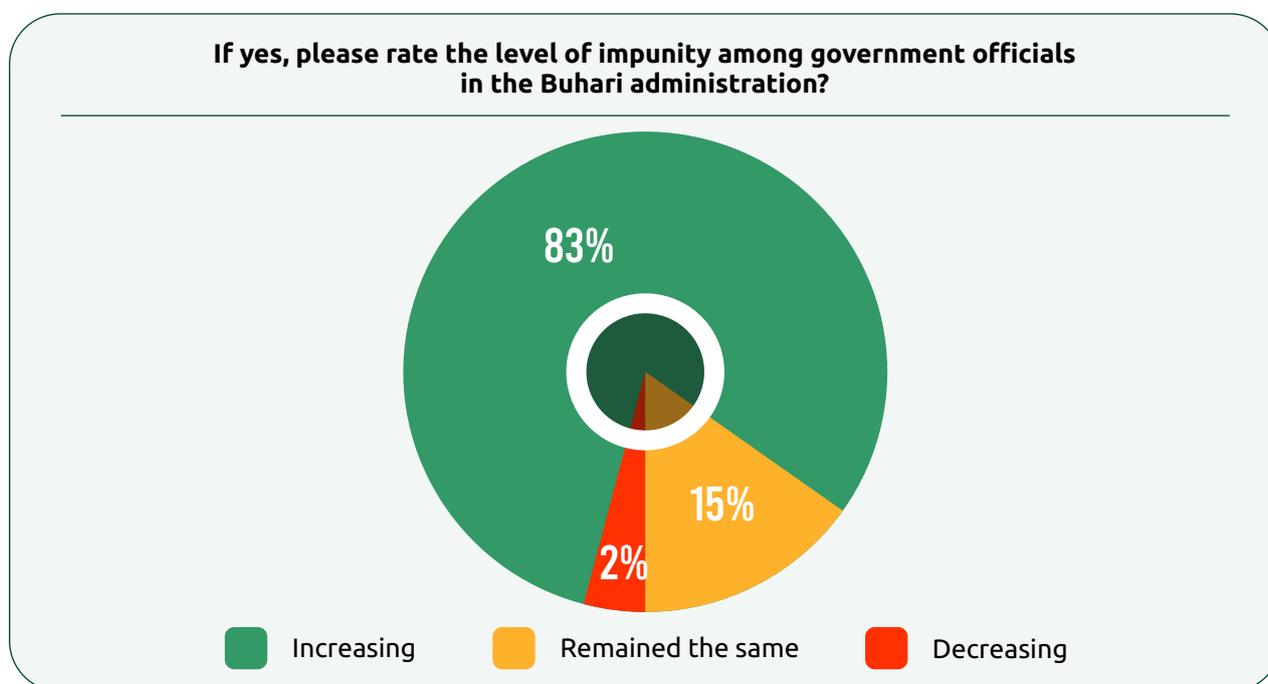


Figure 60: Extent of impunity in among government officials in the current administration

Further analysis indicated that there are no significant differences across gender groups and age categories on the rate of impunity in the current administration as larger percentages of Nigerians across the groups strongly affirmed that it is highly increasing in the present government. Compared with other geo-political zones, an alarmingly high proportion of citizens surveyed from South-South (95%), South-East (89%), North-Central (88%) and South-West (84%) believed that impunity is on the increase amongst officials of the current administration.

#### If yes, please rate the level of impunity among government officials in the Buhari administration? by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
<b>Increasing</b>	<b>83%</b>	83%	83%	83%	83%	83%	88%	61%	74%	89%	95%	84%
<b>Remained the same</b>	<b>15%</b>	15%	15%	15%	15%	14%	10%	34%	24%	8%	5%	13%
<b>Decreasing</b>	<b>2%</b>	2%	2%	2%	2%	3%	2%	5%	2%	3%	%	3%

Table 53: Demographic Analysis on the extent of impunity among government officials in the current administration by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

## 5.8 Assessment of Corruption as a Component of Social Cohesion

This section presents the results of the analysis of citizens perception on the concept of “Corruption”, as a factor either promoting or hindering social cohesion in Nigeria. In particular, it focuses on citizens perception of the level of corruption in the country, the government's efforts at combating corruption, and whether or not access to just is free from corruption.

### 5.8.1 Perception on Level of Corruption in Nigeria

Respondents were asked to assess the level of corruption in Nigeria compared to the past year. From the results, almost 7 in 10 respondents (69%) believed that the level of corruption has increased significantly in the past year. About a quarter of Nigerians (26%) believe the level of corruption has remained the same, while only 5% of respondents believe the level of corruption is decreasing in the country. In the views of Okeke (2020)<sup>158</sup>, corruption, nepotism, impunity and abuse of office have weakened the institution of government and have polarized the nation. He, therefore, advocated for key institutional reforms for the sustenance of democracy.

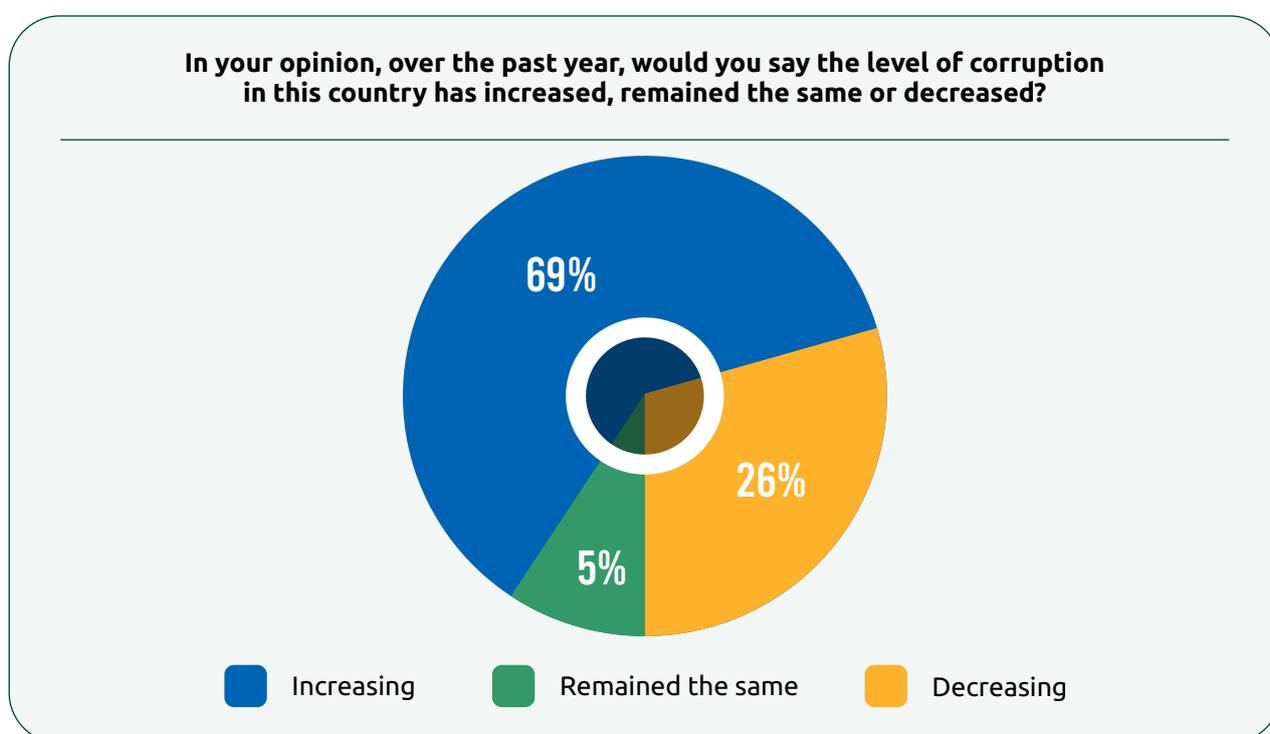


Figure 61: Extent of corruption in the country

<sup>158</sup> Okeke, M., C (2020). Restructuring the Nigerian State for Sustainable Development. Journal of accounting, business and social sciences. 3 (2) 2672-4235.

Data from further disaggregation revealed that citizens resident in the South-South (87%), South-East (78%), South-West (76%) and North-Central (75%) geopolitical regions, constitute the highest proportion of those who believe that corruption is on the increase.

**In your opinion, over the past year, would you say the level of corruption in this country has increased, remained the same or decreased?**

*by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone*

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
<b>Increasing</b>	<b>69%</b>	68%	69%	68%	69%	75%	75%	39%	60%	78%	87%	76%
<b>Remained the same</b>	<b>26%</b>	26%	26%	27%	26%	18%	18%	49%	36%	19%	11%	20%
<b>Decreasing</b>	<b>5%</b>	6%	5%	5%	5%	7%	7%	12%	4%	3%	2%	4%

*Table 54: Demographic Analysis on the perception of corruption in the country by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone*

Further disaggregation by urbanization, religion and literacy level showed that more enlightened respondents, with a minimum of secondary school education (71%), believe that the level of corruption has increased, compared to less-educated citizens (56%). There were also differences in opinions observed across religious divides. For instance, there were more Christians (77%) than Traditionalists (68%) and Muslims (56%) who believe corruption is on the increase in Nigeria. The views expressed here somewhat reflects the consistent poor ratings of Nigeria in the Corruption Perception Index of Transparency International. In 2020, Nigeria was ranked 149<sup>th</sup> out of 180 countries<sup>159</sup> declining from 146<sup>th</sup> in 2019.

**In your opinion, over the past year, would you say the level of corruption in this country has increased, remained the same or decreased?**

*by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level*

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal / Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
<b>Increasing</b>	<b>69%</b>	68%	69%	77%	56%	68%	56%	71%
<b>Remained the same</b>	<b>26%</b>	27%	25%	19%	36%	28%	36%	24%
<b>Decreasing</b>	<b>5%</b>	5%	6%	4%	8%	4%	8%	5%

*Table 55: Demographic Analysis on the perception of corruption in the country by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level*

<sup>159</sup> <https://www.transparency.org/en/news/cpi-2019-Sub-Saharan-Africa>

### 5.8.2 Citizens Perception on Efforts of Government at Fighting Corruption

Respondents were asked to rate the efforts of the current administration in combating corruption. The results showed that more than 6 in 10 Nigerians (63%) rated the efforts put in place by the government to prevent corruption in Nigeria “Poorly”. This finding buttressed the views shared by Ajide and Olayiwola (2020)<sup>160</sup>, which argued that despite the reiteration by the government on its commitment to fighting corruption, the increasing level of corruption is getting worse on yearly basis.

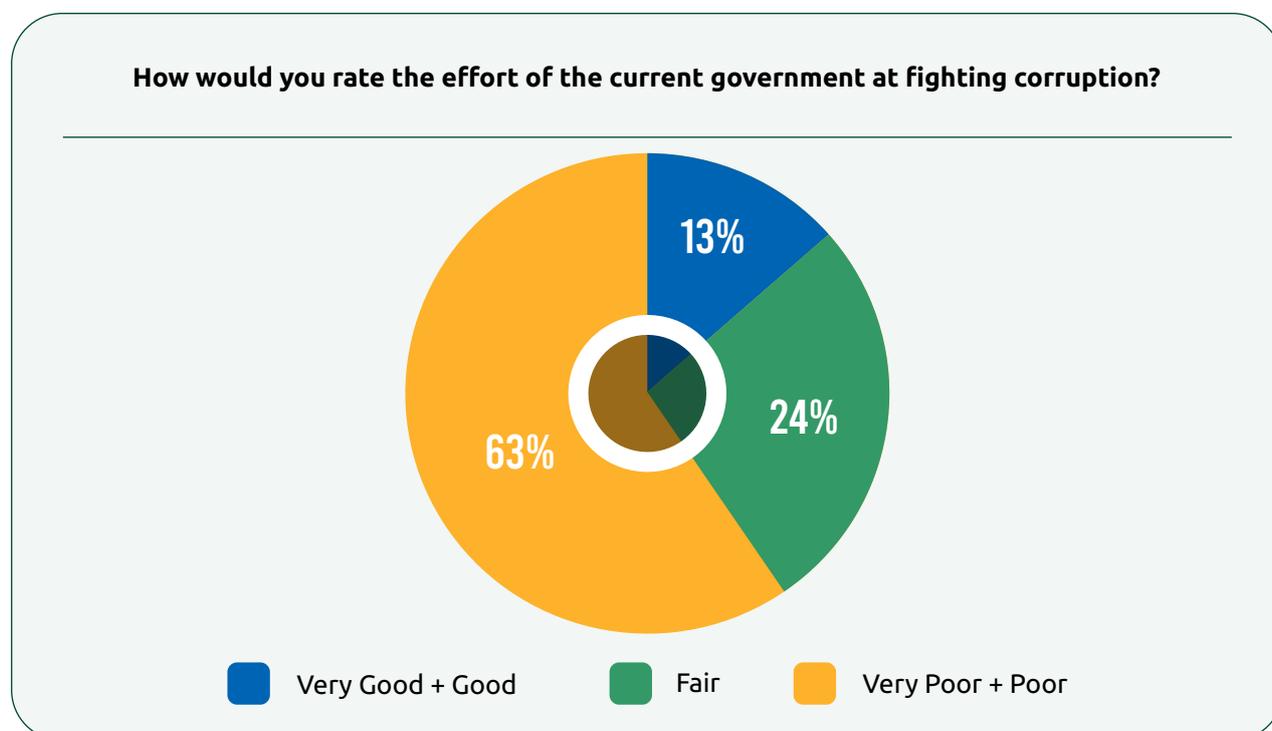


Figure 62: Effort of the government in fighting corruption

However, across the geo-political zones, citizens based in the South-South region (91%) were by far the highest proportion of those who assessed the efforts of government at combating corruption “Poorly”, followed by citizens in the South-East and South-West with 67% each. Conversely, 27% of those from the North-East constituted the majority of those who rated government's efforts as “Good or Very Good”.

#### How would you rate the effort of the current government at fighting corruption? by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Very Good + Good	13%	13%	14%	15%	11%	12%	16%	27%	14%	12%	4%	9%
Fair	24%	25%	23%	25%	24%	16%	22%	35%	32%	21%	5%	24%
Very Poor + Poor	63%	62%	63%	60%	65%	72%	62%	38%	54%	67%	91%	67%

Table 56: Demographic Analysis on effort of the government in fighting corruption by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

### 5.8.3 Perception on Access to Justice Being Free from Corruption

Respondents were asked how often they believe that access to justice in Nigeria is free from corruption. Corroborating the earlier findings, a significant majority of citizens surveyed (81%) believe that access to justice is “Sometimes or Never” free from corruption. Only about 19% of Nigerians believed that access to justice “Always or Often” is free from corruption.

