

Addis Ababa
University
(Since 1950)



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
CENTER FOR AFRICAN AND ORIENTAL
STUDIES

CITIZENSHIP RIGHT AND DISCRIMINATORY
PRACTICES IN AFRICA: THE CASE OF NIGERIA

ATHESIS SUBMITTED TO THE CENTER FOR AFRICAN
AND ORIENTAL STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTERS
OF ARTS IN AFRICAN STUDIES

BY: TESFAYE EBA

ADVISOR: DECHASA ABEBE (PHD)

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
JUNE, 2017

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Before all, I am thankful to Almighty God for shaping my life journey to be successful and healthier in this turbulent world.

Next, my appreciation and gratitude goes to my advisor Dechasa Abebe (PhD) not only for his educative comments, materials supply, support and guidance in conducting this thesis, but also for his professional commitment and ethics in equipping his students with necessary academic knowledge and research.

I am also indebted to Dr. Getachew kassa for his invaluable scholarly guidance and encouragement for the accomplishment of my thesis. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Dr. Yasin Mohammed for his advice during the selection of my research topic.

Most prominently, my thanks to my professors at the center for African and oriental studies of Addis Ababa University in view of the fact that they acquainted me with adequate knowledge in order I comprehend what Africa looks like and for sharing me their immense experience about African politics. Without the incorporated knowledge acquired from these intellectuals, it was absurd to accomplish such multidisciplinary type of the study.

My special grateful should go to Asmera Teshome (PhD fellow) at Addis Ababa University, for his motivation in order I attend the MA program starting from my registration to the center by giving further academic experience and moral support. Additionally, the contribution of Kassahun Tariku and Bayabil Mitiku has great input for the accomplishment of my research.

Moreover, I am highly grateful to my families, friends who have been advised me in order I attend the school from early childhood period. They have been advised me like that of educated individual without academic background.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Content	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	I
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	II
ABSTRACT.....	VI
ACRONYMS.....	VII
CHAPTER ONE	1
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background of the study	1
1.2. Statement of the Problem.....	3
1.3. Research questions.....	5
1.4. Objectives of the study.....	5
1.4.1 General Objective	5
1.4.2 Specific Objective	6
1.5. Significance of the study.....	6
1.6. Scope of the study	6
1.7 Limitations of the study	7
1.8 Operational Definitions.....	7
1.9 Organization of the paper.....	8
CHAPTER TWO	10
2. Review of Related Literature	10
2.1. Concepts of Citizenship	10
2.2 Theory of Citizenship	11
2.3 Models of Citizenship	12
2.4. Historical Background of the term Citizenship	13
2.4.1. The notion of Citizenship in Classical Europe	14
2.4.2. The concept Citizenship in Medieval and Modern Europe	15

2.4.3. The Concept of Citizenship in Pre-colonial Africa.....	17
2.4.4 The concept of Citizenship in Africa during Colonial Period	18
2.4.5. The Concept of Citizenship in Post Colonial Africa	19
2.4.6 The Evolution of Citizenship in Nigeria.....	19
2.5. Laws of Citizenship	21
2.5.1 Citizenship law in Africa after Independence (1960s)	22
2.6 Historical Perspective of State Formation and its Challenges for Nigeria	24
2.7 Citizenship right Discrimination from Global Context	26
2.8 Victims of Citizenship Right Discrimination in the Context of Africa	28
2.8.1 Citizenship Right Discrimination against Refugees	30
2.8.2 Citizenship Rights Discrimination based on Ethnic Identity	31
2.8.3 Citizenship Rights Discrimination based on one’s Religious Identity	33
2.8.4 Discriminatory provisions of Citizenship Right and Marginalization.....	33
2.8.5 Discriminatory Provisions of States’ Citizenship Right and “Statelessness”	34
2.8.6 Citizenship right Discrimination against the Children born to Stateless person	35
2.9 The Role of the AU in Combating the Phenomenon of Citizenship Right.....	36
CHAPTER THREE	38
3. Research Methods, Materials, and Procedures	38
3.1 Why Nigeria Selected for the Study?.....	38
3.2. Study Design.....	38
3.3 Sampling method	39
3.4 Data Gathering Tools	39
3.4.1 Document analysis	40
3.4.2 Interview	40
3.5. Method of Data Analysis	40
3.6. Ethical Consideration.....	41
3.7 Description of concepts.....	41

CHAPTER FOUR.....	43
4. Data Presentation, Interpretation and Analysis.....	43
4.1 Citizenship Law in Nigeria	43
4.2. Discriminatory Provisions of Citizenship Rights in Nigeria	45
4.2.1 Citizenship Discrimination against Non- Indigenous Person	47
4.2.2 Citizenship Discrimination against Stateless People in Nigeria.....	49
4.2.3 Citizenship right Discrimination against the children Born Unknown Parents..	51
4.2.4 The predicament against Immigrants in granting citizenship Right	52
4.2.5 Citizenship Rights and Children birth Registration in Nigeria.....	54
4.2.6 Citizenship right discrimination against the Child Born to Stateless person...	56
4. 2.7 Citizenship right Discrimination in the process of Naturalization.....	57
4.2.8 Citizenship Rights Discrimination against Women.....	59
4.2.9 Citizenship Discrimination against Minority Ethnic Group	61
4.3. The Consequences of Citizenship right Discrimination in Nigeria	62
4.3.1 Ethnicity.....	63
4.3.2. Unfair competition	67
4.3.3 Political Marginalization.....	70
4.3.4 Economic Marginalization.....	73
4.3.5 Socio-Cultural Marginalization	75
4.3.6 Violation of Human Rights.....	77
4.3.7 Unsolved quest of Biafra movement and the issue of Self determination.....	79
4.3.8 Citizenship Right Discrimination and Mistrust in Nigeria	80
4.4. Looking forward: Deriving positive Lessons from the others	82
4.4.1 Lessons to be learned from Ghana.....	82
4.4.2. Lessons to be learned from Botswana	84
CHAPTER FIVE	86
5. Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations.....	86

5.1 Summaries.....	86
5.2 Conclusions.....	89
REFERENCES	95
Appendix.....	114

ABSTRACT

Citizenship Right and Discriminatory Practices in Africa: The Case of Nigeria

Tesfaye Eba kebede

Addis Ababa University, 2017

The contemporary Africa seems encircled with multifaceted problems due to colonial legacy. Among these, citizenship rights discriminatory practices are the foremost issue for Africans. Most scholars argue that the prevalence of untamed citizenship law is a common dilemma in some parts of Africa even after independence. The purpose of this qualitative inquiry is to investigate practices of citizenship rights provisions discrimination in Nigeria. Basically the study sought answers to three basic questions: How Nigerian citizenship law has been put in to practice? Why discriminatory practices prevail in acquiring citizenship? And what are the consequences of citizenship discriminatory practices in Nigeria? In order to address these basic questions and objectives of the study, secondary and primary data were widely used. While secondary data was reviewed and organized to be used in the study, primary data was gathered from Nigerian residing in Addis Ababa whom were selected using purposive and snowball sampling techniques with the hope to get pertinent and rich data. Interview and document analysis/ review were the two basic instruments the researcher employed to gather relevant data. Then, data gathered via interviews and document analysis were organized, structurally coded and interpret in themes. Contrary international conventions; women, children, minority ethnic groups, refugees, and migrants were deprived of the right to acquire citizenship. As a result these social groups have been facing unfair competition, marginalization, unemployment, statelessness and violation of human rights. The study recommends the need to establish effective citizenship law and implementation that can address socio-economic, cultural and political query of the masses so as to ensure equality of human beings before the law in general and political stability in particular.

Key words: Citizenship, Right, Nigeria, discrimination, statelessness, ethnicity

ACRONYMS

ACHPR	African Charter on Human and peoples' Rights
ACRWC	African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child
ARRA	Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs
AU	Africa Union
BBC	British Broad Cast
BC	Before Christ
CEDAW	Convection of Elimination of all forms of racial Discrimination against Women
CERPAC	Combined Expatriate Resident Permit and Aliens Card
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
CRC	Convention of Right of Children
DRC	Democratic Republic Congo
ECOWAS	Economic Community West African States
ENS	European Network on Statelessness
EOC-DIC-RRAD	Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Development and inter church on Refugee and Returnee Affairs Development
EU	European Union
EUC	European Union Citizenship
FRN	Federal Republic of Nigeria
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ILO	International Labor Organization
IRBC	Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada
ISI	Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion
LGA	Local government Areas
MASSOB	Movement for the Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NRN	Nigerian Research Network
OAU	Organization of African Unity
REC	Regional Economic Community
UN	United Nations

UNICEF	United Nation Children Fund
UNDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNHCR	United Nations Human Commission for Refugee
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

Africa is the leading continent next to Asia in terms of territory and number of population, but at the same time it is the most underdeveloped region on the globe. Despite the fact that the continent has autonomous political, economic, social, as well as indigenous cultural institutions, its development has been dribble down especially after the years of independence. Many researchers repeatedly opined multifaceted problems for its underdevelopment. Among these; the inheritance of colonialism, vast brain drain, undemocratic governments, and boundary related predicaments, ethnicity, frequent secessionists movements and civil wars are few to mention (Heleta, 2007; Obioha, 1999 & Simensen, 2008).

Even though it is half a century since greater part of African countries gained their sovereignty, some of the problems which existed during colonial rule are still remained unsolved. Some of the issues include citizenship rights; the problem of nationality, different discriminatory provisions to acquire citizenship rights and their overwhelming outcomes including ‘statelessness’, ‘violence’, ‘terrorism’, ‘cleansing’ and ‘migration’ are currently continued as the challenges of ‘nation building’ throughout the continent.

Above all, before going to investigate the problems related to ‘citizenship’ practice it is better to give awareness about the clear definition of citizenship. Many literature, research, dictionaries and web define the term citizenship in several ways. For example, William (2002) affirms that the concept of citizenship as it is not a theme to a solitary, commonly suitable description. According to him, the impression of an individual and human rights, the idea of political involvement and the attitude of socio- economic benefit are the three interrelated elements which are central and essential to have adequate understanding of citizenship. On the other hand, (Adetiba, 2013 & Bellamy, 2014) define citizenship as a relationship connecting an individual and the State in relation to mutual rights, duties and obligation. Likewise (Abe & Oladeji, 2016; Pohlmann, 2013) defined the term citizenship as a link that warrant an individual with some privileges such as dwelling in the specific state, free will of intra state movement, involvement in political issues moreover as a voter or as an applicant

in quest of appointive public office, access to community services, and diplomatic fortification when exterior the nation. Carabain (2012) forwarded two dimension of citizenship: the formal dimension and moral dimension. According to Carabain, the formal dimension is the legal affiliation amid citizen and state. On the other hand, the moral dimension stands for the participation of citizens. So from the definition forwarded by different scholars one can effortlessly understand that citizenship is a legal bond which united an individual with the specific state by privileging certain right, duties and obligations. In the definitions the term 'legal' indicates rules, laws and regulations which govern the relationship between an individual and the states. In many cases, the laws that govern the system of citizenship were not applicable based up on the reality of written documents. When violation of citizenship right or citizenship rights discriminatory practices took place individuals are subjected to prejudice and various forms of prohibition from diverse rights and occasions (Alubo, 2008).

The prejudice related with citizenship rights discriminatory practices left many of the people without State due to the rigidity of the law which most of the States alerted on dissimilar principles: religious, language, length of residence, indignity, date of independence, racial and ethnic discrimination, and gender inequality (Afegbua & Issa, 2012; Fara, Kiamba & Mazongo, 2011). In Africa, the main causes of 'statelessness' were the heritage of colonialism, arbitrarily demarcation of boundaries, 'State' succession, inequity based on gender, and favoritism based up on ethnic are the main as stated by Edward & waas (2014). The other factors which led to citizenship discrimination seem to be inappropriate application of nationality law and wrong or biased interpretations of the rule and procedures of citizenship acquisition to favor a few groups who were loyal to the existed political system. On the other hand, in many cases the laws that govern citizenship rights in many African States were inherited from the former colonial powers.

Even if the above stated features paved the circumstance for 'statelessness'; the stated prejudiced practices undoubtedly affects the stateless individual's socio-economic, political and cultural aspects. As stated by (Manby, 2010) the peoples without state can neither vote nor stand for any office; they cannot enroll their children in public schools, cannot move freely, or own property; they cannot contribute for the government; they are exposed abuses of human rights

Previous studies on the topic highlighted the citizenship rights and discriminatory practices as well as how these bigoted practices became a cause for statelessness which resulted for different political crises. However, there are few limited literature on how citizenship right discrimination practices became the root cause for ongoing inter- and intra- ethnic groups conflicts among the Nigerians. In addition, there are inadequate studies which are related to the issue of citizenship discrimination practices in Nigeria which faced citizens who were regarded as non Nigerians.

Thus having acquaintance about the stated level of knowledge gap on the issue, the purpose of this study is to investigate and analyze citizenship rights, modes of acquiring citizenship and its discriminatory practices in Nigeria and its impact on the peoples and policy implication on other African states.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Citizenship is about a legal membership of a group or community that confers rights and responsibilities as a result of such membership. Citizenship is both a status and an identity which is relating to the state social world through the exercise of rights or protections and the fulfillment of commitments (Shamim & Chalie, 2004).

An individual without the right of citizenship remains stateless and will be vulnerable to different socio-economic and political problems. Among the other things statelessness in Africa contributed due to gender, racial, ethnic or religious discriminations in the provision of citizenship right (Manby, 2016).

Globally, nearly 12 million people have been affected by the problem of statelessness which has been reported to be caused by gender discrimination, failure to include all habitual residents in the body of citizens when a state becomes independent, deprivation of nationality and conflicts of laws in the midst of the States (Manby, 2011). Statelessness exposes children to lack of access to birth registration, exclusion from health programs, and to difficulties with admission to publicly-funded education for children and national health insurance is closely associated with high citizenship rights discriminatory provisions and inhuman practices (Wass, 2014).

According to Manby (2015) though currently declining to some extent, religious discrimination is the rule in nationality law in North Africa. For instance, Algeria, Egypt, Libya and Morocco still provide to different degrees for privileged access to citizenship for those of Muslim religion and/or Arab origin.

Citizenship right discrimination based on ethnic background, religious identity, gender, indigeneity and non indigeneity based in Nigeria is an aged phenomenon that highly influenced the hope of many individuals. Due to this fact, diverse ethnic nationalities have envisaged and adapted different attitudes to what connotes citizenship in Nigeria, making attempt at resolving citizenship problems almost impossible (Nwanegbo, et al, 2014). such cases, prepare the condition for majority of the people to know the meaning of citizenship in Nigeria which is ambiguous in all states across the country. According to Abah & Okwori (2005) “ordinary men and women in villages across the country are still battling to understand the concept of Nigeria and what means to be its citizen is” (2000: 5). The notion of citizen in Nigeria is still queasy. As opined by (William, 2002) the concept of citizenship in Nigeria is characterized by its unsettled nature and developed the belief of “there are no citizens in Nigeria, only citizens of Nigeria” (p.9).

Since the independence of Nigeria the nonexistence of nationalistic citizen led for diverse socio political and economic crises. The study by Imam, et al, (2014) revealed that the Nigeria domestic device of citizenship rights have been generating political tension and violence because it is intricately tied with the issue of ethnic identity, ethnicity and religion. Similarly, (Adetiba, 2013) revealed the subsistence of most Nigerians by which their primary allegiance and loyalty is never to Nigeria, but to divisive appellations and self-limiting denominators, such as ethnic, religious, state, regional, linguistic groups. These self- limiting denominators pave the way for ethnic citizenship than national citizenship. Citizenship discrimination in Nigeria is a double phase predicament. At first the predicament is occurred when an individual is not recognized as member of a particular state. The succeeding predicaments are the barriers that happened when individuals are ill treated in utilization of state provisions. So citizenship rights discriminatory practices are not the only factor to affect the socio- political and economic status of individuals, but also it has other barriers like that of unemployment, unfair competition, marginalization, ethnicity, statelessness, and terrorism. These factors are contributed for poles apart socio-economic and political crises which overlay the mode for state fragility. Concerning Nigeria, Maiangwa, et al (2013) affirmed the rank of Nigeria with regard to the failed

states index. According to these authors Nigeria lines fourteenth on the list which makes it close to other countries that have experienced entirety collapse in current times.

Taking the above problems into consideration, the researcher set to carry out the proposed study because of the following reasons. First, there is no recent study conducted in the context of the study area in the center. Secondly the researcher visualizes to be acquainted with whether what global literature articulates on citizenship rights land discriminatory practices in Africa, particularly in Nigeria. Thirdly, to know some of the factors that eroded trust amid citizenship and the state in Africa, particularly Nigeria. Fourthly, to give further research or evidence based policy recommendation for dealing with the problems based upon the unenthusiastic political, social and economic impact on the citizens.

Therefore, the study assesses citizenship rights and discriminatory practices in the process of acquiring citizenship right in Nigeria by considering some groups of society who are victims of these discriminatory practices. On the other hand the study investigates some of the consequences took place as a result of discriminatory citizenship rights provisions.

1.3. Research questions

Based upon the stated problem, this study will try to answer the following fundamental questions.

- i. How citizenship rights provision in Nigeria has been put in to practice?
- ii. Why did citizenship right discriminatory practices prevail in acquiring Nigerian citizenship?
- iii. What are the consequences of provisions of citizenship discriminatory practices in Nigeria?

1.4. Objectives of the study

1.4.1 General Objective

The general objective of this study is to explore and identify citizenship right and discriminatory practices and its related effects on different societal groups in Nigeria and to draw lessons on how citizenship discrimination practices leads to violation of human rights.

1.4.2 Specific Objective

The study intends to achieve the following specific objectives:

1. To analyze whether provision of citizenship right discrimination leads to creation of citizens subjugation, political and social marginalization which directly impede sustainable human right development and growth of democracy in Nigeria.
2. To evaluate the effects of citizenship right discrimination practices on accountable and transparent governance, on good public policy and State Stability in Nigeria.
3. To assess the relationship between citizenship right discriminatory practices with ‘statelessness’, unemployment, ethnicity, unfair competition, marginalization and peoples’ mistrust to political institutions.
4. To identify constructive lessons through which these discriminatory practices could be ameliorated in Nigeria.

1.5. Significance of the study

The findings of any research may have tremendous benefits for both the researcher and other stakeholders in the areas of the study. Firstly, the results of the study point towards the effects of citizenship rights and discriminatory practices on the people of Nigeria by retrieving, identifying and showing constructive lessons, reminding policy makers, international institutions, donors, investors, African Union Commission and local NGOs to readjust their human rights policy interventions implementations. Secondly, findings bring citizenship rights discrimination practices as African contemporary issue to the academic sphere and call up on and inspire other researchers to conduct research on wide ranging studies on similar or related topics. Thirdly, the study contributes a drop of knowledge to the existing one and may use as further reference for future researchers in the area. Lastly, the study is hoped to the debates on citizenship related issues and added some contributes of knowledge to the existing one and may use as further reference for further researchers in the area.

1.6. Scope of the study

Geographically, the study delimited to Nigeria as to make it manageable. Nigeria is by far located to the sub Saharan Africa with highly populated which is numerically more than one-seventh of the continent’s population. The Nigerian

Federation holds 1 federal government, 36 states and 774 local government areas (LGAs) (Julie, 2012). The people belong to more than 250 diverse ethnic groups which shoehorned by the British colonial rule in 1914. These groups give the country a wealthy of culture, but they also pose major challenges to nation building. Ethnic dissension has overwhelmed Nigeria since it gained independence in 1960 from British colonial rule. As soon as gaining her independent she faced diverse ethnic tension which resulted due to diversity of different ethnic groups, questions of citizenship right, access to economic or resource, religion difference etc. In addition to these problems, Nigeria also under the problem of citizenship discrimination provisions due to man-made tribulations.

1.7 Limitations of the study

It is obvious that conducting any research is not free of limitations. Both external and internal factors supposed to limit the findings of this particular study. One prominent limitation is that the study is exceedingly of political character in its nature which makes the primary data collection so exigent especially from the politicians who work at the Nigerian embassy based in Addis Ababa. The other factor that hinder the researcher from getting sufficient information from the officials was the category of the officials from which majority of them were from privileged group who were more concerned about the image of their country than the concern of the oppressed citizens. Limitation of financial resource also hindered collecting primary data from Nigeria. Thus, to fill the gap, the researcher tried to secure relevant data from some available informants, from recent studies, government and international reports as well as media and web sites. Moreover, officials working at Embassy of Federal Republic of Nigeria were not interested in providing information all in all. On the other hand unavailability of some officials from UNHCR, AU, informants from academicians and other categories for interview made the work too tiresome.

1.8 Operational Definitions

One of the reasons why many academicians face difficulty in defining the concept of citizenship is its disheveled affiliation with its constituents and other concepts. Most of the existing literature used the term 'citizenship' interchangeably with 'nationality', 'race', 'ethnicity', 'tribe', 'indigeneshp', 'citizen' and 'identity'. Though the concept citizenship shares similar elements with other terms mentioned of

using interchangeably will distort its actual meaning. Separate definition for each terms are provided here under:

Citizenship: Citizenship is the relationship between an individual and the State in which he/she belonging through which it submits to a condition of being a full constituent of a defined group of people, realm or assemblage (Negedu, 2015). According to Afolabi (2016), the perception of Citizenship is the derivation of French word 'citoyennete' which describes the relationship amid a person and the metropolis.

Citizen: Citizen, in its most general sense, an individual member of a given political society or state; by extension, one who owes allegiance to and may lawfully demand protection from the government of that state (UNHCR, 2006).

Nationality: "The historical origin of the word 'nationality' is derived from the word 'nation', suggesting that nationality is, above all, a political notion reflecting a person's belonging to a nation" (ACHPR, 2015).

Ethnic group: is associated with an entire series of cultural correlates, the most ordinary of which are language, specific descent patterns, social structure, and shared values (Paden & Soja, 1970). In addition to this, the word ethnicity is derived from the Greek word "ethnos", which takes in a wide range of situations where by human beings, lived and acted collectively (Jenkins, 2008).

Indigeneship: The term refers to a member of particular ethnic nationality, state, local government region, township, clan, rural community or family members. According to (Emmanuel, 2015) indigeneship is more profitable in offering rights and privileges than citizenship of particular nation.

Identity: The word comprises of ethnic, religious, gender, class and other layers all of which refer to the same person either in self definition or as defined by other groups. In addition, it is a group of concept in the sense that it has based on traits make individuals members of a group; such traits also provide response to the question , "who am I?"(Alubo, 2008).

1.9 Organization of the paper

This research paper is divided into five chapters. The first chapter stated general information about the study, some of the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, contribution of the study, conceptual frame work and some limitations of the research. Chapter two of this paper discusses review of related literature. It contains the detail investigation of the earlier writing, research, journal of various

scholars regarding citizenship right provisions discrimination from different perspectives under diverse sub titles. The methodological part of the research is stated under chapter three. It encompasses study area and design, method of data collection and method of data analysis. Chapter four is about analysis and data presentation. In this chapter, data collected from different informants would be analyzed and presented by words. In addition, different types of citizenship discriminatory practices in Nigeria and ways of its application are explained by investigating the scholars view. Moreover some of the consequences of discriminatory prejudice are accessed. The last chapter of this research, chapter five contains, conclusions drawn and recommendations forwarded pertaining to the study.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Review of Related Literature

2.1 Concepts of Citizenship

As it is not straightforward, the term 'citizenship' has no universal definitions. The comprehensive description given to the term is subjective to the nature of the state; the attitude of the individuals; the era through which human being evolved; views and conception of different scientists, politicians, writers, and philosophers.

Scholars (e.g., Mathiason, 2012) define citizen as an individual who has the power to take part in the deliberative or judicial administration of any state and state is a body of citizens sufficing for the purposes of life. Manby (2010) define citizenship as term commonly used in the social sciences to specify miscellaneous sorts of belonging to a political community and the rights that such belonging brings with it. Citizenship in its contemporary form consists of three indispensable and innermost suggestions: the conception of individual and human rights, the idea of political involvement, and the principle of socio-economic benefit (William, 2002). For (Meer & Sever, 2004) the term Citizenship is about belonging to a group or community and about the rights and responsibilities associated with such membership. It is about a status that confers rights and obligations, and a practice whereby people are able to participate in shaping their societies. It encompasses not only rights and responsibilities, but also interaction and influence within the community

Similarly, Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy describes the term citizen as "a member of a political community who enjoys the right and assumes the duties of membership". From the previous a citizen can be said to be a natural or legal member of a political community entitled to rights and privileges that the state can provide and in turn assumes responsibility required by law for the interests of the state. With the above understanding of the concept of citizen we can now explain the derivative concept of citizenship. Generally, the word citizenship denotes the idea that designates the lawful rights or status of being a member of a particular state or country as well as one's individual response to the duties or obligations to that state or country. It involves an individual's relationship with the country in which the person

is entitled to legal, social and political rights and in turn owes duties and obligations to the state, duties such as obedience to the laws, payment of taxes, defense of the state and other social obligations which give an individual a formal legal identity (Kelechi, 2015).

2.2 Theory of Citizenship

Although the main focus this study is not to investigate the different types of citizenship theories the researcher found it very plausible to discuss roughly the types of theories and how they explain the notion of citizenship.

Within different studies of citizenship speculation, the contribution of the famous British sociologist T. H. Marshall (1893-1981) was raised frequently. He was the known sociologist who has devoted his time on the investigating the issues of citizenship and social class. In his work on citizenship and social class, Marshall identified three elements of citizenship namely the civil, political and social elements by elucidating the components of each rudiment in the scope of citizenship rights. According to him, the rights necessary for freedom of the person, the right to take part in political issues and a degree of economic welfare and security are some of the components of the three citizenship elements (Marshall, 1950). The view of other scholars mostly relied on Marshall's theory of citizenship. In the midst of these, (Carabain, et al, 2012) listed the types of citizenship theories which assisted for the effectiveness of formal dimension and moral dimension of citizenship. According to these authors liberal citizenship theory, communitarian citizenship theory, republican citizenship theory and neo- republican citizenship theory are the four types of citizenship premises. The focuses of these theories are legal right and obligation of citizens, the socio cultural community and the political involvement of the existing citizens. The Neo- republican citizenship theory of citizenship criticizes the rest of the three theories since they are not likening the modern society with progressive political, social and economic environment (ibid). Gunsteren (1998) categorized the four theories of citizenship stated above in to two categories: old and new theories. According to him except neo-republican theory, the rest three theories are the old citizenship theories in view of the fact that they cannot match the transformational progress of modern civilization and due to their unsatisfactory nature in contributing more guidance.

