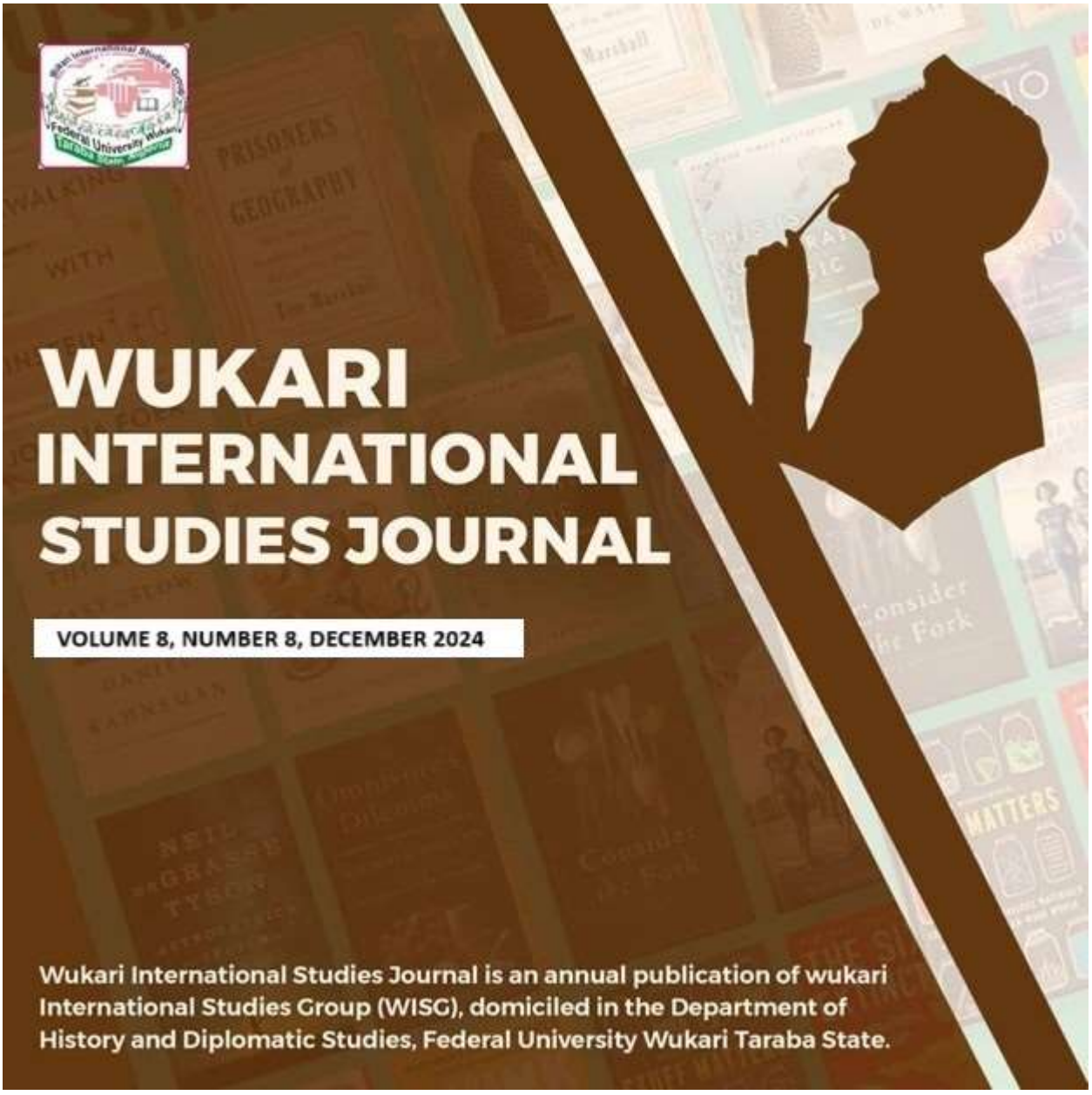
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MILITARY RULE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM: THE GAMBIA'S EXPERIENCE OF COMBINING THE INCOMPATIBLES UNDER THE AFPRC/ APRC ADMINISTRATIONS (1994-2017)

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KEYWORDS
military rule, democratic governance, incompatibles, The Gambia, AFPRC/APRC

ABSTRACT
This article examines the challenges of Military Rule within the structure of a Democratic system of Governance and the ensuing contradictions of this combination focusing mainly on The Gambia experience with the AFPRC/APRC administrations from 1994-2017). It has interrogated the nature of the systemic contradictions between military rule and democratic governance as experienced in The Gambia since the 1994 military takeover which paved the way to the arrival, in 1997, of the second republic, and the implications of this contradiction owing mainly to the military style of governance and management in general and The Gambia experience in particular. Under the period of study there were a lot democratic contractions and incompatibles that played out in The Gambia Second Republic that tagged the country as a country with democratic concerns. Using mainly secondary sources and insider experience; being a Minister under the regime of investigation the research was analyses. The findings of the research show that the regime was authoritarian in their style of governing and also that their regime systematically targeted political opponents – subjecting them to torture, extrajudicial execution, arbitrary arrests and detention and enforced disappearances. They accused the military government of serious human rights violations, abuse of rule of law, suppression of the Media, frequent and irrational hiring and firing of judges and top civil servants. The article submitted that there is a marked difference between civil and military leaders in their leadership and management styles in conducting the affairs of the nation. Military rule is autocratic in nature whilst civilian rule is consultative in nature and humanely rational in approach. Thus, and as observed below the military-led administration in The Gambia has not done better in terms of respecting and maintaining rule of law and respecting fundamental human rights, which put a

big question mark (?) on the democratic ethos and credentials of military regime in The Gambia.

A Brief History of Military interventions in Africa

Military interventions in politics and governance in Africa as a whole has been an age-long phenomenon. Dating back to 1952, when a group of army officers, led by Gamal Abdel Nasser overthrew King Faruk in 1952 in Egypt. Actually, the 1952 coup d'etat was led by Muhammad Najeeb but he was deposed in 1956 by Jamal Abdu Nasir who masterminded the 1952 coup. Nasir then became one of the most powerful military rulers of the time not only in Africa but in the Arab World as well. Nasir remained in charge until his sudden death in 1970. Egypt's 1952/56 coup was followed by another military coup in the West African state of Togo in 1963, when Sylvanus Olympio was deposed. Another military coup in North Africa followed the Togo takeover and this came in September 1969 when a 27-year-old middle rank army officer, named Muamar Ghadafi, overthrew king Idris in Libya. Since then, military interventions in African politics and governance have become the rule rather than the exception. The Military in African politics and governance has always presented itself as a corrective force that would come to power, if the need arises, to redress noticeable anomalies such as ethnic cleavages, tribalism, discrimination, ethnic conflict, corruption and widespread abuse of power and maladministration.

In the same vein, on 22nd July 1994, Yahya Jammeh, a Junior Army Officer (Lieutenant) at 29, together with four other junior officers, in a bloodless coup d'etat, seized power from the democratically elected government of The Gambia under Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara. Lieutenant Jammeh was thus, installed as chairman of what was named as "the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council" AFPRC, a military governing council functioning as the executive arm of the military government which ruled the country by decrees until December 31st, 1996, following Chairmen Jammeh's ascension as a civilian-turned president effective January first,1997. Thus, Yahya Jammeh was a soldier-turned politician and former military leader who ruled The Gambia from 1994 to 2017, firstly as chairperson of the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council, under a fully-fledged military regime, (AFPRC), 1994-1996, and later, as the president of The Gambia, under a quasi-military government (1997-2017). The now president Yahya Jammeh, ruling the country in a military style but within the framework of a democratic system continued to enjoy full legitimacy and huge popularity among the Gambian people and was thus, being re- elected as president of The Gambia from 2001, 2006, and 2011, but he lost to Adama Barrow in 2016.

The 1994 coup in The Gambia was preceded by a series of coup d'etats for about two decades in her Anglophone neighbours of Nigeria, Ghana, Liberia and Sierraleone. The most recent of these Anglophone coups were the 1992 Sierraleone coup led by a then 25- year- old Captain Valentine Strasser against the democratically elected government of former President Joseph Saidu Momoh on 29 April 1992. In 1996, Captain Valentine Strasser was himself deposed by his close friend Julius Mada Bio in another bloodless coup in Sierra Leone, who took over as Chairman or leader of the junta's National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC) and president of the country. (Kamara 2018).

Earlier in 1981, one of the most charismatic and influential military commanders in Anglophone West Africa carried out what perhaps was the last successful military coup in Ghana- the former Gold Coast.

On December 31st, 1981, the former head of Ghana's Armed Forces Revolutionary Council Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings overthrew the democratically elected government of the People's National Party (PNP) in another military coup in Anglophone West Africa. In a statement he released immediately after the coup, the new military ruler of Ghana (Lieutenant Rawlings) said "a holy war was necessary due to the PNP's failure to provide effective leadership and the collapse of the national economy and state services" Flight Lieutenant Rawlings later transformed himself into a military- turned politician and remained in power in Ghana until 7 January 1993. (en.m.Wikipedia.org visited today, wed. 20, 9, 2023).

Causes of Coups and Military Interventions

The question that has projected itself at this point is, what are the causes of military interventions in politics whether in Africa, Middle East, South America or Asia.? Are the reasons for coups and military interventions due purely to internal factors and domestic circumstances without any outside influences? or do they take place as a result of external and regional influence or as a result of the combination of both internal and external factors?