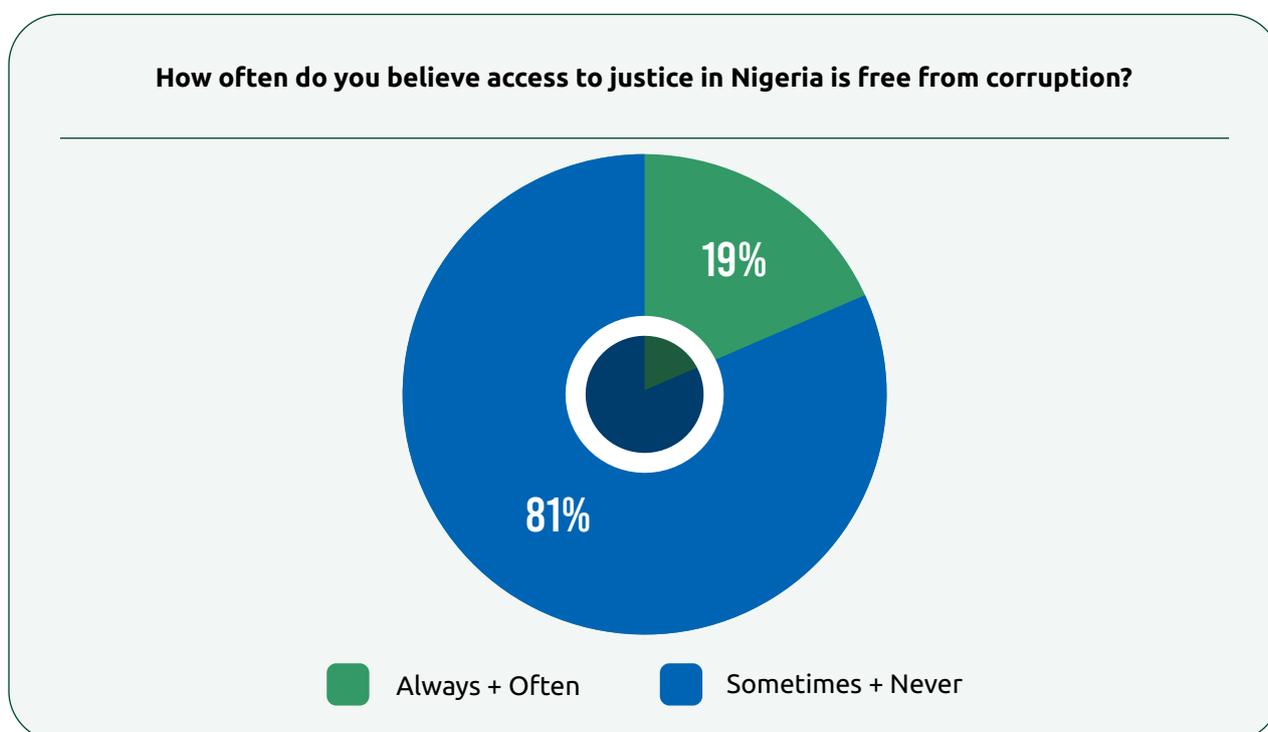


Figure 63: Perception on justice being free from corruption

Among the geo-political zones, more citizens based in Southern Nigeria (South-South–89%, South-East–87% and South-West–77%) constitute the bulk of those who believe that access to justice in Nigeria is never free from corruption.

**How often do you believe access to justice in Nigeria is free from corruption?**  
by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
<b>Always + Often</b>	<b>19%</b>	19%	19%	19%	19%	16%	23%	24%	19%	13%	11%	23%
<b>Sometimes + Never</b>	<b>81%</b>	81%	81%	81%	81%	84%	77%	76%	81%	87%	89%	77%

Table 57: Demographic Analysis on perception of justice being free from corruption by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

## 5.9 Assessment of Self-Worth as a Component of Social Cohesion

This section presents the results of the analysis of citizens perception on the concept of “Self-Worth”, as an indicator for measuring social cohesion in Nigeria. In particular, it focuses on citizens self-worth, given their understanding and perception of the current situation in the country. It also presents results on the consideration for migration within and outside the country.

### 5.9.1 How Nigerians Feel About their Lives

Respondents were asked to describe how they feel about their lives right now. Overall, a larger proportion of citizens surveyed (56%) said they feel “Extremely or Somewhat Dissatisfied” about their lives right now as a Nigerian. On the contrary, 31% said they feel “Extremely or Somewhat Satisfied” with their lives right now, while 13% simply feel indifferent.

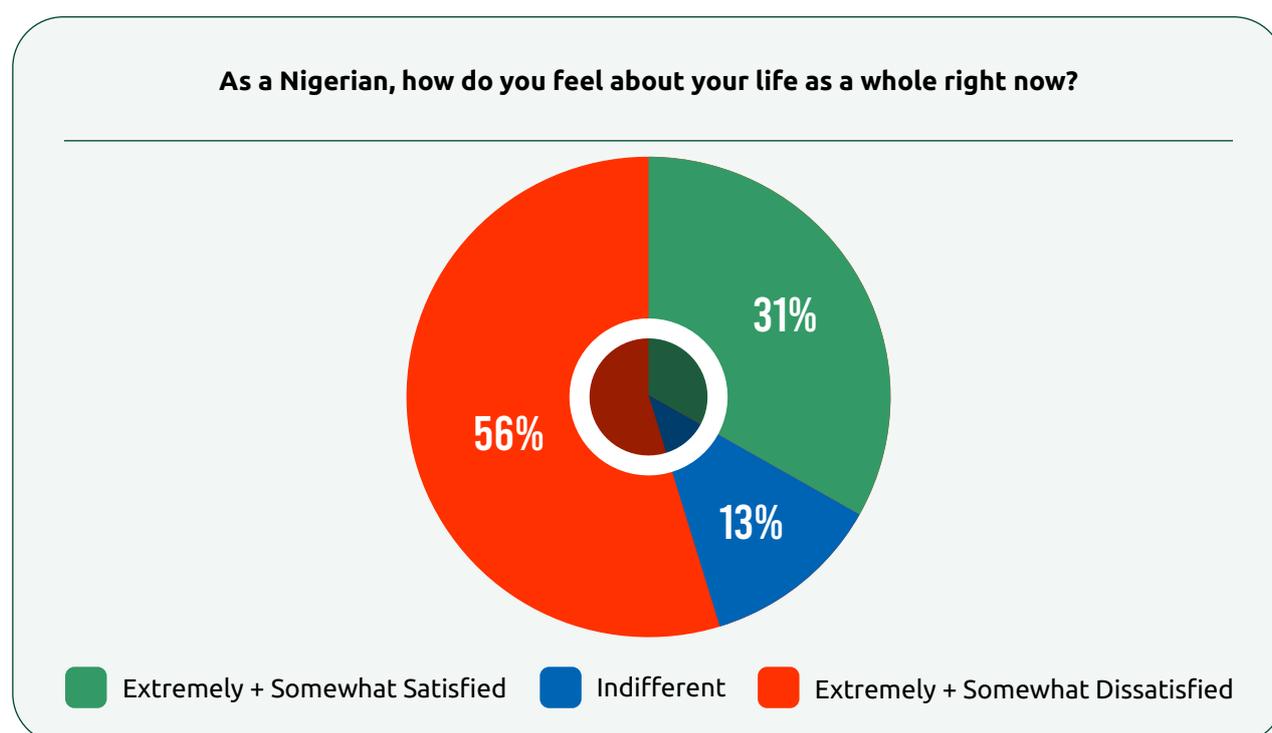


Figure 64: How Nigerians Feel About their Lives right now

Disaggregating the data, the survey results show that more senior citizens aged 61 years and above (68%) feel more dissatisfied about their life right now, compared to other age groups. Life satisfaction is one among a range of concepts that are assumed to reflect the conditions of a good life. A probable reason for the feeling of dissatisfaction by the majority of senior citizens may be due to the limited access to care and social support system for the elderly in the country. As evident in Oluwagbemiga (2016)<sup>161</sup>, social support has a significant effect on the psychosocial well-being of the elderly. The results further revealed that citizens based in the North-Central (67%), South-East (66%), South-South (63%) and South-West (61%) feel the most dissatisfied across geo-political zones. The negative feeling about their life expressed here may not be unconnected to the myriads of challenges facing citizens in the country, ranging from poverty, poor healthcare and insecurity to low quality of life and unemployment, amongst others.

<sup>161</sup> Oluwagbemiga, O. (2016): ‘Effect of Social Support Systems on the Psychosocial Well -Being of the Elderly in Old People s Homes in Ibadan. *Journal of Gerontology & Geriatric Research* , 5(5), 1000343

**As a Nigerian, how do you feel about your life as a whole right now?**  
by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Extremely + Somewhat Satisfied	<b>31%</b>	30%	31%	31%	31%	21%	22%	36%	38%	22%	31%	29%
Indifferent	<b>13%</b>	12%	13%	12%	14%	11%	11%	13%	19%	12%	6%	10%
Extremely + Somewhat Dissatisfied	<b>56%</b>	58%	56%	57%	55%	68%	67%	51%	43%	66%	63%	61%

Table 58: Demographic Analysis on How Nigerians Feel About their Lives by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone



Image source: <https://www.aljazeera.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/AJE-WEBPHOTOS-ABUJA-NIGERIA-15.jpg?resize=1170%2C780>



Image source: <https://researchleap.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/o-CORRUPTION-NIGERIA-facebook.jpg>

### 5.9.2 Opportunity to Relocate to another State in Nigeria

Respondents to the survey were also asked which Nigerian state they would consider relocating to if they had the opportunity. From the results, Lagos (16%), Abuja (13%) and Kano (8%) were identified as the most preferred states they citizens would relocate to. Again, this may not be unconnected to the economic viability and the potentials for employment in these states, as opposed to other Nigerian states. In addition to the top three states, other states mentioned include Rivers (5%), Kaduna (5%), Plateau (3%) and Oyo (3%) states.

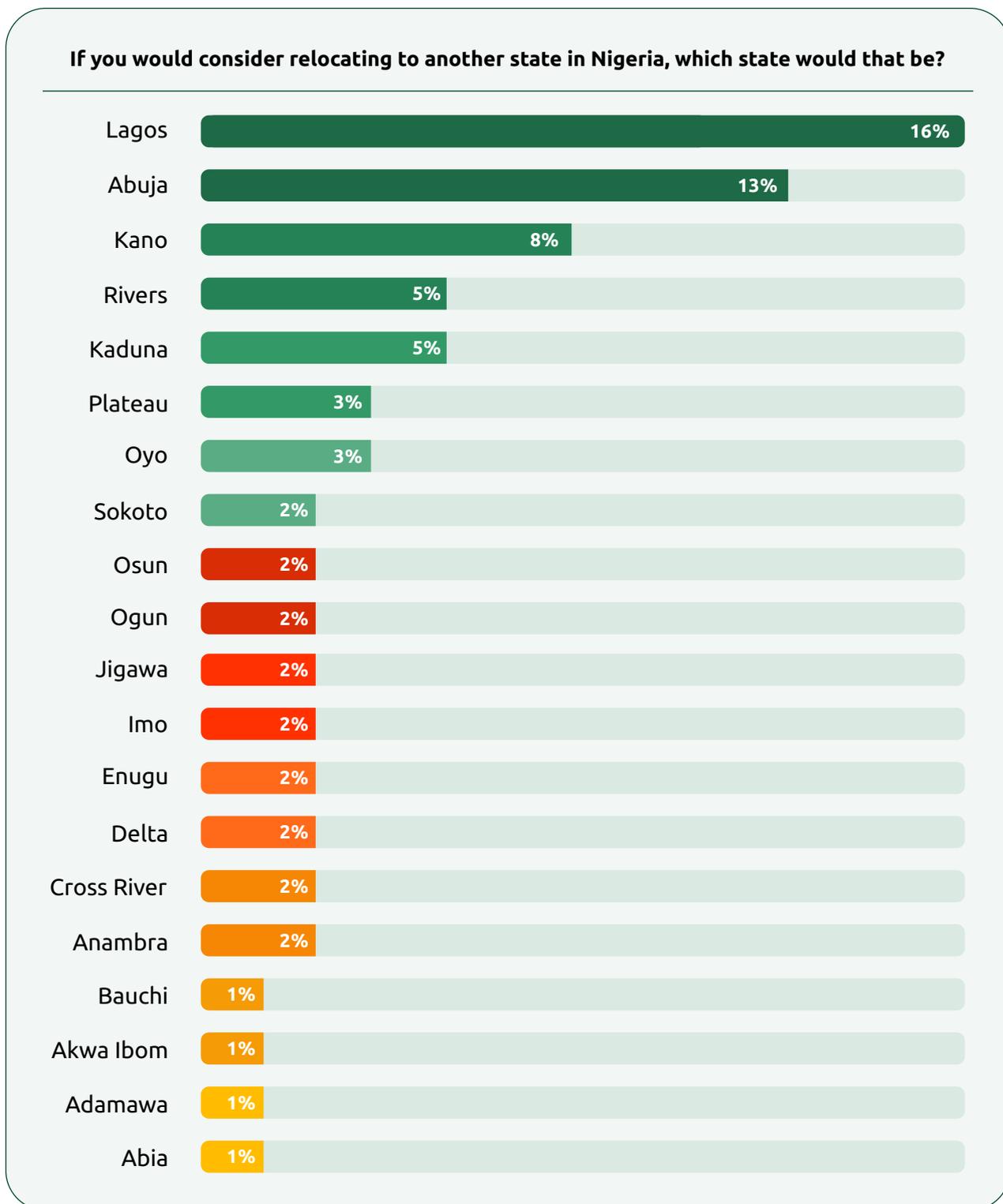


Figure 65: States Nigerians Consider relocating to

### 5.9.3 Opportunity to Relocate Outside of Nigeria

On the subject of emigration, a significant majority, 73% of Nigerians surveyed said they would seize the opportunity to relocate with their family to another country. On the other hand, slightly more than a quarter (27%) said they would not relocate with their family if given the opportunity.

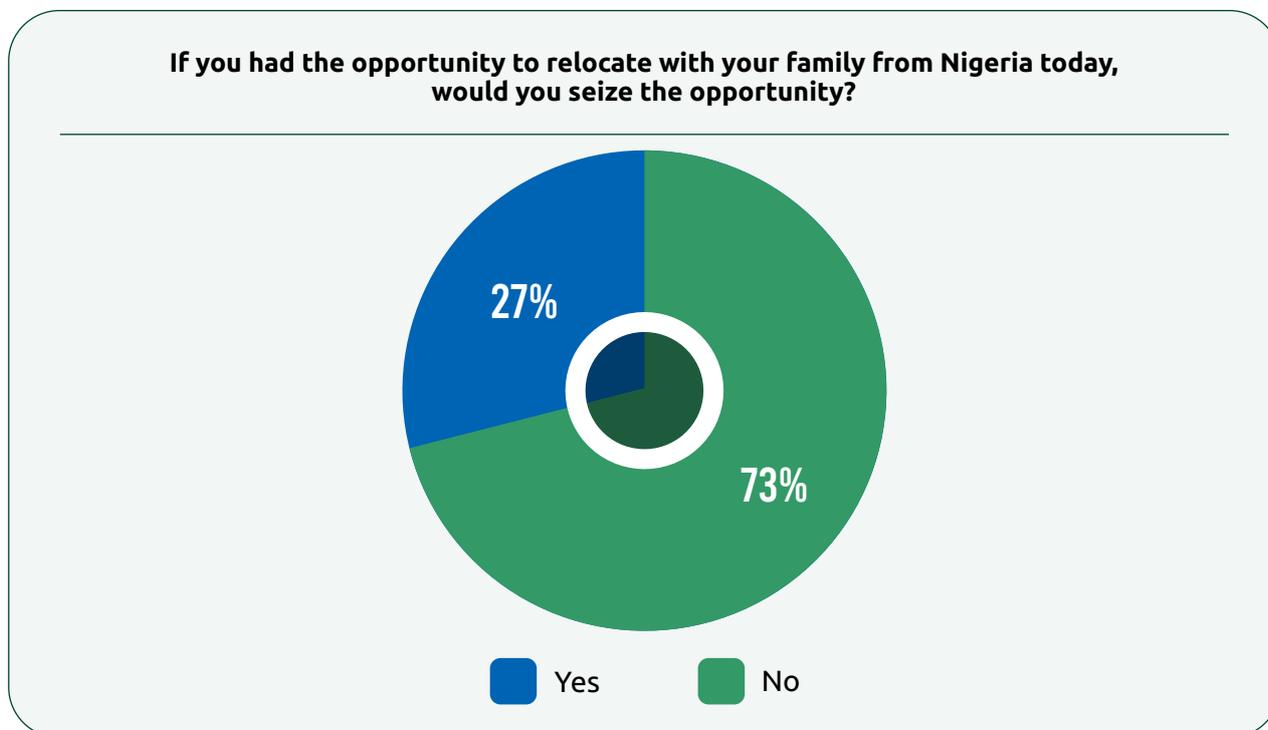


Figure 66: Extent Nigerians are willing to relocate from Nigeria

From further disaggregation of the data, it can be observed that the youth (74%) and adults aged 36-60 years (73%) constitute the majority of citizens keen on relocating out of the country. The table further revealed that on average, more Nigerians based in the South (84.6%) expressed a higher propensity to relocate, compared to citizens in the North (63.3%). In particular, citizens based in the South-South (88%) and South-West (86%) expressed the highest propensity to relocate from Nigeria.