Other scholars have the conception of each theory through empowering different techniques. For example, Honohan,(2017) followed liberal citizenship theory. He discussed the issue of relationship between a person/citizen and the State, and what the state might or might not carry out. According to Honohan (2017) liberal citizenship, then, is primarily a proper, and in principle universal, legal status defending individuals. An individual freedom and equality are important features in liberal theory of citizenship in which it does not compel compulsion on citizens other than to be law- enduring and forward-thinking (Reinie, 2015).

Ejobowah (2006) has classified the idea or concept of citizenship into four categories. According to this author, the word citizenship is a link which joining the state and a person, a rudiments helps in participating in state affairs, used as distinctiveness and cohesion and lastly barring of assured group of individuals from different nation concern.

Social rights theory had been critiqued particularly by neo-conservative thinkers, who swerve that “social citizenship”, should be based on achievement, because it encourages a culture of reliance rather than active citizenship (Bulmer & Rees, 1996).

2.3 Models of Citizenship

Concerning the model of citizenship diverse sociologists put it into different categories. For example, (Jones & Gaventa, 2002) stated the three approaches of citizenship: republican, liberal and communitarian. On the other hand, (Hoskins & Abs, 2012) put the division of the model under four categories: the liberal, the communitarian, the civic republican, and the critical model of citizenship. Whatever their dissection (Bhatta, Hoskins & Abs, 2012) expressed the models as determined to the following manners.

Civic- republican conception of citizenship: views focus on man’s political nature. In this context citizenship is about democratic participation, which can channel legitimate frustrations and grievances and bring people to focus on matter of common concern. According to this view citizens are active politically and citizenship happens in public sphere. In the civic republican notions of citizenship, there is no direct link between an individual and the state; an individual is a citizen because the group to which he belongs is a part of the state (Abe & Oladeji, 2016). The study by Bhatta (2012) foreword that the argument of civic republicans for citizenship is an

overarching civic identity shaped by a common public culture (stronger than disengage group identities) and produced by a sense of belonging to a particular nation-state.

Liberal – individualist conception: this model holds the idea that citizenship focuses on man's economic nature. Citizens are sovereign, autonomous belongs with duties to pay taxes, obey the law, engage in business, and defend the nation if necessary. In addition, citizenship is based on reason for the pursuit of enlightened self interest, passive politically and degenerated of public sprit. Liberals suppose that citizenship is status permitting each individual to the same formal rights that are enshrined in law (Narayan, 2012).

The communitarian model: focuses on kinship descent based identity and feelings of belonging to a group, and the necessity to work towards the collective benefits of this particular group. It has influenced both Christian theology and moral philosophy, and led to an emphasis of the responsibility and duties of individuals to others in their community, as well as the need to support structures that undergird and maintain communities and shared values (Hoskins & Abs, 2012).

The critical model of citizenship: As (Hoskins & Abs, 2012) opined critical of model of citizenship is critiques against the civic republican and communitarian notions of citizenship. According to the authors, this model focus on a more energetic view on democracy in which citizens are actively involved in state affairs , participation in power sharing and in building democracy.

2.4. Historical Background of the term Citizenship

In the past, many thinkers and the western philosophers in general have the same opinion concerning the origin of citizenship. For example according to (Iwuagwua, 2015) the origin of citizenship was from Greek-city states by which the right of acquiring citizenship right depends up on the merit of affluence that the individual enclose. In this perspective an individual without property, slaves, women and diluted social order were out of sphere of influence to have the right of citizenship. By stating the assumption of Aristotle in which he categorized citizenship, (Ignatieff, 2014), listed some of the group who fits the standards of citizenship in ancient Greece city states. According to him, except freeborn independent creature; slaves, those worked as employee, women, children and those

subject to the authority of the domestic '*oeconomia*' were excluded from the status of citizenship.

Additionally, the idea of citizenship emerged first in the Metropolitan area of prehistoric Greece and Rome and developed as the advantaged rank of a limited set of men in some medieval European cities as pointed out by (Garcia, 1996). The thought of citizenship goes back to 630-560 B.C. by the Athenian opinionated influential and wise reformers (Preuss, 2003). So, Greece remembered as the origin of citizenship starting from the stated date onwards.

2.4.1. The notion of Citizenship in Classical Europe

During classical period 3500 B.C.E - 500 C.E.in Greece city states, the division of the social class was stated by many scholars. Among these, (Roman, 2010) forwarded that the polis, women, children, foreigners and slaves are the group of society with diverse status in Greece city states. According to him, except the polis; women, children, slaves and foreigners had no right of citizenship in Greece city states. Furthermore, Roman pointed out the work of Plato (428 B.C. to 347 B.C.) in which, he categories the citizens of the city states were divided into three categories (the guardians, the soldiers and the producers) with their respective activities. During this period, the conception of citizenship by the Athenian depends up on the division of social groups into three (Athenians, metics & women) in which Athenian could not be made slaves and citizens while metics could and non citizens. The procedures employed to grant the right of citizenship to an individual –they used criteria such as the Athenian required to be male, age of 20 and above, born from Athenian family, head of family, a fighter-holding the warriors and powerful to fight and lead the slaves. While the minority groups numbering from 30,000 to 50,000 were considered as citizens, whereas the slaves whose number is bigger than the Athenian were considered as non citizens with no privileges (Bellamy, 2014).

In Greek- city state, the way or the mechanism through which an individual acquire the privileges of citizenship depends up on the combination of jus '*sanguinis*' or the right of blood and '*jus soli*' or the right of birth place (Hin, 2010). Manville (1997) also added, that the polis were inhabitant Athenian males who had accomplished the age of 18 and who had been monotonously registered in the some local Attic village unit, or demo, to which their father belonged. Little proportion of

foreign persons acquired Athenian citizenship by declaration, which allowed its own criteria and formal process (ibid).

From the preceding literature review of the evolution of the concept and prevalence in Europe one can understand that citizenship in ancient and classical period in Athens was not inclusive by nature. Women, children, non natives and slaves were not included under the norm of Athenian citizenship.

Citizenship in ancient Rome largely operated on the principle of personality which entirely depends up on birth (Girdvainyte, 2014). Crook (1967) listed the mechanisms by which an individual was granted citizenship right in ancient Rome. These mechanisms included birth, through manumission (the act by which a slave was freed; children of former slaves were Roman citizens), military service and imperial grants. Military service and paying taxation were the two most prominent duties of a Roman citizens and peregrines (subjects). The imposition of taxation (land levy and indirect taxation which obtained from market sales, sales of slaves and manumission of slaves and custom dues) was varied between citizens and peregrines (ibid). During the period of its expansion in Rome the people who subjugated were privileged to acquire the adaptation of Roman citizenship and allowed to form their own form of government; on the other hand the adaptation of the Roman citizenship was only legal category than political condition - '*civitas sine suffragio*' or 'nationality devoid of the ballot' (Bellamy, 2014).

Conquest through warfare was the common mechanism in classical period and late antiquity between 'alles' Italians and Rome. Kendall (2013) forwarded the conflict between the Italian 'alles' and the Romans in 91 B. E. C. due to the interest of the Italians to acquire the citizenship of the Romans. According to Kendall the desire of the Italians was targeted three common interests: To be Roman citizens, subsequently to gain full Political and social parity as Roman citizens, and lastly to preserve the rights they had won from those who would amend or remove them.

2.4.2 The concept Citizenship in Medieval and Modern Europe

The existence of medieval period was after the down fall of the Roman Empire. During this period the essence of citizenship is more of hierarchical system through which the lord played a vital role in all citizenship right decision making.

The concept of citizenship during this period seemed to have vanished due to the system of feudalism which gave supremacy to a small number of groups like cities

dwellers and towns, the lords, nobles or bourgeois who used to have unwarranted rights over the subjects (Kalechi, 2015).

The acquirement citizenship status for the society during medieval and modern Europe was depends on further qualification. Among these economic, social and political issues were the main criteria in granting citizenship rights. In England and some other cities an individual should expected to pass through some qualifications like economic privileges', an ability to pay fee and other mandatory practices stated by the state (Minns, 2014). Furthermore, Minns pointed out that individual who were not acquired the right of citizenship were preferred to have marriage with a person who has the right of citizenship right.

The study by (Lourie, 2012) pointed out the existence of citizenship in the late medieval France (C. 1370 – C. 1480) as follows:

In late medieval France one can see the early origins of a monopolistic state-given citizenship, in terms of the growth of a legalistically based (or justice based) citizenship and in the crown policy of promoting the creation of a legal status of inhabitants of the commonwealth of the whole realm of France (2012: 321).

In this modern period the spirit of citizenship became an essential contested concept throughout the world. For example the concept of dual nationality is a common phenomenon. Additionally, in current situation the concept of global citizenship also shows more progress as stated by (O'Byrne, 2003). Even if the description forwarded for the concept of global citizenship is unfastened Beydoun(2013) described "... global citizenship is clearly associated with the implementation of universal norms of the human rights movement, which, one could argue, enables societal integration of all individuals beyond the constraints of the state"(p .119).

As opined by Mass (2016) an individual from Europe can have the right to acquire double citizenship which is European Union citizenship and citizenship of particular Europe state.

2.4.3. The Concept of Citizenship in Pre-colonial Africa

In this context conventional African society indicates the time before the European era of colonization which lasted up to the 1880s. Before the colonial occupation of Africa for commerce, missionary purposes that targeted colonization, the nature of citizenship in the African kingdom, empire and communes was not similar to the present. In traditional African society, membership of local residence is set through a kinship system. As equated by Cohen (1970), the kinship scheme is the communal organization of traditional African society which is classified into three interpersonal relationships: “genealogy, descent, and affinity”. Before the intrusion of different peoples to Africa for commerce, missionary purposes that targeted colonization, the nature of citizenship in the African milieu was not similar to the present concept of citizenship. The concept of citizenship in Africa before the era of colonization was not estranged from the political maneuver and the culture of the society of the time. Africans passed through different ‘mosaic’ systems in which the system of citizenship was highly related to ancestry and relationships (Kankan, 2016).

Before European colonization, the way of acquiring citizenship rights in some parts of Africa was highly related to bloodline rather than political and religious affinity. For example (Manby, 2015) revealed that in central or West Africa, communities tended to be small enough that membership was effectively determined by family linkages rather than political or religious rules. In some parts of Africa, the issue of membership was commonly related to the grant of usage rights over land for the purpose of herding cattle and for farming and depends on political situations after approval by an independent group of people attending worship (ibid). Additionally as forwarded by (Lund, 2011), citizenship status and land rights are directly allied in most African societies. According to Lund, the right of citizenship and belonging can be a path to safe assets, and possessions may strengthen a sense of belonging and citizenship. So, the group of people who penetrated to Africa for different practices acquired the right of African citizenship after possessing land and diverse property. Practical exclusion of citizenship in pre-colonial Africa was not common. According to Ejobowah (2006), in pre-colonial Africa, citizenship was not exclusive and the group of foreigner people possibly will acquire rights to land and fishing resources by

residing in the community. Unlike to contemporary period, Pre-colonial Africa was characterized by flexible identity formation which made it probable for migrants to be totally immersed into their host communities devoid of barriers to their partaking in social, civic and political life provided they showed a strong sense of recognition and incorporation into the host communities (Nwosu, 2008).

2.4.4 The Concept of Citizenship in Africa during Colonial Period

During colonial period the providence of Africans depended upon the interest of the colonial powers. The politics of citizenship in this period was exercised by Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Belgium, and Portugal.

One of the legacies of colonization in Africa is the arbitrarily creation of territorial clewed State and the fusion of incompatible ethnic group through assimilation to simplify their ruling system. This was applied by colonial power by dividing the same ethnic group into different boundary to make their ruling system smooth and easily manageable. They were disparate the people of one state into major and minor ethnic group which is the foundation of the present discrimination. The issue of citizenship provision during colonial period was under the supremacy of colonial powers in which the fate citizenship of the Africans was decided by European colonial powers. Mngomezulu (2015) states the application of citizenship right by Britain and France in which they exercise different rules to suppress the right of the native Africans and give prior privileges for 'European- born or African born Whites'. During this period Africans were denied the right of citizenship at all. Colonizers of the time ruled the people based up on the principle of citizen and subjects where the whites have full right of citizens in which the native Africans were subjects by which they denied the right of citizen (Manby, 2009). Until the promulgation of the British Nationality law of 1948 the regions of the British empire was divided in to 'colonies', 'dominion' and 'Protectorates' and the people in her territory were named 'subjects' which was changed to "citizen of the United Kingdom and colonies" by the 1948 nationality law (Manby, 2010). Similarly, as stated by the same author, France also adopted a law in 1881 which was divided nationals of its territories into two categories: French citizens (*citoyens français*), who were of European stock or mixed race; and French subjects (*sujets français*), including black Africans, Muslim Algerians, and other natives (*indigènes*) of Madagascar, the Antilles, Melanesia, and other non-European territories. In addition to this the

Portuguese government introduced three categories of citizenship, in its colonies, the *indígena* (native), the *não-indígena* (non-native) and *assimilado* around 1899 (ibid).

The practice that applied by Spanish, Belgium, Germany and Italy was not differ from the foregoing system of administration. In both case the people in the colonial territory had no full right which is contrary to the settler Europeans in the African colonial States.

2.4.5 The Concept of Citizenship in Post Colonial Africa

Even though the notion of the State and Citizenship have been changed from pre colonial, colonial and post colonial time, the concern of modern citizenship in Africa is interrelated with the perception of the State (Adejumobi, 2001). Immediately after their independence, the rule of nationality which was practiced in Africa till today was a colonial legacy- that is the law of citizenship that the colonizers implemented and practiced. The African states were formed by colonial powers during their colonial administration. With the same pace this geographic based state formation isolated the people of the same ethnic background and also merged the group of people with dissimilar culture, language, ethnic background and the like. So, immediately after their independence almost all African states obliged to use foreigners' citizenship practices and its law without their interest. Based on this, (Adejumobi, 2001) explained the three governing principle of citizenship in Africa. According to him, '*jos soli*,' '*Jus sanguinis*' and naturalization are common. Some African countries do not allow *jus soli* principle due to the fact that they are tied to ethnical attitude which they call it African-Negro descent (Bertochhi & Strozzi, 2010).

2.4.6 The Evolution of Citizenship in Nigeria

The etymological concept of citizenship was not native for most African states including Nigeria. It was what European constructed to Africa during their colonial expansion. Confirming this (Dibua, 2011) pointed out the spread of the notion of Citizenship from the Western under the prevalent modernization paradigm to Africa.

In addition to the preceding concept Citizenship in current Nigeria is basically involves the transplanting of the Western characteristics of citizenship as they were transformed by the liberal and bourgeois European revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries, into Africa (Dibua, 2005).

In case of Nigeria the history of citizenship is tied with the era of independence. Previous to the promulgation of the 1960s Nigerian Constitution the concept of citizenship not branded. At the time of colonization the people who were existed in the British colonies were ‘subjects’ (Osaghae, 1990). British nationality laws primarily became applicable to Nigeria in 1861 when, by accord, the island and territory of Lagos were ceded to the British crown. In this treaty, when the inhabitants of Lagos obtained the rank of British ‘subjects’, the residents in the remaining parts of the country came under British protection acquire a status which was first statutorily distinct by the British Nationality Act 1948 (Nwogugu, 1976).

By means of the promulgation of the 1963 Nigerian constitution the concept of citizenship became existed in Nigeria. According to this constitution, all person who, having been born in the ex- colony or protectorate of Nigeria was, on the 30th day of September 1960, a citizen of the United Kingdom and colonies or a British protected person was a Nigerian citizen”(ibid). In addition to the preceding thought, Okoli (1990) opined that, the concept of the existing citizenship notion in Nigeria was directly linked with the colonial trend of British, through which it called the inhabitants in the territory subject *simpliciter* in the Colony of Lagos or British protected persons in any other fraction of the territories that made up the province of Nigeria. The 1979, 1989 and the 1999 Nigeria constitution stated birth, registration and naturalization modes of acquiring Nigerian citizenship (Ibid).

Now days due to the ineffectiveness of strong state and due to deficient strong nation bond, citizenship in Nigeria classified into different categories under a single entity; Nigeria. For example, Dibua (2011) suggested four categories of citizenship in Nigeria. They are constitutional, diasporic, Sharia and ethnic citizenship. In the first case, it is meant to protect the interests of the bourgeois class; while helping to justify the exploitation and oppression of the marginalized classes. The second one refers to those emigrants from Nigeria and experienced the concept of dual perception. On the other hand the introduction of the Sharia law by most of the states in northern Nigeria has given rise to Sharia citizenship for Muslims in these states since the Sharia law is

expected to govern most aspects of their lives. The last one is a product of the colonial legacy of divide and rule, which fostered ethnicity by promoting communal sentiments, regionalization and ethnicization among Nigerians. This categorization made the issue of Nigerian citizenship trickier.

On the other hand (Osaghae, 1990) stated the categories of Nigerian citizenship as follows:

...Accordingly, there are two levels of citizenship. The one, "state" citizenship, meaning that one is indigene of a particular state, and the other, national citizenship meaning that, at a larger level, one belongs to Nigeria. While the first mutually exclusively, precluding non-indigenes of the state from citizenship, the other is all inclusive, and provides that all citizens are equal (p. 600).

This division evidently outlined that the absence of true or nationalistic citizen in Nigeria. The inappropriate division of citizenship and the governing principle of citizenship hampering national unity; becomes a foundation of distrust among different ethnic groups and the governing organ. Generally, the dissection amid ethnic citizenship, sharia citizenship, state citizenship, national citizenship, constitutional citizenship and diasporic citizenship are the most salient factors for Nigeria crisis and devastating consequences if not they are well managed early and get fitting remedies.

2.5. Laws of Citizenship

Citizenship law of the states comprises rule, regulations and procedures through which the states govern their status of citizenship for citizens. These rules and procedures include acquiring citizenship, loss of citizenship, renunciation of citizenship and double nationality. According to United States office of Personnel Management Investigations Service (2001) most of the world state used various methods by which a person acquires citizenship right of a country which include acquisition by birth (*jus soli and jus sanguinis*), by naturalization, by marriage and through registration. Similarly Vink & Groot (2010) opined that citizenship law of the states provides and specify rules and procedures how citizenship right is lost automatically, by voluntary renunciation.

Now days law of citizenship shows further progression. More explicitly, in this 21st century the tone of citizenship is more laudable by many researchers and the law governing citizens and citizenship gained central position in political discourses.

The study by Sejerson, (2008) pointed out globalization as the main factor for progressive change of citizenship law and citizenship rights. According to him, “citizenship has gained a central position in political discussion as a result of globalization, the growing number of migrants living transnational lives, intermarriage, and the question of these development pose to ideas of state, nation, territory and polity as one entity” (2008 : 524). Moreover citizenship laws governs issues related citizenship rights including people equality in granting citizenship right, equal treatment of people, avoidance of discrimination based on gender, religion, ethnic, race etc to protect the people violation of human rights. In conforming this, (Spiro, 2011) attested the importance of international citizenship law in safeguarding a positive legal status amid nations and states and also used as a channel in strengthening the bilateral relationship among diverse states in governing their citizens. In many cases, citizenship law of the states cannot afford the rights attested by the law which is directly pave the way for diverse socio- economic, political and economic discrimination. Discrimination of citizenship is callous practices which are against the norm of citizenship law and other related laws. Contrary to this majority of world states do not apply effectively in favor of the people. The report from the conference held in Dakar Senegal in 2004 by initiatives of Open Society Justice Initiative shows the ongoing discriminatory practices of citizenship by state actors which led to discrimination in access to land, education, and other social benefits.

2.5.1 Citizenship law in Africa after Independence (1960s)

Immediately after their independence from European colonial rule in 1960s, one of main concerns of majority of the African States was the issue of boundary demarcation and delimitation previously remain unsolved by colonizers. The Cairo conference of 1964 among independent and non independent African states marked the formulation of constitutional law and other laws that help govern their artificial boundary effectively. It was obvious that most of the African states who gained their independence at that time were not ready enough to formulate laws which takes into consideration the socio-economic, political and culture of that particular society. So, the mechanism they used to fill the gap was simply to adapt and practice of the former colonial power is the best alternative for them. Among these laws the law of citizenship was the foremost issue till today in Africa which lacks reliability and

uniformity throughout the continent. The review by authors (Nwanegbo, Odigbo & Ochanja, 2014) shows the challenge of many African states in consideration of citizenship due to the colonial legacy of “divide and rule” that created inequality” among the original inhabitant and among migrants or settler citizens in the same country of nationality.

In Liberia, the 1822 constitution restricted citizenship to “person’s color,” a provision that remains in place, though later reformulated to “Negroes. Within Liberia a more detailed nationality law was promulgated in 1956, which provided *jus soli* principle for persons of Negro descent (Manby, 2015). In most part of Africa the law and constitution of the states that govern citizenship seem open and free from any discrimination. However, its practical implementation is full of unpleasant standard which is based descent, religion, language, color face, ethnic background, political background and the like. For example the law that governs citizenship rights provision in Nigeria is a good example for this. Prior to its independence, like that of other African countries the fate of citizenship law and other states law of Nigeria were under the executive of British dominance. The narration of on paper law or constitutional appendage for the area that later became known as Nigeria can be traced to the Act of 1862 which provided for colonial administration of Lagos (Igbuzor, 2002). During the colonial rule the territory of the British Empire was categorized in to three sections. As it stated in the work of (Manby, 2010), the territories which recognized under the domination of the British colonial rule were given the position of citizen of the United Kingdom and colonies by the 1948 British nationality law. At the end of its sovereignty Nigeria promulgated the first independent constitution in 1960 which contains the rights and modes of acquiring Nigerian citizenship. Till its independence Nigeria experienced the 1960, 1963, 1979, 1989 and 1999 constitutions. By stating sections 25, 26, and 27 of the 1999 FRN constitution (Okeke & Okeke, 2013) affirm the procedures that required to be a Nigerian citizen. According to the writers citizenship acquisition by birth and by registration and naturalization are the requirement and vital standards. This citizenship right provision was/is full of prejudice that will be analyzed in chapter four of this research.

As one of the continental and time honored organization the African Union is expected to work hard for the integration and the success of Pan African movement.

To achieve this goal Some Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in Africa have attempted to establish rules to administer emended individuals gainer the right of citizenship of the community, loss of community nationality, mechanisms for child adoption, and some other rules and regulations. Among the RECs, the Economic Community for West African States (ECOWAS) had signed an agreement which is found to be ambiguity. The document resembles the Nigerian constitutional part under which it listed the right of citizenship. In all ECOWAS countries, the inaccessible and highly unrestricted course of naturalization makes it exceedingly tricky to obtain gratitude of membership in the State where a person lives and has the closest connections if it is not their country of origin (Manby, 2015).

In general, many nationality laws, adopted in the 1960s, do not fully comply with current international principles on prevention and reduction of statelessness, as per, inter alia, the 1961 Convention, the 1990 African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, and the 1999 set of rules on the Rights of Women (UNHCR, 2014).

2.6 Historical Perspective of State Formation and its Challenges for Nigeria

State formation is defined by many scholars in different manners. For example according to the definition given by Sandbrook (1986) “State formation involved the gradual accumulation and centralization of power that enabled a government to exercise effective control within a territory and implement complex policies” (P: 708).

The state formation in Africa passes through in different processes. For example conquest, assimilation and internal development are a few systems by which many African states were formed. Many scholars opined their views concerning the states formation in Africa. For example the study of Southall (1974) forwarded the concept of states formation in post colonial Africa as follows:

Many African kingdoms and states were created by conquest, but many others developed through more peaceful borrowing and assimilation of ideas and institutions from neighbors, and even through internal development, stimulated by population growth, improved production, the need to organize and mobilize for migration, or protection against new external threats and through the stimulus of changed environmental constraints and opportunities

encountered through migration, expansion, or man-made changes in the local Ecology (p.154).

Like that of many African countries, the concept of state formation in Nigeria also experienced different phases of challenges. Previous to the burden of British regal statute, the province currently recognized as Nigeria consisted of plentiful politically independent societies- chiefdoms, kingdoms and feudal aristocratic states (Alapiki, 2005). The commencement of contemporary Nigeria can be traced to 1900, when Britain established effectual political control over three disconnect territories: the colony of Lagos and the protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria (ibid). Like that of other African states, Nigeria also formed arbitrarily by the imperialist power without the consent of the Nigerian people. For the period of sixty years (1st January, 1900- 30th September 1960) of colonial administration Britain has been exercised frequent reclassifying of diverse regions for the purpose of its imperialist achievement or administrative convenience (Babalola, 2016).

After the end of British colonial rule in 1960, the military administration came to power to rule the state which was fragmented by the former colonial power. On the other hand as soon as the withdrawn of the colonial power Nigeria entered to frequent ethnic civil wars which were led by the then nationalist leaders who were not be anxious about the former colonial injustice. The frequent conflict among the military leaders and coup d'état organizer opened the way for successive states formation in Nigeria. For example the study of (Babalola, 2015) revealed the formation of successive states due to the military confrontations in Nigeria and for quest of self determination. According to him, from 1976 onward Nigeria experienced the creation of different new states which is still unable to stop further internal ethnic conflicts. The formation of 36 states in Nigeria was not for the interest of Nigeria's integrity and also not to be responsive for ethnic minority; rather it was self serving mechanism for ethnic interpreters or corrupt officials as stated in (Yongo, 2015). More recently corruption and bad governance are also put their contribution in trickling strong state formation in Nigeria. The study by (Alafur, 2011), revealed that the corrupt officials in collaboration with oil exporter from Nigeria decline both its economy and also eroded the trust among the people and their rulers.

In addition to its incapability to form strong state, the failure of coalescing diverse ethnic groups under one nation is also another tackle of veracity for Nigeria.