The above question or questions could be answered in multiple ways, one can simply argue that failure of civilian governments to bring about socioeconomic development or failure to ensure and maintain internal security, peace and stability or nepotism, widespread corruption and large-scale embezzlement of public resources or all combined are justifiable reasons for military coups in Africa and beyond. The above statement, released by J.J. Rawlings, immediately after his 1981 takeover, clearly shows that the failure of the PNP government to provide effective leadership, the collapse of the national economy and state services were the main reasons for the 1981 coup in Ghana. I must admit at this point that, J. J. Rawlings might have been partly motivated by his own personal ambitions and aspirations given the history of his involvement in coups in Ghana. The same thing applies to the other coup leaders of the subregion including Gambia's Yahya Jammeh, Sierraleone's Captain Valentine Strasser and Julius Madabio and Nigeria's General Sani Abacha. In the case of The Gambia for instance, although the coup leaders made it very clear in the early days of the coup that they had taken over the country to correct the outrageous mistakes, corrupt practices , and failures of the JAWARA administration but ensuing developments including their decision to stay in power after the transition period and manage the country's new political and development dispensation had clearly shown that the junta leaders could also have been partly motivated by other factors like personal ambitions and aspirations just as the case was with their peers in the region.

The argument that the failure of democratically instituted governments to deliver is the main reason for coups and counter coups has been gaining ground in the West African subregion where people have been forced by what appears to a growing culture of coups and frequent military interventions to start asking whether democracy as a system of government has so far brought or can in anyway bring about tangible benefits for the African people.

The latest coups that took place in Mali, Burkina Faso, Guinea Conakry and elsewhere in the subregion prompted the Abuja based Centre for Democracy and Development think tank to make the following worrying statement: "West Africans have become quite republican. They provide their (own) food, generate their own electricity (and) infrastructure. They expect just a little from the state but the state still fails expectations". The CDD argues that the West Africans cannot see what democracy has brought or can bring for them. Thus, as a result of such failures by democratically elected governments some opportunistic militaries in the subregion are taking advantage of this governance vacuum to intervene to bring down and replace the democratic or civilian governments in the countries concerned. (Akinwotu 2022).

Here in West Africa, apart from the suggestion that failure of democratic or civilian governments to provide inclusive and responsive governance is the main reason for coups and military interventions, there is another suggestion in answering the question of what is fuelling military takeovers across the subregion. This is the idea held by many observers that coup d'etats are contagious. In other words, coups in one country increase the likelihood of coups in neighbouring countries. Some political scientists argue that what the military of one country do today could be copied or imitated by their counterparts in neighbouring countries. (R.P.Y. Li & Thompson 1975).

Li and Thompson argued that the coup contagion phenomenon emphasizes the possibility of behavioural reinforcement processes operating within global and regional communication networks. Thus, the 1952 military coup in Egypt led by general Muhammad Naguib, which overthrew king Farouk, the Egyptian monarch of the time, was believed to have heavily influenced the subsequent coups or military interventions in France, Indonesia, Colombia and Venezuela. (R.P.Y. Li & Thompson 1975).

The 1994 coup in The Gambia could be a typical example of this argument because all the

country's Anglophone neighbours in West Africa had experienced successful military interventions with the 1992 coup in Sierraleone being the most recent one although at the personal level, Flight Lieutenant J.J. Rawlings of Ghana was seen by many as an exemplary and characteristic influential military leader in the West African subregion, especially among coup leaders such as the then Captain Yahya Jammeh.

However, Li and Thompson have warned that the coup contagion question should not be taken as an exclusive conclusion but rather there is the possibility of other event influencing factors for the occurrence of coups in neighboring countries. They thus acknowledged that, "Military coup situations have been found to share some behavioural characteristics, although evidently there has been a tendency to exaggerate the level of similarity and influence of background conditions thought to be associated with the military coup ". They therefore further explained that the situational similarity theory at best "could account only for some limited portion of the coup-wave pattern. Hence it could be reasonably justified and also safer to take an approach which focuses on and or recognizes the alternative possibility of the interdependence of event influencing factors for the occurrence of coups and military interventions. (R.P.Y. Li & Thompson 1975).

Others make an attempt to narrow down the contagion theory to apply only to those circumstances where there are unhappy factions or disgruntled elements within the military in a given country or countries. That is to say that when a group of unhappy or disgruntled soldiers stage a coup d'etat in a given country, their action will or can simply be imitated by their contemporaries in other countries. The 1981 coup in Ghana by J. J. Rawlings was said to have inspired various coups in West Africa especially Captain Thomas Sankara's 1983 successful but bloody coup in Burkina Faso. (Akinwotu 2022). However, other political scientists and observers, who studied the pattern and incidence of coups in Latin America, don't subscribe to the theory of coup contagion. For political scientists and coups experts like Fabrice Lehoucq and Anibal Perez-Linan who studied the pattern and incidence of coups in Latin America for a period of over 106 years, coups in one country are in fact likely to or will reduce the likelihood of a coup or coups in neighbouring countries. (Lehoucq and Perez-Linan 2013).

Similarly, and most recently, Michael K. Miller, Michael Joseph and Dorothy Ohl have found no relationship between recent coups in a given country or countries and future coups and military interventions around the world. They define contagion as" any process in which the occurrence of a political event in one country increases the likelihood of a similar event in another country."

They critically examined the coup contagion hypothesis, which claims that coups anywhere increase the coup propensity of surrounding countries, and argued extensively that coups are not contagious. The three scholars made a distinction between political events that are mass-based and those they described as elite-led violence. According to them, Mass participation events like popular rallies or calls for democratic transitions such as the Arab spring, and revolutions, mass protests and demonstrations can be contagious and therefore do have spillover effects in surrounding areas, communities or countries. As for coups and military interventions, they fall under the category of political events driven by elite-led violence according to Miller, Joseph and Ohl and as such they are not contagious. The coup experts concluded that it is primarily the mass participation- based political events that cross national boundaries and are imitated in surrounding countries rather than elite-led violence like coups and military interventions which do not diffuse within the neighbourhood regions and may have no domino effects across frontiers. (Miller, Joseph and Ohl 2016).

In other words, the attributes of a given political event should be able to determine if that particular event has the likelihood of diffusing or spreading across frontiers. Many of the essential features of coups are obviously different from most mass-driven political events; Coups are violent seizures of power; they are typically undertaken by a small but coordinated group of professional elites who are primarily high-ranking military officers. Coups can also be staged by a well-organized and coordinated group of junior military officers. In contrast most mass- driven and popular participation political events are usually spontaneous and usually they do focus on certain normative goals like calling for a democratic system, fighting corruption, agitating against deteriorating economic and living conditions of the population in the country or calling for respect for human rights and the rule of law. They are also sometimes composed of broad collections of politically excluded

individuals, opposition groups and parties and other spontaneous mass actors.

The three coup experts argued that as a result of the above-mentioned differences in attributes there are three primary mechanisms used to explain political diffusion and these mechanisms do support the spread of mass participation based political events but not violent elite driven political events like coups and military interventions. The mechanisms are emulation, learning and focal points.

As for emulation, it favours the spread of aspirational normative behavior over violent acts like coups especially in the current international environment. They argued that "political behaviour spreads through emulation when new cultural norms and reference groups develop around a political action and change its value to potential adopters."

Thus, in international politics a state may emulate or mimic certain policies adopted or associated with another state, similarly an advocacy group may follow the footprints of another advocacy group beyond national frontiers. The typical example of this is democracy as a system of governance which we can say, has spread through normative diffusion and acculturation or regional organizations. Coups on the other hand, are never regarded in the international system as inherently legitimizing or esteemed acts that are worth emulating (Miller, Joseph and Ohl 2016).

For the learning mechanism, it is more likely to take place among mass actors (demonstrators/ protesters/ activists) rather than professional military elites or even junior army officers plotting a coup, who would have experience with politics and the use of force or only with the latter. Learning as a tool is a weak justification for the coup contagion hypothesis because neighbouring coup attempt officers or plotters are very unlikely to provide critical information on their techniques and methods that would ensure success for their process of seizing power, so as to allow others in neighboring countries to learn from their experience. Coups are high -risk propositions that hinge on the inter-play of domestic institutions. Furthermore, the techniques for orchestrating coups are usually well known to military officers who have the expertise of mobilizing and using force. On the other hand, learning can trigger diffusion in mass- based and spontaneous events. It causes "diffusion when an external event provides information about the process, costs or benefits of adopting a similar process or strategy". This can take place spontaneously when, for instance, a population views or learns about a revolution or an uprising in a neighbouring country or neighbouring countries and recognizes the similarities of their conditions and circumstances (Miller, Joseph and Ohl 2016).

Regarding the focal point mechanism, it also works better with mass-driven events. This is because when mass populations are facing collective action problems especially when they are not sure about what techniques to apply or when faced with risks of opposition, they are very likely to be looking for the possibility of drawing inspiration from external sources or events. This is in sharp contrast to elite- driven violent political events like coups and military interventions where the key decision makers in the military hierarchy are much smaller in number and do easily communicate directly with each other. Coups are usually organized by a small but centralized and well-coordinated group of senior military officers or even junior officers who are also in a small group when they are staging a coup. Typical examples of this are the small team of soldiers that organized the 1980 coup in Liberia led by Sergeants Samwel Doe and the 1994 coup in The Gambia led by Captain Yahya Jammeh supported only by 4 other junior soldiers of the Gambian Army.