**If you had the opportunity to relocate with your family from Nigeria today, would you seize the opportunity?**

*by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone*

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
Yes	<b>73%</b>	73%	73%	74%	73%	65%	60%	73%	58%	80%	88%	86%
No	<b>27%</b>	27%	27%	26%	27%	35%	40%	27%	42%	20%	12%	14%

Table 59: Demographic Analysis on Extent Nigerians are willing to relocate from the country by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

Furthermore, there were more Christians (79%), than Muslims (64%) and Traditionalists (55%) who said they would seize the opportunity to relocate with their family outside the country. Conversely, there were more Traditionalists (45%) who said they would not be willing to relocate from the country.

**If you had the opportunity to relocate with your family from Nigeria today, would you seize the opportunity?**

*by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level*

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal / Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
Yes	<b>73%</b>	74%	72%	79%	64%	55%	61%	76%
No	<b>27%</b>	26%	28%	21%	36%	45%	39%	24%

Table 60: Demographic Analysis on Extent Nigerians are willing to relocate from the country by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

**5.9.4 Major Reasons to Relocate**

Respondents to the survey were also asked to give the single most important reason for their willingness to relocate. In response, better job opportunities (31%), greener pasture (30%) and better governance (12%) were at the top of the reasons offered. Other reasons identified by respondents include the need to Give my children better life (9%), better security (7%), a suitable business environment (7%) and to learn more (4%). These findings are further reinforced by earlier findings by Africa Polling Institute (API) 2020, that identified the top 5 reasons influencing Nigerians relocating out of the country include: search for better career opportunities (75%), heightened insecurity and violence (60%), better future for children (55%), further education (40%), and the perception for poor governance in Nigeria (35%).

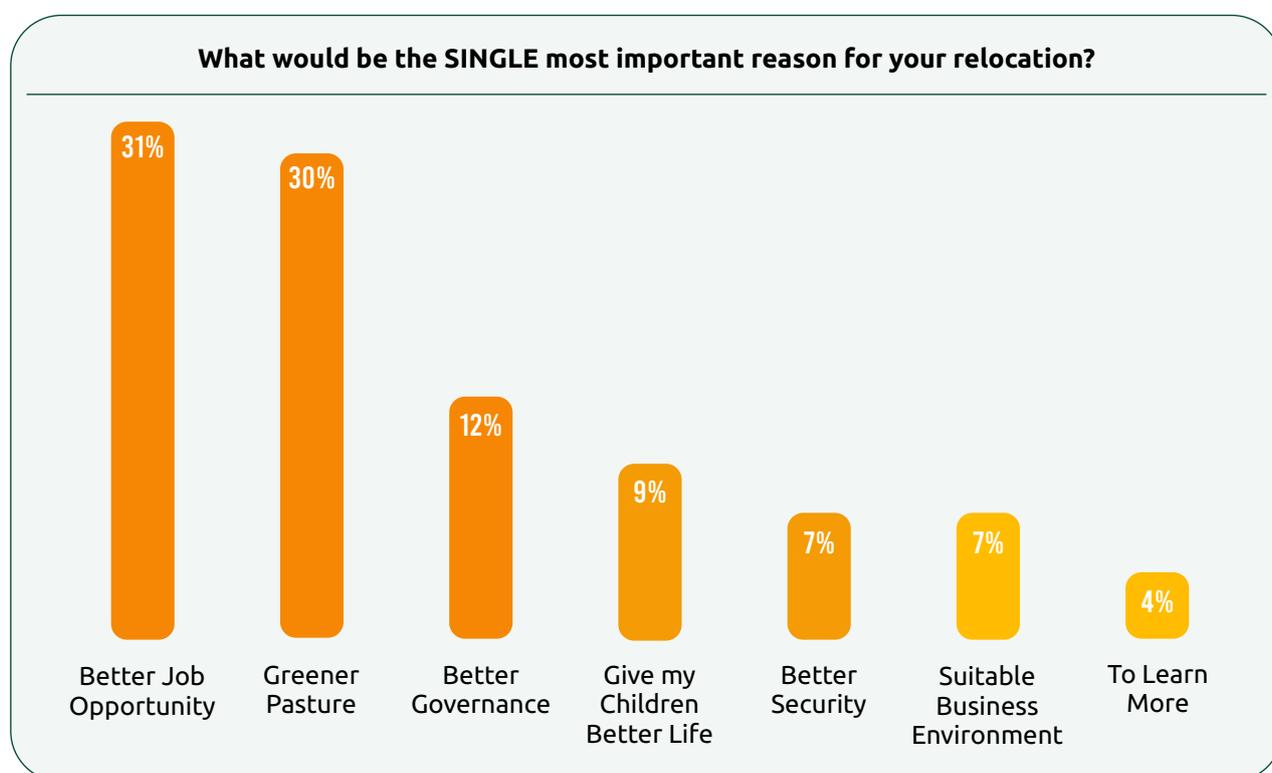


Figure 67: Reasons why Nigerians want to relocate

### 5.9.5 Countries Considered for Relocation

As a follow up to the preceding question, respondents were also asked to identify the most preferred destination for relocation. In response, the United States of America (27%), the United Kingdom (14%) and Canada (13%) came on top of the list of preferred destinations. Other destinations include Dubai (8%), Saudi Arabia (7%), China (3%) and Germany (3%) amongst others.

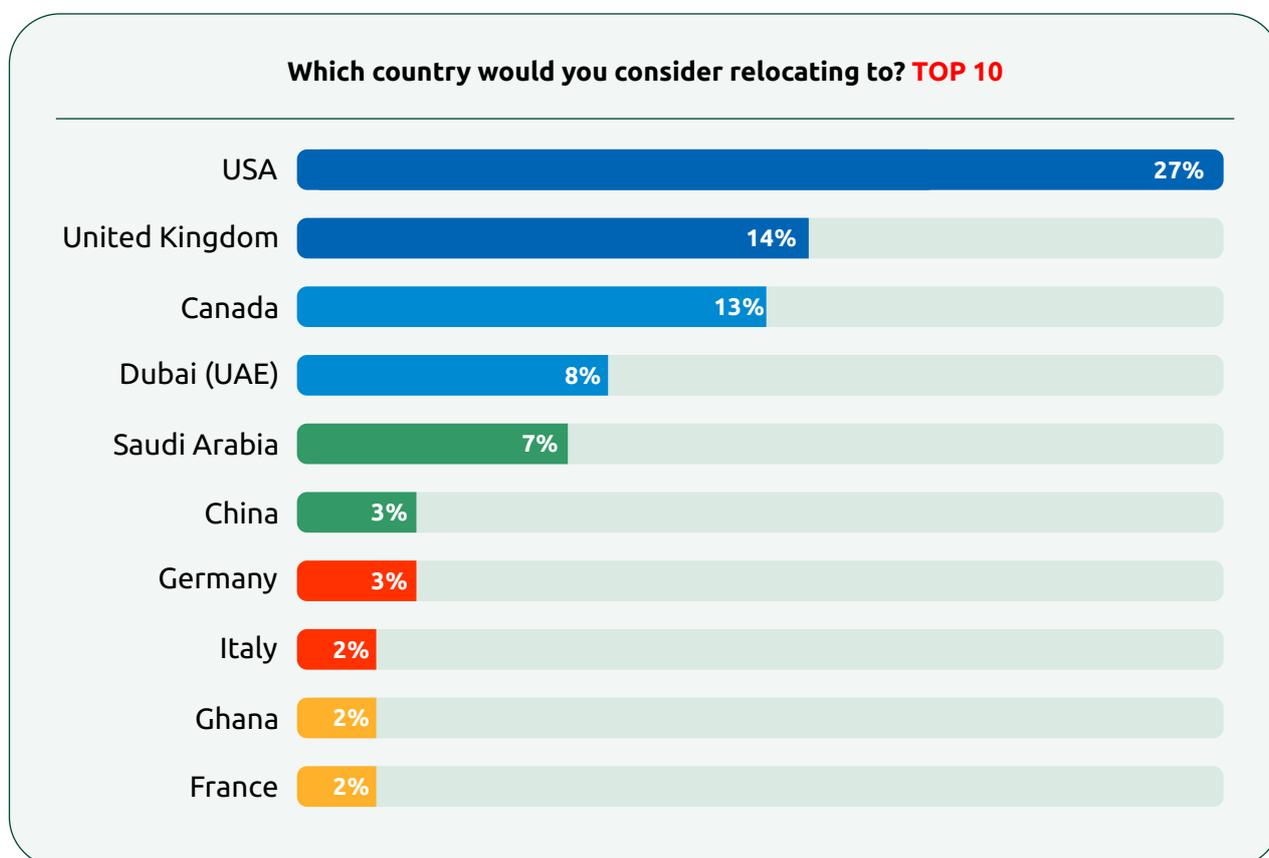


Figure 68: Major Countries Nigerians consider relocating to

## 5.10 Assessment of Future Expectation as a Component of Social Cohesion

In this section, the survey explores the concept of “Future Expectation” as a major indicator of Social Cohesion in Nigeria. It reports citizens hopes, aspirations and expectations regarding the future of the country.

### 5.10.1 Future Expectations for Nigeria

Citizens were asked to choose which statement best expresses their feelings regarding the future of the country. Overall, almost 6 in 10 (59%) citizens surveyed believe that the future of the country would be much better than it is presently. On the other hand, 27% expressed pessimism that the future would be much worse; while 8% simply do not foresee any change in the future from the status quo.

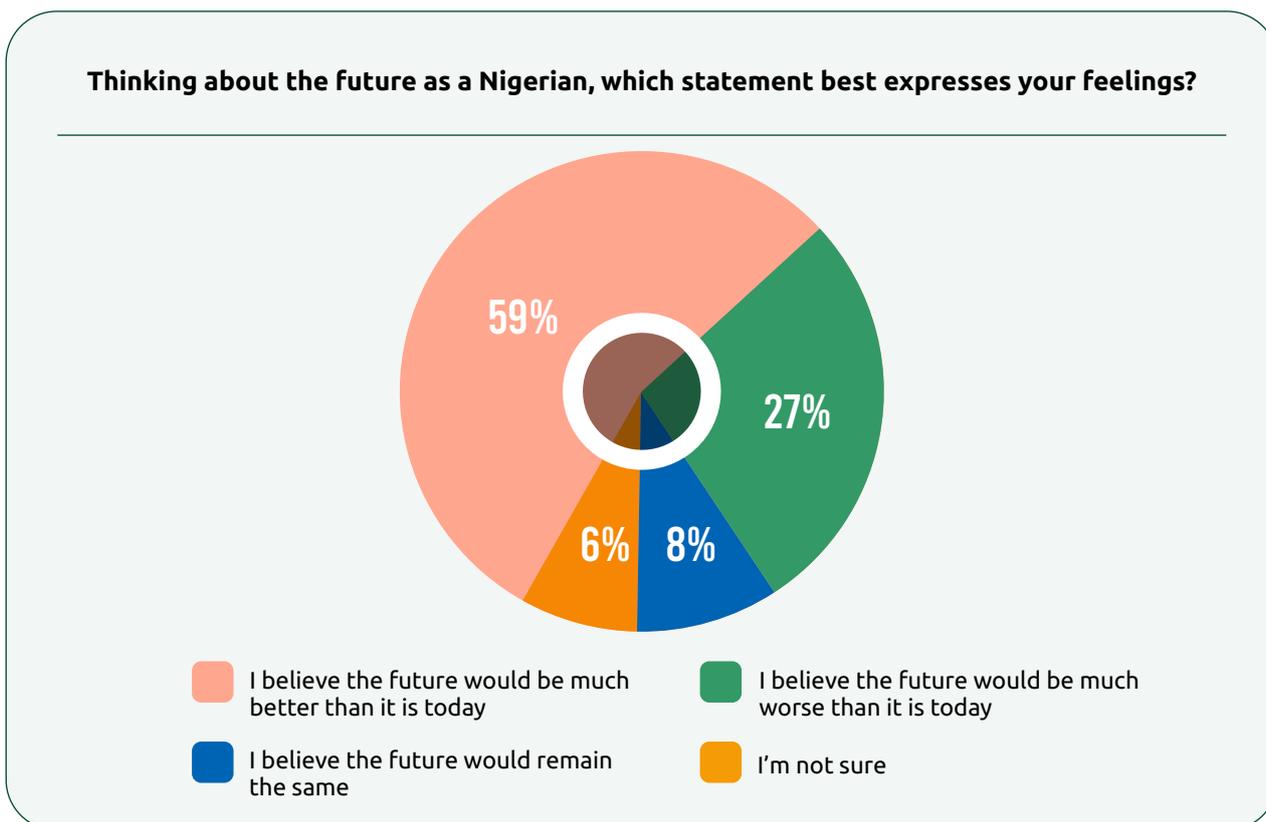


Figure 69: Nigerians Perception on Future Expectations for Nigeria

Meanwhile, responses from the geo-political zones indicated that most of the respondents from South-West (66%), North-West (64%) and North-Central (64%) believed that the future of Nigeria would be much better than it is presently. However, more respondents from South-East (46%) and South-South (30%) believe that the future of Nigeria would be much worse than it is today. Consistently, data from this survey has shown that citizens from the South-East and South-South regions do not feel as optimistic about the future of the country, compared to citizens from other regions. There's a need to look into the grievances and agitations of citizens from these regions.

### Thinking about the future as a Nigerian, which statement best expresses your feelings? by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

	Nigeria	Gender		Age Category			Geo-Political Zone					
		Male	Female	18-35 years	36-60 years	61 and above	North Central	North East	North West	South East	South South	South West
I believe the future would be much better than it is today	59%	60%	59%	59%	59%	60%	64%	58%	64%	37%	57%	66%
I believe the future would be much worse than it is today	27%	28%	27%	27%	27%	31%	23%	31%	22%	46%	30%	22%
I believe the future would remain the same	8%	7%	8%	8%	8%	4%	9%	5%	9%	11%	7%	5%
I'm not sure	6%	5%	6%	6%	6%	5%	4%	6%	5%	6%	6%	7%

Table 61: Demographic Analysis on Nigerians perception on Future Expectations for Nigeria by National Average, Gender, Age-Group & Geo-Political Zone

Further disaggregation showed that slightly more Muslims (67%) expressed more optimism about the future of Nigeria, than Christian (54%) and Traditionalists (50%). Also, the opinion about the future of Nigeria being much better than it is today cuts across urbanization and literacy levels.