According to Joseph (2003) three factors stands out for the failures of Africa in national integration: “the political articulation of ethnicity, the nature of governance, and the representative character of political institutions” (p. 16). In the essay of Uwa, (et al, 2013) ““national integration” means the bringing of the different ethnic, racial, religious, economic, social and political groups into unrestricted and equal association on national issues.” (p.80). Due to the fact that ethnic majority and minority divisions among the same state people the national integration in Nigeria encountered with discrepancy. On the other hand nation building engages the progress of behaviors, values, language, institutions, and physical structures that give detail history and culture, concretize and defend the present, and indemnify the upcoming identity and autonomy of the people as opined in (Ahimed- Gamgum [Mnim], 2014). The notion of nation- building and the concept of citizenship are interrelated each other. For example as affirmed by the same author “An important aspect of nation-building is the building of a common citizenship” (p.131). The notion of common citizenship or national citizenship of Nigeria is encircled with the predicament of ineffective national integrity.

Since its independence Nigeria is in challenge for the formation of national integrity due to diverse socio- political and economic factors inherited from British colonial rulers and due to successive tensions among its diverse ethnic groups since its independence. As forwarded by Oluwole (2014) the challenge of ethnicity has been supposed in a wide-ranging as a major obstacle to the overall politico-economic advance of Nigeria. Likewise, as stated in (Chidume, et al, 2014), the materialization of ethnic nationalism is resulting upon the survival of so numerous ethnic citizenship in Nigeria.

2.7 Citizenship right Discrimination from Global Context

Citizenship discrimination is a global incident which is not get cure dealing global and appeared throughout the world with dissimilar pace. There are various categories of citizenship with high ambiguity in the world. The work of Castel (2007) shows the following summed up citizenship contradictions in this modern nation-state. According to him the main contradictions are; those contradictions existed “between inclusion and exclusion, between the citizen and the national, between the active and the passive citizen, between inclusion and exclusion, between the citizen as political sovereign and the warrior-citizen” (2007:19). Internationally recognized

conventions are formalized that having a specific citizenship right is a legal factor for all human being. But this legal entity is full of nasty throughout the world by varied magnitude through Europe and all over the place. For instance Castel (2007) shows the prejudice in Europe by which some 13 million residents from outside the European Community have been unable to become citizens for legal or social reasons. According to him in Japan, the barring of the descendants of Korean forced laborers at the moment goes into the fourth and fifth generations. Similarly in the United States, the entire segments of the economy are based on the labor of stateless Mexican and other foreign workers, while African Americans experience high rates of segregation in 'black ghettos', unremitting unemployment, and elevated rates of incarceration and execution (ibid).

Regarding its discrimination the group of the people that denied the right of citizenship is refugees, women, children, stateless person, migrants, minority ethnic groups, non indigenous, settlers etc. On the other hand discrimination of citizenship which is veiled under the mask of religion is another influence of the minority group who followed their own religion which is dissimilar to majority's religion. In some case this is reflected in Pakistan among Muslim majority and Christian minority. According to the writing of (Gabriel, 2007) minority Christian were treated as non citizens or subject to the Muslims, they also considered as second class in the firm of employment, education, in law area and they are not equally consume from the Pakistan state's provision.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) prohibit discrimination on the grounds of ethnic, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or 'other status (Craig, 2007). Even though, many worlds of the nations signed these conventions; still the prejudice against the people in acquiring citizenship right is continued both in developed and developing countries. The groups of people who were discriminated the right of citizenship based up on their gender, state of origin, ethnic background, religion were confronted with multifaceted challenges as stated by different journals and books. For example, in Australia, refugees from different part of Africa faced challenges of work opportunity, lack of access of education, the problem of housing and treated unequally with the

local people as stated by (Atem, nd). In addition to this, the report of human right watch (2012) exposed the problem that faced the Roman, Jews, and a number of others southeastern and Eastern European Ethnic group. According to the report these group of people are still under direct constitutional discrimination and indirect discrimination in the area of education, employment, healthcare and housing problems. Global citizenship is dissimilar with European Union Citizenship in which the latter refers to the citizenship of the European Union by which its political system is exceedingly decentralized and based on the charitable pledge of the affiliate states and its citizens and relies on sub-organizations to manage coercion and other forms of state authority (Singh, 2005).

In 1993, the accord of Maastricht recognized the citizenship of the European Union, and put out a clear set of rights accessible to nationals of all EU Member States. European citizenship does not restore citizenship of a member State. In its place, it confers supplementary rights to those previously granted via national citizenship (EC, 2013, No. 365).

2.8 Victims of Citizenship Right Discrimination in the Context of Africa

Discrimination and citizenship are interlinked troubles all through a great deal of Africa (Open Society Initiative, 2004). Discrimination is an act of excluding/isolating an individual on the basis of one's ethnic, gender, race, religion, color, language, fortune, birth, political affinity, socio- cultural background, economic status, or educational statuses. In this process the discriminated individual or group in a state may not have an equal treatment in terms of access to human, democratic, economic and diverse social rights. As stated in to (ACHPR, 2015), citizenship discrimination has left many Africans without nationality contributed due to:

.....numerous and are very often linked to the colonial history of their respective States, to State borders and population migrations on the continent, to structural discrimination in African societies (notably discrimination based on gender and ethnic, racial or religious origin), to difficulties affecting the movements of cross border and nomadic populations, etc. The refusal to grant nationality to or the withdrawal of nationality from certain communities or personalities has been the root of conflicts that have engendered some of the most serious human rights violations this continent has experienced over the last decade, notably in Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Mauritania, Uganda and Zimbabwe(2015: 5)

Almost all of the world nation-states have their own 'citizenship' laws which apply for their citizens and for foreigners, refugees, immigrants other outsiders. However, its applicability is full of discriminatory provisions particularly in case of African countries. Still today, in this era of globalization the movement of African citizens from one African country to other is limited under different circumstances which are too far from the application of EU citizenship standards. This means that the existence legal provision on human and people's rights, which is reflected in the legal systems of all of the African States, have not kept legislators in certain countries from including discriminatory provisions pertaining to the right to citizenship in national laws (ACHPR, 2015). Many writers piercing that the root causes of citizenship rights discriminatory provisions in Africa was inheritance of colonization. Among them, Manby (2016) severely mentioned that nationality problems are, of course, related to Africa's history of colonial rule and the heritage of boundaries that cut through pre-existing political boundaries, and institutions that had been founded on systematic racial and ethnic discrimination.

Beside the stated the other factors which seems to have contributed to today's discriminatory provisions of Africa's citizenship was factors of the creation of a many-tiered citizenship structures that central feature was racial discrimination. The colonies were founded on a basis of racial and ethnic distinction that justified the gaps in standard and legal right between rulers and ruled (Manby, 2009). Similarly, at least half a dozen African countries effectively guarantee the most problematic elements of citizenship provision discrimination based on race or ethnic identities. Individuals or discriminated groups can never obtain nationality from birth; nor can neither their children nor their children's children (Manby, 2010). Next to the other element of citizenship prejudice, discrimination of citizenship based on gender is common problems in Africa and the rest part of the world. Albarazi & Brennan (2015) explain the relentlessness of the crisis by expressing twenty-seven countries worldwide which are keeping on to discriminate against women in their ability to grant their nationality on their children on an equal basis with men. According to these researchers this act is leads an individual to statelessness which is catalyst for further impediment of socio-economic and political rights.

Additionally, (Farada, 2008) argues that discrimination against women is jointly with the restrictions placed on married women in their aptitude to pass on their

nationality to their husbands, it is an area where discrimination has been legally enshrined for a long time. In both situations citizenship discrimination accompanied to violation of the right to nationality that is directly or indirectly related to the infringement of other rights such as education, political partaking, property ownership, and freedom of movement (Lynch, 2005). Majority of African countries did not allowed women to pass her nationality to her foreigner spouse and to her kids which is commonly allowed for men to do so. As pointed out in some volume and by different authors' suggestion, citizenship malevolent against women is the problem of our sphere. The Dissertation of (Manby, 2015,) reveals that more than twenty- five African Countries denied the right of the women to pass their nationality to their foreign Spouse. This injustice is multiplied by a gender inequality in the law which still in many countries disallows women who marry noncitizens from passing their own citizenship to their children or their husband, despite the fact that men can do so without question. The victims of this sort of discrimination are mostly invisible in the media, because they are dispersed throughout wider populations, yet those affected must number in the millions across the continent (Manby, 2009). Moreover, (Lynch, 2005), states the severity of this discrimination by putting the estimate data of the births unregistered. According to this author, 50 million births per year alone go unregistered. This is also disheartened the smooth marriage relation between male and female.

African states are expected to respect African Commission to observe that the right to nationality, illustrated as one of fundamental human right. Yet this provision has not really protected in Africa. The commission is unable to stop member states' discriminatory provisions to the nationality rights of persons on grounds of race, ethnicity, language, religion, gender discrimination, non-compliance with the rules on the prevention of statelessness pursuant to transfers of territory between States, and the failure of many African States to ensure that all children are systematically registered at birth (ACHPR, 2015).

2.8.1 Citizenship Right Discrimination against Refugees

Individuals or groups who have fled their countries to escape or avoid themselves from persecution on the bases of their distinct race, religion, ethnic identity, or due to their membership in a particular social group or due to their

different political opinion. As opined by (Marilyn, 2014) such individuals are stateless or considered to be refugee. In order to solve the problems faced refugees and internally displaced individuals many African states met repeatedly to discuss on the problem all through Africa. For example, the ACHPR conducted a meeting with its member states which was targeted the issues of internally displaced people and refugees as follows:

In October 2009, the African States, meeting on the situation of refugees, returnees and internally displaced persons in Africa, undertook 'to prioritize the building of capacity of national institutions, including those dealing with the challenge of refugees, [...] with a view to the attainment of self-reliance and empowerment of Africans to address Africa's problems' which include the issue of their naturalization (ACHPR, 2015: 2).

Opposite to this and other concurrences, refugees in Africa as elsewhere faced or encountered different abuses of their human rights including citizenship right violation. A good example of this realization is the issues of Palestinian refugees in Egypt. As pointed out by Badawy & Khalil (nd) there are around 70,000 Palestinian refugees were discriminated in obtaining Egyptian citizenship right. On the other hand Fritzsche, (2014) revealed diverse crisis which encountered the refugees in Egypt Among these the refugees were obliged to marry Egyptian men in order to grant Egyptian citizenship right. People who were displace internally due to different socio-political and economic factors are also internal refugees. But the protection and aid given for those internal refugees compared to other refugees from external. In corroborating this (Lynch, 2005) opposite to the refugees and internally displaced people, stateless individuals generally do not benefit from the protection and assistance given from governments, from aid agencies, and the United Nations, despite its mandate over stateless persons.

2.8.2 Citizenship Rights Discrimination based on Ethnic Identity

Ethnicity usually refers to communal distinctiveness dealings, seeded by such primeval binds as blood, verbal communication, belief, tradition and mores (Jinadu, 2002). Related to the commentary of colonization, half a dozen countries in Africa limit citizenship from birth to members of ethnic groups whose ancestral origins are within the particular state or within the African continent. Liberia and Sierra Leone,

both founded by freed slaves, take the position that only those “of Negro descent” may be citizens from birth. Meanwhile, citizenship is legally linked to ethnicity and “indignity” or “autochthony” in Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and in Somalia, and to some extent in Nigeria.

The concept of ethnic based discrimination refers to the practice of distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference on the bases of race, color, descent or ethnic origin or background. Citizenship right discrimination based on ethnic background has effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, social, cultural or any other field of public life. Ethnic based citizenship right discriminatory provision is the sorrow of many African peoples both in Africa and outside Africa also. Even the practices of ethnic based discrimination are a global virus its scope and practice is widely observed in Africa.

The extreme, form of citizenship discrimination is shown in the poem of a victim individual taken from (Manby, 2015).

Extract from: *Quel est mon pays ?* by Yodé et Siro (Cote d’Ivoire)

Quand je suis au Gabon on m’appelle ghanéen ;
Quand je suis au Ghana on m’appelle gabonais.
Au Burkina on dit voilà ivoirien ;
En Côte d’Ivoire voilà burkinabè.
De part et d’autre je suis reconnu mais pas en tant que tel :
Quel est mon pays, le pays du métisse ?
Ne regarde pas mon visage pour m’attribuer une nationalité ;
Mon accoutrement pour donner le nom de mon pays

When I am in Gabon they call me Ghanaian;
When I am in Ghana they call me Gabonese.
In Burkina, they say there’s an Ivorian;
In Côte d’Ivoire, there’s a Burkinabè.
In every place I am recognized but not as what I am:
Which is my country, the country of the hybrids?
Don’t look at my face to give me a nationality;
Or at my clothes to know the name of my country.
(2015 : 211).

In this poem one can perceive that the dilemma that encountered an individuals in Africa due to one’s ethnic background. The notion of Africa citizen is still encircled with multifaceted problems like that of ethnic background.

2.8.3 Citizenship Rights Discrimination based on one's Religious Identity

Literally, the concept of religion is grassroots attitude and belief about the continuation, scenery, and adoration of a divinity or goddess, and celestial participation in the cosmos as well as human being existence (Caputo, 2001). When narrate religion with right, it is an individual right by which no one can be deprived based on one's own belief or religious identity.

But in difference to this, in many North African Islamic countries such as Egypt, Morocco, and Libya religion is one of the most imperative factors in the discriminatory provisions or granting of citizenship right of particularly in the "naturalization" course of action (Perrin, 2011). In these countries a non- Muslim as well as non Arab persons were exceedingly underprivileged for bypass in the course of naturalization as well as registration. On the other hand Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, and Mauritania setting the knowledge of Arabic language as a pre condition for the process of Naturalization (ibid).

Moreover, even if discrimination of citizenship right is not clearly attested on their legislation, Egypt gave only for three monotheistic religions: Islam, Christianity, and Judaism follower to gain her nationality through naturalization (Badawy & Khalil ,nd). According to this context the follower of other religion do not allowed acquiring citizenship right through naturalization in Egypt.

2.8.4 Discriminatory provisions of Citizenship Right and Marginalization

"Marginalization" denotes an act of segregating an individual from social, economic, cultural and political provisions based up on different man made or artificial standards. The course of discrimination is directly linked with marginalization. It has been stated that poverty, underdevelopment, social exclusion and economic disparities are fundamentally linked with state's erroneous discrimination. Marginalization is normally the circumstance shaped as an upshot of discrimination. As discrimination leads to economic deprivation, poverty increases discrimination, exclusion and marginalization as a whole (Narayan, 2012). In the same stratum, (Olawoyin, et al, 2014) define, marginalization as a situation of virtual denial, purposefully refute the power of a citizens , refusing some category of citizens from equal share of the state resources from that they were naturally gifted.

If ethnic minorities in a state are segregated or excluded from the vicinity of education, compensation, and employment, the economy of the country and the neighboring countries will be damaged. When relative economic deprivation exists, it has a positive correlation with higher crime rates and urban violence (Dertwinkel, 2008).

Minority groups throughout the world are negatively affected through the discriminatory political, economic and socio cultural practices of state governance system. Such state practices hamper their participation in the political, economic and social integration in which they are living in. They have no right take part in an election they can nor elect their leaders and have no right to identity card of citizenship. Non-citizen people cannot get their children registered at birth or entered in school or university; they cannot admittance of state health services; they cannot obtain trek documents, or employment without a work is not permitted and most of all, they cannot vote or stand for office or work in stat or public institutions (Manby, 2009). The Political marginalization of the Nubian case is one of poor example for the rest African countries. In contemporary Kenyan political communities the Nubians, are formally citizens but they are more intimately looks like non-citizens in their limited access to rights, limited opportunities to participate in political life, and in the limited safety and flaw of their political relationship (Chrimes, 2015).

2.8.5 Discriminatory Provisions of States' Citizenship Right and "Statelessness"

While statelessness is the term used to describe the absence of nationality and stateless person is someone who is not considered as a national by any state under the operation of its law (Wass, 2014). According to the definition of the 1954 UN Convention, the term "stateless person" stands for an individual who is not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law. Due to malignant citizenship law and discriminatory tendencies in the world states many categories of the people are out of the sphere of the state. Even though there is no accurate data all over the world in each and every state the problems related to statelessness is the major international annoyance for both countries particularly for Africa.

Concerning the figure on the stateless persons (Wass, 2014) suggests that around 10 million people are affected by the incident of statelessness throughout the world. Similarly, (Manby, 2011) too states about the subsistence of massive quantity

of stateless persons all through the earth which are anticipated to be about 12 million. An individual devoid of State may face citizenship rights abuses of his or her citizenship discrimination. Among these; they cannot vote, their children cannot get the right of birth registration, obtaining states health service is not their right and they do not have the right of employment. Statelessness is jam-packed of violations in human rights of the individuals and restricts people from economic privileges. Corroborating this idea, the Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion (ISI, 2014) explains the issue of statelessness that the emergent states could too bound the gratification of economic privileges by non-nationals in convinced conditions, which may be used to justify the economic disempowerment of stateless people. The existence of these problems may escort an individual to forceful migration. The volume written by Edwards & Waas (2014) estimated the number of stateless persons which as surpassing to 15 million people globally. Of these 10 million of the stateless people were under the protection of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Recently, Manby (2016) refines her previous work and claims that problem of statelessness in West Africa which is on the advancement of escalating. According to her a lot of millions of stateless persons exist within West African states. These persons have not been issued citizenship rights by any one of the states, generating the challenge of providing precise figures.

2.8.6 Citizenship right Discrimination against the Children born to Stateless person

Globally, children who were not providential to born in their mother land territory confronted with different discriminatory provisions. According to the international norm, every child has equal right in both aspects. Among these the right to nationality is the core for the rest rights. Article 7 of the Convention of the Right of the Children (CRC), confirm this scheme strictly. But, in contrast to this convention, most of the children throughout the world deprived the right of citizenship depend up on their family residential status, sex, social origin, and ethnic minority (ISI, 2015). On the other hand, when the state deprives the kids the right of nationality, they faced to the next barriers resulted due to statelessness. These groups of children were subjected to this prejudice due to diverse barriers. The study by (Bell, 2015) shows the group of children who were included under this category. "... though is not limited to, children who travel transnational with or without their parents, children

born outside their mother's country of origin, and children 'left behind' in the care of relatives, institutions, or to fend for themselves when their parents leave the country to work"(2015 : 2). The report of UN (2013) exposed that the total number of children who were survived on this sphere devoid of having their identity exceed to 50 million.

In case of Africa, many states are not providing further provisions regarding the right of these children on their constitution and citizenship act. For example the constitution of Kenya does not guarantee children the right of nationality. In order to crack the trouble article 6(4) of the ACRWC entails the Kenyan government to alter its Constitutional legislation to provide effect to the standard that a child shall acquire the nationality of the state in which he or she is born, if at the time of birth the child is stateless (Open Society Justice Initiative, 2009). On the basis of the malfunction of the Kenya government to amend the constitution, stateless children born in its territory, thousands of Kenyan offspring born to ethnic minority groups are deprived of admission to education, health care and a range of basic services to which other Kenyan born children are permitted(1bid).

In addition, Algeria, Burkina Faso, Comoros, Congo Republic, Egypt, Gambia, Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan, and Togo do not provide legal protection for child adoption in their citizenship act and constitution as affirmed in the dissertation of Manby (2015).

2.9 The Role of the AU in Combating the Phenomenon of Citizenship Right

African Union is an organization which was time-honored to work against the quandary of African people from both natural and manmade restraints. Basically, the 2000 transformation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU) was aimed at bringing the unresolved predicaments in Africa as stated by (ACHPR, 2015) as follows:

The new organization was intended to be a Union of 'democratic States respectful of human rights and keen to build equitable societies which have no room for exclusion, racism and discrimination and whose philosophy was founded on the idea that '[h]umans – of whom fifty percent are women – must, in all circumstances, be both the actors in and beneficiaries of the structural changes engendered by development; and development should enable humans to accept their identities and conditions, rather than fall victim to them (P.5).

Additionally it necessitated to promote social, political, cultural and economic situations of the people of Africa in line with the European Union (EU). The organization of African Organization (OAU) was established in 1963. Still after 54 years the OAU/ now AU- has not allowed or been able to protect the rights of the peoples in the member states. For instance the AU suffers from the absence of strong and unambiguous African nationality law. Confirming this idea some human right institute criticize the flaw of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR), in which it has no explicit provision on nationality. The recent time the ISI (2017) revealed the absence of citizenship law and governing mechanisms on the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR). This fact put out of sight the wrestle of the pan African nationalist movements: Kwame Nkrumah, Sylvester William, Du Bois (the father of pan African Movement) ineffective.

Most recently, in the era when African Union proliferate the African citizens' unity, the xenophobic in South Africa and Nigeria set the issue under question as stated by media (Mbamalu, 2017). According to the new reported by Mbamalu the 'xenophobic' attacks against migrants and citizens of other African countries in both (South Africa and Nigeria) lead to violence or attacks against citizens of Nigeria and south Africa and the revenge taken by Nigerian citizens against south African citizens residing in Nigeria led to the destruction of South Africa mobile telecom companies and business owned by South Africa. Lastly, in order to accomplish Agenda 2063 the AU has to fight against every form of citizenship discriminatory provisions in realization of aspiration 2(22) which stated as: all kinds of coercion including gender, racial and other forms of discrimination will be ruined (AU 2063, 2015). One of the most prominent coursework for AU is the establishment of AU citizenship in line with the European Union citizenship.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Research Methods, Materials, and Procedures

3.1 Why Nigeria Selected for the Study?

This study examines citizenship Rights and discriminatory practices in Africa by taking Nigeria in to focus. The reason why the researcher chose Nigeria as a case for the study was its continuous state of ethnic conflicts. Nigeria is the most populous and multiethnic country in Africa. It has been ruled by federal system of administration. In the country citizenship right discrimination has been mounting as a result of ill practice of citizenship law. Due to this; alienation, conflict and prejudice are widely prevailing in the country (Idowu, 1999). The government of Nigeria binds acquisition of citizenship with ethnic identity which easily evokes ethnicity, and religion violence and tension (Imam, Bibi & Abba, 2014). Even though there is a lawful stipulation on citizenship right in the Nigerian state, the issue of who is a Nigerian citizen or not is a problem that has not been sufficiently answered (Okeke, 2016). In general, one can understand that, the question of citizenship in Nigerian States has remained unsettled.

3.2. Study Design

In qualitative investigation, research design is used as a blue print for the success of any research objective. Mason (2002) related research design with gaining or retaining finance, hold up or admission, to encourage others of the value and intellectual credibility of the research, to show some form of exterior responsibility, or just to explain the range and principle of the research to those involved.

The study employed descriptive research design with qualitative approach so as to get deeper understanding and complete description of the phenomenon under investigation (Drubig, 2001). Descriptive research can be used to identify and classify the elements or characteristics of a subject under study (Collis & Hussey, 2003). It helps to obtain information concerning the current status of the phenomena to describe that what exists with respect to variables or conditions in a situation (Key, 1997). Key described that this method depicts the status quo, investigates the relationship between variables and determines changes over time. So, the issue of citizenship discriminatory practices is the current phenomenon in Nigeria which is

deep rooted with colonial legacy from the beginning of the arbitrarily formed state. For sake of this, my study design focuses on citizenship right discriminatory issues by raising some mechanisms through which citizenship discrimination provisions put into practices and also argues some related consequences in Nigeria.

3.3 Sampling method

This qualitative inquiry employs purposeful sampling. Specifically, purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used to recruit the participants of the study whom supposed to provide rich information on the topic of the study (MacNealy, 1999). Purposive sampling is one of the most common sampling strategies, groupings participants according to preselected criteria relevant to a particular research question.

Qualitative research employs purposeful sampling in which individual and sites are selected purposefully with the hope to better understand the research problem. Purposeful sampling requires the researcher to decide who should be sampled in what form to provide rich and in-depth information (Creswell, 2007b).

Snow ball sampling involves selecting a few participants who fit a researcher's needs for the accomplishment of the planned objectives. Initially selected participants are used to identify additional participants until the required numbers of participants are recruited. Snowballing is often useful when the investigator knows very few numbers of participants, unfamiliar to the research setting or face difficulty to get access participants with sufficient information on the topic of the study (Creswell, 2012 & Gays, 2012).

Therefore, a total of eleven (11) participants from UNHCR officials, intellectuals (historians), politicians, Nigerian students and Nigerian citizens dwelled in Addis Ababa were selected purposely and took part in the study. Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA), UNHCR, Federal Republic Nigerian embassy, Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Development and inter church on Refugee and Returnee Affairs Development (EOC-DIC-RRAD) were some of my focal point areas to get hold of the compulsory informants.

3.4 Data Gathering Tools

Qualitative inquiry relies on the integration of data from a variety of methods and sources of information through triangulation so as to minimize biases and limitations of a single data collection method (Maxwell, 2008). Therefore, document

analysis, key informant interviews and informants' interview were used to collect relevant data that help to address basic questions of the study.

3.4.1 Document analysis

Written documents with private or public sphere are important to categorize, explore, interpret and recognize the limitations of physical sources (Payne & Payne, 2004). To meet the purposes of this particular study, secondary documents such as policy manuals, journals, working papers, articles, media outlets, and internet sources which directly or indirectly related to citizenship law, citizenship right provision discriminatory practices and its impact on different groups were thoroughly consulted and analyzed.

3.4.2 Interview

An interview involves a purposeful interaction of the investigator with participants to secure data pertaining to the problem of the study that cannot acquire from observation and document analysis alone. Unstructured interview enable the qualitative researcher to know and deeply understand about something from the research setting (Gays, 212). Following the general interview guide recommended by McNamara (1999), face to face interviews with academician, refugee from Nigeria, with some Nigerian students in Addis Ababa University, with different officials from FRN embassy, with a Nigerian who lives in Addis Ababa and with a UNHCR official was carried out. Based on the guiding questions, unstructured interview were prepared and administered on face to face basis.

3.5. Method of Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis is the variety of processes and procedures whereby we shift from the qualitative data that have been collected, into some form of explanation, understanding or interpretation of the people and situations we are investigating. As stated by Creswell (2012) forwarded that in qualitative data analysis and interpretation six steps are fundamental. According to him, "preparing and organizing the data, exploring and coding the database, describing findings and forming themes, representing and reporting findings, interpreting the meaning of the findings, and validating the accuracy of the findings"(p.236). Field notes taken from key informants and informants' interview were structurally coded, thematically

analyzed and conceptually described. Then ideas of the informants compared and elucidated with prior view of different scholars.