Thus, coups are so confidently and carefully orchestrated and executed that the coup plotters must control the information environment, especially public broadcasts and coordinate the execution plan in such a way that they do not have to look for anyone or anywhere to draw inspiration. External coups are not usually expected to inspire potential coup plotters normatively or by way of giving informational support to others. In other words, external coups are unlikely to influence the motivations for coups elsewhere in a neighbouring country or region and in which case the supposed coup or coups happen to be driven "by domestic political crisis, structural economic factors and institutional prerogatives" (Michael K. Miller, Michael Joseph and Dorothy Ohl 2016). The conclusion to be drawn from the above expose is that as per the opinion of these political scientists and coup experts, military officers plotting or staging a coup are going to overwhelmingly draw from domestic events and past experiences rather than external events or factors.

They further explained that Sub-Saharan Africa for instance, suffered five coups in the first two months of 1966 and from the year 2000 to 2010, the same region had experienced 23 coup attempts but these events were not necessarily connected to each other and no one can conclusively argue that they were independent products of a highly coup-prone environment or that they were examples or anyone of them was an example of the coup contagion hypothesis. Instead, there could be a couple of other reasons producing or causing coups and military interventions each of which may be peculiar to the circumstances of the environment where the coup or coups has or have taken place.

To conclude discussions on this section, it may be useful to briefly mention at this point that the coup contagion idea is widely believed and speculated by political leaders in different regions of the world. Let's take the example of the former president of the Dominican Republic Leonel Fernandez, when he warned that the 2009 Honduras coup could have a contagion effect towards other nations of the region. Similarly, the former Presidents of Costa Rica, Ecuador and Guatemala warned of a domino effect across Central America if the Honduran 2009 coup was allowed to stand. These worries by Central American political leaders about the contagious potentials of the 2009 Honduras coup, were complemented by diplomats from the American government in 2009. It is therefore, practically or pragmatically very difficult to take the coup contagion theory of the table and condemn it for good.

For Africa however, given the seemingly endless coups, counter coups, militarily interventions and coup attempts, the widely held view in the comity of nations is that the continent lags and retard behind the rest of the world in terms of functioning democracies, responsible, dedicated and committed leaderships.

This is perhaps the most significant political expression, particularly, in terms of leadership engagement and institutionalization of democracy as a system of governance and state management that critics sometimes use to discuss the continent's governance and development predicaments. While this discussion is going on in and around the continent, we continue to grapple with a situation where authoritarian, oppressive, tyrannical, despotic and unconstitutional regimes or rulers continue to hold sway in Africa's fragile and flexible democracies, vulnerable and failing state and economic institutions. From Algeria to Zimbabwe and from Cabovarde to Cape Town you will see that most Africans are struggling with democratic discrepancies and inefficiencies, weak state institutions and failing economies instead of amassing democratic dividends and returns, prevalence of rule of law, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, stable and peaceful socio-cultural environment, rapid and sustainable economic growth with healthy, prosperous and happy peoples as per their expectations. The African peoples could not expect less than this given the fact that millions of people elsewhere in the world, especially in the so called advanced world, live and operate under regimes which can comparatively be judged as democratic with strong and highly performing economies and effective and efficient social welfare systems operating under well-established political and legal institutions that ensure the people's enjoyment of the benefits of good governance, respect for and adherence to the principles of the rule of law and human rights and fundamental freedoms of individuals and communities in general.

Thus, the main thrust of this section, which continues to project itself clearly, seeks to explain that the soldiers' style and tradition of management and governance do not fit within the framework of democratic institutions and principles of governance and state management. The military commanders' perception of power and authority, the manner and style in which and the extent to which they can or do exercise or handle power are incompatible with the principles and institutions of democratic governance. Thus, in the event of a coup d'etat or military intervention in a given country with senior military commanders taking over the reign of political power and executive authority in the country, stakeholders from all walks of life in the country including those in the diaspora must come together and do everything humanly possible to convince the soldiers not to prolong or perpetuate their stay in power because their management and governance style do not match with the principles and processes of democratic governance. This is if the concerned country was a democracy before the military's takeover and it wishes to continue to be governed by democratic principles and institutions. Although, martial law, which means "the replacement of civilian government by military rule and the suspension of civilian legal processes for military power" (J. Absher, 2023), is in most cases,

declared during war times and in other emergencies like civil unrest and natural disasters, but martial law may also alternatively be declared in instances of military coup d'etats. This is, however, only in theory but not in practice. Hence and as I explained earlier, anywhere, there is a military coup d'etat or takeover there is ipso facto the application of martial law directly or indirectly given the real nature and actual meaning of the application of martial law. In other words, when coup makers in a given country abrogate or suspend the country's constitution, dissolve parliament, impose restrictions on human rights and civil liberties, ban political activities and shut down all other civil society and political institutions either indefinitely or for a specified period of time, there is effectively full enforcement of martial law even though the coup makers didn't explicitly proclaim the state of emergency or martial law. Thus, it is against this extraordinary and very unusual background that a military government comes from and that all executive and administrative decisions /orders taken or to be taken by the military's executive council or by the most senior military commander through his diluted government functioning within the framework of democratic institutions, are bound to be influenced by that background which is in total contrast to and incompatible with the principles and procedures of democracy as a governance system.(J. Absher,2023).

The main concepts in this article concerning the combination of two incompatible systems and styles of management are: Military Rule, Democratic Governance, the Rule of Law, the Incompatibility of Military Rule and Democracy as a system of governance. As for Military Rule and democratic governance and the contradictions between the two systems, they have been the main focus of discussions for most part of this paper. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us to turn our attention to and give a brief explanation of the other concepts for the benefit of our student readers and researchers. To do so, I hereby revisit one or two of my previous studies on the subject matter and related issues with additional materials and new ideas.

The Concept of Democracy

Democracy can be seen as a political system that adheres to the principles of constitutional rule, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms particularly, the freedom of expression and press freedom, respect for the rule of law, independence of the judiciary and the legal profession, free and fair participation of multiple political parties in the political life of the state, free and fair elections organised at regular intervals, direct or indirect involvement of the populace in the affairs and political process of their country, the principles of accountability and transparency, separation of powers among the three main organs of government**.**

In other words, for a governance system or process to be democratic, it advocates and adheres to the principles of constitutional rule, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms particularly, the freedom of expression and press freedom, respect for the rule of law, independence of the judiciary and the legal profession, free and fair participation of multiple political parties in the political life of the state, free and fair elections organized at regular intervals, direct or indirect involvement of the populace in the affairs and political process of their country, the principles of accountability and transparency , separation of powers among the three main organs of government. These principles, in my view, constitute the core values and major characteristics of a democratic system.

Democracy has been defined in various ways using different approaches. Saward argues that the best approach is to look at those countries known to be democratic and define the concept according to the main features of their practice (Saward 1994:6-2 1). For Beetham who takes the second approach the core principles of a democratic system are those embodied in the historical conception of democracy as the "rule of the people" i.e. popular control of sovereignty and political equality (Beetham 1993:6). According to Holden who constructs a conception of political democracy, inclusive citizenship and political equality are basic principles of a democratic system (Holden 1974:7-9). The definitions reviewed above seem to agree that there are four basic elements or core values of a democratic system i.e. equality, sovereignty/control and inclusiveness. These include majority rule and popular participation, equality, freedom, consensus, coercion, competition, pluralism, constitutional rule and more.

Saward develops the assumption that in a democratic system "all citizens are equal with respect to their right to decide the appropriate political course of their community". It is

important to state here that the basic characteristics of democracy are just more than the three core principles highlighted above. The pillars of democracy include:

- Free press
- Respect for human rights
- Constitutionalism or Constitutional Rule
- Free and fair periodic elections (regular)
- Separation of powers
- Popular participation in the political process
- Majority rule with respect for the minority, etc.
- Pluralism

With all these pillars one can then argue that the system concerned is democratic. This has been re-emphasized by the major international donor organizations such as

the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank since the 1980s when democracy in the sense of popular participation, good governance and respect for human rights including press freedom were a prerequisite for obtaining their assistance. It is on the basis of this equality assumption that Saward develops a general defining rule of democracy "Within the theory of democracy". Thus, according to this rule "substantive policy, and politics and administrative actions performed under substantive policy must correspond to the expressed preferences of the majority of citizens". In other words, there should be necessary correspondence between acts of the government of the day and the equally weighted expressed wishes of its citizens with respect to those acts. This is what Saward calls "the responsive rule" and for him a political system is democratic to the extent that and only to the extent that it involves realization of the responsive rule" (Saward 1994: 6 – 20).

The problem of the "responsive rule" definition is that it appears to suggest direct, rather than, representative forms of decision-making as the favourite. This is because direct decision-making processes are certainly more responsive than the representative forms. But in Africa in general and in The Gambia in particular, what obtains is the representative mechanisms of decision-making. To remedy this shortcoming of "the responsive rule" definition, which he himself acknowledges, Saward identifies some core principles or minimal conditions and describes them as "the logically necessary conditions of democracy". These principles are: basic freedoms, citizenship and participation, administrative code, publicity and social rights (Saward 1994: 6 – 21).