**Thinking about the future as a Nigerian, which statement best expresses your feelings?**  
by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level

	Nigeria	Urbanization		Religion			Education Attainment	
		Urban	Rural	Christian	Muslim	Traditional	No formal / Informal / Primary Education	Secondary Education & Above
I believe the future would be much better than it is today	59%	60%	59%	54%	67%	50%	60%	59%
I believe the future would be much worse than it is today	27%	27%	28%	32%	21%	46%	30%	27%
I believe the future would remain the same	8%	7%	8%	8%	7%	4%	6%	8%
I'm not sure	6%	6%	5%	6%	5%	0%	4%	6%

Table 62: Demographic Analysis on Nigerians perception on Future Expectations for Nigeria by National Average, Urbanization, Religion & Educational Level



Image source: dsto



06

## Social Cohesion Trends

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*This section presents a comparative trend analysis on some key questions that were asked in both the 2019 and 2021 rounds of the Nigeria Social Cohesion Survey.*

## 6.0 Social Cohesion Trends – Comparing Findings from 2019 vs 2021 Survey Rounds

This section presents a comparative trend analysis on some key questions that were asked in both the 2019 and 2021 rounds of the Nigeria Social Cohesion Survey. The survey data for both years is present side-by-side to enable an easy comparison of the results and findings.

### 6.1 How Nigerians feel about the nation

In response to how Nigerians feel about the nation, the 2019 and 2021 rounds of surveys show a marked difference. There has been a decline in the proportion of Nigerians who say they are truly proud of the nation. As seen in the chart below, in 2019, 55% of citizens said felt truly proud of Nigeria; however, by 2021 this proportion has declined to 42%, representing a 13% decline. Similarly, the proportion of Nigerians who say they feel truly disappointed in the country has increased – from 30% in 2019 to 49% in 2021, representing a 19% increase. This trend is worrisome and needs to be further probed.

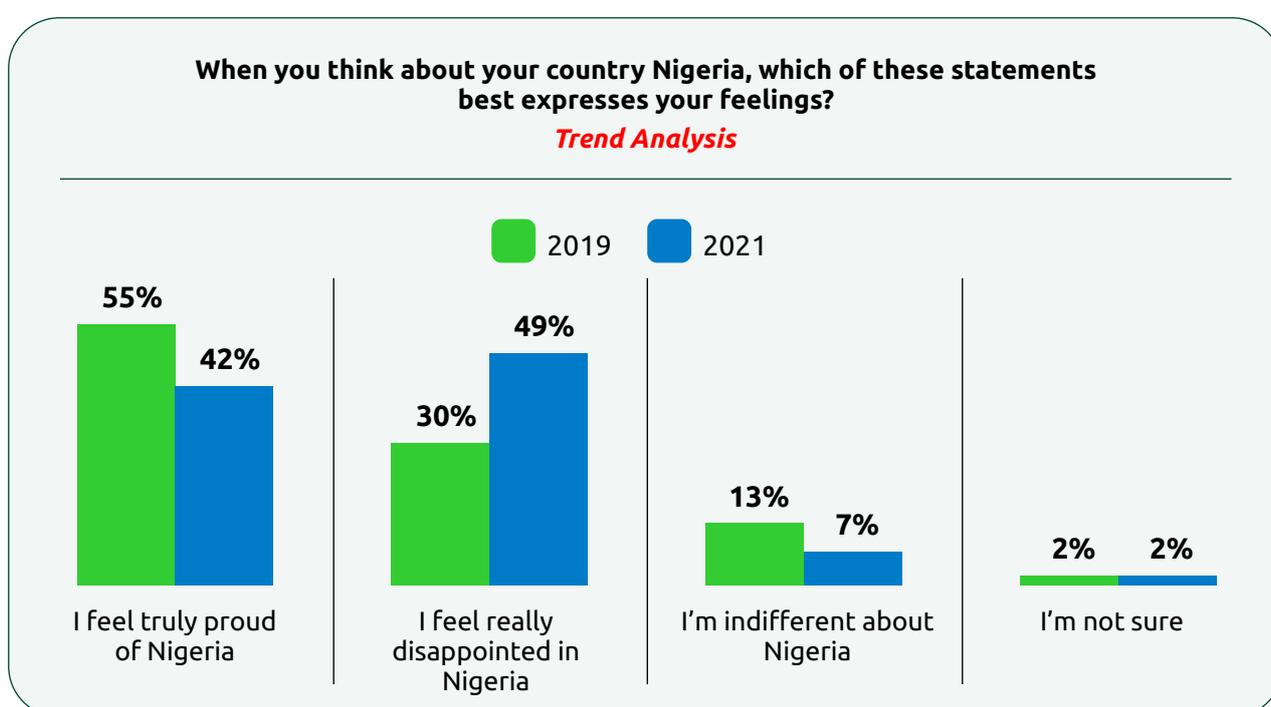


Figure 70: Trend Analysis on How Nigerians Feel about the Nation

### 6.2 Identifying as Nigerian versus Member of an ethnic group

Furthermore, on the issues of how Nigerians view themselves, whether, from the nationalistic lens or an ethnic lens, there's evidence to suggest that more Nigerians are leaning towards ethnicity than nationalism. First, we observed a significant decline in citizens who see themselves as equally Nigerian and from their ethnic group. In 2019 57% of citizens said they view themselves as equally Nigerian and ethnic; however, in 2021 only 40% see themselves that way, representing a 17% decline. Similarly, while about a quarter of citizens (25%) viewed themselves as more ethnic than Nigerian in 2019, that group of citizens have moved to a third of citizens (33%) in 2021, representing an 8% increase. Also, there's been a slight increase (3%) in citizens who see themselves from only an ethnic lens – 10% in 2019 versus 13% in 2021. On the flip side, the category of citizens who see themselves as more Nigerian than ethnic – 5% in 2019 and 9% in 2021 – and those who see themselves as only Nigerian – 3% in 2019 and 5% in 2021 – witnessed slight increases.



Image source: <https://talksport.com/football/384668/nigeria-fans-chickens-world-cup-croatia/#>

**If you had to choose between being Nigerian and being from your ethnic group, which of the following best expresses your feelings?**

*Trend Analysis*

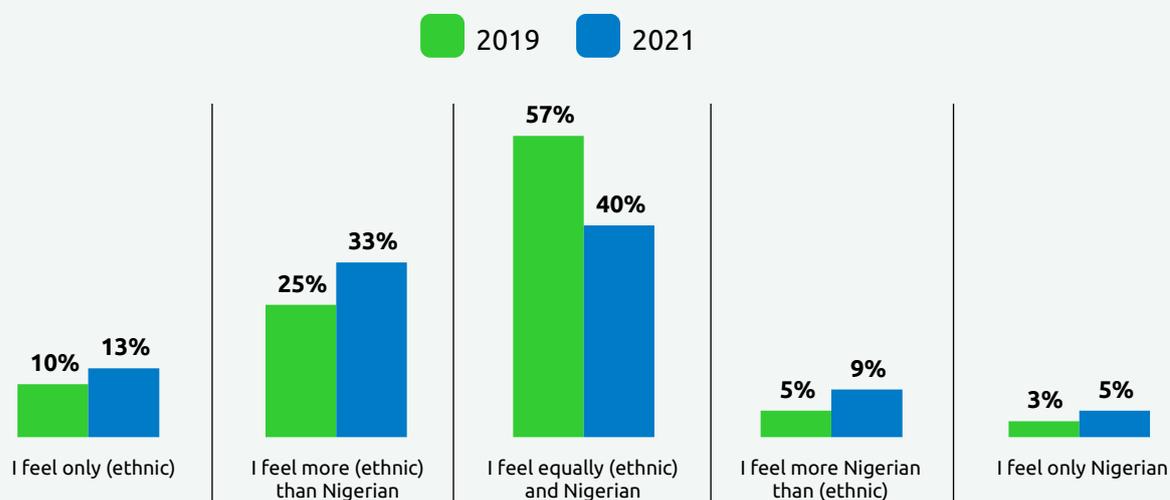


Figure 71: Trend Analysis on choices between being from a Particular Ethnic Group

### 6.3 What makes Nigerians proud of being Nigerian

There were more citizens in 2021 (29%) than in 2019 (24%) who indicated that Nigeria's blessing with natural resources is one factor that makes them proud of being Nigerian. Similarly, there were more citizens in 2021 (22%) compared with 2019 (16%) who identified the “peace-loving, hardworking and talented” nature of Nigerians as one factor that made them proud of being in Nigeria. However, the comparison reveals that there were more citizens in 2019 (30%) who identified with Nigeria's art and cultural heritage, compared to 2021 (17%).

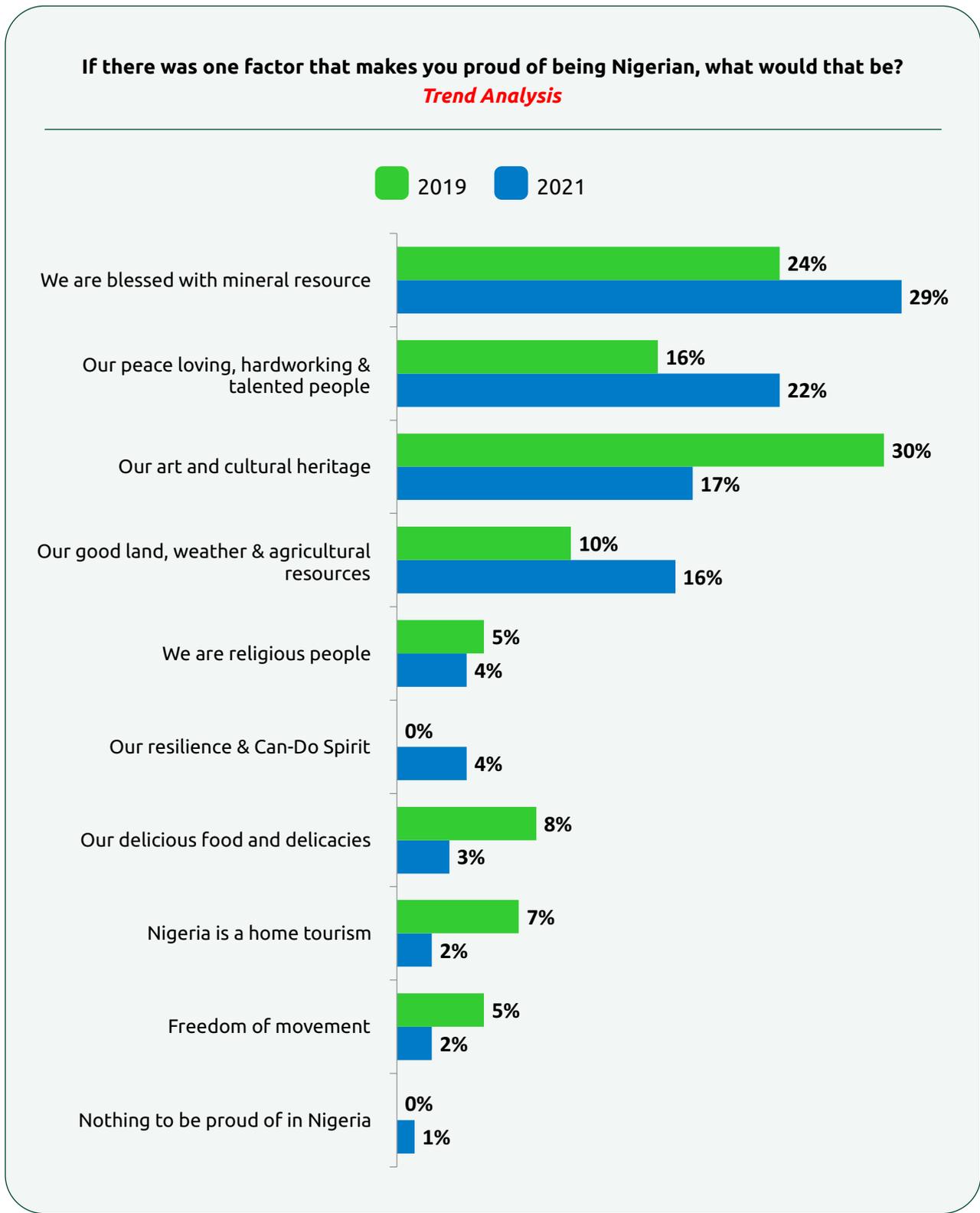


Figure 72: Trend Analysis on what makes Nigerians most proud of in being Nigerian

### 6.4 How United is Nigeria

Looking at how united or divide the country is today compared to four years ago, the data revealed sharp differences. First, significantly more citizens (65%) in 2021, compared to 45% in 2019, believe that the country is much more divided today than it was 4 years ago. This represents a significant 20% increase in the proportion of Nigerians who say the country is much more divide today. Similarly, there was a 14% decline in the proportion of Nigerians who think the country is much more united today, as shown by the 2021 data (12%), as against the 2019 data (26%). This trend is significant and one that needs to be further investigated by the government.

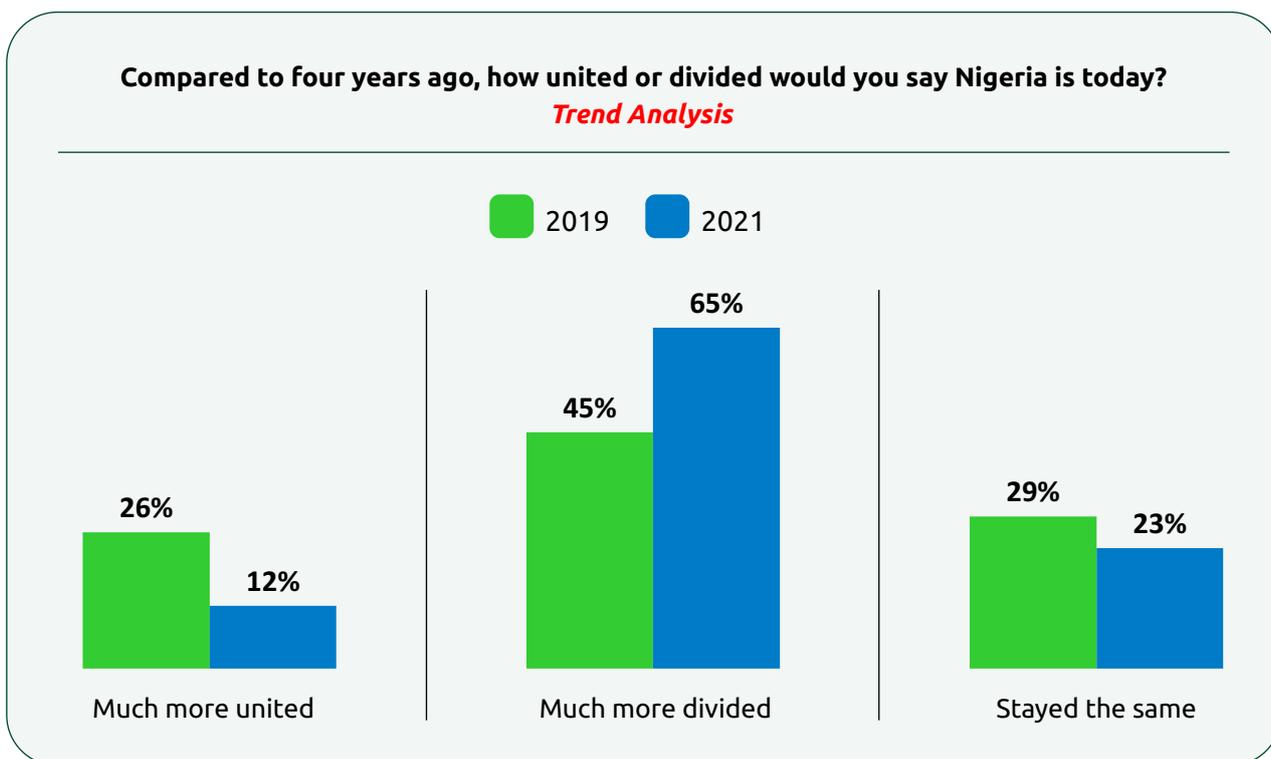


Figure 73: Trend Analysis on the extent of unity or division among Nigerians

### 6.5 Trust in Government versus Citizens

The comparative data reveals growing trust deficit, as there appears to be a substantial decline in the level of trust that citizens currently have for the Government of President Muhammadu Buhari, compare to the 2019 survey. The difference of 42% in 2019 versus 26% in 2021 reveals a sharp 16% decline in citizens who say they have “A lot of Trust and Some Trust” in the Government of President Buhari.