3.6. Ethical Consideration

In this qualitative inquiry voluntary participation, informed consent, confidentiality, and privacy were specific ethical issues relevant in protecting research participants and given due consideration throughout the study (Stevens, 2013). More specifically, at the inception of data gathering participants were asked if they were enthusiastic to take part after understanding the objectives of the study. In addition participants were informed to keep their information confidential. To this end pseudonym was used to mask information provided by each participant.

3.7 Description of concepts

In the course of investigating citizenship rights and citizenship discriminatory practices in Nigeria on diverse groups of people, besides the two main concepts i.e. citizenship law and citizenship discriminatory practices which against the existence of democratic system, fortification of human rights and other related issues would be assessed. Amongst all statelessness, marginalization, unemployment, unfair competition, ethnic conflicts are a few of them.

Statelessness: It is to explain an individual who is not recognized as a national of any country, in which it has real and overwhelming impact on the lives of persons, their relatives and communities regarding the protection of their human right and the provision of education, health care, legal employment, property ownership, political participation, and freedom of movement (Govil, 2014).

Marginalization: marginalization and exclusion from full citizenship is not only being an outsider in an environmental sense. Meer and Sever describe groups such as women, ethnic minorities and the poor can categorized outside of full citizenship due to race ethnicity, caste class and gender (2004).

Unemployment: “In broad terms, the term unemployment denotes a condition of joblessness or lack of employment. In other words, anyone who is fit and available to work but fails to get one may be considered as being unemployed for the concerned period”(Adesina, 2013:147).

Unfair competition: It is unfair and frequently prohibited challenge to add inequitable spirited benefit all the way through counterfeit, fake, or immoral profitable behavior (Business dictionary. Com).

Ethnic Conflict: It is the inconsistency amid two or more ethnic groups due to the supremacy of one ethnic group and the inferiority of other ethnic group depend on standards given among the two excessive groups (Dakyen & Zungdet, 2014).

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Data Presentation, Interpretation and Analysis

Critical assessment of Citizenship rights discriminatory provision and its related consequences by taking Nigeria in to consideration is the focal point of this paper. Among the content of this thesis this chapter is designed to cover firstly Citizenship right discrimination in Nigeria and its contemporary challenge on nation building and its drawback on the group of the people that has been discriminated and marginalized based up on manmade standards. Next to this some of manifestations of discriminatory terms (unemployment, unfair competition, marginalization, statelessness, and ethnic conflicts) were comprehensively examined. Lastly some African countries' success accounts in exercising good citizenship right provision is discussed to obtain positive lessons to be learned.

4.1 Citizenship Law in Nigeria

Citizenship law of Nigeria has been passed through different stages of development. For example before its independence, concern of citizenship and citizens related laws were under the responsibility of Great Britain (Dibua, 2011). For example as stated by Okoli (1990), during its colonial rule the inhabitants who were reside in the territory now identified as Nigeria were called 'subjects' of Great Britain. In 1948 the legal rank of the inhabitants of all British colonial territories gained constitutional gratitude with the performance of the British Nationality Act (ibid).

Immediately after its independence from British colonial rule, Nigeria promulgated the first constitution in 1960 which encompasses the provisions of citizenship under chapter II by stating three modes (by birth, by registration and by naturalization) through which Nigerian citizenship can be acquired (Okoli, 1990). In addition to modes of acquiring citizenship right it also established the way by which individual deprived and renounced of Nigerian citizenship right. succeeding to the 1960 constitution; the 1963 republican constitution, the 1979, 1989 and 1999 constitution were what Nigeria experienced since it sovereignty. The Nigerian citizenship rights, procedures and ways of its execution are stated on the 1999 FRN constitution. As stated in chapter III sections 25, 26, and 27 of the 1999 Federal Republic of Nigerian constitution, the acquisition of citizenship in Nigeria is predicted by birth, by descent, through naturalization or by means of registration (FRN, 1999).

According to chapter III, section 25(1) of the 1999 FRN, an individual who born in the country during its independence from colonial administration to either Nigerian father or mother or his/ her grandparents belong to indigenous community of Nigeria shall have the right to acquire citizenship by birth. Similarly every individual born abroad from Nigerian parents shall also have the right to get citizenship of the country (FRN, 1999).

As stated in section 27 (2) of the 1999 FRN constitution, naturalization or registration is the other mode of acquiring Nigerian citizenship. For an individual to obtain Nigerian citizenship by the mode of naturalization, full age and capacity, good character; clear intention of an individual's desire to be domiciled in Nigeria, cultural assimilation into the way of life of Nigerians in that part of the Federation, useful contribution to the advancement; progress and well-being of Nigeria are the foremost criterion for an individual to grant the right of Citizenship. In addition to the preceding qualifications an individual should resides for at least fifteen years (FRN, 1999).

In the process of naturalization the two high-flying standards are "good character" and "useful contribution". Indistinguishable writers compare and contrast the methods of acquiring citizenship right in Nigeria, which is hurtful and depends upon different complex methods. According to these scholars compared to the annoying naturalization process, comparatively registration is less complex. The tiresomeness citizenship acquisition in Nigeria is not only during the process of naturalization, but also the process of repudiation and 'reacquisition' (Manby, 2016).

However, the constitution says nothing regarding the foundlings, the child born to unknown parents, and stateless person. This mean that the Nigerian constitution refrains from considering the principles of *jus soli* or citizenship by place of birth in its citizenship rights provision. Even if the constitution theoretically provides acquisition of citizenship of the nation by birth and naturalization or registration; the actual practices on the ground is characterized by full of discrimination. For example, the satisfaction of the president in the authorization of the naturalization process depends up on the character of the applicant, age of maturity, an individual's contribution for states, residing for at least fifteen years and assimilation to the culture of the states are some of the points. The process of acquiring Nigerian citizenship by naturalization is too cumbersome. As a result of

this, different writer annoyed the requirement of naturalization process to acquire Nigerian citizenship rights. For example (Okeke & Okeke, 2013) equates the processes of naturalization with a camel passing through the eye of a needle

Scholars (e.g., Adetiba, 2013; Egwu, 2004; Imam, Bibi & Abba, 2014; Iwuagwu, 2015; Nwanegbo, Odigbo & Ochanja, 2014 & Okeke & Okeke, 2013) argue that citizenship right provision discriminatory practices are not the end result of human rights violation by themselves rather they are somewhat ultimate points for the supplementary costs. For example avoiding the right of transfer of citizenship for her husband and kid is not the end result of discriminatory tendency. The processes of discrimination by itself open the way for other prejudice which the paper talk about under these sub topics.

4.2. Discriminatory Provisions of Citizenship Rights in Nigeria

The constitutional provision of Nigeria seems shielded the right of the people equally in granting citizenship right. On the other hand there are some contentious provisions which need further amplification. This and supplementary factors gave birth to citizenship rights discriminatory practices in Nigeria with an age long and full of inequitable concept. This discriminatory provision remains unresolved and evokes social, political and economic tension throughout the states.

Interestingly, individuals' category to the son/daughter of the soil, indiginity or indigeneship, settlers, autochthon, majority and minority are among factors determining manifestation of discriminatory practices of citizenship acquisition in Nigeria (Iwuagwu, 2015). Historian used by the researcher as key informant argued that the foremost factor that led for today's Nigeria citizenship discriminatory practice are the historical background of the state, the British imperialist rule and the amalgamation of very diverse ethnic groups.

In addition the same informant provided me the following remarks regarding the factors that hinder the Nigerian government from providing clear responses of question of citizenship:

You know, the Nigerian people were forcefully fused together by the British colonial power. I mean, people of the same culture were divided in to two or more than two groups and the people with diverse socio – political, culture and ethnic background merged together forcefully. In addition, the boundary demarcated to separate different states was not participatory by its very nature. Here, one can say cultural pluralism, diversity in socio- political aspects and absence transparencies in boundary demarcation have been leading to political and social unrest in Nigeria. These in turn make the government of Nigeria skeptical of putting its citizenship law on white paper in to practice **(Informant I, March 08/2017)**.

In line with the idea of the key informant, the study of Akanji (2011) revealed the current citizenship law of Nigeria as part of the past colonial legacy. The British colonial power made formal distinction between indigenes and non-indigenes by the regionalizing the Nigerian civil service of 1954. Citizenship discriminatory provision in contemporary Nigerian is not only attributed to imperialist rule, but also from the nature of rulers coming to power after the state independence from colonial rule in 1960. After independence of Nigeria majority of the state's laws were derivatives of the then colonial powers, which is still difficult for the rulers to amend it with the current social, economic and political background of the state.

The report of Human Rights Watch (2006) conclude that 'indignity' and non' indignity' are the two most high-ranking factors that escort discrimination of citizens in which the former is privileged in all aspects and the latter has no right to attain citizenship right and related rights in both three levels of government: At Federal, regional and local states.

An indigene is a person who can trace his or her ancestry back to a community of people who were among the original inhabitants of that place. On the other side non- indigenous is an individual who was not traces his or her lineage back to a community of people who were among the pioneering inhabitants of that consign. In both case the definition given to explain the two terns is indistinct and which is artificially formed by the previous and gained recognition by current ruling classes for the sake of the existence of divide and rule system. It is difficult to give clear definition for the term indignity in light of the movement of the people from one place

to another place commencing ancient time to the present through diverse culture and space (Adesoji & Alao, 2014).

Indignity is purely an inequitable impression engaged in the Nigerian state to tell the dichotomy of indigenes or natives of a state or locality and those who are referred to as non-indigenes or settlers. The majority of the people were victimized by this inconvenience division. Among all the Kaunda, Kano, and the plateau and delta states are the group were most horribly affected by indignity and some related discrimination practices in Nigeria. This discrimination of indigenous from non-indigenes has been widely speeded across the country and refuses to welcome people from outside as Nigerian citizen. As a result of this the firewall was situated between Nigerian indigenes and non indigenes people not to cross the boundary from one state to another (Sayne, 2012).

This discriminatory practice affected different segments societal groups like minority ethnic groups, women, children, settlers or non- indigenous and non-Nigerians (whether Africans or non Africans).

Citizenship right discriminatory practice is not lonely means of difficulty, but also it refined other inhuman or malicious catalysts. These groups are unable to attend government schools and universities. Their kids were unable to have birth certificate; in case of political participation they were disregarded. They are not equally beneficial from the states resources; in most cases they are psychologically treat themselves 'inferior' to the other states' societies; do not have the opportunity to get employed in governmental offices, they are marginalized in some economic aspects and the like.

4.2.1 Citizenship Discrimination against Non- Indigenous Person

In Nigeria anyone born outside his/her place of birth or state is regarded as a settler and has no right to be converted to an indigene. This means that the non-indigenes in Nigeria are not allowed to easily obtain citizenship right of the state in which they are considered as emigrant and fairly treated as non citizen. For example, the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria underscore the president to appoint at least one Minister from each state who shall be an indigene of such state (Section 147(3)). This explicitly shows how the Nigerian constitution restricts citizenship rights of non-indigenes (Dakye & Zungdet, 2014). Therefore, non indigenous in Nigeria are group of people who have been facing diverse socio-

economic discrimination including citizenship right prejudice. The approach the Nigerian state has handled the dealings among 'indigenes' with 'non indigenes' is ingredient of discriminatory provisions of citizenship right. In conforming this, the report by NRN (2014) abuses the mechanism by which the Nigerian governors griped the relations amid 'indigenes' and 'settlers' as it is part of the trouble. The part that revealed the problem of the Nigerian government is stated as follows:

...Section 25(1) of the constitution promises a single Nigerian Citizenship, while section 42 expressly forbids discrimination against other Nigerians based on the circumstances of their birth. However, when it comes to defining membership of one of Nigeria's 36 states, section 318(1) of the 2011 constitution(As Amended) promotes the special interest of those 'born of the soil'(2014:1).

The rest also tried their best to avoid the term 'indignity' from the constitution for the same purpose. For example President Goodluck Jonathan was categorized among the leaders who were proposed the idea to evade the term indignity from the constitution in 2011. The study of Ejobowah (2006) revealed that the proposal of Goodluck Jonathan faced different antagonisms from different corner of the state for fear of the migration of the people in the state which will pave the condition for resource scramble.

Similarly, the report of Human right in 2006 identified prevalence discrimination among indigenous and non indigenous people in Nigeria which was eased by the rulers of the states. The report exposed this prejudice in the journal entitled "the government discriminates non- indigenous". According to this report:

...non-indigenes are compulsory to deal with state and local government policies and practices that prohibit them from numerous of the material reimbursement of Nigerian citizenship. Such bigotry replicates an extensive faith amid several Nigerians that state and local governments survive not to serve up the wellbeing of their entire ingredient, but only those of their destitute populations. That sympathetic was in confirmation in many of the dialogue Human Rights watch accomplished with government representative in Kano, Kaduna and Plateau States. The legal representative general of Kaduna state, for example, act in response to grievance of restriction from power uttered by non-indigene inhabitants of the state, told Human Rights Watch (April 25, 2006).

However, informant with whom the researcher conducted interview during my data gathering stated the following thought for my query which focused on non indigenous citizenship discrimination practices in Nigeria.

In Nigeria, the citizen is citizen. There is no discriminatory line between indigenous, non indigenous, settlers, natives and other criteria. Every person acquires nationality based up on the provision of the constitution of the country. The discriminatory line is may be the date of independence of Nigeria. This is what all independent African states did during the formulation of their citizenship law. Still today I haven't heard from any state, media about the contestation of citizenship rights in discrimination Nigeria (**Informant XI; April, 20/2017**).

The view of the informant is quite dissimilar from what other informant forwarded and far from some scholars' view concerning citizenship right discriminatory provisions in Nigeria. According to many writing among the factors precipitated citizenship discrimination practices in Nigeria is the role of the state rulers is the foremost ingredient. In general non-indigenes in Nigeria are considered as remain stateless in that they are inaccessible to employment opportunities, unfairly treated in every aspect of competition, marginalization from different social services, lack of different privileges including freedom of movement, face opposition from the people who were formerly reside on the area.

4.2.2 Citizenship Discrimination against Stateless People in Nigeria

Statelessness refers to the circumstance of a person that is not considered as an inhabitant by any state under the maneuver of its law. There are two types of statelessness. These are internally statelessness and externally statelessness (some times refugees). Internally statelessness is the concern of discussion under this section. Due to past colonial legacy, restrictive post-colonial citizenship policies, more recent cases of state succession, and mounting discrimination against minority and immigrant groups, formulation of restrictive laws in some African countries regarding citizenship rights on a racial or ethnic basis have been resulting in statelessness (ISI, 2014).

Internationally many decrees were made to trim down to problems correlated to statelessness one after the other. In case of Africa issues concerning statelessness were common outline for African yet it is futile. For example in 1975 the ECOWAS member States were signed the Abidjan Declaration with the aim to stop and diminish

statelessness through restructuring lawful, governmental and institutional system which enable youngster and orphans to obtain a nationality at birth and the State of their origin (Manby, 2016). Despite Nigeria signed an agreement, still the problem of statelessness is common in all sect of the state.

Stateless person is not only deprived of living in Nigeria, but also underprivileged of taking parts in political activities and other social services. For instance, his /her kid is not allowed to attend public schools, his/ her family not allowed to get access to state health care services, encounter social isolation, his/her child has no chance of birth registration which is assurance of citizenship right.

More importantly participant of the study provided the following remarks on how the condition of statelessness prevails in Nigeria from his own experience:

When the people emigrated from one state to another part of the state in Nigeria, the destination state doesn't recognize the emigrants due to some restricted law which takes a long period of time to acquire the right of citizenship. I mean that it is too tiresome to have confirmation of citizenship right for an individual who emigrate in Nigeria from one region to another. They faced the challenge of statelessness due to annoying criteria of modes naturalization. I think it requires a minimum of 15 years to acquire the citizenship right. This lengthy period to acquire citizenship right forced the emigrants prefer to stay without identity card or without confirmation of citizenship rights (**Informant V March 10/2017**).

From the informant view, statelessness is not an essential result of relocation, but statelessness may upshot whilst populace travel and misplace right of entry to credentials of their citizenry or where the officially permitted and organizational frameworks do not permit them to citizenship or their children to become citizens of new country.

Although, citizenship in its full implication includes the right of residency, civil, political, economic, cultural and social rights as well as administrative enclosure; an individual who has not been considered as a citizen encountered with the exclusion of the stated rights.

The rights of stateless persons are pronounced in a number of international instruments, including the Convention concerning to the condition of Stateless Persons and the Convention on the Reduction of statelessness. For instance according to article 12 (4) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, "stateless

persons should not be arbitrarily deprived of their right to enter their country of residence or a country with which they have a long-term relationship” (UNHCHR, 2006:27). Opposing to this convention, most recently the people who were displaced from the area of their dwelling due to the terrible of the Islamic sect Boko Haram bumped into the fatality of Statelessness in Nigeria and some of neighboring countries like Niger, Chad and Morocco.

4.2.3 Citizenship right Discrimination against the children Born Unknown Parents

Some African countries provide rights of acquisition of citizenship status for the child born to unknown parents in their particular territory. Contrarily, the constitutional laws of other African countries like Nigeria do not provide the child born in their territory to unknown parents with the right to acquiring citizenship (Manby, 2016). Similarly, Agbo (2014) expressed the fate of children who born to stateless people in Nigeria. According to him, although children have the right to acquire the right of citizenship, yet in Nigerian there is no legal provision for children born to unknown parents, refugee, and migrants’ to acquire Nigerian citizenship. In different countries of the world children born without parent have the chance to get adoption and those children are less susceptible to the problem of statelessness. In exceptional case majority of the children born to unknown parent grew without feel affection for their family. However, due to some socio-cultural problems and negative attitude towards the child born to mysterious parents, the concept of child adoption is impractical by various parts of societies in Nigeria. Moreover, a quantity of factors such as cultural norms, poverty, gender selection, male children syndrome, childless, denial of inheritance, bustard system, age of the adoptive parents, establishment of illegal adoption agencies and orphanage homes called baby factories, and poor law enforcement hindered some societies Nigeria from effective practices of adoption (Agbo, 2014). As stated by the same author, for fear of interwoven adoption procedures the societies were not charitable to enter in to child adoption indenture.

Majority of African countries’ citizenship law and their supreme law of the land provide the privilege for those children born from unidentified family with automatic right of acquisition of citizenship right.

Regarding this concern the informant informed his experience about the child born to unknown parents or foundlings as follows:

You see! Children born to unknown parent or foundlings are victim of statelessness in Nigeria. The reason behind this fact is the problem which is related to the attitude of the society in child adoption. Many people were not naturally blessed to give birth and living without kids. But still they don't give positive attention in protecting those children born to unknown family due to some interwoven adoption of bureaucracy. For this reason the kids may faced the problem of statelessness. In addition, there is a problem regarding the government provisions which are against to the Convention of Children Rights and other international conventions concerning children rights (**Informant VIII, April 09/2017**).

This implies that the violation of children right and also enthusiastic against Children Right Convention (CRC) which internationally approved by many states. Article 7 of CRC explicitly forced world states in order they grant the status of citizenship to the children born in their legitimated boundary. When the children breed devoid of the position of citizenship they quest of the right of citizenship or on the other hand they raised the question of 'who am I?', or 'for which group of society I belongs?' When the problem gained domestic and peripheral channels it grounded for national integration. Those groups of children who nurtured without care of parent and without state gratitude revolutionized against nations as retribution and also in explore of their identity.

4.2.4 The predicament against Immigrants in granting citizenship Right

There are different pull and push factors that made the inhabitants to migrate from one area to another areas. Among the other things some of globally known factors causing population displacement to mention a few are civil war, poverty, terrorism, unemployment, undemocratic government, dispossession of human rights, and injustice. Artificial incident is supposed to be the reason of population displacement in Nigeria. For example, the current trouble of Boko-Haram is main annoyance in Nigeria. Many journals, articles, both nationals and international news bared the crisis that meets head-on the Nigerian society. In agree with this idea, BBC announced the shock of 2.6 million people both in Nigeria and in bordering states by the Islam sect Boko-Haram. As the new revealed the treble has been displacing a huge

number of the population from their home across Nigeria, Cameroon and Chad (Haeison, 2017).

When the people displaced from one state to another the group of people who were displaced are not considered as citizens of that particular state to which they migrated due to the artificial discriminatory prejudice and the name given them 'settlership'. In this context, the settlers are not fully privileged group and they are not considered as citizens' area.

Internationally, the immigrants have the rights to acquire nationality and need to be protected as equal as citizens. However, the ECOWAS member states including Nigeria do not treat people from member states and non-member states in granting citizenship. In case of Nigeria one of the device by which citizenship discriminatory practice replicated is in assuring residential cards. For example, in order to get residential card while immigrant/ emigrant from ECOWAS member states required to pay less \$150, the non ECOWAS member states migrant forced to pay \$350 to get the Combined Expatriate Resident Permit and Aliens Card (Adedokun, 2003).

On the subject of this citizenry discrimination process, participant of the study gave the following remarks:

Honestly speaking, this one is completely shows discrimination of citizenship rights. It is accustomed to see different migrants from outside Africa especially from West African states to Nigeria and also from Nigeria to other West African countries. Even if I do not have adequate awareness about the process of the payment for CERPAC, the disparity of payment amid ECOWAS member states migrants and other African sates migrants is injustice since the migrants are African brothers. The existences of such injustice erode a good bilateral relationship amid Africans. Such discriminatory provision eroded the future vision of Africa. As to me the main objective of regional Economic Community is not to promote citizenship discrimination, but to strengthen the economic issues of the region (**Informant III, March 10/2017**).

Africans were struggled against colonial powers to establish the United States of Africa with the aims of uniting Africans by restoring equality and avoiding any form of discrimination that is likely occur among its citizens. Nevertheless, nowadays the citizenship discrimination and prejudice practices in Nigeria has been creating a dissection line between ECOWAS group and other non ECOWAS members and leaving the struggle of pan Africans infertile.

4.2.5 Citizenship Rights and Children birth Registration in Nigeria

Birth registration is the official recording of a child's birth by the State. It is a permanent and official record of a child's existence that involves the record of the name, sex, parentage, time and place of a child's birth (Bequele, 2005).

Many international, regional and state conventions, treaties and legal constitutions like Child Rights Convention, and African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) explicitly state the right of the children during and after birth. For instance, the ACRWC under its Article (6) provides important stipulations regarding every children like the right from birth to name, the right to be registered immediately after birth, and the right to acquire a nationality (Bequele, 2005).

In many part of the world child birth registration is neither given deliberately nor considered as imperative feature for the future citizenry life of the child, especially in Africa. Compared to developed countries, the importance of birth registration of children in developing countries including Africa is not as such known (ENS, 2015). The main factor for insignificance of children birth registration for in Africa more specifically in Nigeria is the patriarchal nature of African society. In case when the women gave delivery to unceremonious guy or ahead of matrimony it is not good enough custom in the largest part of Africa chiefly in rustic areas. In the existence of such situation, the child faced the challenge of birth registration which contributed for deprived of citizenship.

The acquisition of citizenship right is common all over the world by birth place and blood line of the family. On the other hand, birth registration is a mechanism governing the child's definite administration and recognition by the state immediately his or her delivery for population information (ENS, 2015). This implies that while birth registration of the child helps to safeguard his/ her future citizenship rights, devoid of birth list makes the child susceptible to statelessness. Due to countries variation in implementing international child's Rights conventions in general and national convention birth registration in particular nearly 230 million offspring left without birth registration (Makinde, Ajao, Oguboji & Babalola, 2016). As a result, taking the lion share, children in Africa and Asia have been remaining stateless, suffering from maltreatment and other human right violation.

Though Nigeria signed the Convention of Right of Children (CRC) with most of Sub Saharan Africa, still more than 50% of children born in the country left unregistered. This indicates that more than half of current children in Nigeria have no future guarantee for citizenship rights. Factors for low rate of birth registration Nigeria include politically prejudice base of information, dearth of financial plan, personality ritual traffic jams in some government officials, unequal data between male and female children and outlook dissimilarity between metropolitan society and pastoral complement in recording their kids (Makinde, et al, 2016).

The participants of the study also reported that child who devoid of birth registration has no right to certification of citizenship where he/ she born. Regarding the awareness of birth registration of the children and the concept of citizenship right participant of the study as a key informant interview commented as follows:

Yah, I think! Concerning birth registration, awareness of the people and their concept on Citizenship is low. Basically the awareness on birth registration and nationality vary from urban to rural with better awareness has been seen among urban dwellers than rural ones. Of course creating good awareness with regard to both birth registration and nationality should be the assignment for every government officials, intellectual and non-governmental organizations **(Informant IV, March 12/2017)**.

From the informant and other scholars' view majority of children who were not registered immediately after their birth in Nigeria faces the chance of statelessness and also violation of children right which the CRC approved for them. One of the most prominent factors for inconsequentiality of children birth registration in Nigeria is lack of awareness of the society by which birth registration. The societies were not acquainted with the notion of children birth registration which is equated with citizenship right of the children. The council of Europe commissioner for human right, Nils Muiznieks, promoted the automatic granting of citizenship at birth to children which is the best tool to exterminate stateless at birth and foil its diffusion from generation to generation (UNICEF, 2002). But its practical application in Nigeria is far away from what standardized globally.

4.2.6 Citizenship right discrimination against the Child Born to Stateless person

In most part of the world the age boundary of the childhood ranges from 0-18 year (Obiechina, 2014; & UN, 1990). Various international conventions disclose that children born to unknown parents have equivalent right with those children born from the recognized parents setting in acquiring citizenship right of the State where they were born. For instance, as stated in UN Conventions of Child Rights article 26(1), letter C of Law no. 273/2004 and Article 48 of Government Decision no. 350/2012 on the internal adoption, a finality of the individualized plan for the protection of a child shall be determined within 30 days of the issuance of the birth certificate of the abandoned child born of unknown parents (Lupsan, 2014).

The participants of the study also reported that the child born to unknown parent and born to stateless person or the child born to refugee has no the right of acquiring the citizenship rights in of Nigeria. Many African States stated the right of foundlings from unknown parents in their nationality law and the rest unambiguously endowed nationality for the foundlings. In Nigeria until recently there is no legal provision in granting citizenship rights for foundlings born from unidentified parents; that most of the time children who are born to stateless and unknown parents left without citizenship in the country (Manby, 2016).