So, for a political system to be democratic it has to observe and respect the basic freedoms of the individual and it also must have a common and standardised form of legal membership compatible with the basic freedoms. There should also be appropriate codes of procedure for employees in public bodies, for decisions to be taken into effect and a constant formal process of public notification of decisions, opinions, arguments, issues and outcomes of all these conditions or basic principles of democracy.

According to Saward, there is another view which believes that democracy, being the rule of the people by the people and for the people, implies in political terms, the right of the people to freely choose their representatives. In his opinion, "a democratic administration is one in which the people, all the people, are enabled to express a free choice on all matters affecting them" (Saward 1994:6-21). However, it should be noted here that this view, too, recognises the practical difficulty of operating a system of direct expression of the will of the people as implied by the ''responsive rule'' definition discussed above. I now turn attention to some of the rules and elements constituting a democratic system as per the definitions given above.

The Rule of Law

Rule of law is the supremacy of the authority of the law and that all people and institutions are equally subject to the control and dictates of the law. The principle of the rule of law emphasizes the equality of people before the law and equal protection of the law, the legality of the administrative and executive acts of the political authorities and also the fairness or constitutionality of the legal authority backing the legislative and administrative activities of the government of the day. In other words, it is not only enough to govern by law and submit to and be under the control and authority of the law,

but also, the laws that are used to govern and regulate and handle relations must be just, fair and reasonable. Furthermore, the concept of the rule of law in the modern time also calls for the prevalence of law and order rather than anarchy and chaos as well as the supremacy of international law particularly the international human rights law to domestic legislations. In other words, the rule of law in this sense means that states and governments and all other actors in the international system must respect their international obligations and give effect to them (Wade and Philips 1997:44-45).

The application and effective functioning of the principle of rule of law necessitate the existence and full enforcement and operationalization of the other principles of democratic governance highlighted below.

Constitutional Rule

The principle of constitutional rule as a core element of a democratic system of government usually goes with constitutional supremacy In perhaps most liberal democracies with the obvious exception of the United Kingdom where Parliamentary Supremacy reigns. Thus, when the constitution enjoys supremacy status within the legal and political system of the country, then it becomes the guide and regulator of any other authority in the country whether legislative, political or executive, judicial and traditional authority as well. In other words, there should be some kind of basic law as a governing instrument whether collectively compiled or written into a single document or scattered in various legislations and enactments as is the case in the United Kingdom. This basic governing instrument is, in most countries, called a constitution or in some other countries a basic law as is the case in Germany. It may also be called the fundamental law of the land. According to modern legal traditions of various liberal democracies of the modern world, the constitution enjoys a supremacy status within the legal and judicial hierarchy of the country. (see article 6 of the United States Constitution, section 4 of The Gambia's 1997 republican constitution, article 4 of the Malaysian Federal Constitution and article 13 of the Constitution of the Union of India as examples).

In the case of India, the supremacy clause of the constitution is planted into the human rights provisions of article 13, part 3 of the Federal Constitution and as a result of this, legal and judicial experts in India have concluded that Part 3 (on Fundamental Rights and Liberties), Constitutes the foundation and basic structure of the Indian Federal Constitution. Consequently, the power of Parliament to amend the Indian Constitution does not include or cover part 3 on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. This is because the chapter on Human Rights and Fundamental Liberties is so basically and centrally structured that an attempt to amend any part of it or any of its provisions could be considered an act of rewriting that part of the constitution which goes beyond the scope of the amending power of Parliament. In other words, the Parliament in India may have power to amend several parts of the Federal Constitution but NOT to rewrite it. So, there is a difference between the amendment and the power to rewrite a legal document. (Senghore, ,1999).

The concept of constitutional supremacy teaches that the constitution is the supreme law of the land and all other laws, executive decisions and administrative orders, procedures and activities of the government of the day must be in conformity with the constitution; otherwise, they are declared null and void by a court of competent jurisdiction. In 2005, the Supreme Court of The Gambia, in Sabally v Inspector General of Police, nullified several provisions of the Indemnity (Amendment) Act 2001 for contravening the human rights provisions of the 1997 Constitution of the Republic of The Gambia and Article 7 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights which guarantee the fundamental right of the individual to access the courts of the land. (Sabally v.s Inspector General of Police and others (Civil Ref: No. 2/2001, 1999 to 2001: GR at 883**).** As shown above**,** this principle of constitutional supremacy is established in Section 4 of the 1997 Constitution of the Second Republic of The Gambia. Constitutional supremacy also ensures a more conducive environment for the observance of the rule of law, the independence of the judiciary and respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms of the individual and the collective rights of society as whole.

Independence of the Judiciary and the legal profession

An independent judiciary is an indispensable prerequisite of a political system that adheres to the principles of the rule of law and freedom of expression. It implies freedom of the judiciary

from all sorts of interference by the executive and the legislature branches of government with its exercise of the judicial functions of the state. It is important to explain, at this juncture, that judicial independence does not mean that the freedom of courts and judges or their entitlements to act or apply the law in an arbitrary manner. Rather, it means non-interference by the political authorities and all other interests' groups in society within the country, in the affairs of the judiciary. The courts system does have its own inbuilt control mechanism which perfectly checks and controls or corrects what may be termed as excesses, weaknesses or errors and mistakes of the lower courts. There is therefore, absolutely no need for the executive, the legislative and all other branches of government or any other authority or structure in society to interfere with the work of the judiciary and the judicial process as a whole. (Senghore, 2012).

Separation of Powers

Within a system of government based on law, the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary distinctly and separately perform legislative, executive and judicial functions of the state respectively. This threefold division of labour between the three main branches of government is a necessary condition for the rule of law in modern society and therefore democratic governance itself (Wade and Phillips 1997:44-45). One of the biggest problems of military regimes of all time especially in today's modern world – Africans and non-Africans alike, has always been and is still and will continue to be lack of full respect for the principles of separation of powers, independence of the judiciary and proper functioning of the rule of law in practice, though not necessarily in theory. Thus, practically speaking, the military- run executives in those countries under military rule continue to dominate or even manipulate and some harass other arms of government, particularly the judicial branch. (Senghore: 2012).

International Human Rights and Democratic Governance

The principles highlighted above as being the essential ingredients and functional characteristics of a democratic system of governance are all incorporated or embodied, in one way or the other, within the juries-corpus of the modern concept of human rights and fundamental freedoms in international law. This supports the suggestion by some legal and constitutional experts that democratic governance is itself becoming a matter of rights. In other words, democratic governance is an emerging and fast-growing fundamental human right of peoples and communities in the modern world. This is understandable in the sense that governments derive their just powers and legitimacy from the consent and will of the very people they govern. This is sometimes referred to as "democratic entitlement." On the other hand, every independent sovereign nation enjoys a separate and equal standing or station amongst the community of nations in the international arena provided that it demonstrates full and genuine respect to the opinions of mankind. Thus, for a state to acquire international legitimacy it has to respect and give effect to the principles of inter-state relations and acceptable behaviour amongst the collective community of nations and in today's international political system, democracy as a system of governance is one of those principles. As for domestic legitimacy it obviously comes from the consent of the governed and without acquiring the two sets of legitimacy a government cannot function properly or peacefully and effectively. In this case, people's collective and also sometimes, individual contributions to development could be impeded. (Frank, 1992).

The spontaneous and unanimous reactions that individual governments, the United Nations, the regional intergovernmental bodies and both local and international civil society organizations make to condemn a coup d'etat or any other form of undemocratic change of government in any country of the modern world, present to us a strong sense and good example of how democracy is rapidly becoming a collective entitlement in international law. Thomas M. Frank believes that the failure of the August 1991 coup in the former Soviet Union, due mainly to the United front both locally and globally against the coup, demonstrated that democracy was beginning to be seen as the *sine qua non* for validating governance. In other words, for a governance system and process to be valid it will have to be somehow democratic. Likewise, the collective or unanimous reaction of governments in the Organization of American States and the United Nations General Assembly opposing the overthrow, in September 1991, of the elected president of Haiti, Jean- Bertrand Aristide, presented another example of the

growing trend of democracy as a system of governance becoming an international entitlement. The Assembly then unanimously, without vote, approved what was referred to by Thomas Frank as" a groundbreaking resolution" demanding the return of Aristide to office, full application of the Haitian constitution and full observance of human rights and fundamental liberties in Haiti. (T.M. Frank,1992).

Coup d'etats and other unconstitutional means of changing governments have continued to receive the same or even stronger global and regional reactions, outright condemnation and total rejection till today. The very recent coups in West Africa involving Burkina Faso and Niger republic are living examples of universal rejection of military interventions and unconditional takeovers and thus further cementing the standing of democratic governance as people's legitimate and legal entitlement in international law.

It is worth noting at this point that the emergence of democracy as people's entitlement under international law has gone or it is in actual fact, going through both a normative and a customary evolution.

Frank argues that democracy as people's entitlement has evolved (I believe it is still evolving), both as a system of rules and as a practice of states and organizations as major players or actors in international relations. This evolution process, Frank continues, "has occurred in three phases. First came the normative entitlement to self-determination. Then came the normative entitlement to free expression as a human right. Now we see the emergence of a normative entitlement to a participatory electoral process" (Frank, 1992).