Like the trust levels for the current administration, citizens level of trust for the National Assembly (NASS) also declined by 11%. From the data, citizens trust for NASS declined from 33% in 2019 to 22% in 2021. In the same vein, citizens trust for the Judiciary declined by 6% from 32% in 2019 to 26% in 2021.

The data reveals a general decline of trust levels in the society, as citizens trust for other ethnic groups apart from theirs declined by 8% and trust for other religious affiliations also declined by 9%.

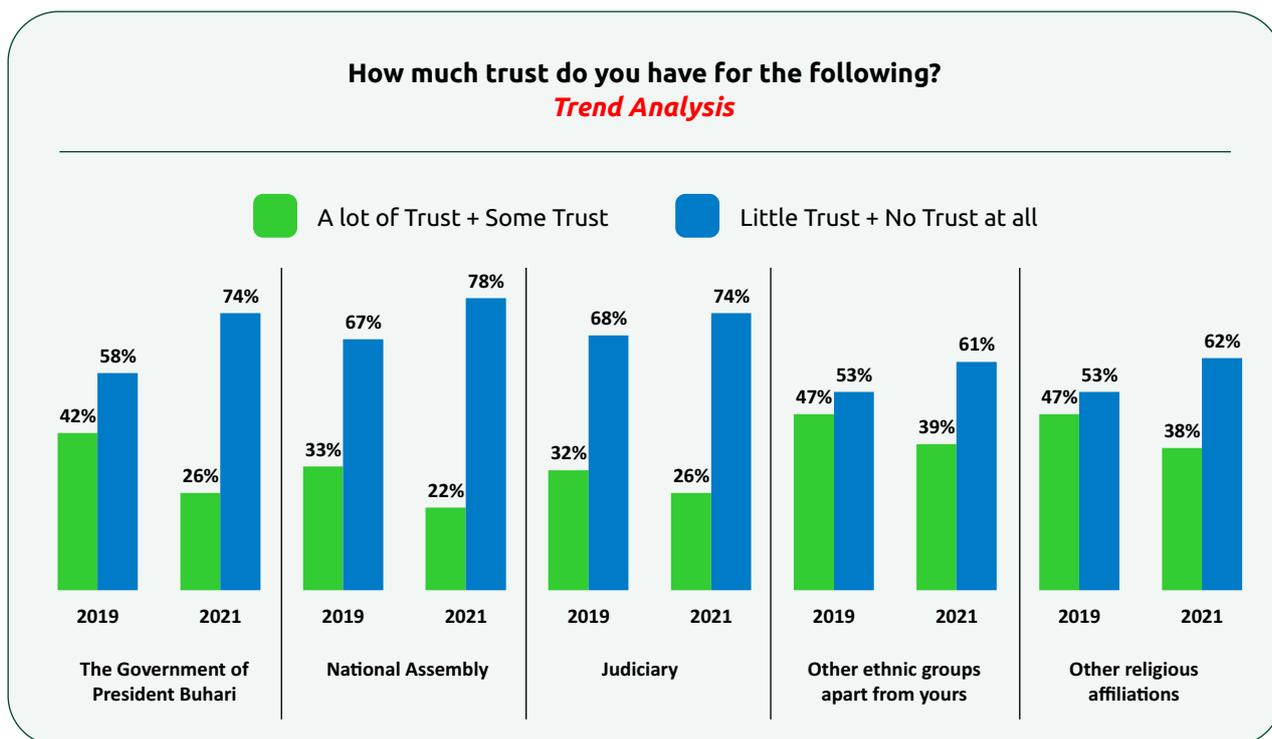


Figure 74: Trend Analysis on the extent of Trust in Government and Institutions in Nigeria

## 6.6 Citizens Perceptions regarding Laws of the Country

Interestingly, on the question of the statement that best express citizens' feelings concerning the laws of Nigeria, the difference was insignificant between the two rounds of surveys. The proportion of citizens who believe that “There are persons above the law in Nigeria” was 70% in 2019 and 71% in 2021. There was only a marginal increase amongst those who believe “The laws protect everyone equally in Nigeria” – 20% in 2019 versus 23% in 2021.

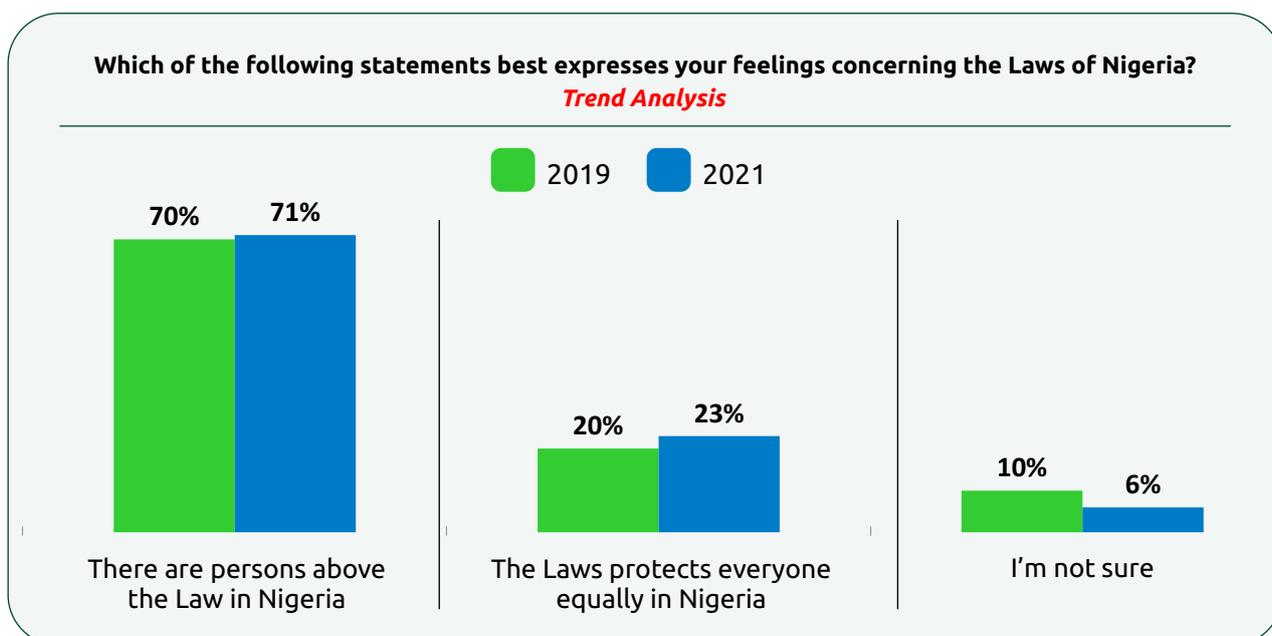


Figure 75: Trend Analysis on Feelings of Nigerians concerning the Laws of Nigeria

### 6.7 Citizens Perceptions regarding Fairness towards Ethnic Groups

Regarding the question of whether citizens believe that their ethnic groups are being treated unfairly by the government, the trends suggest minimal differences. There was a slight increase (2%) amongst those who believe their ethnic group is “Often or always” treated unfairly – 30% in 2021, as against 28% in 2019.

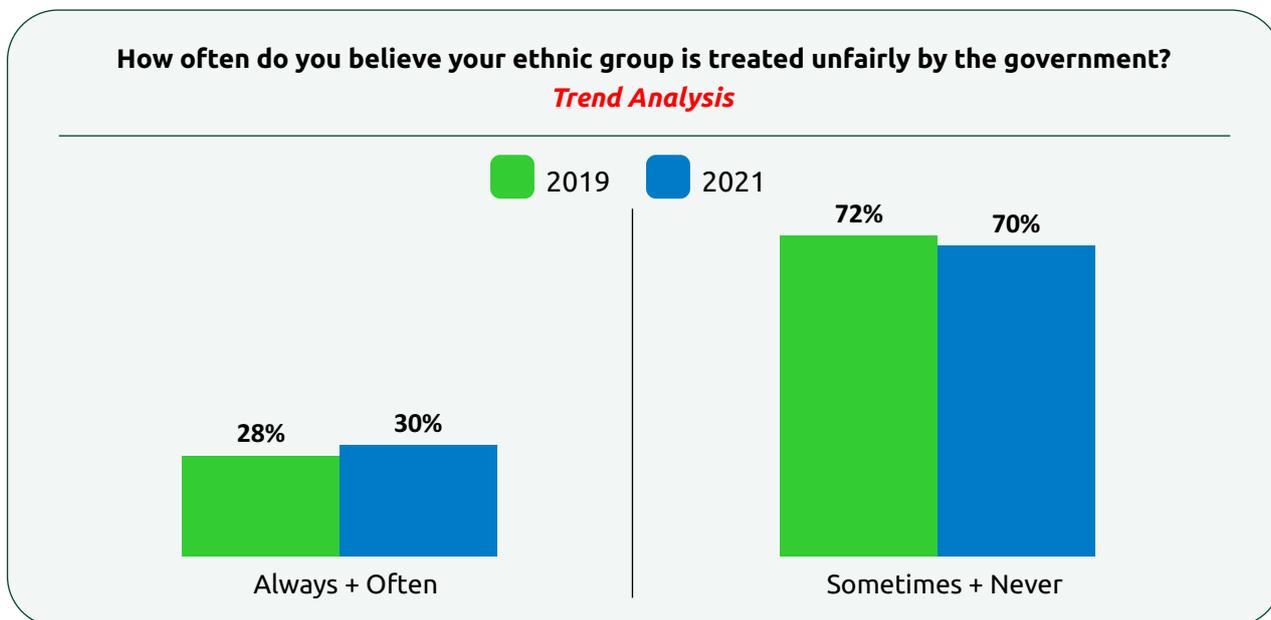


Figure 76: Trend Analysis on Perception on Fairness towards Ethnic Groups by the Government

### 6.8 Citizens Perceptions regarding Fairness towards Religion

On the question of whether citizens believe that their religion is being treated unfairly by the government, the trends suggest significant differences; as comparative data reports a significant increase of 13% amongst citizens who currently believe that their religion is being treated unfairly – 32% in 2021, compared to 19% in 2019.

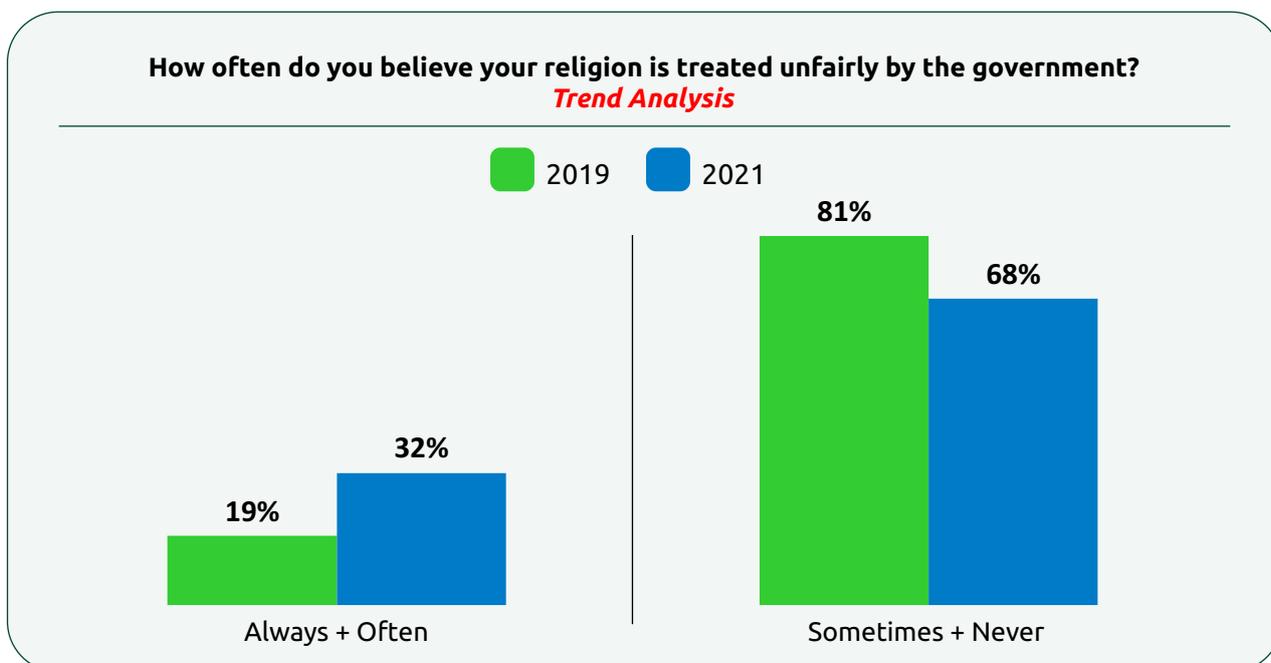


Figure 77: Trend Analysis on Perception on Fairness towards Religions by the Government

### 6.9 Citizens Perceptions regarding Efforts of Government towards Promoting Inclusion

There was a slight improvement in citizens perception that the government was making some efforts at promoting a sense of inclusion for all ethnic groups in the country. As the data shows, 15% of citizens surveys affirmed that the government is doing a “Good or Very Good” job at promoting inclusion, compared to 10% of citizens who also assessed the government's efforts positively in 2019. Conversely, there's been a 7% decline in the proportion of those who rated the government's efforts “Poorly” in 2019 (65%), compared to 58% in 2021.