When asked how children born to Refugee family and unknown parents in Nigeria acquire citizenship rights, participant remarks that:

The children born to unknown parents, stateless person, refugee and migrant parents are encountered multifaceted discriminations. Firstly, they were not recognized by government since their parents are not recognized as citizens. On the other hand, they are ignored in getting right to citizenship when their parents are unidentified. Their unbolt chance is only surrendering the name 'stateless'. If you read the nationality law of many African countries they gave explicit right for the foundlings to endowed the citizenship of their country starting from their birth. But, if you budge in Africa still millions of children are stateless or citizen less. The situation in Nigeria is also difficult concerning the children born to stateless persons. I mean, contrary to CRC and international convention, citizenship law of Nigeria does not provide any right of citizenship for such children (**Informant III, March 10/ 2017**).

In Nigeria, children born to stateless person, refugees and from unknown parent encountered the problem of statelessness. These groups of children are not allowed to grant the right of citizenship. During their childhood age they were not provided with different socio economic provisions. When the child born from legalized family used different state's provisions effectively those group who born from refugees and stateless person marginalized from all different social provisions Their marginalization from diverse socio- economic and political provision will continued when they reached the age of adulthood or during their age of maturity. At this stage they were not get job opportunity and access of education throughout the state.

Among the informants one was victimized by the problem of statelessness with his two kids. He was assigned by the researcher at Amist kilo at EOC-DIC-RRAD for interview. Concerning his kid he miserly as follows:

I am stateless. I was applied repeatedly for ARRA to acquire Ethiopian citizenship right more than five times. But the response of the organization was not handiness. I have two kids from one Ethiopian woman. I was struggled for my kids in order they acquire Ethiopian citizenship. But things are not smooth and very dissimilar from what stated on the nationality law of the state and on the charter. When ARRA denied me the right of citizenship, my wife also left me with my two kids. I am living without citizenship right with two stateless children. You know! All of us are stateless and hopeless. The situation of citizenship discrimination in Africa is similar in all aspects. For example for the process of naturalization in Ethiopia the period of five year is mandatory. In case of Nigeria it is more than 15 years. May be the span of the occasion is what is stated as a difference principle between the two. But practically the two countries are the same coin with two phases (**Informant II, March 05/2017**).

From the informant misery it is probable to comprehend an elevated rapid difficulty of statelessness which grinds down the anticipation of numerous individuals in Africa.

4. 2.7 Citizenship right Discrimination in the process of Naturalization

Naturalization is an internationally recognized mode of acquiring citizenship. Even though Nigerian national law gives recognition to naturalization as mode of acquiring citizenship, its process of implementation is complex and interwoven. In

order to get citizenship of the country by naturalization an individual need to meets several decisive factors. Thus, granting citizenship by naturalization process is not simple errand due to the preventive scenery of the procedure and its elucidation to different administrative bureaucracy of the state law. For example, in comparison to the rest of West African countries, in Nigeria very few numbers of people, 100-200 got citizenship through naturalization per year (Iwuagwu, 2015; Manby, 2015; & Okeke & Okeke, 2013). This integer indicates that the complicatedness of the naturalization course which is unfeasible to exceed through.

Even after passing through the procedure of naturalization the consequent pace or the discriminatory execution that encountered the person is not as such straightforward and horizontal. Moreover, a naturalized person is neither considered as equal as a person that acquired citizenship right by birth nor have the right to double citizenship (Ejobowah, 2006). The legal provision of 1999 FRN constitution has partly contributed to discrimination and violation of right of the naturalized person due to the requirement cited in the same constitution. Mean that for an individual to acquire Nigerian citizenship by Naturalization he/she is required to satisfy the president of the country by having good character, contributing to the advancement, progress and 'well- being' of the country. Some writers argue that the provision of the constitution like the term "useful contribution" is used by the government of the country to prohibit practicality of naturalization process. The term stand for an individual's 'useful contribution' and 'good character' are difficult for interpretation and needed further elucidation which are interwoven with diverse officialdom and full of partisanship to put into practice.

Similarly, Okeke & Okeke (2013) discusses the constitution provision of registration through marriage as follows:

Again, a marriage related privilege in terms of the legitimate acquisition of Nigerian citizenship is extended to a person who is born outside Nigeria any of whose grandparents is from a tribe indigenous to Nigeria. (i) other words, where X, a Nigerian woman married to Y, a man of German nationality, gives birth to P who grew up later in Germany and married a German woman. The child of this later woman, a German by birth wishing to take up the nationality of Nigeria would be required to go by means of acquiring Nigeria citizenship by virtue of registration (p. 61).

A person acquiring Nigeria citizenship through naturalization or registration cannot acquire another citizenship except by birth. It should be noted that Nigerian citizenship by naturalization or registration would not be effective until the applicant renounces his citizenship of any other country within 12 months after registration or grant of a certificate of naturalization. This would be applicable if and only if the applicant's prior citizenship of the former country was the one that obtained by birth (Olamide, 2016). Against to the right to dual nationality, the 1999 FRN constitution under its section 28 underscores that a person who becomes Nigerian citizen by registration or naturalization cannot acquire the citizenship of other country unless he/she born in Nigeria (FRN, 1999). A naturalized individual has no equal political and economic right with individual who acquired citizenship by birth. Double nationality is not allowed for naturalized individual who is merely imaginary for those Nigerians granted citizenship by birth. For example, the legal provision 1999 FRN construction Art 27-28, 131 &177 states that president and state governors required to have citizens of the country by birth.

4.2.8 Citizenship Rights Discrimination against Women

Gender is regarded as a construct that is culturally defined and serves as basis for distinguishing roles, behavior, mental, economic and political characteristics of the male and the female (Owoyemi & Olusanya, 2014). Nigerian citizenship law doesn't permit women to overtake their residency to their noncitizen husbands at all, or apply discriminatory residence credentials to distant men wedded to citizen women who wish to acquire citizenship (Manby, 2009). However, the husband has full right to pass his citizenship to his wife instantaneously without wicker officialdom of the state. Section 26 of the 1999 FRN constitution affirms that:

...foreign women who married Nigerian men may acquire Nigerian citizenship by registration, a process which is less demanding than naturalization. However, such opportunity is not available to foreign men who marry Nigerian women. The latter can only acquire Nigerian citizenship by naturalization. This is discriminatory against Nigerian women who marry non-Nigerian men (the Nigeria CEDAW NGO coalition shadow report, 2008:33).

This indicates that section 26 of the 1999 Constitution directly discriminates against men who are married to Nigerian women by preventing their acquisition of

Nigerian citizenship. Discrimination in the provision of citizenship right against women is not only happened in the situation marriage of foreign men, but also marriage with domestic non-indigenes. For example, the report by NRN (2012) shows the dismissal of 80 women who married Abia men from adjoining Ebonyi State on the basis of their non-indigenous rank in 2011 by the Abia state government. Astonishingly women in Nigeria faced such citizenship discrimination in the era when the world advocates about global citizenship. Women in this surrounding area are fatalities of many communal topics within their own motherland. As stated by Julie (2012) Nigerian women have no rights to take part in political affairs, own property and less educated with 80% of them are illiteracy. Additionally, for sake of cultural aspects they are dominated and they are still under the influence of unusual ruthless practices (*ibid*).

Nevertheless, Participants of the study discussed gender discrimination in the course of transferring Nigeria citizenship as follows:

Women and men have equal chance in transferring their citizenship to their children and to their spouse; it is free from any form of inequitable practices. For example if I married Ethiopian men, my husband has immediate opportunity to acquire Nigerian citizenship right. This is not due to my authority. It is due to the promotion of gender equality in the Nigeria's law. For your surprise equality of men and women is not only in case of citizenship acquisition, renunciation and transferring but also we have equal commitment in all social, political, economic and cultural aspects (**Informant IV, March 12/2017**).

Children born to Nigerian women married to foreign husband have no right to obtain Nigerian citizenship by *jus sanguinis maternis*. However, if Nigerian men married to foreign women, their children do not encounter any problem to be considered as indigenes and obtain Nigerian nationality.

Corroborating the above ideas, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in 2005 reported the challenges in Nigeria as follows:

The Nigerian society is patriarchal so the rights and citizenship of children born into such marriages poses no problems if the father is Nigerian, whereas if the father is a foreigner whilst the mother is Nigerian, the child might probably face indigeneship problem although he is Nigerian by virtue of section 25(1) of the Constitution (p.13).

Generally, though majority participants of this study explicitly blessed the citizenship law of their country for fairly addressing the question of the masses, other groups of participants with neutral position reported that Nigerian citizenship law doesn't consider gender equality and its legal provision is full of discriminatory.

Most recently, the BBC news on Africa reported the rejection of gender equality bill by Nigeria's Sokoto sultan on 28 Dec.2016. The news revealed the idea of the sultan and other Muslim clerics in the following manner:

Mohammed Sa'ad Abubakar, Said that, Muslim would not accept the violation of Islamic law guaranteeing men greater share. Nigeria's most senior Muslim cleric has rejected a new gender equality bill, which proposes that women and men inherit an equal share (BBC, December., 2017).

The response of the Nigerian senate for the rejection of the bill was not good gossip for Nigerian women. In 16 March 2016 the senate made reform on gender equality bill. The human right activist Bukky Shonibare "She is disappointed and ashamed by the decision of the Nigerian senate. The senate has been condemned for rejecting a proposal bill aimed at eliminating "all forms of discrimination" against women" (BBC, March 2017).

4.2.9 Citizenship Discrimination against Minority Ethnic Group

There is no internationally accepted definition for ethnic minority and majority for the reason of its nature of volatility (Omaka, 2014). Due to diversity of language, ethnic culture, way of dressing, tone of voice, and language, number of ethnic group in Nigeria is controversial. Similarly, the study by Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRBC, 2012) confirms the difficulty of identifying ethnic identity in Nigeria due to the diversity of language and ethnic diversity. As a result of this different writers provide different figurative estimation regarding ethnic group in Nigeria. For example, while the study by Imam (et al 2014) and Lugard (1914) provide an estimate of over 374, the study by Poole & Dharmaraten (2014) provide the existence of 250+ ethnic groups in Nigeria. On their part Ayatse & Iorhen (2013) provide 350 ethnic groups currently living in Nigeria.

Even if its description is vague Article 27 of the International Covenant and Political Rights (ICCPR) provides ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities not to be denied of their rights. According to the stated article of the convention, minority

groups have the rights to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language (Silmane, 2003). Discrimination against minorities has been frequently led to their exclusion from citizenship (Yatu & Esidene, 2013). Dibua (2011) revealed about the communities by which they blamed their plight on their minority status and the fact that the majority ethnic groups, who by virtue of their numerical strength occupied important positions in government, were determined to exploit the prosperity from their resources for their own reimbursement. The circumstance of the Niger Delta communities explicitly shows discrimination or exclusion of citizenship. Likewise, as explained by Gambo (2012) the exclusion of minority ethnic groups and the consequent uprooting of citizenship rights in Plateau state is a function of a multitude of factors that have conspired to generate this unattractive situation. In a sense, their citizenship rights are being uprooted and are attributed the identity of settlers in places where the controversy has snowballed into violent conflicts (ibid). The challenge is basically over who is included and who is excluded for purposes of distributing socioeconomic and political opportunities. The denial of citizenship rights is significantly encouraged against the setting of unfortunate communal provisioning by the state with very weak extractive, responsive and distributive capacities. From the view of the authors one can conclude that the exclusion of minority ethnic groups from the right of citizenship is due to their numerical lowliness and due to the supremacy of majority ethnic group in both economic and political area.

4.3. The Consequences of Citizenship right Discrimination in Nigeria

Discrimination in acquiring citizenship can result in conflicts, violation, disagreement and hammering of huge human life and destruction of the nation. The discriminatory practices which have been encountering the Nigerian non- indigenes, settlers, minority group are varying from place to place. Among the other things, discrimination in employment, appointive positions and education are the most common (Njoku, 2015).

The question of citizenship throughout the world becomes the most challenging problems specifically among African nations. In Nigeria the existence of plurality and diverse ethnic groups is supposed to be source of gorgeousness and strength to country's socio- economic, political development and to bring meaningful

cultural integration. In contrast, the plurality and ethnic diversity become long-lasting and main causes for conflict to dominate resourceful areas and political supremacy of the states (Afolabi, 2016).

Currently there are different groups of people in Nigeria and questioning the meaning of their Nigerian citizenship. Some scholars perceive the challenge from the standpoint of relative deprivation, which is positive attribute of citizenship (Okeke, 2016). For Nigerian scholars the struggle of Boko Haram tied to religious identity. However, it is highly interconnected with issues like ethnicity, political opinions, financial side, self determination, migration and hostility (Solomon, 2013). One of the informant whom assigned in Kirkos Sub city, particularly at mechare meda, informed me the problems faced the society of Nigeria regarding the problem of Boko - haram from two segments (from the Nigerian political leaders and from the Islamic sect group Boko Haram itself.

The situation is very disaster. When the Boko Haram forcefully took ones kid an individual lost his kid. In case of this the government politicians skeptically saw a group of people who lost his/her kids as if the people gave voluntarily to oppose the government. In most case when the Boko haram put out of sight your kid, you are treated as the supporter of the group. This means there is no trust amid the ruling class and the ruled one. On the other hand the trust among the society also eroded due to this Islamic sect Boko haram(**Informant VIII, April 09/2017**).

In general, discrimination related to acquisition citizenship right in Nigeria is married with different consequences which are subsequently discussed in the next paragraphs of this thesis.

4.3.1 Ethnicity

Ethnic conflict in Africa is common incident and has a long lasting history due to diverse man made channels. Among these manmade catalysts the structure of citizenship right on the base of ethnic line is one of the most dangerous factors which led to ethnic conflicts throughout the world.

Immediately after achieving its independence from imperialist rule in 1960, ethnic groups in Nigeria twisted their faces towards the internal ethnic conflict which was agitated by autocratic leaders who came to power without sufficient knowledge of governance (Egwu, 2004). The autocratic rulers of Nigeria who have been coming to power after the independence of the country have been exercising ” divide- and-

rule” arrangement of administration than colonial powers did before (Adetiba, 2013; & Nnoli, 2003).

Citizenship discrimination is the most sensitive part of citizenship crises and involves division of the same notion in to two impressions. The two divisions can be ethnic based citizenship and state based citizenship that create inequality in access public healthcare, free school, occupation, and political activities (Nwosu, 2008).

Comparative study based on empirical data from Ghana and Nigeria shows that majority of the people in Nigeria see the effect of ethnic diversity in a negative way, but participants of Ghana accepted positively the impact of ethnic for various aspects of development (Langer & Ukoha 2007).

Currently Nigeria has been exercising federal form of government which makes the country unable to address the question of the mass. As a result some authors consider the Nigerian federal form of administration as a charade and which create Nigerian Nationality and ethnic nationality (Chi & Chime, 2015).

In this era of globalization, ethnicity has changed its countenance towards ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism is an act of giving highest title or superior stage for one group and stumpy status for the rest of ethnic group. Ethnocentrism encourages breeding of chauvinism and stereotype among different ethnic group through providing unequal treatment in different aspects (Dakye & Zungdet, 2014).

Scholars affirm that the supremacy of the three ethnic groups (Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo) overlaid the way for ethnic tension from different aspects. These three ethnic groups have hegemonic control and dominate the rest 370 ethnic groups in Nigeria in socio-political aspects (Mustapha, 2006). For instance, the use of “indigenes” and “settlers” to differentiate owners of the land from migrants has become an important factor affecting the socio-political life of Jukun society in Nigeria (Nwanegbo, et al., 2014).

More specifically the settlers- Indigenes question in Nigeria resulted for the death of unestimated number of people and contributed for devastation of huge resources as revealed out by (Akintola & Yabayanze, 2017). According to him as a result of settlers- indigenes crisis more than 25 types of ethnic crisis were held out. Among the crises experienced based on settlers-indigenes dichotomy, the following are adopted from (Akintola & Yabayanze, 2017).

Table 1: Ethnic Conflicts due to Indigenes- Settlers question in Nigeria

No	Date of conflict	Type of Conflict
1	May 30 – June 9, 1999	Renewed Warri communal clash in Delta State
2	July 18, 1999	Oodua People’s Congress and Hausa traders clashed in Sagamu, Ogun State
3	November 25, 1999	Communal clash in Lagos between Oodua People’s Congress and Hausa traders
4	January 25, 2000:	Communal clash in Brass Local Government Area, Balyesa State.
5	January 29-30, 2000	Communal clash in Etsako West Local Government Area, Edo State.
6	February 2, 2000	boundary dispute between communities in Akwa Ibom and Cross Rivers State
7	March 16, 2000:	Renewed hostilities between the people of Eleme and Okirika in Rivers State
8	April 8, 2000	Communal clash in Ovia South Local Government, Edo State.
9	May 18, 2000	Clash between local farmers and Fulani cattle rearers in Saki, Oyo State.
10	June 5, 2000:	Epoch of the Owo mayhem in Ondo State.
11	June 12, 2000	Communal clash between the people of Ikot Offiong and Oku-Iboku of Cross Rivers State
12	July 1, 2000	Communal clash in Ikare Akoko, Ondo State
13	July 21, 2000	Renewed hostility between the Ijaws and Urhobos in Delta State
14	August 12, 2000.	Communal clash in Bende Local Government Area of Abia State
15	October 16, 2000	Clash between Igbos and Hausa traders at Alaba Rago market, Lagos State.
16	December 11, 2000	Renewed clashes between Ife and Modakeke in Osun State.
17	March 13, 2001	Renewed communal clashes in Owo, Ondo State
18	May 12, 2001	Communal clash between Odimodu and Ogulagba communities in Delta State
19	July 12, 2000	Ethnic violence in Nasarawa State
20	February 2, 2002	Oodua People’s Congress and Hausa people clashed at Idi Araba, Lagos State.
21	February 26, 2002	Communal clash between Apprapum and Osatura communities in Cross Rivers State
22	March 10, 2002	Ebira youths revolt on local government creation
23	March 30 – April 2, 2002	All Peoples Party intra party clash in Ilorin, Kwara State.
24	August 31, 2002	Communal clash in Ado Ekiti.
25	September 3, 2002	Renewed communal clashes in Owo, Ondo State

Source: Adapted from Akintola & Yabayanze, 2017) pp.370-37. This settlers-indigenes crisis was not stated in table form on the author’s journal. But the investigator adopted in table form for convenience of the paper.

With regard to citizenship right discrimination and its consequences in Nigeria informant II of my study shared me the following remarks:

Ok! I left Nigeria five years ago. I think nothing is changed since my left of the country. So, I can share you what I really know. I am quite sure about the current situation of citizenship. Since my family is still in Nigeria, we communicate each other about the real facts in Nigeria and in my particular state. In our case 'ethnic Citizenship' is boldly known than the context of 'Nigerian citizenship'. There is no strong bond in the state which is bonded the society together. You know, Citizenship acquisition in Nigeria is full of discriminatory which favor only three ethnic groups (Hausa, Igbo & Yoruba). The rest are second class citizens and sometimes they were not treated as non Nigerians. As a result most of the people are regal to their ethnic. When ethnic based citizenship survives it creates ethnic tension among the people of the same state. **(Informant II, March 05/2017).**

From the informants thought one can effortlessly comprehend that with the exception of the three dominant groups, the rest minority ethnic groups in Nigeria have no equal rights in acquiring citizenship provisions of the country. The government is only responsible to collect taxes and revenues without giving their right in a proper manner. There are still controversial ideas among politically affiliated and other groups of participants regarding citizenship discrimination practices and its associated ethnic conflicts in Nigeria. Meaning that for those politically affiliate groups claim that there is no citizenship discrimination and ethnic conflict in the country. For example, participant of the study discussed the issue as follows:

You know! The Federal Republic of Nigerian government is easily handle this huge ethnic group by establishing the Federal form administrative structure facilitates equal power distribution among the states, within the three organ of the government (legislative, departments and agencies. All ethnic nationalities are given fair and equal representation in political, social and economic provisions. Ethnic conflict in Nigeria was historicized. Now things are smooth and stable. Currently the concern of ethnic conflict is not the concern of Nigerians. It was the concern of very few elite politicians who are ethnic interpreters to seize the state's political position by force **(Informant XI, April 20/2017).**

The foremost trouble that overlies the way for the annoyance of ethnic disagreement in Nigeria is not ethnic assortment. But the main factor for the problem is inequality amongst the ethnic group by which some of the ethnic group treated as

the son of the soil, while the other are entitled the name of settlers or non indigenous. When the group of the people ill treated in the state's provision it is visibly arrange circumstance for ethnic conflicts. Geographic based federalism also the second contribution for the ethnic conflict in Nigeria. Contradictory to my informant's view the federal arrangement in FRN is not a first-class prescription for ethnic conflict rather it provoked the conflict. The Nigerian Federalism is geographic based federalism. Such type of federalism divides one ethnic group into different regions which paves a way for ethnic conflict. For example it divides Igbo or Hausa to different geographic regions which increase tension among the people with indigenous and non indigenous ideology.

4.3.2. Unfair Competition

Unfair competition as a consequence of citizenship discrimination entails inequalities that can manifest in terms of social, economic and political benefits. Nigeria is highly encircled by such inhuman practices of unequally treating the people in political sect; in socio-cultural sect and economic sect.

One of the most important social consequences of discrimination against citizenship is job opportunity/employment. Employment discrimination is deliberately acts by business owner in either the stage of employing, order, recital assessment of employees in favor of a particular groups or individual on the basis of "race, color, religion, national origin, disability, gender, sexual orientation or age" (Owoyemi & Olusanya, 2014).). It is likely to negatively affect non-indigenous people in getting access to employment opportunities.

In Nigeria the non indigene people are not able to equally compete with that of native, aboriginal person and son/daughter -of-the soil (Alubo, 2009). Employment and available jobs are often reserved for indigenes where non-natives are not employed at all or placed on contract appointment (ibid). Occasionally, job advertisements for employment encourage merely indigenes people. Similarly, (Nijoku, 2015) claims that most of indigenous whose relatives are at higher political positions are easy employed without further qualification. However, non indigenous with high qualification are neither supposed to come to the position nor employed at good organizations on permanent base. Thus, as works and employment opportunities in Nigeria favor indigenes, and the informal economy is driven by ethnicity (Blench & Dendo, 2003).

Even though the Nigerian constitution seems to offer equal prospect for all people existed in the states, in practice place of origin manipulates service occasion in most cases (Bamiwola, n.d). Non-indigenous people face discrimination in the recruitment, employment and in their profitability from state because they are not supposed as competent in state departments and associations (Owoyemi & Olusanya, 2014). Non indigenes are requested to pay higher money in case of schooling for their kids, they are not allowed to get government services, even during some internal ethnic conflict they are not guaranteed, in the access of educational scholarship their quota is nil, and they were not compete in political official issues (Manby, 2015). As a result they are excluded from service or employment under prejudiced stipulations.

The Federal Republic of Nigeria constitution of 1999, section 42 subsections 1-2 tremendously affront all forms of discrimination based on ethnic, sex, religion and other factors among all Nigerian citizens. However, different authors argue that favoritism is the most frequent apparatus in Nigeria chiefly in case of employment, political affairs and in providing diverse social services. More importantly, ‘co-nationals’ in Nigeria are deprived of enormous constitutional rights such as participating in the right to vote and to be elected, the rights to appointment in both three level of government servant sectors as a civil and in acquiring community reimbursement (Ejobowah, 2006).

Non- indigenous people in Nigeria are unfairly considered in employment, admittance of secondary and higher education, Scholarships, Standing for elections as facade imminent from the most dire rudiments in Nigeria (Alubo, 2008). Similarly, Isumonah (2006) revealed the employment of non indigenes in Nigeria on contract rate than on a pensionable basis by local and state governments.

Concerning this point the researcher raised the question for my informant to know the practical prejudice of unemployment based up on indignity, non indignity, natives and settlers dichotomy. The informant said that:

Employment in our country depends up on quota. The federal government distributed quota for its state depending up on their population. The states also do by the same procedure .Based on this they employed their citizen who fit the qualification of that particular job. Let alone Nigerian the one who fit the posted qualification can join the work from other country. There is no dichotomy of indigenous/non indigenous, natives/ settlers. When I say this, I am not speaking every minute employment practices are free from bureaucracy of the administration (**Informant X April, 20/2017**).

Despite of condemning discriminatory practices, state and local governments throughout Nigeria have preserved the maltreatment of non-indigenes in official government policy. For example, lots of states openly disagree with non-indigenes the right to outperform for civil service work, and non-indigenes throughout Nigeria are discriminated and banned from attending state universities and obtaining other educational opportunities. Generally, these discriminatory policies fuel a range of less formal but equally pervasive forms of discrimination that government does nothing to discourage, including discrimination in the provision of government services and often unbeatable blockades to partaking in local politics (HRW, 2006).Discrimination in access to employment opportunities undoubtedly result in mounting rates of unemployment which in turn force youth migration and also contributed for diverse violence and crimes in Nigeria(Adebayo,2013).

No one denies that currently Nigeria is characterized by widespread protest and violence induced by absence of good governance, corruption and unemployment which are causing hardship and hunger across the vast majority of the population (Olukoya, 2017). The fate of unemployed youths and other marginalized group is searching other mechanism to continue to survive. Among these the joining of different terrorist group was on alternative. One of the journal entitled “Why Boko Haram Exists: The Relative Deprivation Perspective” explicitly revealed the member of Bokoharam “comprises university lecturers, bankers, political elites, drug addicts, unemployed graduates, ¹*almajiris*, 1and migrants from neighboring countries”

¹ Group of people who were marginalized from state’s provisions in Nigeria

(Agbibo, 2013:146). In case of deprivation of citizenship provision, it is palpable that the disadvantaged set motivated in rummage around to get resolution or supplementary retribution for his/her deprivation or exclusion.

4.3.3 Political Marginalization

The political marginalization entails not being taking part in political processes within one’s own country or state. In Nigeria non- indigenes or settlers, minority ethnic groups, an individual who acquire Nigerian citizenship through naturalization modes and women are highly marginalized communal cluster to take part in political activities. For instance though the non-indigenes can vote they have no rights to be elected as head of state, government and at political advisory positions. Similarly, Nigerian women have no equal rights with men counterpart in political processes in electing and being elected in different political positions (Allana, 2013). The author argues that still the attitude towards women is not go straight forward in the country.