Thus, all that can be said about the evolving right to democratic governance at this juncture is that despite being a new phenomenon or trend in international politics the peoples entitlement to democracy as a system of governance is already enjoying a high degree of legitimacy as an instrument of validation of governance in international legal and political relations and it derives this legitimacy both from various texts and from the practice of states and of "global and regional organizations supplemented by that of a significant number of non- governmental organizations". These texts and practices, according to Frank, have attained a surprising degree of specificity given the newness of the entitlement and especially of its requirement for free and open elections." (Frank, 1992). Under international customary law before a state practice can attain a customary character and constitutes a binding legal rule, specificity, repetition, frequency and consistency of the practice by states are among the required ingredients and preconditions for that state practice to be considered a rule of international law. It is therefore interesting to note that at this juncture, the ongoing practice of states and organizations towards democracy and democratic governance as people's entitlement, has attained at least two or three of those ingredients and preconditions.

The Nature of Contradictions between Military Rule and Democratic Governance under the AFPRC/ APRC Administration in The Gambia

A couple of ideas, attitudes, policies, practices and approaches pronounced and adopted by the military government from the onset of the new republic they themselves had ushered in in 1997 and through the lifespan of the period of quasi military rule in The Gambia, have beyond any doubt demonstrated the contradictions of and incompatibility between the military style of governance and state management on one hand and a democratic system of governance and administration on the other. Such ideas, policies, practices, attitudes and approaches were wide ranging and diverse in nature and spheres of application. They included the establishment of a new political party with a name almost the same as the name of the military executive during the four years of fully fledged military rule (AFPRC/ APRC), the incorporation of all the AFPRC decrees into the juris corpus of the laws of the land, the continuation of the military rulers' perception of and intolerance to the full functioning of the rule of law with an independent judiciary. Also, their attitude and practice of irrational and excessive hiring and firing of staff including personnel of the judiciary, they continued to brand the 22nd of July, 1994 coup as a Revolution and naming events and places or even institutions after the dates of the take over and the continuation of their skeptical attitude and inconsistent or sometimes hostile approach to the big question of human rights and its related fundamental values in general and the civil and political rights especially the question freedom of expression and press freedom in particular, to name a few of those contradictions.

Thus, this section makes a brief reference to those contradictions while explaining the nature of the incompatibility of the two systems and styles of governance and state management. This is preceded by a brief recap of the circumstances leading up to and surrounding the July 22nd, 1994 coup and the subsequent inception of the second republic of The Gambia in January,1997.

The Contradictions between and Incompatibility of the Two Styles of Governance and Management

The practice of military commanders being involved in democratic governance and decision making in The Gambia under the APRC administration from 1997 to 2017 has raised considerable issues and led to so many controversies, one of which was the overt display of 'militarized political culture and style of management in the democratic space. From 1994-1996, the military government of then Captain Yahya Jammeh was transitional and ad hoc in nature. This was a time when he himself and his colleagues were wearing their green khakis, red berries and dark glasses symbolizing a moment of fully fledged military rule in the tiny but strategically important and beautiful west African nation. Consequently, the 1970 republican constitution was suspended and all political activities including opposition parties were suspended. It was a typical martial law situation. This scenario is very normal and typical of military interventions because all coup d'etats and military takeovers are unconstitutional and illegal, that is to say, they are rejected and condemned by the constitution which happens to be the basic or fundamental law of the land. As a result of this and given the inconvenience of the military commanders to co-exist and work together hand in hand with such a basic governing document that rejects and condemns them as Governors, they wasted no time in moving to attack and put the constitution out of operation. What is, however, abnormal and always challenging is when the military leaders choose to prolong their stay in power and start working to legitimize themselves as the country's new rulers. This means initiating a process that involves removing their military attires, lifting restrictions and bans on political activities, introducing new democratic institutions and processes such as a new constitution, holding democratic elections and establishing a new political party or parties to accommodate their political dreams and aspirations and accommodating civil society organizations including political think tanks and pressure groups. With all these changes in the new political landscape spearheaded by the military leaders, one thing that would never change was their attitude and style of management and decision making. This ushers in what I have earlier on referred to as diluted or quasi military rule in the Gambia, referring to a situation whereby military commanders run democratic institutions armed with democratic principles and procedures, but they would tend to be governing and doing things or taking decisions and implementing them militarily or in a military way. This is where most problems of quasi military rule always emanate from because they tend to combine two systems that are diametrically opposed to each other and therefore incompatible.

The Gambia has experienced a long period of fully fledged and quasi military rule from 1994 to 2017. However, what is striking in the Gambia experience of military governance is the fact that on attaining power through the barrel of the gun (though, bloodless) as against the ballot box, the military junta proclaimed itself as a corrective regime that has come to wipe out rampant corruption, ethnicity and tribal politics, hardship, nepotism in the face of the citizenry (Nnaocha & Bojang,2021). The new military governors accused the previous government of Sir Dawda Jawara of rampant outrageous corruption and `random plundering of the country' s assets to benefit a privileged few (Daily Observer, 1994). In its place, the military promised a new era of freedom, progress, democracy and accountability'. The head of the junta promised to base his governance principles/ philosophy on accountability, transparency and probity. He promised to institutionalize these trio catchy words in all sectors of The Gambia's political, economic, and social lives and assured that his government would be one with a difference (Nnaocha & Bojang,2021)

The new military rulers' proclamation of themselves as a corrective regime that has come to wipe out rampant corruption, ethnicity and tribal politics , hardship, nepotism in the face of the citizenry as well as promising Gambians a new era of freedom, progress, democracy and accountability' backed by a governance philosophy based on accountability, transparency and probity, justified the high expectations and aspirations of many Gambians that the military we're running and managing a transition period and that their role during this

transition period to democracy will be that of an arbiter and a corrective process so that there would be no conflict of interest. On the contrary, the junta leaders chose to become stakeholders themselves not only in the transition process to democracy but more importantly in the future political and economic development dispensation of The Gambia. So, they redefined themselves politically and assumed a long term political, social and economic development and management role.

Thus, the changeover to 'civilian' rule began with the introduction of a new republican constitution ushering in a new or second republic, the creation of a new political party by the military themselves and their participation in the 1996 and 1997 Presidential and National Assembly elections in The Gambia. As anticipated by critics and political observers, this new development ushered into the transition process worrisome and unwholesome practices that tilted an already uneven political playing field even further in favor of the incumbent military leaders. (Saine,1998). While the arrival of a new republican constitution and holding the presidential and parliamentary elections under the stewardship of the military as stakeholders in the process, represent uncertain steps in the direction of the country's transition toward democratic governance from military rule, they are however clearly a reversal of the First Republic's relatively democratic tradition. Instead, military involvement in the political landscape of the country increased the negative side effects on democratization and the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms in particular as well as on the functioning of rule of law and the whole question of democratization in general, problems and challenges that have been addressed above and are also further explored in the later part of this work.

The National Assembly election of January 2, 1997, completed the transition to 'civilian rule, or as I would say; from full-fledged military to quasi or diluted military rule, following the aftermath of the Presidential election in September 1996, in which the then retired Colonel Yahya Jammeh, representing the party formed by the military, was elected President of the Second Republic of The Gambia. Thus, the new party of the military- the Alliance for Patriotic Reorientation and Construction (APRC) won 56 percent of the Presidential vote, as opposed to 35 percent of votes won by the United Democratic Party (UDP) lead by Lawyer Ousainou Darboe (The Point Sept.30, 1996). Darboe's refusal to accept the election results because his party believed that they did not appear to reflect the wishes of the Gambian electorate, as well as similar concerns raised by the Commonwealth and the European Union (E.U.) observers, tainted the victory celebrations, even for President elect Yahya Jammeh's most fervent supporters. However, with the APRC's strong showing in the parliamentary elections by winning a 33-seat majority as opposed to the UDP's minority standing in the National Assembly, Jammeh and his party consolidated the military's grip on power in the dawn of what was to become "New Democratic Gambia ''. (Weekend Observer, January 3, 1997). With this ambivalent victory bringing Jammeh and associates into full control of power and authority within the framework of democratic institutions in the governance and state management system of The Gambia the truth began to emerge that there can be no genuine democracy under any form of military governance (full-fledged and quasi military regimes alike). The military ruler continued to demonstrate his audacious, uncompromising and iron fist leadership and military management style in the new Gambian republic that he himself and military junta ushered in and with a style he was known for during the two years of full military rule in the country, which spanned over two decades.

The new constitution introduced by themselves to transform the country into a constitutional democracy has contained provisions clearly indicating that the incoming democratic dispensation for The Gambia will not be a complete departure from the country's military past. This is a direct reference to paragraph c of section 7 of the 1997 second republican constitution, which incorporated all decrees passed by the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council into the existing laws of The Gambia that will continue to govern the country after its transition into a democracy.

The Continuation of the AFPRC Decrees in the Second Republic

Apart from the controversy surrounding the contents of many of those decrees, the fact that they were laws passed by the military junta and further that they were not made and adopted by a constitutionally defined authority, raised the legitimate question as to whether such decrees fulfilled the fundamental characteristics of what

should and could be called laws or rules such as the principles of just, reasonableness and fairness. So, including the decrees into the ordinary laws of the land was a clear signal or indication of the incompatibility of the two governance traditions the military rulers had set out to combine from 1997 onwards.