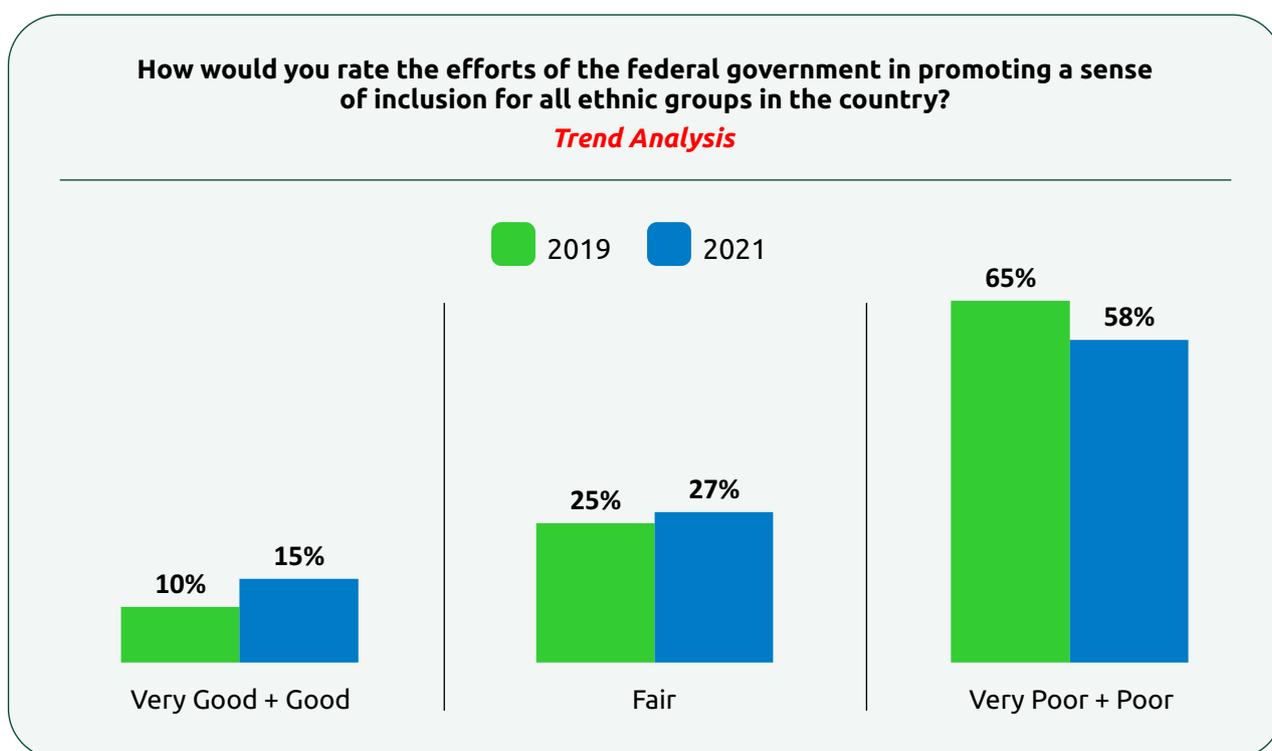


Figure 78: Trend Analysis on Effort of the Federal Government in Promoting a Sense of Inclusion

### 6.10 Willingness to Cooperate with Citizens from other Ethnic Groups

On whether or not citizens would be willing to cooperate with people from other ethnic groups to work for a more united Nigerian, the data showed some marked differences. First, we observed a 10% decline in the proportion of those “Extremely or Somewhat Willing” to cooperate with other ethnic groups – 73% in 2019 versus 63% in 2021. On the other hand, there was a 9% increase in those least willing to cooperate with people from other ethnic groups – 12% in 2019, as against 21% in 2021.

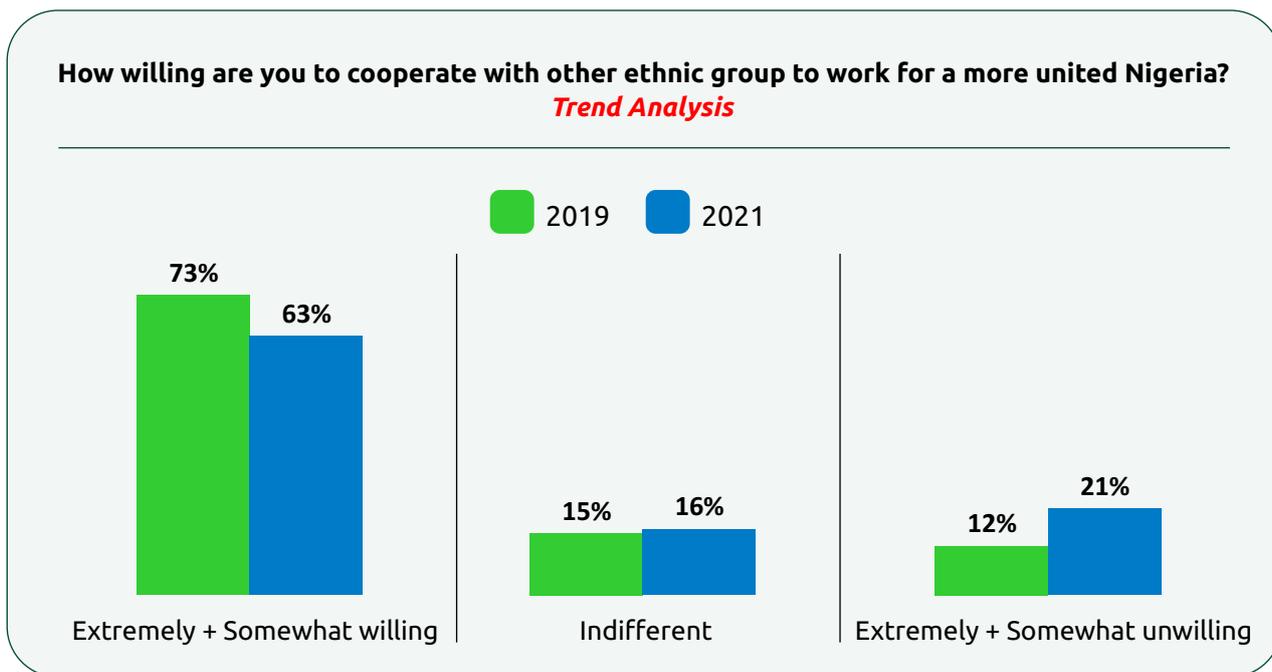


Figure 79: Trend Analysis on the Willingness of Nigerians to Cooperate with Fellow Citizens

### 6.11 Willingness to Participate in Political Process

The 2021 survey data shows that the proportion of citizens who are “Extremely or Somewhat Willing” to participate in the political process to make Nigeria a better place for all fell by 8% - 2019 (70%) versus 2021 (62%). On the other hand, those who are “Extremely or Somewhat Unwilling” to participate in the political process increased by 9% - 2019 (15%) versus 2021 (24%). This gradual decline in the willingness of citizens to participate in the political process to make the country better further highlights the state of social cohesion in the country.

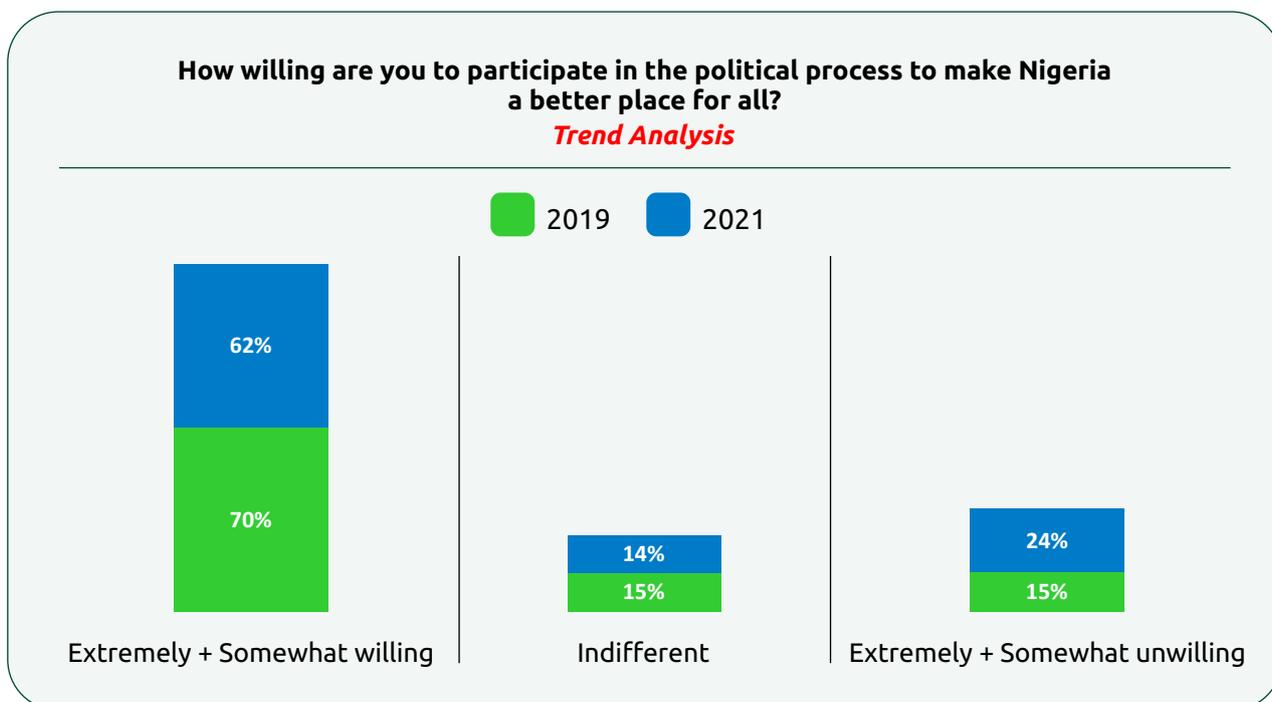


Figure 80: Trend Analysis on the Willingness of Nigerians to Participate in Political Processes

### 6.12 Willingness to Join the Military

The willingness of Nigerians who said they will join the military to defend the Nigerian state if called upon decreased from 48% in 2019 to 37% in 2021. On the contrary, Nigerians who said they will not join the military to defend the Nigerian State, increased from 34% in 2019 to 48% in 2021.

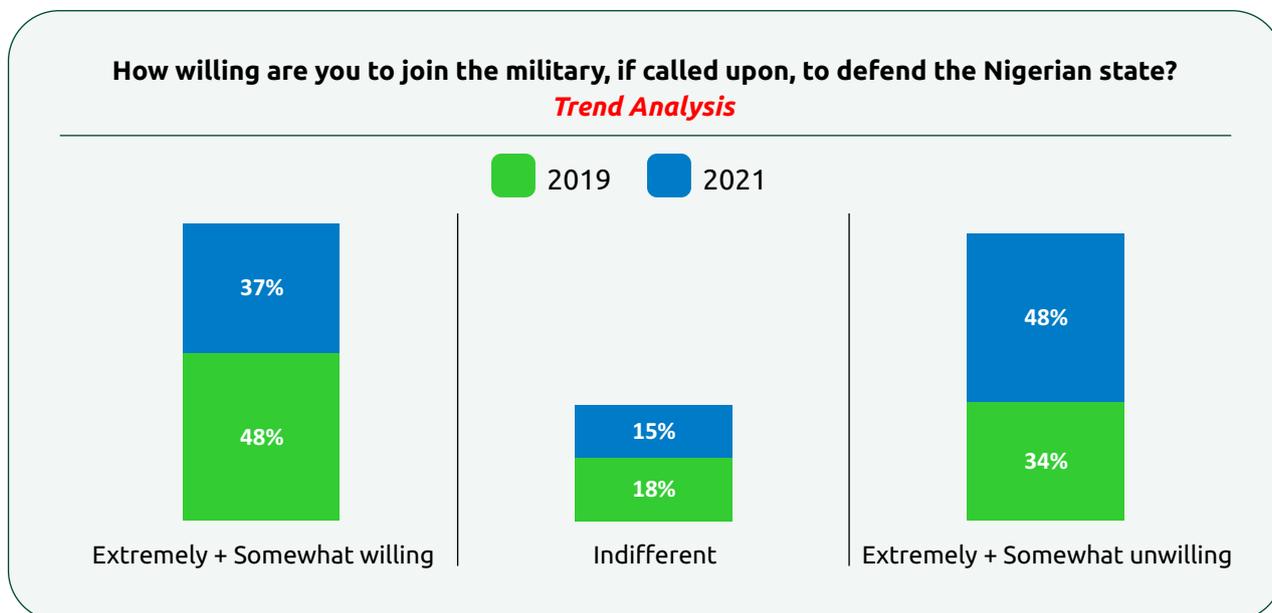


Figure 81: Trend Analysis on Willingness of Nigerians to join the Military

### 6.13 Support for Inter-Ethnic & Inter-Religious Marriages

The support for the marriage of two people from different ethnic groups remains high although with a significant positive difference in the data. Comparative analysis shows that citizens who show support for inter-ethnic marriages increased by 14% - from 72% in 2019 to 86% in 2021. Similarly, citizens who expressed support for inter-religious marriages increased by 8% - from 46% in 2019 to 54% in 2021.

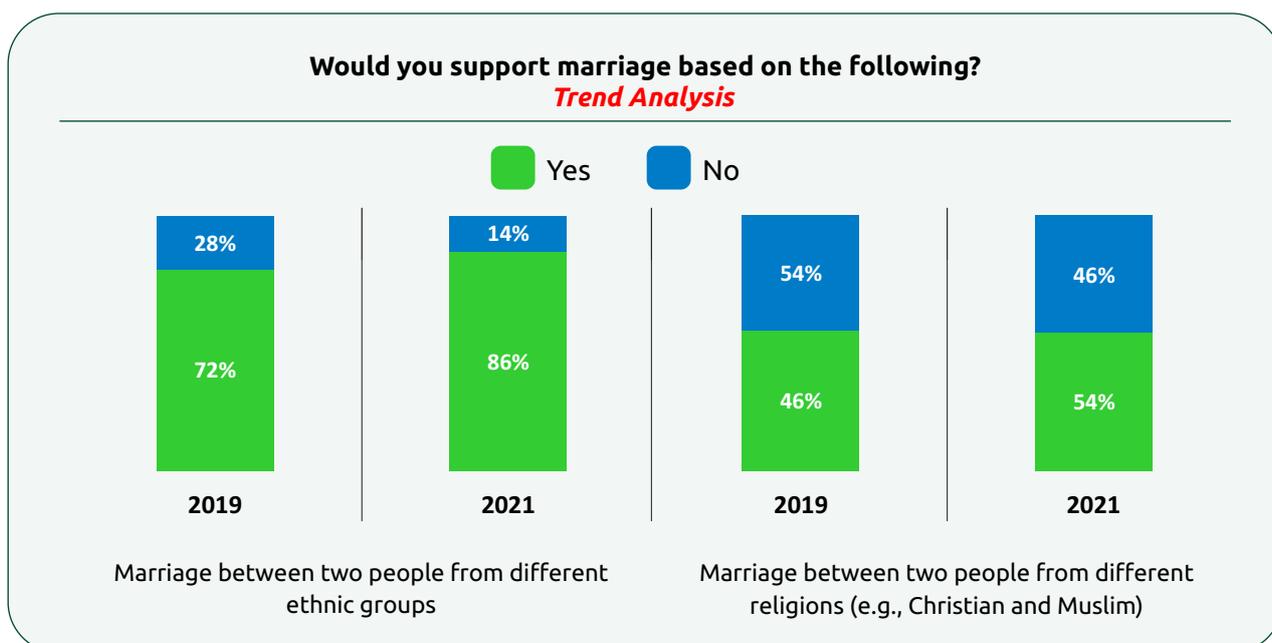


Figure 82: Trend Analysis on the Willingness of Nigerians for inter-ethnic and inter-religious marriages

### 6.14 How Nigerians Feel about their Lives Right Now

Comparative data on how Nigerians feel about their lives right now reveals that there's been an increase in the proportion of Nigerians who feel “Extremely or Somewhat Dissatisfied” with their lives presently. In particular, the data shows that in 2019 citizens who said they felt dissatisfied with the country were about 45%; however, in 2021, citizens who currently feel dissatisfied with the country has increased to 56%; representing an 11% increase. On the contrary, citizens who presently feel satisfied with their lives declined by 9% - from 40% in 2019 to 31% in 2021.