Concurrently, from the following table 2, one can easily understand the extent to which women engage in Nigerian political processes in holding political positions at different levels of government from 2003- 2011.

Table 2. Comparison of Women elected in different political positions during 2003- 2011 general election in Nigeria

Position	Number available seat	2003	2007	2011
Presidency	1	0	0	0
Senate	109	3 (2.27%)	9 (8.26%)	8 (7.34%)
House of Rep.	360	21 (5.8%)	25 (6.94)	12 (3.33%)
Governorship	36	0	0	0

Adapted from Allana, (2013:124)

Despite the 1979 Nigerian constitution granted equal political rights for women and men, still political marginalization highly hitting women of non indigenes in Nigeria (Olawoyin, Isaac & Agunoyai 2014). Likewise, migrants and settler women have low participation in political processes.

Encouraging marginalization of the aforementioned social groups, the 1999 FRN constitution clearly states that the representation of indigenes in the line of prime minister from each state (Nwanegbo, Odigbo & Ochanja, 2014). For same authors:

Constitutional loopholes seem to have exacerbated citizenship crisis in Nigeria. For instances, Section 147 of the 1999 Constitution states that indigene of each state shall be considered in ministerial appointment without explicit definition of the term indigene. The concept of indigeneship in Nigeria has been subject to manipulation. Many interpretations are assigned to it by different groups, ethnic nationalities and persons for the purpose of excluding others and/or gaining economic and political advantage (p. 2).

From this context, there are two different controversial ideas which facilitate discrimination and finally led to conflict. The first one is the absence of clear cut definition of indigene in the constitution and secondly, the constitution's provisions of ministerial appointment only for some group of people. The prevalence of marginalization of non-indigenes group is explicitly described in (Nijoku, 2015) by taking the case of the Ebony state that limited the role Canavs from any political affairs as follow:

In Ebonyi State for instance non-indigenes/non members are not allow to canvas for any political position irrespective of the fact they are members of the same country. Thus, denial of political right caused by discrimination is a denial of opportunity to contribute to societal progress and access to better means of livelihood (p.2).

Interestingly, the domination of the three ethnic groups of Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba clearly signifies widespread existence of political marginalization of other minority ethnic group in Nigeria. As a result, the minority ethnic groups frequently forced to engage in civil war and conflicts against the political domination of Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo people and for the desire of self determination (See Table 2).

In the same talk, political marginalization of the non-indigenes group contributes for social and political instability in the country. Because individual, group of people and states that are victims marginalized are susceptible to other human right violation due the absence of representatives from the parliaments. In addition to the non indigenes group the minority ethnic groups are out of the playing field in political completion as stated by (Uka, 2008). According to the same author

“the fallout from the mega tribes jockeying for power was the emergence of ethnic minority groups who were marginalized in the struggle for state-power” (2008: 4).

The problem of marginalization of minority ethnic group in Nigeria has been a serious problem and causing different violence before and after independence (Omaka, 2014). Concerning the political marginalization the study by Adetiba(2013), revealed out as stated in table 3 of the study.

Table 3. Political Marginalization of Minorities in Nigeria from 1960 onwards

SN	Name	Title	Period	Ethnic	Zone	Region
1	Nnamidi Azikiwe	President	1960-1966	Igbo	SE	East
2	Abubakar Tafewa Balewa	Prime minister	1960-1966	Hausa	NE	North
3	Aguiyi Ironsi	Head of State	January 1966-July 1966	Igbo	SE	East
4	Yakubu Gowon	Head of state	July 1966- July 1975	Hausa	NC	North
5	Murtala Mohammed	Head of state	July1975-February1976	Hausa	NW	North
6	Olusegun Obasanjo	Head of state	Feb 1976- Oct 1979	Yoruba	SW	West
7	Sheu Shagari	Head of state	Oct1979- Dec 1983	Hausa	NW	North
8	Mohammed Buhari	Head of state	Dec 1983- August 1985	Hausa	NC	North
9	Ibrahim Babangida	Military presidency	August 1985- August 1993	Hausa	NC	North
10	Earnes Shoneken	Interim head of state	August 1993- Nov 1993	Yoruba	SW	West
11	Sani Abacha	Head of state	Nov 1993- June 1998	Hausa	NW	North
12	Abdusalami Abubakar	Head of state	June 1998- May 1999	Hausa	NW	North
13	Olusengun Obasanjo	Executive President	May 1999- May 2007	Yoruba	SW	West
14	Sheu Musa Yar’dua	Executive President	May 2007- Feb 2010	Hausa	NW	North
15	Goodluck Jonatan	Executive President	May 2010- May 2015	Ijaw	SS	South

Adapted from Adetiba (2013, pp.257-258).

SE= South East, NC= North Central, NW= North West, SW= South West, NE= North East and SS= South South

Nigeria is a country with diverse ethnic, linguistic and cultural background. The number of its ethnic groups is claimed to be more than 250. As clearly seen from table 2 high political positions have been dominated by the three dominant ethnic groups of Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. From 1960 onwards political position of head of state and government has been in the hands of Hausa ethnic group of Northern Nigeria. Hausa has been followed by Yoruba and Igbo respectively. From the figure one can easily understand that the majority of Ethnic group in Nigeria have been deprived of taking part in higher political positions of the country. Mean that large number of Ethnic groups in Nigeria has been facing political marginalization. Within this five decade the political game is/ was played between the three dominated ethnic groups. So, the rest ethnic minority live in the geographic entity Nigeria with no political role. Citizenship is not only physical living but also it is part taking from states' provision.

4.3.4 Economic Marginalization

Marginalization can manifest its self in terms of economy. Ethnic background is the base for economic marginalization in Nigeria (Anteneh, 2014). The central point of questions of minority ethnic groups and settlers in Nigeria is not only limited to demand political equality, but also need for equal and fair distribution of resource (Yatu & Esidene, 2013). As stated in (Anteneh, 2014) settlers in Nigeria are economically discriminated in that they are prohibited from land ownership, coerced to pay extra taxes and are not allowed to reside in some cities, and hence, forced to live in a separate community. Specifically, fairness political participation, resource allocation, employment, state creation, and federalism are among the core questions minorities in Nigeria.

Regardless of several laws & constitutions were formulated to address the economic inequality, Nigerian women have been facing economic marginalization in comparison to men. According to Owoyemi & Olusanya (2014) discrimination against women in work place, during employment recruitment process and economic aspects in Nigeria remain unsolved and have been affecting both morale and psychological apprehension of women.

Some oil producing and nomadic people in Nigeria like Ijaws, Ogonis and Fulani are also victims of both economic and political marginalization. As stated by

ILO & ACHPR (2009) Ijaws, Ogonis and Fulani ethnic groups people are exceedingly neglected by their state government who take advantage of from the revenue of the oil.

Even though section 43 of the 1999 Nigerian constitution theoretically provides equal right of using immovable state property for all citizens of the state, still women have no rights to some state properties like land ownership (ILO & ACHPR, 2009).

It has been repetitively mentioned that unequal treatment of the people, poverty, lack of good management, unfair distribution of state resource are the root causes for the existence of the Islamic sect Boko Haram, and different ethnic militant groups in Northern Nigeria against the administration and dominating ethnic groups in Nigeria. Corroborating this Agbiboa (2013), stated that the economic, social and political situation of the Borno state which is the birth place of Boko- Haram was the best cause for the augmentation of radical Islamist group. According to him in Borno State, only 2% of children under 25 months have been vaccinated; 83% of young people are illiterate; 72 % of children around age of 6-16 do not go to school, the highest poverty rate of 64.8 percent is recorded in the North-East geo-political zone, followed by 61.2 percent in the North-West. Opposite to this, the lowest rate of poverty recorded in the southern part which was 31.2 percent in the South-East, followed by 40.2 percent in the South-West.

The focus area of these groups is on the followers of Christianity and other non Muslims ethnic group of Igbo. Similar to this the Niger Delta forces are on confrontation with the central regime and with different national oil company owners. This group gain support from diverse ethnic groups who were under the victim of poverty due to the fact that their land is a focal point of oil industry which they were not the beneficiary of it. In all-purpose citizenship discrimination arranged the stipulation for supplementary factors of discriminations such as economic marginalization, political marginalization and unfairly treatment of the people in all features. When many discriminatory factors fixed mutually they plowed different violence, the formation of different ethnic politics which create challenge to nation building and national integration.

4.3.5 Socio-Cultural Marginalization

Socio- cultural marginalization is an isolation of the group due to one's cultural identity. As defined by Nwosu (2008) "Socio cultural identity and the inherent differences in multi cultural society contribute to deepening the divide between communally defined citizen and the formally defined one" (p.13).

Section 42(1) of the FRN constitution circumvents discrimination against people on the ground of place of origin, sex, religion, and political attitude. But the reality among the Osu group misrepresent the provision of this law. Similarly, segregating of the people based up on ethnic background is one of the apparent facts of marginalization in Nigeria. This Situation is most reflected among the Igbo people in south- eastern part of Nigeria amidst Diala and Osu group. Contrary to the above constitution article, the Osu people are among the Igbo people who are socially marginalized in marriage, they live separate areas, they are considered as 'slaves', 'strangers', 'out casts' and 'untouchables' taken as a group of people who were created for scarification of gods. Surprisingly, they are highly excluded ethnic group who are prohibited to drink and eat with other social groups, and generally they were recognized as 'untouchable' group in the land of Igbo people (Igwe & Akolokwu, 2014).

Additionally, the study by the same author explains the harsh circumstances of the Osu people as follows:

'Evidence of discrimination against the Osu includes: parents' administering poison to their children, in a desperate move to perpetually wipe out the stigma; disinheritance (in a situation where a freeborn marries Osu); Ostracism, organized attack, heaping harvest offering separately in churches, denial of membership in social clubs, violent disruption of marriage ceremonies, denial of chieftaincy titles, deprivation of property and expulsion of wives, etc" (2014: 278).

The Igbo land Osu caste system was taken as a common culture, custom, tradition for the other part of the society in Nigeria. But these things are changed their track towards marginalization and discrimination of the society.

Notwithstanding the provision of section 43 of the 1999 Nigeria constitutional position, the settlement arrangement for the Osu is that they leave near shrines or such other places that mark them out for identification. On the other hand the Osu faced different segregation through which their identity in some cases may be inferred from

their settlement in the community and also it is a punishable abomination for a Diala to sell land to an Osu as the seller risks bearing the Osu mark (HRW, 2001). This inhuman practice is an aged phenomenon which the Nigerian government seen it blindly. As stated by Onwubuariri, (2007) the Osu caste scheme has gone through several stages and generations due to the fact that most Igbos sees it as an integral part of their culture which cannot be easily changed or amended. Today the problem posed by this system has grown beyond ordinary social and cultural into political, economical and more devastatingly philosophical.

In conclusive, the Nigerian government is not doing its best to avoid segregation. May be one can raise the question of the relevancy between the Osu caste system and citizenship discrimination in Nigeria. Though Osu people are Nigerians by nationality, they are not privileged and not treated as a citizens.

The discrimination that is wrinkled as a boundary between the two group of people (Diala & Osu) appear with its own consequence which was led to the destruction of lives in Igbo land (Nigeria) for the past consecutive years. For example, Dike (2002), called the system as internal 'Apartheid' by which the Osu people treated as a second class citizen devastated the lives of many people and credited the destruction of enormous property due to the conflict between the Diala and Osu in Igbo land. The discriminatory Osu practices involves inequality in freedom of movement and choice of residence, inequality in the right of peaceful association, inequality in the enjoyment of the right to marry and establish a family, (and) inequality in access to public office... slavery' (Dike,2002:2).

Social marginalization contributed by citizenship discrimination is not only affected the group of the people stated above, but also migrants, refugees, and other group of people who were not recognized as a nation. As a principle, when an individual is economically and political marginalized it is difficult to expect the social assimilation or interaction with the group of people who were nationally recognized as a citizens.

4.3.6 Violation of Human Rights

The issue of citizenship is inseparable from the query of human Rights. In most cases the practical implementation of citizenship acquisition in Nigeria is in against of the provision of UDHR. Therefore, the discussions under this theme mainly emphasis on how discrimination against citizenship rights is related to violation of human right in Nigeria. In contrast to article 6(4) of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC), one of the most pervasive human right violations in Nigeria is discrimination against children in provision of citizenship rights.

Regarding children those born to stateless person and those born to unknown parents or foundlings the Nigerian constitution is not provided clear decree which is violation of internationally accepted agreement.

Despite article 15 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights including Nigerian constitution underline individual's right to citizenship that neither shall be arbitrarily deprived of nor denied to change his/her nationality, woman in Nigeria is not allowed to pass her nationality to her foreign spouse which is extremely violation of human rights (Julie, 2014).

One of the main tiresome in majority of African state is acquiring nationality through naturalization procedure. In this case the length of the year for the accomplishment of naturalization process in Nigeria takes a matter of 15-20 year. For an individual to be reached to the step of naturalization, he/she has to dwell in Nigeria for this long period year is mandatory. During this period the right of an individual who is not naturalized (on process) person is not equal with the rest citizens. His right is limited to physical living only without further privilege. So living for minimum of 15 year without further benefit (rights) is too annoying and also it is violation of human right on the other corner.

Regarding this one of the informant with who discussed deeply about this naturalization process in relation to human rights and its length year replied me in the following manner:

If you take the naturalization process of many African countries it ranges from 5year -10 year. But if you consider the Nigeria case it takes minimum of 15 years. Actually it is too long for an individual to wait for such long period of time. According to my attitude the time length has no problem by itself, but the main challenge is the right that you loss within this year and the right that you thrashing after the end of the process. Basically in many African countries the right of naturalized person or the right of an individual who acquire citizenship through naturalization mode is restricted when you compare with those citizens gained their nationality by birth. A naturalized person is allowed only for physical living which is violation of human rights. If you acquire the right of citizenship through naturalization your role in political part taking is completely restricted. Sometimes this naturalization process is only 'Paper tiger'. So, as to me the meddling of the time privileged institution (AU) is an imperative therapy so as to protect violation the right that encountered an individual during and after naturalization process (**Informant VIII, March 20/2017**)

One point which is better to take into consideration is the right of a person after naturalization also has limited boundary as my informant and different scholars forwarded in Nigeria and in some African countries. The criteria that the Nigerian government used to grant citizenship right through naturalization which "effective contribution" and "good character" are some of the point that are highly exposed to subjectively interpretation and exposed to different maladministration of the process.

The violation of human right in Nigeria was the phenomenon started during colonial period especially from 1861 onward. After its independence the violation of human right continued by the same pace even after the inauguration of civilian government in 1999 (Juhari, 2011). Even if the coming of civilian government to power was expected as a good trust in protecting the violation of human right no significant human right protection has been recorded until recently(ibid). In his *Journal of Colonial and Post-Colonial Human Rights Violations in Nigeria*, Juhari forwarded the violation of human right that the non indigenes faced in Nigeria by stating of the report of human right watch of 2006 as follows:

The indigenes of a place are those who can trace their ethnic and genealogical roots back to the community of people who originally settled there. Everyone else, no matter how long they or their families have lived in the place they call home, is and always will be a non indigene(2011:55).

On the other hand the report of human right watch revealed that the bereavement of many people and children in central Nigeria particularly in Kaund and plateau states which resulted the death of 360 people in 2012. According to the report the victims of the death was children who were burned alive simply based up on their ethnic background and religious identity (HRW, 2013). By the same fashion the inter-communal clashes in 2012 in Adamawa, Bauchi, Benue, Ebonyi, Nasarawa, and Taraba States left more than 185 dead and hundreds more displaced from their homeland and confronted with the problem of statelessness(ibid).

4.3.7 Unsolved quest of Biafra movement and the issue of Self determination

According to the writing of some scholars the secessionist movement of the Igbo people in southeastern Nigeria which was organized under Lieutenant Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu (1967- 1970) was not concluded peacefully by giving retort for their expedition. Biafra was the name of the Nigerian secede state which incidentally had its secessionist bid decisively crushed by the mightier armed forces of the Nigerian government in January 1970 (Okeke, 2016).

The Biafra question (1967-1967) of Igbo people mainly focused on self determination or independence from Nigeria due to different malfunction or unequal treatment (Okonta & Meagher, 2009). Self determination is the quest of self identity. While Nigerian politicians claim the conclusion of Biafra question, many scholars attested the continuity of the Biafra self determination. Example, the movement of MASSOB which is founded in September 13th, 1999 to achieve Biafra separatist movement without by peaceful means, through provision of support of all entities, encourage sincere and honest dialogue with all nations in Nigeria and to inform the rest of the world about Biafra (ibid).

Despite the fact that, the Biafra civil war ended its dream still used as alarm by changing its shape different parts of Nigeria by devastating social, economic and political dimension which in twist born the complicatedness of Nation building (Okonta & Meagher, 2009). In confirmation of the sign of Biafra in Nigeria the

(Ezemenaka & Prouza, 2016) discusses the current status of some Nigerian People attitude towards the Biafra movement as follows:

Currently, support for a separate state of Biafra is resurging in Nigeria, which mainly takes the form of separatist agitation, including terrorism in a minority of extreme cases. There are widespread dissatisfactions among South-Eastern Nigerian protesters with the way that the Nigerian government governs the country. In this study, due emphasis is given to the stresses and strains encountered by Nigerians (p. 91).

Similarly, the study by (Okeke, 2016) underlines the continuity trauma of citizenship question of Biafra; the Niger Delta demand compensation of the oil company, environmental degradation and the demand of Fulani herdsmen to its identity, the Boko Haram 'conundrum' and the indigenous- early settlers divisions as the next assignment of the Nigerian government. This means that the Nigerian government still left with incomplete journey and a hidden bonfire which is waiting for favorable time to blow up.

In general term, the issue of citizenship was one of the themes for the rise up of Biafra civil war which was shaped by Igbo people who were dwell in United States and United Kingdom. The dream of the civil war is still used as an alarm for present-day civil war, violence, disputes and conflicts in Nigeria. So, since it is the next assignment for the Nigerian three level of government they should try to do all of their best.

4.3.8 Citizenship Right Discrimination and Mistrust in Nigeria

In the country where the ruling class coerced the ruled class, the existence of trust between the two is in decline. This situation is a common phenomenon among the state and citizens and also traceable among diverse group of Nigerian society. Some of the factors that led for distrust in Nigeria are corruption, inequality (economic, political and social) among the people, violation of human rights and the involvement of corrupted officials. For example the study by Iroghama (2012) forwarded corruption as the most vulnerable factors led for distrust amid government and society in Nigeria. The Corruption Perception Index (CPI) shows the worseness of corruption in Nigeria relative to other African countries as stated by (Cho & Kirwin, 2007). Corruption can be exercised through different ways. For example

Brown (2014), listed some forms of corruption: “Bribe, Fraud, Embezzlement, extortion, favoritism, and nepotism” (pp. 106-107).

One of the most prominent factor that eroded trust amid African states and its citizens is the existence of favoritism through which the leaders favors their ethnic group from which they aroused than working for building strong nation states in Africa (Frank & Rainer, 2012). The circumstance in Nigeria is as well not remote from this perception. On the other hand the border lined between the citizens of the same nation by giving different identity also one of the factor that led for mistrust among the people. In Nigeria non indigenes have been requested the certificate of indigenity to survive in Nigeria. In the process of issuing indigenity certificate officials embezzled almost in all of 744 LGAs (NRN, 2014). When indigenity and non indigenity survived the rejection of inclusiveness will rise. In case of exclusiveness the matter of identity became sown tension or distrust among the society.

Concerning this one of my informant whom assigned for 5 kilo at EOC-DIC-RRAD office told me the concept of citizenship and mistrust among each ethnic group and the hope that the society have up on its governor in Nigeria. My informant discourses his idea as follows:

Your question concerns about trust and mistrust among Nigerian society and the rate of confidence among the society and government. To tell you the fact, as far as my understanding the trust between the people is not healthier. In the country where one group is titled “the son of the soil” and the other is entitled the name “settler” how do you expect burly link in the midst of the society. In the country where one ethnic group dominates the political, economic and social aspect it is impossible to harvest true relationship among the society. The government advocates equality of citizens. But what is the measurement of equality unless you profit from your country’s provisions. So, mistrust among citizens (?) eroded due to inequalities of both aspects. **(Informant II, March 05/ 2017).**

Religion disparity is also another point of mistrust among the society. In Nigeria the issue of mistrust is what exists between Muslims and Christians including other diverse ethnic group as forwarded by (Uka, 2008). In addition (Anteneh, 2014) pointed out as mistrust in Nigeria is a common phenomenon in the midst of the society based up on ethnic, religion, indignity, settlership, majority and minority ethnic groups. This in turn builds up the dichotomy of “we vs. them”. The dichotomy

of 'we' and 'them' affect the bond of unity among the Nigerians. As opined by (Negedu and Atabor, 2015), "Though we do not enjoy this common bond because of mutual distrust, it does not entail that the Nigerian state would must end up in dissolution" (p.78).

In general inequality among citizens, lack of committed politicians in Nigeria, the existence of ethnic based leaders, eroded democracy and the existence weak institutions are some of the factors for declination of trust among the people and between the society and their government In turn this feature catalyzes the challenge of Nation Building in Nigeria. As stated by (Gambari 2008) Nigeria faces the challenges of socio –economic disparities, the challenges of an fitting constitutional settlement, the challenges of building burly institutions for democracy and the challenges of management.

4.4. Looking forward: Deriving positive Lessons from the others

Unless Nigeria government lends its ear to what many scholars suggested, its future fate will be under question. It is the researcher belief that this is the accurate time to look at things oddly on how citizenship discriminatory provisions and its related unstable has been negatively affecting nation building in Nigeria. Nigeria, being a habitat of the murder of the whole race, carnage and anxiety over the last several years, ought to examine herself wherever the crisis places and must describe the mislaid chances of her aged federalism.

Moreover, from her own experiences Nigeria has the opportunity to see how true citizenship law and provisions works for strong state building. Unless Nigeria gives thought, the probability that mugged Somalia and Libya may be the next chance of Nigeria.

Many findings and experiences show that citizenship discrimination is not only a single problem. Numerous factors are come to existence due to this injustice provision against the people. This is the researcher believes that productive lessons on how to transform citizenship discrimination into effective citizenship practice can be drawn from Ghana.

4.4.1 Lessons to be learned from Ghana

Ghana is one of African countries and role replica for rest of its adjacent African countries relatively from all corners in respect of human right, economic advancement, democracy and the like. Ghana is a good quality for other Africans

which are highly dependent on hidden citizenship rule and regulation. The act of injustice or unequal treatment between male and female, dire practices against ethnic background, religion, the motto of negro descent by Liberians, untested citizenship provisions through the continent are not the concern of Ghana citizenship law.

It is the front liner African state in providing the license of return and indefinite wait for affiliates of the larger African Diasporas. “Under Section 17(1) (b) of the Immigration Act 573 of 2000, the minister of the interior may, with the approval of the president, grant the “right of abode” to a person of African descent” which is among the enormous aspect designed for Ghana’s high-quality smudge in the area of citizenship.

In Nigerian there is no equal provision amid ethnic group based on the standard given from unknown base. Therefore, Ghana can be a role model to Nigeria in addressing inequality between men in passing their nationality their spouse, discrimination against the child born to unknown parents, to stateless, and refugees. Ghana is the leading country in Africa in ensuring equality of men and women by putting its citizenship law in practices. As a result both male and female have equal opportunity to pass their nationality for each other and for their children. In similar fashion Nigeria should learn more from Ghana on the following provisions.

The right of the Child born from unknown parents: In Nigerian there is no clear legal provision for the child born to unknown parents or foundlings in acquiring the country’s citizenship. According to recently amended C1992 (2001) Art6 L2000 Art8 of Ghana, a child born to unknown parents with no more than seven year shall have the right to be citizen of Ghana by Birth which has been put in practice. And this can be another lesson that Nigeria should learn from Ghana so as to benefit all of it people fairly.

The right of the child born outside the country: There is dissimilarity between Ghana and Nigeria in providing legal provision to child born outside of the countries. For example, the C1992 (2001) Art6 L2000 art9 of citizenship law of Ghana allow automatic acquisition of Ghanaian citizenship on the subject of completion of legal adoption. Contrarily, Nigeria has no legal provision at all regarding the right child born outside the country. Therefore, still Nigeria has the opportunity to draw lesson from Ghana and put it in to practice depending on the country’s socio-economic and political contexts.

Citizenship by marriage and the equality of male and female: Similar to Ghana many other African countries like Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, Djibouti, DRC, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, and Kenya allow equal opportunity for both sex in transferring their citizenship to their spouse and wife. Though Nigerian women who married foreign spouses have no right to pass their nationality to their husbands, the opportunity of male counterpart to pass his nationality to his wife is open. In Ghana as both male and female have equal opportunity in passing their nationality to their foreign husband, it can help Nigeria as learning lesson.

The process of Naturalization in Ghana: While the minimum duration of residence for individual to acquire citizenship right of Ghana by naturalization is a matter of six years, the same process requires the duration of 15 years in Nigeria. This means that the process of naturalization in Ghana is not as such rigid and restrictive as that of Nigeria. In Ghana the process of reacquisition and renunciation is possible without further precondition if the citizenship is lost because of dual nationality; the Nigerian constitution on the other hand is not allowed or not provided legal stipulation.

As noted in the previous section of this thesis the dwindling rate of children birth registration is one of the factor that hinder the effective implementation of citizenship practice in Nigeria. Birth registration is assurance of citizenship right in most case. So, as one REC, Nigeria should take Ghana as an exemplary about the Birth registration which is 63% relatively better than the rest West African Countries. Both Ghana and Nigeria are the two West African countries who were signed the Abidjan Declaration. Nevertheless, they were signed an agreement on the same day the progress of Ghana is on a healthier swiftness which is exemplary for all African countries. Nigeria should learn more from Ghana in accomplishment of the Abidjan Declaration signed in similar day, at the equivalent place and for the identical accomplishment.

4.4.2. Lessons to be learned from Botswana

Botswana is a non-coastal country located in the southern section of Africa with its 84% of its land a barren region and only 4% arable. It was one of a British colony starting from 1885 to 1966. The report by Afrobarometer which investigate the satisfaction citizens of Africa in democracy put the rank of the existence of democracy in Botswana on the higher rate (Bentley, Han & pennar, 2015). The

advancement of democracy in Botswana was not due to the existence of only one dominant ethnic group which divided into clans. This is not the precondition for existence of democracy. If homogeneity is a common factor Somalia was the leading democrat state in the horn of Africa. Both Somalia and Botswana have one large ethnic group, both are thinly populated and during their recognition of their autonomy both were dependent of the same economic background (Gambari, 2008). As opined by Gambari, the main factor for the survival of democracy in Botswana is the subsistence of visionary leadership of what it sought to do with the country. In social, political and economic feature Botswana registered exemplary record for other African countries.