As mentioned above, immediately after the takeover the military junta suspended the first republican constitution of 1970, dissolved parliament- the country's legislative body and banned all political activities. Thus, in order to be able to govern smoothly and properly, the AFPRC administration was completely relying on decrees it was issuing from time to time to meet its legal challenges in the governance process. Among the most controversial of these decrees were decrees 89, 71 restricting the private media, the NIA decree and decree No.1

Decree 89, issued by the military government on 14 August, 1996 reiterated the ban from political activities that the military had imposed on the major political parties in the country. The political parties affected by the decree 89 included the Peoples Progressive Party (PPP) of the deposed president, Sir Dawda JAWARA, the National Convention Party (NCP) and The Gambia People's Party (GPP), they were also among the political parties suspended by the military during the early days of the 1994 takeover. However, the military government then lifted the ban on the other parties like People's Democratic Organization for Independence and Socialism (PDOIS), the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and similar insignificant or invisible political parties or groups in the country. In the same way, on 28 August, 1996, Yahya Jammeh was formally promoted to the rank of colonel and then he retired from the army on 6 September, one month before the 1996 presidential elections

Needless to say, the exclusion of the three main political parties from the 1996 presidential elections and the 1997 Parliamentary elections had discredited the democratic nature and character of the transition process from military rule to a democratic constitutional order. Decree 89 was later repealed by the Jammeh administration in July, 2003.

Another controversial decree promulgated by the military government was decree 71 issued to amend the 1944 Newspaper Act with the sole intention to mainly impose severe restrictions on private media practice in the country.

Thus in 1996, the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council, the then military government of Captain Yahya Jammeh, introduced a drastic amendment to the 1944 Act. This amendment known as Decree No 71 of (the Newspaper Act amendment No 2, 1996) increased the cost of mandatory registration fee from 1000 (One thousand Dalasi) to 100, 000 (One hundred thousand Dalasis) that is from what was then about 40 US Dollars to about 3500 (three thousand five Dollars) for anyone wishing to establish a newspaper in a country where an average salary is between 150 and 200 US dollars. This was a crucial turning point in the relationship between the new military government, describing itself as a corrective system that had set out to establish the Second Republic and the independent media.

The other controversial decree promulgated by the military government as one of the junta's series of decrees was Decree 45, which later became the Act establishing the country's much feared National Intelligence Agency during the days of the military in governance – The NIA.

On July 29, 1994, Decree No. 1 was issued by the junta, suspending parts of the 1970 constitution and with it, the parliament. This made it Crystal clear that business was not going to be as usual as two of the most fundamental pillars of the country's democratic system were effectively destroyed i.e. the constitution and parliament. The first decree stipulated as follows; "The Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council shall have power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of The Gambia with respect to any matter," and also that, the junta shall have judicial powers, in some cases, which effectively ousted the courts' jurisdiction to even question them. Decree No.1, continues, "The validity of this or any other decree shall not be questioned in any court of law, Thus, the decrees passed by the military council were made unquestionable before any court of law and if anyone had any quarry or complain regarding any of those promulgated laws or aggrieved by the NIA, such a complainant cannot go to court. Rather, the aggrieved party could only report to the president of the Republic, who could decide whether or not to appoint a high court judge to look into such cases of complaint and grievances.

Another typical characteristic of military governance that clearly demonstrated itself within or throughout the period of the APRC quasi military rule in The Gambia was the

existence of the political culture of mistrust and intolerance of the judiciary and a total disregard of its independence in many instances.

There were many instances of disregard for and non- compliance with court orders as well as firing both lower and superior courts judges for handing down decisions or judgments that were not in favour of the military government. Similarly, and away from the court environment, there are a plethora of cases of violations and abuses of human rights and fundamental freedoms for which the military government was accused of having committed especially, freedom of speech and expression, press freedom, freedoms of association and movement and participation in the political process.

The military rulers and senior commanders always find it very difficult to succumb to and comply with decisions, verdicts or orders from another superior authority other than that of their own senior commanders in the name of separation of powers or judicial independence, respect for human rights and political freedoms or constitutional supremacy and rule of law and similar principles of a democratic dispensation.

In March, 2014, the Commander in Chief of the Gambian Army and president of the Republic Yahya Jammeh was himself, while swearing in a new Chief Justice, quoted as saying the following regarding the principle of separation of powers:

> *"I just want you to understand that there is nowhere in the world where the judiciary is independent,". "We pay your salary, we appoint you, and you are part of the government - how can you be independent? (Darboe, 2021*

Another interesting scenario of the early days of the military time in power, which is related to the issue of the AFPRC decrees under discussion here and which is worth mentioning here, was the appointment of Fafa Edrisa Mbai as the junta's first Justice Minister who stayed on with them only for six months while Amie Bensouda was their first Solicitor General. A veteran lawyer, Mbai had already been Gambia's Justice Minister from May 1982 to June 1984 under the JAWARA administration. His appointment under the new military junta made him one of few civilians in that government, though he could not last long. By February 1995, he was fired. But during his time as Minister of Justice, he was also sitting in the Executive Council, a body created by the new military government to effectively replace the parliament in making laws for the country. The Council started to issue a pile of decrees, a large number of which were giving the military leaders sweeping powers. Thus, Fafa Mbai participated in the creation of the decrees at three levels: drafting them at the ministry, deliberating on them in the cabinet and passing them in the Executive Council. This was a clear signal and perfect example of how the principle of separation of powers was going to be disregarded by the new military government, which had continued to dominate Gambian politics and governed the tiny but blessed and beautiful West African nation for more than two decades albeit in a diluted fashion.

As destiny would have it, within six months into Jammeh's full-fledged military government, Minister Mbai was dismissed, together with Amie Bensouda. A Commission of Inquiry was then established by the Junta and headed by Omar Alghali, a Sierra Leonean lawyer who would later become the Chief Justice of The Gambia. The Commission found Mr. Mbai to owe the state 1.5 million dalasi (about 24,000 in today's euros) in tax arrears (Darboe, 2021). As was expected, Fafa Mbai filed a lawsuit at the country's Supreme Court in November 1996, challenging the findings of the Commission. However, either incidentally or by Allah destiny, Decree No. 11, which Minister Mbai himself drafted originally and later amended by Decree No. 25, which said no court can question a commission established by the military, caught up with him in the court and his case was consequently dismissed by the Court. Based on decree No. 11 as amended by Decree No. 25, the court ruled that it had no jurisdiction to address the matter. Thus, the jurisdiction of the Court that he ran to recourse with was ousted by the very Decree he drafted as stipulated above.

For more details and specific examples of the military government's disrespect for separation of powers, judicial independence, various human rights issues and non-compliance with court orders and other examples of behavior, practices and policies or procedures incompatible with the norms and principles of democratic governance, reference can be made to a couple of my previous articles or works especially the following ones:

a. Press Freedom and Democratic Governance in the Gambia: A Right Based Approach, Published in South Africa by the University of Pretoria, African Human

Rights Law Journal, Volume 12 No 2., 2012.

b. The Independent Media and Democracy in the Gambia – Since 1970, Published in the Republic of Hungary by – Afrika Tanulmanyok (Africa Studies, Hungary) Vol. IV. 2012. No. 1

c. The Judiciary in Governance in The Gambia and the Quest for Autonomy Under the Second Republic – Published in New Jersey USA, by the Journal of the Third World Studies (Journal of The Third World Studies, Vol. 27, No. 2 (Fall 2012), pp. 215-248)

Another concrete example clearly showing the contradictions and the incompatibility between the military's perception, style and practice of governance and management as opposed to the principles, procedures or processes and institutions of democratic governance was the military's attitude and behavioral approach to as well their understanding and utilization or application of the concept of being in command and control of the country and its governance machinery and mechanisms. Thus, the following section briefly examines the command-and-control question.

Command and Control Chain as demonstrated and applied by the Military Government in The Gambia

The typical understanding of effective command and control, as Gambians have experienced with the AFPRC/ APRC administration, is that the one in command should also be in control, especially when we talk about a strong and coercive type of command and control. (US Marine Corps, 2018).

In other words, to be in command means to exercise absolute authority and dictate the actions of others, who are subject to his/ her/ their authority and control, while those who are under that control and authority should respond promptly and precisely without any quarry or complaint- (obey first and then complain or make any quarry).

In the general sense of the term command and control is described in various ways by the United States Marine Corps including these:

"In the broadest sense, command and control applies far beyond military forces and military operations. Any system comprising multiple, interacting elements, from societies to sports teams to any living organism, needs some form of command and control. Simply put, command and control in some form or another is essential to survival and success in any competitive or cooperative enterprise. Command and control are a fundamental requirement for life and growth, survival, and success for any system." Or "The traditional view of command and control sees "command" and "control" as operating in the same direction: from the top of the organization toward the bottom". or:

"Command and control are thus an interactive process involving all the parts of the system and working in all directions. The result is a mutually supporting system of give and take in which complementary commanding and controlling forces interact to ensure that the force as a whole can adapt continuously to changing requirements." (US Marine Corps,2018).

As from the point of view of the Gambia experience of military rule, the lesson learned is that the command-and-control process was more of a kind of strong and coercive mechanism of exercising superior authority by the most senior military commander and the most superior overall authority across the length and breadth of the country than a mere interactive process involving a give and take scenario. This is because the military ruler who was commander in chief of the army and president of the Republic at the same time has absolutely been the most powerful man and the superior overall authority in the country. He saw himself as above any other authority in the country including the judiciary and all must therefore do what he wants and how he wants it to be done even in matters relating to the application and enforcement of the law. Otherwise, his ax would fall any time on anyone who dares to defy him and his government's policies and directions.