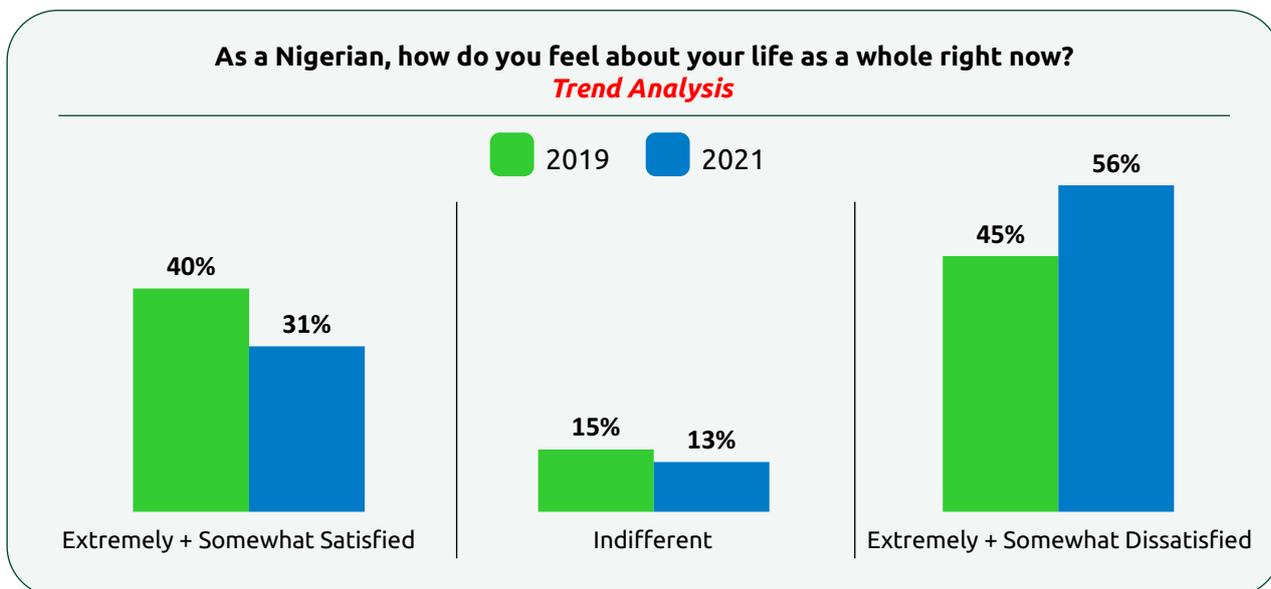


Figure 83: Trend Analysis on How Nigerians Feel About their Lives

### 6.15 Citizens Perception regarding Emigration

With regards to emigration, there is a significant increase in the proportion of citizens who would take advantage of any opportunity to relocate with their families outside Nigeria. From the data, there's been a whopping 41% increase in the proportion of citizens who would seize an opportunity to emigrate. In 2019, only about a third of citizens (32%) said they will be willing to relocate with their families out of Nigeria; but by 2021, this proportion of citizens have grown dramatically to 73%.

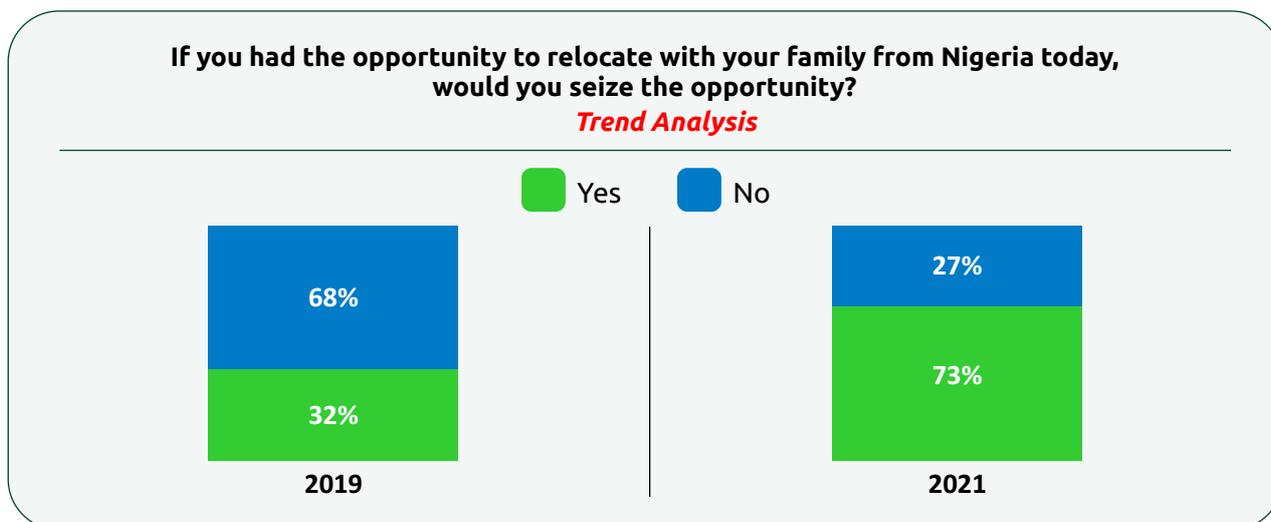


Figure 84: Trend Analysis on Nigerians willingness to relocate from Nigeria

### 6.16 Reasons for Emigration

The preponderant reasons were given by citizens for their propensity to emigrate remained mainly “Better Job Opportunity,” and “Greener Pasture” across the two survey rounds. Although the percentage rose for each of those categories in 2021 by 7% and 4% respectively. This underscores the importance of a strong and prosperous economy to the promotion of social cohesion. There's a need for deliberate economic policies targeting job creation and social opportunities for citizens to promote social cohesion.

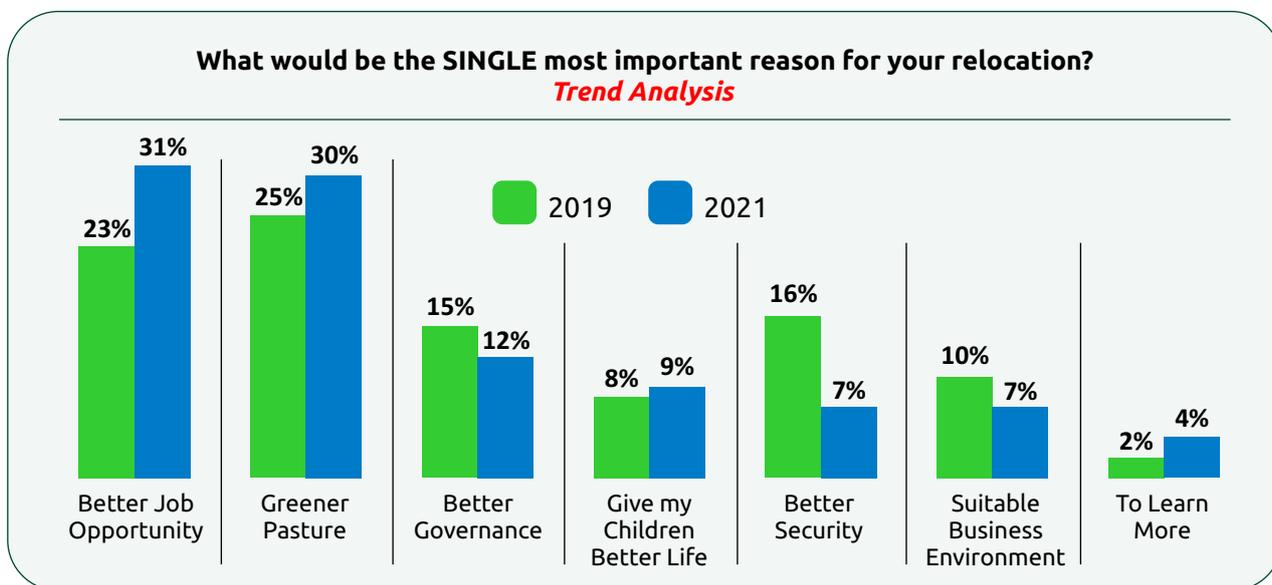


Figure 85: Trend Analysis on Reason why Nigerians want to relocate

### 6.17 Future Expectations for Nigeria

In terms of the future expectations for Nigeria, the data shows that the proportion of citizens who believe that the future of Nigeria will be better than it is presently, decreased by 7% from 66% in 2019 to 59% in 2021. However, on the contrary, there was an increase in the proportion of citizens who believe that the future of Nigeria would be much worse than it is today – from 15% in 2019 to 27% in 2021. While the proportion of those who do not foresee any change decreased slightly from 10% in 2019 to 8% in 2021.

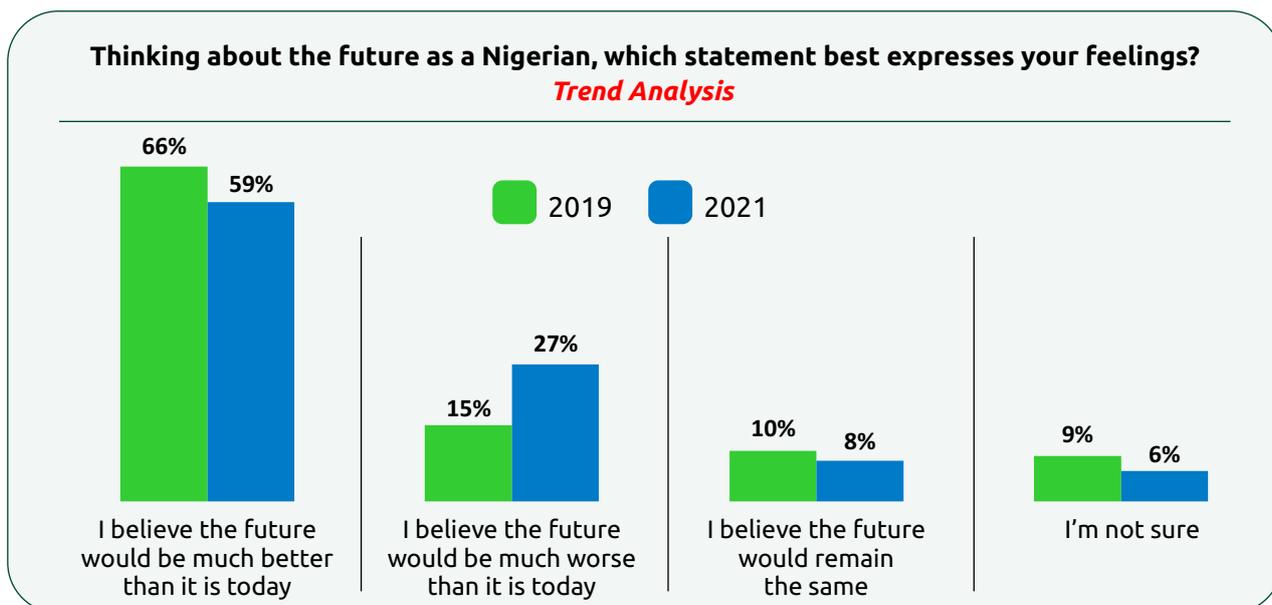


Figure 86: Trend Analysis on perception on Future expectations for Nigeria

07

## Summary Findings, Conclusions & Recommendation

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*This section presents the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study for key stakeholders in Nigeria.*

## 7.0 Summary Findings, Conclusions, and Recommendation

This section presents the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study for key stakeholders in Nigeria.

### 7.1 Summary

This study has successfully measured social cohesion in Nigeria using 10 key indicators namely: Identity, Trust, Social Justice, Participation and Patriotism, Natural Resources Governance, Gender Equity, Impunity, Corruption, Self-Worth and Future Expectation.

In addition, the study has analysed the survey in the light of some burning issues bordering on national unity. These issues include Citizens Perception on the question of National Identity; Citizens Perception of Trust in the Country; Citizens Assessment of Social Justice in the Country; Citizens Level of Participation & Patriotism in the Country; Citizens Perception on Gender Equity in Nigeria; Citizens Perception Regarding the Level of Impunity in the Country; Citizens Perception of Corruption in the Country, Citizens Perception on Natural Resource Governance, amongst others.

We can draw from the result of the index generated and the outcome of the social cohesion survey that the umbilical cord binding the country's unity is severely threatened by various regional, ethnic, religious, economic and political issues.

Overall, some of the key findings from the study revealed that most Nigerians feel very disappointed about the direction of the economy as they continue to experience the brunt of increasing economic hardship. This untold economic hardship could plausibly explain why many Nigerians want to relocate out of the country at any slightest opportunity as uncovered in this study. With regards to the issue of unity, an overwhelming majority of citizens expressed worry that the country is much more divided compared to four years ago which is attributable to the civil unrest currently being witnessed across the country. Again, focusing on what could lead to conflicts in communities the most across the country, the top 5 biggest differences that could lead to conflicts in communities as expressed by the citizens include: ethnic/ tribal differences, political party affiliations, religious differences in social status and access to land. The spate of corruption in the country is also an issue of concern, as most Nigerians expressed worry that the level of corruption in the country is increasing despite the existence of anti-graft agencies.

In addition, despite the importance of trust to national cohesion and unity, most citizens expressed little or no trust in government. The apparent lack of trust for the country expressed by the citizens is scary as it cut across the different socio-demographic categories – gender, age-group, literacy and geo-political zones. When citizens lose trust in the country, the achievement of social cohesion may not be feasible. In the same vein, most of the citizens equally have the perception that social justice in Nigeria is corrupt, some persons are above the law and that only the rich and powerful have access to justice. Interestingly, the study found that most Nigerians still believe that the future of the country would be better than it is today and are extremely willing to cooperate with other ethnic groups to achieve a brighter future for the country. This move can give rise to improving the country's unity which is a sine qua non for social cohesion.

### 7.2 Conclusion

In conclusion, the Nigeria Social Cohesion Index (44.2%) has successfully established that Nigeria is slightly below the average threshold of a socially cohesive country. This is worrisome given that without cohesion, other socio-economic goals such as achieving the United Nation's (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) could be unattainable. Unfortunately, agitations by pockets of separatist tendencies and ethno-religious crises, amidst growing poverty, inequality and massive unemployment appear to be threatening social cohesion in the nation.

A striking finding from the study is that Nigerians are increasingly becoming somewhat unpatriotic, with a blatant lack of interest in issues bordering on national unity and cohesion. This seeming lack of patriotism expressed by a significant proportion of citizens is however not surprising; given sentiments espoused by citizens suggesting that despite the enormous oil wealth, the country still faces a high unemployment rate, heightened insecurity and widespread poverty.

There is no doubt that massive unemployment and increasing poverty rate are among the biggest challenges confronting the peaceful coexistence in the country. Poverty increases social exclusion, vulnerability and inequality, while social exclusion is a major cause of civil unrest and insecurity especially when exclusion is centred on the youth population. This situation depicts several policy inadequacies and the inability of successive governments to harness the country's economic potentials towards improving the welfare of citizens. The seeming inability of the government to cater for the welfare of the citizens violates the social contract.

Governments enjoying more citizen trust can function better and successfully than those with minimal citizen trust. The seeming depletion of trust for the three arms of government expressed by the citizens in this study is a source of concern as it has negative implications for social cohesion. The recent happenings in the country such as the management of Covid-19 palliatives and the role played by the government during the #EndSARS protest have further exacerbated citizens lack trust in the country. As the survey results suggest, it is rather unfortunate that most Nigerians seemed to have higher levels of trust for religious and traditional leaders, than they have for the country's political leaders. However, to earn back the trust of citizens, the government needs to match words with action and be transparent in its dealing with the citizens.