Politically Botswana is one of the most stable country in Africa. As avowed in the thesis of (Anteneh, 2014), Botswana is the slightest corrupt country in Africa as well as amongst the least corrupt countries in the world. Since it recognized its independence from British colonial rule in 1965, Botswana shows good governance, good human right protection and good social integration. The study by different scholars explicitly shows the all sided evolution of Botswana. For example the study by Tsie (1996) shows the Botswana government's commitment in assisting the private sector in every plausible way reliable with the accomplishment of its nationwide growth objectives of speedy economic augmentation, social righteousness, economic independence and sustained development after its independence. In addition to this, Hjort (2010) listed down the following five factors for Botswana's sustainable social, political and economic development. These factors are: "(i) state legitimacy, (ii) democracy and good governance, (iii) well-established property rights, (iv) a 'culture of commerce', and (v) Inter ethnic unity" (2010:692).

The concern of stating the accomplishment of Botswana is not to overstress Botswana but to forward an exemplary lesson for Nigeria to put into practice. The main challenges that Nigeria encircled with are what Botswana put into practice subsequently. So the Nigerian would apply the Botswana experience more specifically the five factors which stated by Hjort (2010).

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

The purpose of this qualitative inquiry is to investigate practices of citizenship discrimination in Nigeria. Basically the study sought answers to three basic questions: How Nigerian citizenship law has been put in to practice? Why discriminatory practices prevail in acquiring citizenship? And what are the consequences of citizenship discriminatory practices in Nigeria? In order to address these basic questions and objectives of the study, secondary and primary data were widely used. While secondary data was reviewed and organized to be used in the study, primary data was gathered from Nigerian residing in Addis Ababa whom were selected using purposive and snowball sampling techniques with the hope to get pertinent and rich data. Interview and document analysis/ review were the two basic instruments the researcher employed to gather relevant data. Then, data gathered via interviews and document analysis were organized, structurally coded and interpret in themes. Finally summary, concussion and scholarly recommendations were drawn as follows:

5.1 Summaries

The study advanced the following subsequent summaries.

- ❖ The formation of today Nigeria goes back to the period of colonization around 1914. Under Britain domination the State which called Nigeria was created or supposedly by subjugation boasted on divided and rule principle.
- ❖ Although Nigeria's ethnic group has not figuratively identified accurately almost more than 250 ethnic groups are existed in State. Among these, the Hausa /Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbo (Ibo), comprise 68% among the total population of ethnic groups. These three ethnic group are dominated every political and economic aspect of Nigeria. Unequal share of resources and other privilege is most disputable factor in Nigeria.
- ❖ In spite of plentiful natural and human resources the economic progress in Nigeria is highly centralized and not fairly distributed among the states. The economic dominance by few group contributed the ruling class made unemployment, inequality among ethnic groups, and unfair competition and finally resulted ethnic violence.

- ❖ Beside this, the malfunction of citizenship law which is highly focused on the point of the some artificial standards, such as indigeneity, settlers, son/daughter of the soil, non- indigeneity, migrants and other standards create confusion in Nigeria among different ethnic groups. The manipulation of these discriminatory terms brings ethnic conflicts and diverse violence among indigenes and non-indigenes which the government formalized the term on the state constitution. Under the stated standard, women, children and other stateless people are victims of this discriminatory prejudice. On the other hand this situation made favorable condition for the formation of terrorist group and for self- secessionist movements.
- ❖ Knowingly or unknowingly the process of citizenship acquisition, renunciation, reacquisition, naturalization, registration, transferring citizenship, acquisition by descent (*jus- sanguineous*) and by birth place (*jus- soli*) are encircled by various problems.

Having the above settings, explored the effects of citizenship discrimination amid different group of the people by the State governance, the next contribution of discriminatory provisions of citizenship right are unemployment, unfair competition, marginalization (social, political and economic), ethnicity and violation of human rights.

- ❖ The existence of the firewall between indigeneity and non- indigeneity, the latter are victims of unemployment. Minority ethnic groups, migrants and settlers are also among the group who are faced the challenge of unemployment. Indigenous people are employed to the higher level of government sectors, while the rest groups are not. Whether they are indigenes or not the rule of citizenship in Nigeria is against to them in many cases.
- ❖ Unfair Competition amid different ethnic group is one of the prominent factors which led to instability in Nigeria frequently. The minority ethnic group and other groups are requested the highest qualification for employment during the process of recruitment. In some cases for the same job opportunity the requested qualification is dissimilar in which the indigenous group are employed without fair qualification. In political case the domination of the three ethnic groups made the rest ethnic group out

of the game. The hottest game is amid the Hausa/Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba ethnic group for presidential and prime minister position. This opened the door for continued violence due to malpractice of election during and after the completion of electoral process.

- ❖ Marginalization of migrated people, stateless, women and minority ethnic group as non citizens due to negligence of effective citizenship law is one of the key points for other crisis. Marginalization of the people overlaid the way for antagonism, bitterness and stereotypes which breeds collective uprising, overthrow of civil government and political murders through the states of Nigeria due to the absence true patriotism and loyalty citizenship on ethnic line than national line.
- ❖ Violation of human right is also the central point of the research. In Nigeria due to inattention of citizenship law and ineffectively implementation of some internationally and regionally decreed citizenship conventions contributed for violation of human rights. Among these stopping discrimination against children and women and the reduction of statelessness is what Nigeria signed with different regional, national and international organization to bring it to an end.
- ❖ Ethnic conflict is the awful characteristics of the Nigerian government. At the beginning the main objective of federal form of government in Nigeria was to avoid ethnic conflict and to manage diversity easily. Since the federal structure of Nigeria is geographic based federalism the group of people in each geographic location is what is intermixed and divided into majority and minority ethnic group. In state where two groups are existed the domination of Majority group is palpable .So this inequality among citizens led for ethnic conflict to dominate the social, political and economic aspects of the state. Managing diversity is when every state provision is equally distributed among regional states and when every ethnic are equally treated in every aspects including citizenship acquisition. So this is one of the factors that tackle for the formation of strong nation; Nigeria.

5.2 Conclusions

From this qualitative research, the following conclusions can be made. Among all, the procedure of acquiring citizenship in Nigeria is full of predicaments. Some of the problems emanated or could be attributed to ineffectiveness of the decreed citizenship law and on the other hand which failed to respond to the demands of various peoples in Nigeria for equal treatment and protection.

Secondly the finding of the research shows discrimination against minority groups, children, women, stateless person, naturalized person, refugees and migrants in acquiring citizenship, in the process of renunciation and in the process of transferring citizenship to spouse some of the factors that erodes the right of the people in Nigeria.

Thirdly, the mounting of unemployment rates, unfair competition, marginalization, and ethnic conflict are some of discriminatory prejudice due to the boundary between citizen and non citizen which resulted to absence of true patriotism in Nigeria.

Fourthly, the existence of ethnic citizenship than national Nigerian citizenship and confusion of national identity has strongly eroded the formation of strong nation state. This also on the other way made favorable condition for the growth of ethnocentrism, terrorism and diverse secessionist's movements who strives for the right to self determination or local autonomy. Gradually, the existence of these multifaceted problems in Nigeria may darken the dream of AU concerning the formation of self reliant Africa and may the accomplishment of agenda 2063.

5.3 Recommendations

In Nigeria the contemporary gravities are the survival of the Islamist sect Boko Haram, corrupt officials, and inequality among diverse ethnic groups are a number of crisis which debacles the future dream of the state and open the way for its fragility. Boko haram destructed huge infrastructures, pave the way for displacement of millions people and the killing of many people in Nigeria and in some of neighboring states. For example it abducts 230 schoolgirls in Borno state. In addition by 2014 destructing the whole village of Mainok and killed around 400 people per month. The Borno state is the birth place of the Boko Haram which is highly victims of poverty and unemployment. The Boko Haram promises a better life for sacrificial victims. In

such case some 'stateless people' who were not recognized as citizens and discriminated in state citizenship provisions have a preference of joining informal groups like that of the Islamic sect Boko-Haram to their loyalty.

The group of society who burdened with citizenship right discrimination are an important generations who are contributable their effort for the economic, political and socio-cultural aspect for both Nigeria and Africa. In the era when Africa sermonize one Africa and one citizen, the citizenship discrimination in Nigeria and other factors encircled Africa is on the way to jam this dream. Therefore, unless Nigeria managed, the existing problem effectively the fate of south Sudan, Somalia, Central African Republic, Democratic republic of Cong, Sudan etc may face up it. Consequently, the investigator would like to illustrate the concentration of both the Nigerian government and the African Union to take into consideration the subsequent recommendations.

Recommendations for Nigerian government and concerned Organization

- The law that governs the provisions of citizenship rights in Nigeria is not addressed the curiosity of the people equally. It favors only a few groups, those who are entitled the status of majority and indogeneity. So effective citizenship acquisition mechanisms would be put in to practices by revising constitutional provisions to steer clear of citizenship right discrimination based up on gender, ethnic background, one's religious identity and different backgrounds.
- Frequent revision of citizenship law in line with other African states who are followed globally accepted modes of citizenship so as to crack the difficulty of discrimination in providing citizenship right helped the Nigerian government to advance immediate response for the group of societies who are/ were victims of discrimination.
- On the other hand, comprehending the contribution of women in economic escalation, the Nigerian government would take in to account equal opportunity for both women and men in the process of citizenship transferring.
- The criteria forwarded for naturalization process is the position which needed restructuring in order to build the law more moderate to widen the chance for a person who wants to be naturalized. Lessening the year from 15 to the average

year which most African countries should be applied for the process of naturalization. Next to this, the law which prohibits the naturalized person after acquiring citizenship right from competing for the position president of the state and for the highest state political position should be what is expected as a task for the Nigerian government to made reform and equally treating the people for equal position.

- The problem of terrorism, ethnic conflict and secessionists' movement which Nigeria experienced frequently is also hazardous for the rest of African countries. So, as much as possible in order to solve this trouble the Nigerian government would struggle to form civic citizenship (regardless of ethnicity or color, religion, gender and language) that would be able to fight for their nations and stand against these terrorists groups.
- Mounting the sense of belongingness is what is expected from Nigeria. Creating sense of belongingness is possible by preserving culture, language, identity, religion, custom and tradition of every ethnic group equally. In Nigeria more than 500 languages are spoken. But their official language is English. In order to create sense of belongingness it is better to use their indigenous language at least in their regional bureaucracy. The formation of patriotic or civic citizenship through education of civic and moral education at all academic level.
- Since the question of citizenship discrimination practices aroused due to poles apart oppressive mechanisms and mostly due to the existence of inequality, the government should struggle for equal distribution of state resources and political powers amid the people of the state more specifically by amending section 147 of the 1999 constitution which is more focused on "statehood" rather than the "nationhood" of Nigeria.
- Assurance of the right of citizenship for the people is the foremost stride that the government takes into contemplation. As a result, to make this effectual, generating consciousness for the society on the subject of birth registration of the children is unsurpassed answer to attempt the evils associated to citizenship rights discriminatory provisions.
- Beside strong leaders, the existence of strong institutions also advisable for Nigerian government to fight against inhuman practices such as ethnic

favoritism, corruption including citizenship right discrimination. Ethnic favoritism, corruption, brain drain, border conflict, political dependency up on the previous colonizers is some of incurable ailment since Africa gained its independence. So, Africans would stand mutually on the side of Nigeria by shaping strong institutions and committed leaders who were acquainted with the notion of “Africans for Africa.” .

- Like that of many African states one of the most prominent factors that hinder the solidity in Nigeria is the nonappearance of strong state. Almost all African states were made artificially by the imperial powers for their own interest and to realize the principle of effective occupation of the Berlin Conference (1884-1885). Consequently, above all Nigeria should deal with fragmented state which is the product of the British colonial administration in order to save the state from fragility. Secondly, the subsequent pace for Nigerian government is strong nation formation that proudly stands for Nigerian unity.
- The perception of citizenship is gained global momentum in this 21st century. Accordingly, the African Union which is time honored organization for African’s would play its lion’s share in uniting Nigeria which can be seen as a museum of nations and nationalities of Africa. AU has many organs. Among this the one which concerned about citizens and citizenship matter is the African Charters on Human and People Rights. So it would play its imperative role through commanding the efficient implementation of children right, women right, refugees’ right, and issues of statelessness by enchanting the problem of citizenship into consideration and also to apprehend the all sided African peoples’ unity, solidarity, and integrity. On the other hand in order to comprehend the vision of agenda 2063, the AU must prepare itself by promoting unity, prosperity and fraternity in Africa. This is possible when Africa instituted the African Union Citizenship in line with European Union citizenship. Finally if Africa Union institutionalized standardized modes of naturalization the stated citizenship challenges will gain medication.

REFERENCES

- Abah, O., S., & Jenks, Z., O. (2005). A nation in search of citizens: Problems of citizenship in the Nigerian context. *Inclusive Citizenship: Meanings and Expressions, London: Zed Books (PP: 71-84).*
- Abe, T., & Oladeji, O. (2016). Federalism and citizenship dilemmas in Africa: Ethiopia & Nigeria in comparison. *Global journal of Advanced Research, vol, 3, issue 12, pp.1098-1111.*
- Achiron, M. (2014). *Nationality & statelessness*. Handbook for parliamentarians no. 22. Published by the inter- parliamentary union with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
- ACHPR (2015). The right to nationality in Africa: Study undertaken by the special reporter on the rights of refugees, asylum seekers and internally displaced persons, pursuant to resolution 234 of April 2001 and approved by the commission at its 55th ordinary session, May 2014 Published by ACHPR.
- Adebayo A., A.(2013). Youths' unemployment and crime in Nigeria: A nexus and implications for national development. *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology Vol.5 (8), pp.350-357.*
- Adedokun, A., O. (2003). The rights of migrant workers and members of their families: Nigeria UNESCO Series of country reports on the Ratification of the UN Convention on Migrants.
- Adejumobi, S.(2001). Citizenship, Right and the Problems of internal conflicts and civil wars in Africa. *Africa journal political science vol 6(2) pp, 77-96.*
- Adesina, S., O. (2013). Unemployment and Security Challenges in Nigeria. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Vol. 3 No. 7; PP.146-156.* Department of Political Science University of Ibadan Nigeria.
- Adesoji A. & Alao A. (2014). Indigeneship and citizenship in Nigeria: Myths and the realities. *The African symposium. Volume 8, No. 2, pp. 97-106, Nigeria.*
- Adetiba, C., T. (2013). Ethnic conflict in Nigeria: A challenge to inclusive social & political development. Being a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of doctor of Philosophy in social sciences (Development Studies) faculty of management and commerce: School of Public Management and Development. University of Fort Hare South Africa.

- Adetiba, C., T. (2013). They are not from our state: The politics of citizenship; a political paralysis to national integration and development in Nigeria. *International Journal of Research in Social Sciences and Humanities (IJRSSH) 2013, Vol. 2, Issue. II, Apr-June, pp. 1-17.*
- Afegbua, D., Issa, S. (2012). The challenges of leadership and governance in Africa. *International journal of academic research in business and social sciences September, vol. 2, no. 9.*
- Afolabi, O.(2016). Migration and citizenship question in Nigeria: A study of the Berom and Hausa/Fulani conflict in Jos. *Academic Journals, vol.10 (2), pp.8-15.*
- Agbiboa D., E. (2013). Why Boko Haram Exists: The Relative Deprivation Perspective. *African Conflict and Peace building Review, Vol. 3, No. 1 pp. 144-157.* Published by: Indiana University Press.
- Agbo M., C. (2014). Socio-cultural challenges of child adoption in eastern Nigeria in West Africa. *Humanities & social sciences reviews vol 2 (1), December , PP. 86- 89.*
- Ahmed-Gamgum [Mnim], W., A. (2014). Nigeria at 100 Years: The Process and Challenges of nation building. *Public Policy and Administration Research, Vol.4, No.8, PP.114- 139.*
- Akanji, O. O. (2011). 'The problem of belonging': the identity question and the dilemma of nation-building in Nigeria. *African Identities, 9(2), 117-132.*
- Akintola, O. E. Yabayanze, J. A. (2017). Settlers-Indigenes question in Nigeria: much rhetoric, no answers. *European Scientific Journal Vol.13, No.10, PP. 365- 378.*
- Alubo, O. (2008). Understanding the Issues in the Citizenship-Indigenship Crisis in Nigeria. *Dialogue on Citizenship in Nigeria, Abuja: Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution.*
- Alapiki, H., E.(2005). State creation in Nigeria: Failed approaches to national integration and local autonomy. *African Studies Review, Vol. 48, No. 3 pp. 49-65.* Published by: Cambridge University Press.

- Alafuro, E.(2011). Challenges to nation-building: corruption, inequality and the Quagmire of violence in the Niger delta. *Sacha Journal of Policy and Strategic Studies, Volume 1 Number 2, pp. 55-63.*
- Albarazi, Z. & Brennan D. (2015). *My Children Future: Ending gender discrimination in nationality laws*; London.
- Allanana , G., M. (2013). Patriarchy and gender inequality in Nigeria: the way forward. *European scientific journal, 9(17) pp.115-144.*
- Alubo, O. (2008). *Citizenship and Identity Politics in Nigeria*: Lagos, Nigeria. CLEEN foundation.
- Anteneh, Asnake. (2014). Ethnicity and its impact on Economic Development in Africa: A case studies from Ethiopia and Nigeria. A Thesis submitted to the school of graduate studies of Addis Ababa University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in African studies.
- Atem, G., P.(nd). An investigation of the challenges facing African refugee communities in the Australian workforce: Findings from a qualitative study of Sudanese and Liberian refugees in South Australia, PhD Candidate School of Natural and Built environments University of South Australia.
- AU. (2015).The Africa we want. Africa Union Commission agenda 2063. Final edition.
- Ayatse, H. F. & Iorhen, I., A. (2013). The origin and development of ethnic politics and its impacts on post colonial governance in Nigeria. *European scientific journal, 9(17), pp.178- 189.*
- Babalola, O. (2016). History of state creation in Nigeria. DAWN Commission. Lagos Policy Round Table Document (2015), Dawn Commission.
- Badawy,T., & Khalil, A. (nd). Africa citizenship and discrimination audit the case study of Egypt. Open society justice initiative the Center for Migration and Refugee Studies (CMRS).
- Bamiwola, K., H. (nd). Human right and employment discrimination: A comparative examination of equal job opportunities. Undergraduate faculty of law, university of Lagos, Nigeria.
- BBC(2017). Nigeria's sultan of Sokoto rejects gender equality bill. BBC News Service. Retrived from: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-38449822>.

- Bellamy, R. (2014). *Citizenship*. Historical development of. European University Institute, Florence. Routledge.
- Bentley, Th. Han, K., & Penar, P., H. (2015). African democracy update: Democratic satisfaction remains elusive for many. Afrobarometer dispatch 15 September No. 45 (USAID).
- Bequele, A. (2005). Universal Birth Registration: The challenge in Africa. A paper prepared for the second eastern and southern Africa conference on universal birth registration Mombasa, Kenya, September 26 – 30, 2005. Source@MigrationPolicy.org.
- Bertocchi, G., & Strozzi, Ch.(2010). The evolution of citizenship: economic and institutional determinants. *Journal of Law and Economics*, Vol. 53 February pp, 95-136. University of Chicago.
- Beydoun, L. (2013). The Complexities of citizenship among Lebanese immigrants in Sierraleon. *African Conflict and Peace building Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1 pp. 112-143 Published by: Indiana University Press.
- Bhatta, N. (2012). Citizenship and cast based discrimination. A study of Dalit communities. Case studies from western Nepal. Degree thesis Diaconia University applied sciences, Diak South, Järvenpää unit programme in social services bachelor of social services.
- Blench, R., & Dendo, M. (2003). The dimensions of ethnicity, language and culture in Nigeria. Prepared for DFID, Nigeria, and United Kingdom. Final Report . Cambridge. Position paper.
- Brook, M., Ph. (1997). *The Origins of Citizenship in ancient Athens*. Princeton University press.
- Brown, A., J. (2014). ‘Anti-corruption’, ‘integrity’ or just plain ‘good governance’ and ‘smart regulation’? Why anti-corruption remains a vital element of the G20 leaders’ agenda. G20 monitor No. 13, G20 studies centre, Lowy institute for international policy (forthcoming, 2014).
- Caputo, J., D. (2001). *On religion*. Routledge. Published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library.
- Carabain, Ch., Keulemans, Sh., Gent, M., V., & Spitz, G. (2012). Global citizenship. From public support to active participation. Amesterdom. Report.

- Castel, S. (2007). *European Citizenship anti –discrimination and the politics of citizenship*. Britain and France. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chi, E., V. & Chimee, I., N. (2015). Contextualizing the problems with the concept of citizenship in Nigeria. *Almawaqif Revue des recherches sur la societe et l'histoire* 56 No 10- December. [Review of the Researches on society and History, Vol.56, No.10].
- Chidume, C. G. , Chukwu, G. A., Ukaegbu, N. M. & Agudiegwu, M. O. (2014). Centenary celebration of Nigeria and challenges of nation building. *European Journal of Research and Reflection in Arts and Humanities* Vol. 2 No. 2, PP. 25- 34.
- Cho, W., & Kirwin, M. F. (2007). A Vicious Circle of Corruption and Mistrust in Institutions in sub-Saharan Africa: A Micro-Level Analysis. *Cape Town: Afro Barometer Working Paper, 71*.
- Chrimes, B., S. (2015). *Ethnicity, Democracy and Citizenship in Africa: Political marginalisation of Kenya's Nubians*. Ashgate, Aldershot
- Christopoulos, D. (2013). EUDO citizenship observatory. Country report: Greece. European university institute, Florence Robert Schuman center for advanced studies. EUDO Citizenship Observatory. Published in Italy.
- Collis, J. & Hussey, R. (2003). *Business Research: A practical guide for undergraduate and postgraduate students*. Palgrave Macmillan; 2nd edition.
- Cohen, R. (1970). *The African Experience*. Volume I essays. Northwestern University Press Evanston.
- Coughlan, M., Cronin, P., & Ryan, F. (2009). Interviewing in qualitative research: The one to one interview. *International journal of therapy & rehabilitation*, 16(6) 309.
- Craig, R. L. (2007). *Systemic discrimination in employment and the promotion of ethnic equality* (Vol. 91). Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Creswell, W. J. (2007b). *Qualitative inquiry and research design (2nd ed.)*: Choosing among the five approaches. Sage publications, London. Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- Creswell, J. (2012). *Educational Research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research (4th ed)*. Pearson education, Inc.

- Crook, J. (1967). *Law and life in Rome 90 B.C. – A.D. 212*. Cornell University press. Ithaca, New York.
- Dakye, M. M. & Zungdet, E., P. (2014). Ethnicity, religious conflicts, the citizenship question and Nigeria's national transformation. *Global journal of human social science*, 14(5), pp, 11-17.
- Davis, Y., N. (1997). Women, citizenship and difference. *Feminist Review No 57*, Autumn. pp.4 -27).
- Dertwinkel, T. (2008). Economic exclusion of ethnic minorities: on the importance of concept specification. *ECMI issue brief. No. 19*. European center for minority issues.
- Dike, E. V. (2002). The Osu caste system in Igbo land discrimination based on descent. The international Dalit solidarity network "working globally against discrimination by work and descent". A Paper Presented to the committee on the elimination of racial discrimination (CERD) sixty-first session 8-9 August.
- Dibua, J., I. (2005). Citizenship and resource control in Nigeria: the case of minority communities in the Niger Delta. *Afrika spectrum 40 (1) pp: 5-28*.
- Dibua, J., I. (2011). Ethnic citizenship, federal character and inter group relations in Post colonial Nigeria. *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol. 20 (2011), pp. 1-25* published by Historical society of Nigeria.
- Drubig, R (2001). Ethnography: A way of seeing by Harry F. Wolcott; constructing the field. *Ethnographic fieldwork in the contemporary world* by Vered Amit. Antrops, Bd. 96, H. 1. , PP. 321- 323. Antrops Institute. Reviewed work.
- Ebegbulem , C., J. (2011). Ethnic politics and conflicts in Nigeria: Theoretical perspective. *Khazar Journal of humanities and social Sciences Vol 14, issue 3, pp.76*.
- Edwards, A., & Van Waas, L. (Eds.). (2014). *Nationality and statelessness under international law*. Cambridge University Press.
- Egwu ,G., S. (2004). Ethnicity and citizenship in urban Nigeria: the Jos case, 1960-2000. A thesis in the department of political science, faculty of social sciences submitted to the school of post-graduate studies, university of Jos, in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of the degree of doctor of philosophy of the University of Jos.

- Ejobowah, B., J. (2006). Citizenship in Nigerian federalism. International political science association paper room. Wilfrid Laurier University.
- Ejobowah, B., J. (2013). Ethnic conflict and cooperation: assessing citizenship in Nigeria federalism. *Publius: The journal of federalism* vol. 43, number 4, pp.728- 74.
- Ejorh, Th. (2007). Immigration and Citizenship: African Immigrants in Ireland *An Irish Quarterly Review, Vol. 96, No. 381, Immigration, pp. 47-55*
- ENS.(2015). *No child should not be stateless*. European network on statelessness. United Kingdom. Report
Retrieved from http://www.statelessness.eu/sites/www.statelessness.eu/files/ENS_NoChildStateless_final.pdf.
- European Commission (2013). European Union Citizenship. Report, Number 365.
- Ezemenaka, E., K. & Prouza, J. (2016). Biafra resurgence: State failure, insecurity and separatist agitations in Nigeria. Preview version 88-109.
- E. Nkolika, O., & Azikiwe, N. (2007). Citizenship and ethnic militia politics in Nigeria-marginalization or identity question? The case of MASSOB. Anambra State, Nigeria. Paper presented at the 3rd global conference on pluralism inclusion and citizenship, at Salzburg Austria November 18th -19th.
- Farah, I., Kiamba, S., & Mazongo, K. (2011). Major challenges facing Africa in the 21st cen a few provocative remarks. An international symposium on cultural diplomacy in Africa- strategies to confront the challenges of the 21st century: Does Africa have what is required? Berlin 14th - 17th July.
- Farada, B. (2008). Project on a mechanism to address laws that discriminate against women. Commissioned by office of the high commissioner for human rights – women’s rights and gender unit. Project Paper.
- Franck, R., Rainer, I. (2012). Does the leader’s ethnicity matter? Ethnic favoritism, education and health in sub-Saharan Africa. Bar Ilan University, Israel. *American political sciences review* vol, 106, issue 2, pp.294-325.
- Freeman, D. (2005). An explanation of conflict: Ethnicity, deprivation, and rationalization. Kentucky political science association conference. 4th March.