Thus, for the military ruler in Banjul, it wouldn't make sense for him to have the overall authority to make and enforce all decisions but at the same time not in full control of the situation or of everybody and everything in and around the country or for him to be subject to any kind of legal check and balancing procedures and corrective measures.

In other words, the commander in chief of the armed and security forces and president of the

Republic believed and probably rightly so, that he was the highest overall authority in the country and therefore could not or didn't want to understand how and why his (superior) orders or decisions should be quarried or checked and let alone be nullified and set aside by another authority whether you name it legal or judicial or whatever, which in actual fact was or it was presumed to be inferior to and under the authority of the commander in chief and the president of the Republic.

In The Gambia situation this was amplified and demonstrated by numerous instances in which the government of the Gambian had lost court cases but chose to ignore the courts decisions in those cases or in the worst scenarios the presiding judge or magistrate in some of those cases would be dismissed. (Senghore, 2012).

The following season examines another problematic issue regarding the contradictions and the incompatibility between military rule and democratic governance. Hence the section examines the irrational excessive hiring and firing syndrome of the AFPRC/APRC administrations and its impact on the civil service and public institutions in The Gambia- from 1994-2017.

The Excessive Hiring and Firing Practice of the Military Government

Excessive hiring and firing of people or government staff including suspected disloyal employees and political appointees into and from all sectors of government were the hallmark of the Jammeh's AFPRC /APRC administrations throughout the entire 22 years period of military rule in the country. The military ruler's critics and political opponents accused him of becoming increasingly paranoid as he was regularly reshuffling his cabinet and keeping only a tiny circle of trusted allies close to him. The same pattern of keeping government officials in and out of the system was frequently happening in all other departments and institutions of the central government. As for the case of Cabinet ministers it was definitely an unprecedented situation in the political and governance history of The Gambia. The sacking of late Sulayman Masanneh Ceesay as Secretary of State for the Interior and Religious Affairs, just two months short of the tenth anniversary of the military's ascendance to power had upped the number of hired and fired ministers since 1994 to 48, (Bojang, 2004). This was calculated to be an average of four ministers hired and fired every year since the most senior military commander- Yahya Jammeh was sworn in as president ten years into his reign as a full and quasi-military ruler. ((Jallow, 2013). Thus, by 2016 the number of hired and fired ministers, which includes the author, was about or above one hundred (100).

The Impact of the Military Government's Irrational Hiring and Firing Syndrome on the Gambia's Civil Service

The excessive and irrational hiring and firing pattern of staff and employees in the Civil Service and public institutions by the military government has further undermined the morale of public officers and eroded public confidence in The Gambia's public institutions and administration system throughout the period of military rule in The Gambia. This approach by the military, which was also marked by politicization of the public service, proliferation of public institutions with overlapping roles and functions and government's inconsistency with its adherence to meritocratic principles in matters concerning appointments, recruitments and promotions did not help in-terms of bringing in and assuring the strongly needed reform, reorganization and enhancing professionalism in the country's civil service and public institutions. According to (Tarro, 2021), the performance of the Civil Service and public institutions were hindered by " low commitment from government, to provide the necessary training, incentives , motivations, the necessary supervision and required resources etc, lack of capacity at PMO (Personnel Management Office), proliferation of public institutions, poor management ethics, lack of clarity of institutional roles, lack of appraisal system, unclear policies, lack of job fit and organization fit…" (Tarro, 2021).

Thus, despite several attempts and series of methods of reforms directed at this sector, those efforts to bring in the necessary reforms have not yet translated into meaningful results in the country's personnel administration systems and in the practices of its civil service institutions. In other words, the few studies and policies made to tackle public service inefficiencies and weaknesses in the administrations of the first and second republics have not yet given the desired results in the tiny and beautiful but complicated West African state of The Gambia. (Ceesay, 2006) & (Tarro, 2021).

The weaknesses and inefficiencies of The Gambia's civil service and public administration referred to above could have been the result of a combination of factors including the total absence of higher education and academic research culture in the country throughout the entire lifespan of the first republic. This however, does not contradict the fact that some of the pioneers of the civil service in The Gambia such as Dr. Jebez Langley, Alhagie Ebou Tall, Alhagie Sara Janha and others were well educated, highly disciplined. and well trained. As for the days of the second republic, which ushered in higher education and academic culture with the establishment of the University of the Gambia in1999 accompanied by the advent of strong and vibrant students' unionism, the situation was somewhat different from that of the first republic. In other words, the underlying causes of the weaknesses and inefficiencies of the civil service under the two republics are quite different from each other. As for the second republic, some of the main contributing factors to the weakness and inefficiency of the civil service and public administration in the country, included politicization of appointments, recruitments and promotions, frequent interferences of the military government in the day-to-day operations and management of the civil service and perhaps proliferation of public institutions with conflicting roles.

As a former Foreign Minister, and Higher Education, Research, Science and Technology of the Gambia under the period of diluted military rule, the author had experienced a lot of such interferences and overlapping roles between his ministry and the ministry of Presidential Affairs and the Presidency itself.

In the same way, Civil Society in The Gambia was also weak during the first republic even though the JAWARA administration was very democratic as compared to Jammeh and was therefore, somewhat, more tolerant to civil society activism. (Ceesay, 2006). The situation under the second republic was comparatively different from that of the JAWARA administration. During Jammeh's rule there was every opportunity for civil society to expand and become much stronger and more involved in the political and governance process of the country because the privately owned media organizations proliferated while many human rights and community development organizations were established and Banjul became a vibrant center for regional and international human rights activism as it continued to host the continent's then only human rights promotions and enforcement mechanism- the African Commission for Human and People's Rights and a couple Pam-African human rights promotions non- organizations such as the African Center for Democracy and Human Rights Studies, the Institute for Human Rights and Development in Africa, the Center for the Protection of Child Rights and many more.

However, Civil Society organizations of the second republic, especially the human rights promotion institutions and political think tanks, were not as strong, vibrant and effective as they were supposed to be and this was due mainly to the fluctuating nature and levels of commitment and attitude of the military government to the principles and ideals of democratic governance enshrined in their very own constitution that ushered in the second republic. As I have stated above, the military government both during the period of fully fledged and quasi military rule in the country did not always do very well in the area of respect for and protection of human rights and civil liberties particularly the category of rights situated in the area of civil and political rights otherwise known as the first-generation rights. There were numerous instances of abuses and attacks against private media practitioners, their premises and political opponents and critics. Thus, the following section aptly explains part of this problem

The Military Government and the Broadcast Media

Given the limited number of privately owned radio stations in The Gambia during the First Republic, and that private broadcasting only started in the country in the 1970s, the of intolerance to the free media and the bad practice of closing them down particularly, independent radio stations as a method of interference with or obstruction of press freedom, was almost not a known practice during the year of the First Republic of The Gambia. However, the situation was different from the second republic time when there had been numerous incidents of closing down private media outlets Especially radio and newspapers. Some of the significant cases of attacks and shutting down of private media outlets in the second republic that are worth mentioning included the following:

In 1990, the Citizen FM Radio, belonging to a veteran journalist and a former BBC Banjul correspondent, the late Baboucarr Gaye, was closed down by the state and the proprietor taken to court on charges of operating without a licence contrary to Section 5.7 of the Telegraphic Stations Act 1913 and Regulation 4 made under Section 12 of the Act. The Kanifing Magistrates' Court serving as the court of first instance convicted Mr. Gaye and sentenced him to one month imprisonment with hard labour with option to pay D350, 00 as fine. The court ordered the radio station be forfeited to the state. Thereupon, Gaye appealed to the High Court in Banjul against his conviction and sentence and on 3 July 2000, the High Court reversed the magistrate court's judgement. In his ruling the late Justice W.G Grante Jr. decided that the principal magistrate erred in law and therefore he quashed the conviction and sentence and the consequential order of forfeiture passed on Gaye. The High Court then ordered the state to restore to Babouccar Gaye his radio apparatus and property, which were forfeited, within 7 (seven) days for the radio to resume its normal operation. The High Court Judge in the course of his judgement described freedom of expression not only as a fundamental right but also a basic necessity of a democratic system. The High Court's ruling in this case is significant for various reasons including the following:

- That the court was well conscious of the rights dimension of independent media practice as a basic principle of a democratic system.

- In an outstanding pronouncement, the High Court recognized the fact that the work of the media to seek and disseminate information freely is a cornerstone of a democratic system in every civilized country of the modern world. (Gaye Vs the IGP 2000: WLR 189-200).

- This case posed a serious challenge to the independence of the Gambian judiciary of the time functioning under the watchful eyes of the military as it provided the latter with yet another golden opportunity to assert its authority and continue to check on an increasingly ever-powerful military led executive.