Again, the government needs to commit itself to foster an inclusive policy framework that accommodates various ethnic and regional interests in the country, create an atmosphere of sincere religious and political tolerance, transparency and enabling environment that promotes respect for the rule of law, trust, equal access to civil justice, economic freedoms, poverty reduction and a real commitment to job creation. Nigeria's quest for unity and economic development must be accompanied by an equitable and efficient social Justice System. Contrary to the principle of equal social justice before the law, many Nigerians have a deep-rooted perception that the law applies differently to the rich and the poor. Evidence from this study further corroborated these ill feelings as most respondents believed that some persons seem above the law and hence exhibit high levels of impunity. The lack of unequal access to civil social justice not only affects citizens trust in the government but also hinders social cohesion.

The issue of natural resource governance and revenue allocation formula has a far-reaching effect on social cohesion as expressed by a significant proportion of the citizens. The inextricable links between revenue sharing, resource control, deprivation, exclusion, politics, insecurity and conflicts best capture the complexities and fragility of social cohesion in the country. Thus, causing an outright feeling of alienation from the revenue sharing arrangement by some ethnicities/groups is fuelling agitations, tensions and unrest across the country. Unfortunately, in recent times, no part of the country is immune from one form of agitations or the other, ranging from the activities of IPOB and MASSOB in the East, the Arewa Youth Consultative Forum (AYCF) and Boko Haram insurgency in the North, MEND and Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF) in the South, the Oodua People's Congress (OPC) in the West. In addition to the civil unrest orchestrated by these formations, are the ubiquitous issues of armed banditry, kidnapping, farmer-herder clashes amongst others. Based on the foregoing, it is suggested that the current revenue allocation formula be reviewed to embrace strict enforcement of the derivation principle and equity to achieve regional and national goals. Effective and unbiased revenue allocation formula targeted at every state/region in the country is essential to strengthening the country's unity.

Despite the establishment of several anti-corruption agencies majority of Nigerians still express worry over the unabated level of corruption in the country. Citizens perceive that corruption abounds in every spectrum of government and have continued to pose serious challenges to national development in the country. Arguably, corruption has been pervasive and has contributed to poor governance outcomes, poor service delivery, decrepit state of infrastructure, leading to widespread poverty. As observed from the survey, citizens identified corruption amongst the top challenges inhibiting social cohesion in the country.

The willingness of Nigerians to live together and work for the collective good of the country thus depends on how well the government can reduce the growing feelings of deprivation, alienation, marginalization and exclusion by citizens, to improve the sense of belonging, inclusion and trust in government; otherwise, citizens may explore opportunities to relocate abroad, and which hampers the growth and development of the country. In this wise, there is an urgent need for policy improvement and rejigging of the country's governance architecture to engender trust, inclusion, equity, credibility and patriotism in governance.

### 7.3 Recommendation

Key findings from the Social Cohesion Survey coupled with Nigeria's Social Cohesion Index of 44.2% which is below the minimum social cohesion threshold, point to the fact that Nigeria is not as socially cohesive as it ought to be. In recent times, the country has become more divided along social, political, economic, ethnic and religious cleavage thereby questioning the roots of our social fabric and co-existence as a people. The increasing lack of social cohesion in the country could be plausibly linked to several factors including outright disconnection from the social contract, deep perceptions of inequality, increasing poverty level, high unemployment rate, marginalisation, heightened insecurity, exclusion, amongst others. Hence, the following recommendation will go a long way to shape policy that will revitalize the frightening socio-political and economic challenges currently bedevilling the state of Social Cohesion in Nigeria.

**The Nigerian Government:** Social cohesion is imperative for government to operate successfully, and the absence of social cohesion may threaten the peaceful co-existence of citizens.

1. ▶ There's need for the Federal Government to create a National Cohesion Commission, one with the crucial responsibility for ensuring that all policies and activities of government have components within them that create a sense of belonging, promotes trust, fosters inclusive governance, and continuously offers citizens opportunities for upward mobility. The government should, also, instruct public sector institutions to develop a social cohesion framework for public service delivery.
2. ▶ The National Assembly and the State House of Assembly should consider national and state social cohesion legislations to make the integration of social cohesion a requirement in the conduct of government business and deliver public services at all levels of governance.
3. ▶ There's need to forge a new national movement for Nigeria and Nigerians. One which inhibits centrifugal tendencies that cause conflicts, division or separatism: but strengthens centripetal forces that promote unity, oneness and peaceful co-existence amongst citizens. Like a new Nigerian Dream, this movement needs to be stimulated by the government and marketed to the citizens. In this regard, public institutions such as the Ministry of Information, National Orientation Agency (NOA), Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) and their affiliates have increasing roles to play in shaping and amplifying narratives that promote social cohesion and inclusion. For instance, showcasing exceptional examples of inter-ethnic and inter-religious marriages, and successful corporate partnerships of citizens from different parts of the country.

4. ▶ The federal, state and local governments must identify new tactical measures that would promote social cohesion, peaceful inter-relations amongst citizens, and a stronger social contract between the government and the governed at all levels. This can be achieved through institutional reforms targeted at promoting the respect for fundamental human rights of citizens; as well as the independence of the press, civil society and the judiciary, which promote good governance at all levels. These are considered pertinent to addressing other prevailing socio-economic issues hindering the functionality of those living below the poverty line, as well as citizens of higher socio-economic demography.
5. ▶ There's need for the three tiers of government to strengthen the justice delivery system through effective legal and institutional reforms/policy frameworks that engender equal access to civil justice, especially for the vulnerable groups in the country such as children, the less privileged and persons with disability. The reform should conduct a critical review of the relevant court rules and processes that impede equal access to justice.
6. ▶ Besides, the justice system, civil society organizations, and the media should be given due recognition and granted unalloyed freedom to function as a vibrant watchdog that helps monitor government in every facet of governance in the country. There have been significant concerns regarding the shrinking of the civic space in Nigeria, and the government's attempts to gag CSOs. It is important for Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) to be allowed to freely continue their advocacy for citizens right, equity and good governance while holding the government accountable.
7. ▶ In terms of corruption, the Federal Government needs to strengthen the activities of the anti-graft agencies like the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) to enhance their effectiveness in the fight against corruption. There are strong citizens perceptions that despite current efforts, corruption remains pervasive in the country. Instructively, the fight against corruption must be viewed as independent and wholistic, without any form of political interference and leaving no 'sacred lambs'.
8. ▶ There's need for government at all levels to brace upon its responsibility to the citizens, by declaring a state of emergency on insecurity, job creation and poverty. This study provides evidence to show that economic inclusiveness and shared prosperity is the determinants of trust and identity. Therefore, the government needs to re-examine its economic planning and policy-making system to focus on achieving sustainable and inclusive growth. Providing the enabling environment that fosters peace and stability, wealth creation opportunities, youth empowerment and poverty reduction are essential to enhancing higher levels of social cohesion in the country.
9. ▶ Civil engagements and civil dialogues should be encouraged and organized at federal, state, local government and community levels; to enable citizens to express their opinions and grievances, especially those who feel alienated from governance. There's a need for a national dialogue, for various groups and stakeholders of the Nigeria Project – ethnic nationalities, social, professional, traditional, religious, and otherwise – to seat together and discuss the future of the country and look for ways to mend the widening fault lines of the country. As it is still “better to jaw jaw, than to war war”.
10. ▶ There's need to strengthen the National Social Investment Programme (NSIP) for sustainability and effective performance. The programmes and activities of NSIP, which target poor and vulnerable groups (children, women, persons with disabilities, the elderly and indigent groups) remain at the core of either promoting a sense of belonging and social inclusion or otherwise exclusion and

deprivation, if not effectively managed. These groups constitute a significant proportion of citizens across the country, who hold deep resentments for state institutions and organized leadership, arising from feelings of exclusion, deprivation and marginalization.

**Traditional Rulers and Religious Leaders:** These groups of institutions play a significant role in fostering social cohesion in Nigeria because the citizens cannot subsist without ethnic and religious tolerance.

1. Religion and ethnicity play a huge role in fueling crises and civil unrest. The religious and traditional institutions are key instruments for resolving local conflicts in communities since many Nigerians have been found to trust these institutions, as they also identify strongly with their ethnicity and religious affiliations.
2. The leaders should mitigate against hate speech, discrimination and hostility at the community level since they are closer to the people and earn more trust of the people than the government as evident in the findings.
3. It is also imperative that the leaders intensify ethno-religious and inter-faith dialogues to influence peace, unity, trust and interdependence amongst groups, such as communities, schools, families, etc.
4. There's need for religious and traditional rulers to collaborate with other key stakeholders including the Nigerian government to fashion out policy initiatives/programmes that seek to gain a better understanding of the issues, resolve conflicts, and promote peaceful co-existence and interdependence. Overall, these leaders must be transparent, honest, accountable and inclusive in their engagements.

**Civil Society of Nigeria (CSO):** The role of CSO's "is to help groups learn how to live together in peaceful coexistence" (Paffenholz and Spurk, 2010:72) especially in conflict-afflicted societies. Conflicts and rivalry amidst other social issues are destroying trust and peaceful co-existence between groups in Nigeria.

1. CSOs contributions to social cohesion in Nigeria is imperative and viable because they possess the understanding, capacity and technical know-how to respond to societal issues and facilitate peaceful co-existence of the people.
2. In addition, collaboration with religious and traditional institutions to stimulate conflict resolution dialogues and initiatives would cement relationships across groups, as the study presents evidence to show that citizens have more trust in these institutions. Such trust in CSO's creates a platform for the CSO's to mediate, reconcile, build and monitor peacebuilding and social cohesion in Nigeria.
3. CSOs are enjoined to focus attention on key societal challenges that are engendering a less socially cohesive state – widespread poverty and limited economic opportunities, pervasive insecurity and impunity, growing civil distrust and division across ethno-religious lines, and deepening citizens apathy towards civil authorities, amongst others.
4. CSOs can also play a huge role in helping to rekindle public trust for civil authorities. While there's evidence to suggest that effective implementation of programmes and policies that improve the livelihood and wellbeing of citizens can help to rebuild trust; CSOs can guide government towards focusing on policies, programmes and projects that would have more impact on the lives of citizens, especially at the grass-root levels.

**Citizens:** The participation of citizens, particularly the youths, in governance is often mitigated by socio-economic and political challenges that they experience in the communities. However, every citizen has an important role to play in promoting peaceful co-existence with neighbours and other community members.

5. ▶ We encourage Nigerians to embrace a new National Identity that emphasizes the strengths of Nigeria and her people. One that is reflective of the country's past victories and successes focuses on the current achievements and expresses optimism for a brighter future.
6. ▶ Nigeria is in dire need of Citizen Ambassadors. Citizens who will always think, speak, and act positively, about and towards the country. Citizens will always see “the glass half full” about Nigeria from all walks of life and across various social demographics. Citizens who understand that nations are not defined by the boundaries and borderlines of their landmass, rather they are defined by people united by a common cause, value system and vision to fashion out the kind of society they wish to live in and bequeath to future generations.
7. ▶ Citizens are encouraged to participate in community dialogues, civil engagements and initiatives that promote cohesion and discuss the future of Nigeria; especially ideas and insights on how to build a more enduring and egalitarian society. Citizens should understand that no foreigner would come and change the country; and the responsibility of building a strong, prosperous and socially cohesive nation lies squarely in their hands.
8. ▶ Citizens should discourage statements and actions that can impede the peace and unity of the country, and avert conflicts, chaos and civil unrest. Also, the trend of destroying and vandalizing public properties needs to stop.

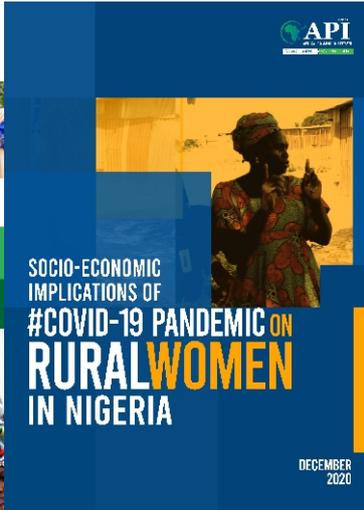


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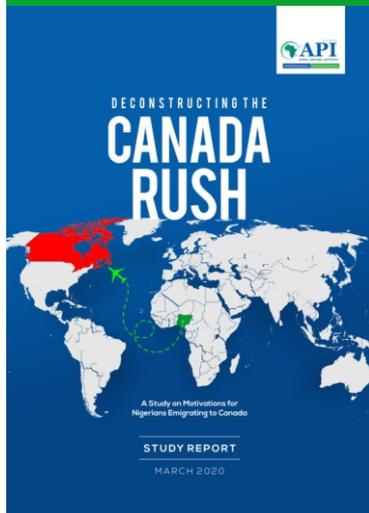
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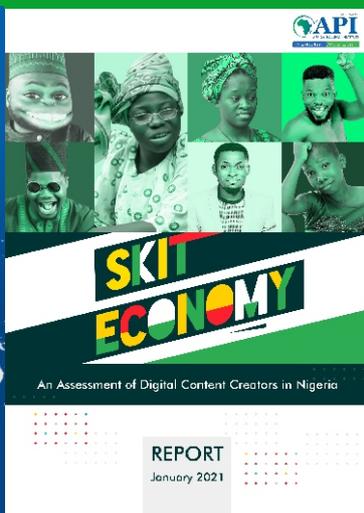
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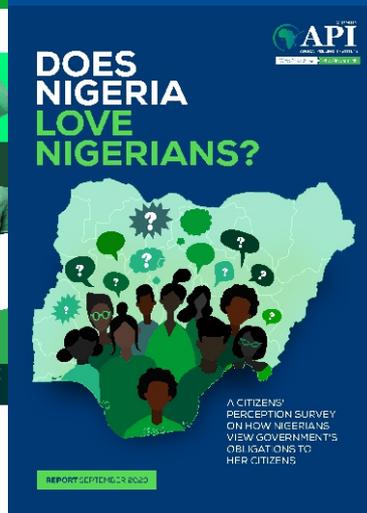
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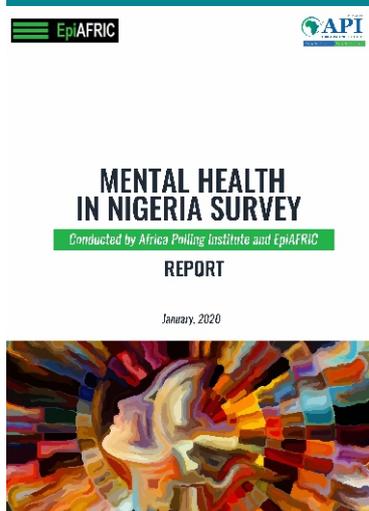
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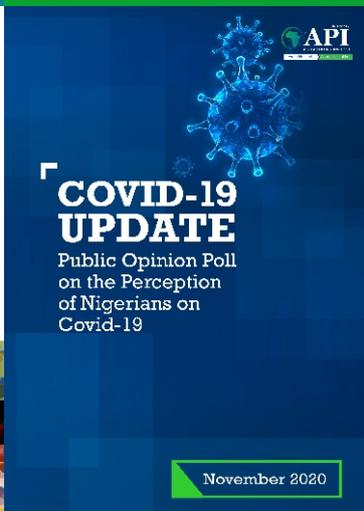
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