- Fritzsche, J. (2014). Displacing the displaced: Challenging the international framework for palestinian refugees in light of the Syria crisis school of global Affairs and public Policy. School of global affairs. Paper no. 8. The center for migration and refugee studies.
- Gabriel Th. (2007). *Christian citizens in an Islamic state*. The Pakistan experience university of Gloucestershire, UK. Ashgate.
- Gambari, A., I. (2008). The challenges of Nation Building: The case of Nigeria. First Year anniversary lecture Mustapha Akanbi Foundation. 7 February.
- Gambo A. (2012). The Exclusion of minority groups in the Plateau: Uprooting Citizenship Rights. In Ibrahim J. *Citizenship and Indigeneity Conflicts in Nigeria*.
- Garcia, S. (1996). *Cities and citizenship*. USA, Blackwell publishers.
- Gaventa, J. (2002). Introduction: Exploring citizenship, participation and accountability. *Institute of development studies bulletin vol. 33, No.2*. institute of development studies.
- Gays, L., R., Mills, G., E., & Airasian, P. (2012). *Educational research: competencies for analysis and applications (10th ed.)*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill/Prentice Hall.
- Girdvainyte, L. (2014). Roman law, Roman citizenship, Roman identity? Interrelation between the three in the late Republic and early empire. Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in classics and ancient civilizations, Leiden University.
- Govil, R. (2014). Nationality and statelessness: Handbook for Parliamentarians: UNHCR- the UN refugee agency. Geneva- Switzerland.
- Gunsteren, V., H. (1998). *A theory of citizenship*. Organizing plurality in contemporary democracies. West view press.
- Harrison, E., G. (2017). How Nigerians took Boko- Haram's victims to their hearts. Retrived from <https://www.theguardians.com/world/2017/feb26/nigerians-boko-haram-well.come-refugees>.
- Helta, S. (2007). African stagnation & underdevelopment. Teaching material at Nelson Mandela metropolitan university, port Elizabeth, South Africa.

- Hin, S. (2010). Families and states. Citizenship and demography in the Greco-Roman world. Working papers of the Max Plank institute for demographic Research. Germany.
- Hjort, J. (2010). Pre-colonial culture, post-colonial economic success? The Tswana and the African economic miracle. *The Economic History Review, New Series, Vol. 63, No. 3 (August,)*, pp. 688-709 Published by: Wiley on behalf of the *Economic History Society*.
- Honohan, I. (2017). *Liberal and republican conception of citizenship*. Oxford University Press.
- Hoskins, B., Kerr, D., Abs, H. J., Janmaat G., J., Morrison J., Ridley, R. & Sizmur J., (2012). Participatory citizenship in the European Union institute of education. European commission, Europe for citizens program Submitted 10th May. Analytical Report. Report 2.
- Human Rights Watch (2001). Caste Discrimination. A global concern. Vol.13, No.3(G).A Report by Human Rights Watch for the United Nations World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance. Durban, South Africa,
- Human Right Watch (2006). "They do not own this place". Government discrimination against "non- Indigenes" in Nigeria. *Hunan right watch Volume 18, No. 3(A), pp, 1-64 New York*.
- Human Right Watch (2012). Second class citizens. Discrimination against Roma, Jew and other national. Minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Retrived from <https://www.hrw.org/report/2012/04/04/second-class-citizens/discrimination-against-roma-jews-and-other-national>
- Human Rights Watch (2013). *The world report*. Events of 2012. Human Rights Watch.
- Idowu, W., O., O. (1999), Citizenship, alienation and conflict in Nigeria. *Africa Development / Vol. 24, No. 1/2, pp. 31-55*.
- Ignatieff, M. (2014). The myth of citizenship. *Queen's law journal vol.12, pp. 399-42*.
- Igwe, O., W. & Akolokwu, O., G. (2014). The scar that has resisted erasal: The Discrimination of Osu of Igbo land, Nigeria- assessing the human rights implications. *American International Journal of Contemporary Research Vol. 4 No. 1; January pp, 277-285*.

- Igbuzor, O.(2002). *Making Democracy work in Nigeria*. The civil society and Constitutional Reform in Bujura, A. & Adejumobi S. Breaking barriers, creating new hopes Africa Democracy, civil society and good governance in Africa (pp 1-365). Africa world press, Inc.
- ILO. (2009). The rights of indigenes people in Nigeria. Country report of the research project by ILO and ACHPR on the constitutional and legislative protection of the Rights of indigenes People in Nigeria.
- Imam, M., Bibi, F. & Abba, S. (2014). Ethnicity and the rises of citizenship in post colonial Nigeria: An impediment to development. *The international journal of social sciences and humanities invention*, 2(02), pp. 1121-1146
- Iroghama, P., I. (2012). Trust in government: A note from Nigeria. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences vol.2*, (326- 336).
- Immigration and Refugees Board of Canada (IRBC) (2012). Nigeria: Whether a member of an ethnic group can be identified by physical characteristics, manner of dress, or by any other means; obstacles faced when relocating to Abuja, Lagos Port Harcour (available at [ecoi.net](http://www.ecoi.net)).Retrived from http://www.ecoi.net/local_link/233724/342464_en.html.
- ISI. (2014). *The World's Stateless*. Wolf Legal publishers. The Netherlands.
- ISI. (2017). *The world stateless children*. Institute on statelessness and inclusion. Wolf Legal Publishers. The Netherlands.
- Isumonah, A. (2006). An issues overlooked in Nigeria's reform: The continuation of government discriminatory practices. *African Sociological Review/ Revue Africaine de Sociologie* , Vol. 10, No. 2, pp.116- 132.
- Iwuagwu, E, K. (2015). The concept of citizenship: Its application and denial in the contemporary Nigerian society. *International journal of research in arts and social sciences*, 8 (1), 165-177.
- Jenkins, R. (2008). *Rethinking ethnicity*. Second Edition, Sage Publication.
- Jinadu,L., A.(2002). Ethnic conflict and Federalism in Nigeria, ZEF – discussion papers on development policy No. 49, pp.45. Center for development Research. Bonn, Germany.
- Jones, E., & Gaventa, Jh. (2002). *Concept of citizenship*. Institute of development Studies Brighton, Sussex, England.

- Joseph, R. (2003). Nation-State Trajectories in Africa. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 4, No. 1 ,pp. 13-20. Georgetown University Press.
- Juhari, A.(2011).Colonial and post-colonial human rights violations in Nigeria. *International journal of humanities and social science*, 1(5) pp.53- 57.
- Julie, Ch., A. (2012). Inequality and discrimination in Nigeria. Tradition and religion as negative factors affecting gender. A paper presented at the federation of international Human right museums, 8th -10th October.
- Kendall, S. (2013). *The struggle for Roman citizenship*. Romans, allies, and the wars of 91– 77 BCE. Gorgias Press, USA.
- Key, P., J.(1997). *Research design in occupational education*. Oklahoma State University.
- Retrieved from: <http://www.okstate.edu/ag/agedcm4h/academic/aged5980a/5980/>.
- Langer, A, & Ukoha, U.(2007). Ethnicity, religion and the state in Ghana and Nigeria: Perception from the street. *Cries Working Paper No. 3. Palgrave Macmilan publisher Ltd*.
- Laura van, W., Amal, de Ch. (2014). *The world's stateless*. The Netherland, the Netherlands. Wolf legal publisher.
- Lund, Ch. (2011). Land rights and citizenship in Africa. Nordiska Afrika institutet, discussion paper 65. Legal science in the new millennium.
- Lupşan, G. (2014). Reflections on the child born with unknown parents and the adoption institution. The 9th edition of international conference European integration realities and perspectives. PP. 66-70.
- Lurie, G., (2012). Citizenship in later medieval France, c.1370 - c.1480. A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the graduate school of arts and sciences of Georgetown University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy in history.
- Lynch, M. (2005). Lives on hold: The human cost of statelessness. Convention relating status of stateless persons. With an introductory note by the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. 25th anniversary research series, volume 2. Oxford Brookes University.
- Maas, W. (2016). 'European governance of citizenship and nationality', *Journal of Contemporary European research*. 12 (1), pp. 532-55.

- MacNealy, M.S. (1999). *Strategies for empirical research in writing*. New York: Addison Wesley Longman.
- Maiangwa, B., Uzodike, U., O., Whetho, A. & Hakeem O. (20013). “Baptism by Fire”: Boko Haram and the reign of terror in Nigeria. *Africa Today*, Vol. 59, No. 2 pp. 41-57. Published by Indiana University Press.
- Manby, B. (2009). *Struggles for citizenship in Africa*. Zed Book Ltd. London New York.
- _____. (2010). *Citizenship law in Africa*. A comparative Study. Published by Open society foundations. New York.
- _____. (2011). Statelessness in Southern Africa. Briefing paper for UNHCR regional conference on statelessness in southern Africa Mbombela (Nelspruit), South Africa 1-3 November
- _____. (2015). Citizenship and statelessness in Africa: The law & politics of belonging. A dissertation to obtain the degree of doctorate, Maastricht University.
- _____. (2015). Nationality, migration and statelessness in west Africa. A study for UNHCR and IOM. A report presented by the author at a ministerial conference on statelessness in the ECOWAS region, held in Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire, 23 to 25 February 2015 and subsequently circulated to ECOWAS Member States and other stakeholders for comment.
- _____. (2016). *Citizenship Law in Africa*. A comparative study. African Minds on behalf of Open Society Foundations.
- _____. (2016). Who Belongs? Statelessness & nationality *The on line journal , migration policy institute, April 7* in west Africa Manville.
- Manville, B., Ph.(1997). *The origins of citizenship in ancient Athens*. Princeton university press.
- Makinde, O., A., Ajao, B., Ogbuoji, O., & Babalola, S. (2016). Trends in the completeness of birth registration in Nigeria: 2002 –2010. *A peer- reviewed open –access journal of population science ,vol,35, article 12, pp.315-338, 17 August*.
- Marshall, H., T. (1950). *Citizenship & social class and other essay*. Cambridge at the University press.

- Mason, J. (2002). *Qualitative researching*. Second edition SAGE publications
London. Thousand Oaks New Delhi
- Mathiason J., R. (2012). *World Citizenship: the individual and international
governance* Cornell Institute for Public Affairs, Cornell University. Revised
and updated version for the United Nations expert group meeting on
empowerment of a paper presented originally at third Pan European
international relations conference, Vienna, Austria, September 16 - 19, 1998.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2008). *Designing a qualitative study*. Sage publications.
- Mbamalu, S. (2017). Nigeria's strongly react to xenophobic attacks to in South
Africa. Retrieved from:
[https://thisisafrica.me/nigerians-strongly-react-xenophobic-attacks-south Africa/](https://thisisafrica.me/nigerians-strongly-react-xenophobic-attacks-south-Africa/).
- McNamara, C. (1999). General guidelines for conducting interviews. Authenticity
consulting, LLC, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
- Meer, S. & Sever, C. (2004). Gender and citizenship: overview report. Institute of
development studies.
- Minns, Ch. (2014). Barriers towards EU citizenship. The scale and scope of
citizenship early modern Europe: preliminary estimates.
- Mngomezulu, M., S. (2015). Citizenship in colonial Africa. An Overview of British
and French Repertoires. *JPI: Fall Issues pp.4-11*
- Mustapha, A., R., (2003). Ethnic minority groups in Nigeria – current situation and
major problems. Switzerland. Research project.
- Mustapha A. R. (2006). Ethnic structure, inequality and governance of the public
sector in Nigeria. Democracy, governance and human rights program paper
number 24 November United Nations research institute for social
development.
- Negedu, I., & Atabor, A. (2015). Nationalism in Nigeria: A case for patriotic
citizenship. *American International Journal of Contemporary Research Vol. 5,
No. 3; pp.74- 79 Nigeria*.
- Njoku, C., N. (2015). Effects of non indigene discrimination on contemporary
Nigerian society: Christian religious knowledge perspective. *Journal of
Education and Practice Vol.6, No.15, pp, 139-142*.
- Nnoli, O. (2003). Ethnic violence in Nigeria: A historical perspective. *Communal
conflict and population displacement in Nigeria*.

- Nigerian Research Network (2014). Indignity, belonging, & religious freedom in Nigeria. Citizens' Views from the Street. *NRN Policy Brief No.5*.
- Nwanegbo, J., Odigbo, J., & Ochanja, Ch.(2014).Citizenship, indigeneship and settlership crisis in Nigeria: understanding the dynamics of Wukari crisis. *Journal Research in Peace, Gender and Development, Vol 4(1) pp. 8-14*.
- Nwogugu, E., I. (1976). Recent changes in Nigerian nationality and citizenship law. *The international and comparative law quarterly, vol. 25, No, 2 pp. 423 -439*.
- Nwosu, U., B. (2008). Understanding the issues in the citizenship-indigeneship controversy. A paper presented at a two-day national dialogue on citizenship organized for speakers of houses of assembly and chief complementary reflection. Judges in southern Nigeria by the Nigerian institute for peace and conflict resolution at concord hotel Owerri – Imo state, 19th - 21st February, 2008. Nsukka, Enugu State, Nigeria.
- Obioha, A., E. E. (1999). Ethnic conflicts and the problem of resolution contemporary Africa: A case for African options and alternatives. *Anthropology of Africa & the challenge of the third millennium- ethnicity and ethnic conflicts. PAAA/ APA*. Retrieved from <http://www.ethnonet-africa.org/pubs/95emeka.htm>.
- Obiechina, O., G. (2014).Violation of Child's Rights in Nigeria: Implications for child health. Nigeria. *Academic Research International, vol.5 (1), pp 151-159*.
- Onwubuariri, F. (2007). Appraising the Osu caste system in Igbo land within the Context of Complementary reflection. Retrieve from: <http://www.frasouzu.com/Issues%20and%20Papers/Onwubuariri%20Francis%20on%20OSU%20CASTE%20SYSTEM%20IN%20IGBO%20LAND.pdf>.
- Okeke, G.N. & Okeke, C.E. (2013).The acquisition of Nigeria citizenship by naturalization: An analytical approach. *VOSR Journal of Humanities & Social Sciences, 8(2), 58-63*.
- Okeke, Ch. ,R. (2016). The citizenship question and neobiafranism in Nigeria. *World Scientific News 60 pp, 26-39*.
- Okoli, K., C. (1990). Nigerian citizenship law: A current perspective. *Journal of African Law, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 27-41 Published by: School of Oriental and African Studies*.

- Okonta, I., Meagher, K. (2009). Legacies of Biafra: Violence, Identity and Citizenship in Nigeria Introduction. *Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, Africa Development, Vol. XXXIV, (1) PP. 1–7.*
- Okome O., M. (2002). Domestic, regional, and international protection of Nigerian women against discrimination: Constraints and possibilities. *African Studies Quarterly /Volume 6, Issue 3, pp.33-63.*
- Olawoyin, W., Isaac, T. & Agunyai, S.(2014).Women and politics of marginalization in Niger-Delta area of Nigeria. *Journal Research in Peace, Gender and Development (JRPGD) Vol. 4(4) pp. 55-62.*
- Olukoya, S. (2017). Nigerians protest economic hardship. Deutsche Well. Retrieved from: www.dw.com/en/nigerians-protest-economic-hardship/a-37432470
- Oluwole, O., J.(2014). A Political history of Nigeria and the crisis of ethnicity in nation-building. *International Journal of Developing Societies Vol. 3, No. 1, PP. 87-95.*
- Omaka, O., A. (2014).The Forgotten Victims: Ethnic Minorities in the Nigeria-Biafra War, 1967-1970. *Journal of retracing Africa Volume 1(1) article 2. Pp. 25-40 McMaster University.*
- Omotoso, F. (2010). Indignity and Problems of citizenship in Nigeria. *Pakistan journal of Social sciences, vol 7, issue 2, pp.146-150.*
- Onwubuariri F. (2007). Appraising the osu caste system in igbo land within the context of complementary reflection. *Ibuanyidande(complementary Reflection), African Philosophy and General Issues in Philosophy.* Retrieved from:www.frasouzu.com/.../Onwubuariri%20Francis%20on%20OSU%20CAS%20TE%20SYST.
- Open Society Justice Initiative (2004).The Africa citizenship & discrimination audit preparatory meeting. Report of a conference held in Dakar, Senegal on July 19-20.
- Open Society Institute (2009). Citizenship discrimination and the right to nationality in Kenya. Statement submitted by the Open Society Justice Initiative for consideration by the United Nations Human Rights Council at its eighth session, on the occasion of its Universal periodic review of Kenya. May 3-14, 2010.

- Osagh, E., E. (1990). The problems of citizenship in Nigeria. *Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente Anno 45, No. 4, pp.593-6 [Italian Institute for Africa and Oriental Studies and documentation year 45, no.4, pp.593-596].*
- Owoyemi, O. & Olusanya, O.(2014). Gender: A precursor for discriminating against women in Paid employment in Nigeria. *American Journal of Business and Management Vol. 3, No. 1, pp.10-14.*
- O'Byrne, D., J. (2003). *The dimensions of global citizenship: political identity beyond the nation-state.* Frank class & co. ltd
- Paden, N.,J.,& Soja, W.,E., (1970). *The African experience.* Volume II syllabus. Northwestern University press.
- Payne, G. & Payne, J. (2004). *Key concepts in Social Research.* Sage publications
- Perrin, D. (2011). Immigration and citizenship law in the Meghreb : Turning Aliens into citizens. *EUI working papers.* European University Institute, Florence Roberts Scheman Center for advanced studies EDUO on citizenship.
- Pierobon, Ch. (2010). Back to the nation-state: citizenship practices in Germany and Italy, online Working Paper No. 26, *Eurosphere working paper series.*
- Pohlmann, M.,Kim, S., Nam, H., S. (2013).*Citizenship and Migration in the Era of Globalization.* The flow of migrants and the Perception of citizenship in Asia and Europe. Springer Heidelberg New York Dordrecht London.
- Poole, L. & Dharmaratne, V. (2014). Freedom of Religion in Nigeria? A Briefing Note on the State of Minorities in Nigeria's Northern Regions Office of Religious Freedom. Ethnic Conflict (inaf 5439) Group Project.
- Preuss, K. U. (2003). The ambiguous meaning of citizenship. Paper presented at the University of Chicago law school to the center for comparative constitutionalism December 1.
- Reinie, W. (2015). Is citizenship Secular? Conceptualizing the relation between religion and citizenship in contemporary Dutch society [Groningen]: University of Groningen.
- Román, E. (2010). *Citizenship and its exclusions.* A classical, constitutional, and critical race critique. New York University press. New York & London.

- Rose, D. (2006). Social comparisons and social order: issues relating to a possible re-study of W.G.Runciman's relative deprivation and social justice. ISER Working Paper 2006-48. Colchester: University of Essex.
- Sandbrook, R. (1986). Hobbled Leviathans: Constraints on State Formation in Africa. *International Journal, Vol. 41, No. 4, Africa: Crisis and Beyond pp. 707-733*. Sage Publications, Ltd. on behalf of the Canadian International Council.
- Sayne, A. (2012). Rethinking Nigeria's indigene – settler conflicts. A special report of United States institute of peace.
- Sejersen, T., B. (2008). "I vow to thee my countries": The expansion of dual citizenship in the 21st century. *The International Migration Review, Vol. 42, No. 3, pp. 523-549*. Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc.
- Simensen, J. (2008). Africa: the causes of under-development and the challenges of globalization. Norway ministry of foreign affairs webpage. Retrieved from <http://www.regjingen.no/en/dep/ud/kampanjer/refleks/innsspill/afrika/simensen.html?id=53347>
- Singh, S. (2005). Understandings of European citizenship: a postcolonial perspective. Article Review. Retrived from: http://pjpeu.coe.int/documents/1017981/1668207/5_Understandings_of_European_citizenship.pdf/a3060640-f501-48c7-80dd-8baf3ce38eea
- Slimane, S. (2003). Recognizing minorities in Africa. Minority rights group. United Kingdom. Minority right group international UK.
- Solomon, H. (2012). Counter terrorism in Nigeria: Responding to Boko haram . *The RUSI journal vol.157, issue. 4, pp.6-11*.
- Southall, A. (1974). State formation in Africa. *Annual Review of Antropology vol. 3, pp. 153- 165*. Annual Reviews.
- Spiro, P., J. (2011). A new international law of citizenship. *The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 105, No. 4 pp.694-746*. American Society of International Law.
- Stevens, M. (2013). Ethical issues in qualitative research, social care work force research unit. King's Collage London.
- Tsie B. (1996). The political context of Botswana's development performance. *Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 22, No. 4, pp. 599-616*. Taylor & Francis, Ltd.

- Uka, E., M. (2008). Ethnic, religious and communal conflict in Nigeria: Implications for security. *Bassej Andah journal vol.1, pp.1-17. Nigeria.*
- Ukomadu, A. (2017). Beset by economic, political Woes, Nigerians protest for change
Retrieved from: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-nigeria-economy-protests-idUSKBN15L1DK>.
- UNICEF (2002). Birth registration right from the start. *United Nations children's fund innocent research centre Florence Italy, innocent digest No.9.*
- UNHCHR (2006). *The right of non- citizens.* United Nations Publication, Geneva
- UNHCR (2014). Nationality and statelessness in West Africa. Back ground note.
- United States Office of Personnel Management Investigations Service (2001).
Citizenship laws of the World. Library of congress international law division.
- Uwa, O., G., Akinyemi, B. & Samuel A., T. (2013). Ethnicity and Identity Crisis: Challenge to National Integration in Nigerian. *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS) Volume 16, Issue 4 PP 79-86.*
- Vink, P., M. & Groot, G. R. (2010). Birthright citizenship: Trends and regulations in Europe, Italy. Research for the EUDO citizenship observatory reports has been jointly supported by the European commission grant agreement JLS/2007/IP/CA/009 EUCITAC and by the British academy research project. Published in Italy- European University institute Badia Fiesolana.
- Wass, V. (2014). *Addressing the human rights impact of statelessness in the EU's external action.* Belgium, European Parliament.
- Weil, P. (2001). Access to citizenship: A comparison of twenty five nationality laws. Published in "Citizenship today: Global perspectives and practices" in T. Alexander Aleinikoff and Douglas Klusmeyer (ed.), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington DC, pp.17-35
- William, W. (2002). Citizenship questions and environmental crisis in the Niger Delta: A critical reflection. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 11 (3), pp.377- 392.
- Wunmi, W. (2002). Citizenship questions and environmental crisis in the Niger Delta. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 11(3): 377-392.
- Yatu, N. & Esidene, C. (2013). Minority question in the Nigerian governmental process. *African Journal of Social Sciences Volume 3(1), PP, 121-134.*

Yongo, D., D. (2015). State creation since 1967: An imperative of the Military contribution to nation building in Nigeria. *African journal of History and Culture, Vol 7(3), pp 71- 78.*

LEGAL DOCUMENTS

The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Retrieved from:

https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Nigeria_1999.pdf?lang=en

The Five Hundred and Ninety- First Act of the parliament of the Republic of Ghana,
The citizenship act of 2000.

Retrieved from: <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/3eda135a2.pdf>.

Appendix

Addis Ababa University
College of Social Sciences
Center for African and oriental Studies

Interview Guides

The study aimed at investigating the practices of citizenship acquisition in Nigeria. The questions mainly give due attentions to how citizenship rights has been put in to practices by focusing on ethnic majority vs. minority in Nigeria. Therefore, I kindly request you to be genuine and open to share your ideas and experiences in the area. Because, the pertinent and up-to-date information you supply is decisive for the success of this study. Above all, I want to assure you that the information you provide is only for the purpose of this study and will be kept confidential.

Personal information

Educational Background----- Position -----
Nationality-----Sex----- Age-----

1. How citizenship acquisition mechanism in Nigeria fairly addresses the citizenship questions?
 - 1.1 Do children born to unknown parent, refugee, and stateless person have the right to acquire citizenship right immediately after birth?
2. Why the process of granting citizenship by naturalization takes 15-20 years in Nigeria?
 - 2.1 To what extent naturalized individuals and individuals acquired citizenship by birth have equal rights in Nigeria?
3. How Nigerian women and men married to foreign spouses transfer their nationality to their spouse?
4. What is the importance of child's birth registration for the future citizenship right?
 - 4.1 Do all children born in Nigeria have equal right to birth registration?
5. What is the role the AU in controlling its member states citizenship acquisition process?

Thank You in advance for your cooperation

List of Interviewees

No	Pseudo Name	Sex	Age	Profession	Place of Interview	Date of interview
1	Informant 1	M	45	Professor	Addis Ababa university sidist kilo	March 08/2017
2	Informant 2	M	35	Refugees	At DIC-RRAD (Amist Kilo)	March 05/2017
3	Informant 3	F	38	UNCHR official	Bole sub city	March 10/2017
4	Informant 4	F	39	Embassy Official	Gulele subcity	March 12/2017
5	Informant 5	M	33	Student	Addis Ababa University/main campus	March 13/2017
6	Informant 6	M	31	student	Addis Ababa university/ main campus	April 12/2017
7	Informant 7	M	32	DIC-RRAD official	At DIC-RRAD (Amist Kilo)	March 07/2017
8	Informant 8	M	41	ARRA official	Gulele subcity kebele 03	March 20/2017
9	Informant 9	M	38	Residence	Kirkos subcity/ mechare meda	April 09/2017
10	Informant 10	M	40	embassy official	Gullele subcity	April 20/2017
11	Informant 11	M	41	Embassy official	Gullele subcity	April 20 /2017

Map of the Current Nigeria



Adapted from: Babalola, O. (2016) Feb 12 DAWN Commission February 12, 2016