The other private radio station to be subjected to closure by the military authorities was Sud FM, which was jointly owned by a group of Senegalese and Gambian

entrepreneurs. The radio, which was shut down early November 2005, was a subsidiary branch of the Dakar-based Sud FM and which the Senegalese government in October of the same year also closed down. The reasons for the closure of Banjul Sud FM were not indicated despite the fact that there is a consensus among media practitioners and the radio audience in Banjul that during its 8 years of operation in the Gambia, Sud FM had never had any problem with the government and the public at large. The radio station's manager argued that Banjul Sud FM never had any problem with the Senegalese president or the time Mr Abdoulie Wade, suggesting the possibility of the parent station in Dakar being closed down as a result of a problem between the radio and the Wade administration. Nevertheless, the Sud FM Banjul Station Manager thought that the closure of his radio which happened immediately after the return of President Yahya Jammeh from a one-day official trip to Dakar, Senegal could have been the result of an understanding between the two presidents, Wade and Jammeh. Whatever reasons there might be, the closure of Sud FM in Dakar and Banjul does not only represent a case of violation of press freedom in the two countries but also it shows the extent of vulnerability of private media organizations operating under the military government in The Gambia, despite the country being under obligation inThe 1997 constitution and in international law to respect, promote and protect the right to freedom of expression and free speech (chapter 4 of the 1997 constitution, Articles 19 of the Universal Declaration; 9 of the African Charter; and 19 of the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights). Other private media outlets including but not limited to Teranga FM radio, the Independent Newspaper were also subjected to attacks and subsequently closed down by the military government.

For more details on the troubled relationship between the military government and the independent media, the judiciary and other human rights and democracy related matters in The Gambia reference can be made to my earlier studies on the subject, which include these:

a- Press Freedom and Democratic Governance in the Gambia: A Right Based Approach, Published in South Africa by the University of Pretoria,

African Human Rights Law Journal, Volume 12 No 2., 2012.

b- The Independent Media and Democracy in the Gambia – Since 1970, Published in the Republic of Hungary by – Afrika Tanulmanyok (Africa Studies, Hungary) Vol. IV. 2012. No. 1

c- The Judiciary in Governance in The Gambia and the Quest for Autonomy Under the Second Republic – Published in New Jersey USA, by the Journal of the Third World Studies (Journal of The Third World Studies, Vol. 27, No. 2 (Fall 2012), pp. 215-248)

To conclude all the issues discussed and the examples given under this section have clearly shown the nature and extent of the contradictions between and the incompatibility of the military's style and system of management and state governance on one hand and the principles, institutions and procedures of the system of democratic governance and state management on the other.

In The Gambia under Jammeh, democratic institutions existed but were manipulated and served to maintain Jammeh's rule, whims and caprices. Jammeh claimed legitimacy through defeating opposition parties in popular elections in 1996, 2001, 2006, and 2011. However, the electoral process was manipulated in ways that significantly disadvantaged any opposition. For example, exceptionally high party registration fees were required, significant state resources were used to support Jammeh's campaign efforts, and restrictions on media meant coverage was uneven and highly favoured the president. Additionally, opposition candidates and supporters were at times arrested and intimidated by state security forces. The National Assembly was generally ineffective in instigating debates or critical discussions and instead rubber-stamped Jammeh's policies and programmes. While the constitution gave the judiciary independence, judges were frequently and unconstitutionally sacked by Jammeh. Independent media technically existed under Jammeh, but there was an increasingly hostile attitude towards the media, resulting in the closures of numerous independent newspapers/radio stations and the surveillance, arrest, torture and murder of independent journalists. During his time in office, Jammeh stifled freedom of expression by implementing laws on sedition, defamation and the publication of so-called "false news."(Sofia, 2017).

A central element to Jammeh's attempt to balance the perceived threat from within the forces while also maintaining the military as a functional force was incorporating unpredictability into the operation of the armed forces. The importance of unpredictability in modern authoritarian regimes is emphasized by Rebecca Tapscott's theory of institutionalized arbitrariness (Dwyer, 2023). She argues that the state in this type of governance model becomes 'unpredictably present and absent, at times intervening in matters and disputes to determine an outcome, at other times abjuring responsibility and refusing to enforce decisions. The arbitrariness is institutionalized in that it becomes a regular part of how the regime functions. The governing style 'makes it difficult for citizens and local authorities to calculate and assess the risks of possible intervention, which causes them to self-police' (Dwyer, 2023). Authorities then must constantly adjust their actions to respond to the state's unpredictable actions. Ultimately, it fragments and weakens opposition and alternative authority. Overall, Jammeh's military rule and democratic governance had witnessed series of contradictions, absurdities and incompatibles in The Gambia that sent grave waves that altered the political and international image of the Republic of The Gambia to a monstrous state within his tenure.

Conclusion

This paper examines military rule and the system of democratic governance together with the incompatibility nature and the contradictions between the two systems as demonstrated by The Gambia experience under the AFPRC/ APRC administrations from 1994-2017. Thus, the paper has interrogated the nature of the military government's democratic contradictions and the implications of those contradictions for the country throughout the 22 years period of both full-fledged and quasi military rule in the tiny but blessed and peaceful West Africa nation. The author submits that governing within the framework of democratic institutions and processes but with a military style of management amounts to combining two systems of management and state governance that are incompatible with and contradictory to each other. The second republican constitution

which was introduced by the military themselves has incorporated all the necessary principles and institutions of democratic governance in the modern time including a bill of rights, an Ombudsman's office, separation of powers, an independent judiciary, a permanent independent electoral commission and the principles of accountability and transparency. Yet some of the most outstanding accusations leveled against the military government included widespread human rights abuses, ranging from forced disappearances, extrajudicial killings, arbitrary arrests and detentions, political intimidations and harassment against their opponents and critics including the private media, excessive firing of ministers, senior government officials, civil servants and others, unlawful interfaces with the judiciary and the recruitment process of various government departments and agencies.

The paper further argues that the military rulers despite having transformed themselves in 1997 into civilian politicians and administrators, which was proceeded by the introduction of a new democratic dispensation beginning with a new republican constitution with a bill of rights and so many other changes there was one thing that would never change and this was their attitude to and style of management and decision making. This had ushered in what I have earlier on referred to as diluted or quasi military rule in the Gambia, referring to a situation whereby military commanders run democratic institutions armed with democratic principles and procedures, but they would tend to be governing and doing things or taking decisions and implementing them militarily or in a military way. This is where most problems of quasi military rule always emanate from because they tend to combine two systems that are diametrically opposed to each other and therefore incompatible.

The paper admitted that, with all sincerity, the former military government in Banjul did not do very well in the area of human rights protection and democratic governance in general as compared to its outstanding achievements in other areas of socio-economic and political development. Despite having introduced drastic changes into the governance and state management system of The Gambia by adding numerous new institutions and revamping, reorganization and restructuring a couple of the existing institutions and despite having done extremely well in infrastructure development and in terms of ensuring and maintaining internal security, domestic peace and stability, the military government's performance in the domain of respect for, promoting and protection of human rights and full adherence to the principles of democratic governance was fluctuating and in many occasions disappointing. There were many instances of high-profile cases of government failures to protect human rights, as well as cases of alleged abuses and violations of fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals and groups. One of the biggest challenges the military authorities were grappling with was the respect for and full adherence to the democratic principles of respect for the rule of law and the authority and supremacy of the law, the independence of the judiciary and the legal profession and press freedom. It is always difficult for military rulers and military commanders in general anywhere across the continent to come to terms with and wholeheartedly accept and submit to the democratic reality that decisions of the justices of the courts are superior to and therefore should prevail over any administrative decisions or executive directives and orders including orders from the Military High Command, that they can be reviewed by or challenged before and set aside by courts of competent jurisdiction. Similarly, they also find it difficult to understand or admit that it is always in the absolute interests of the peace, stability and security of society and also for the sake of ensuring good governance that press freedom and free flow of information must be allowed under all circumstances. Our experience with the military has repeatedly shown that a military ruler cannot simply come to terms with or accept the fact that there exists in the state or in the very government he is heading a higher authority that can definitively nullify, invalidate or set aside an administrative order or decision of his government or even his own executive directives. For the military authorities, orders from the Military High Command are superior orders and must therefore be obeyed by all at any cost. To reconcile this culture of authority and command in the military tradition with the principles of democratic governance and state management (such as constitutional rule, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for the rule of law , independence of the judiciary and the supremacy of the constitution and the laws in general etc…), is one of the biggest and most difficult challenges facing the modern day political phenomenon of military rule and the possible attempts to normalize or legitimize

military takeovers of power and their involvement in governance and state management across the globe. The military ruler in Banjul was obviously not an exception to the above challenge. This is exactly what I call "combining incompatible and contradictory systems of governance and state management. As mentioned earlier, the previous studies I referred to above have considerably addressed the question of human rights and democratic governance under the military in The Gambia in a more detailed and comprehensive manner.

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PRIMARY EDUCATION IN LAGOS STATE: IDENTIFYING THE GAPS IN SERVICE DELIVERY

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ABSTRACT
Education is a valuable social asset that generates a plethora of externalities that permeate all aspects of society. Consequently, governments must ensure the efficient and effective provision of education as a public service. To achieve this, appropriate structures and management processes must be put in place to meet the educational needs of citizens. This study examines the delivery of primary education in Lagos before and after 1999, utilizing a historical approach to trace the evolution of structures and processes established for primary education delivery. Additionally, quantitative secondary data is employed to evaluate primary education outcomes in the state. While the state has made significant progress, the insufficient collaboration with local government councils and inequitable distribution of primary education facilities have impeded intended outcomes, as evidenced by overcrowded classrooms and a high number of out-of-school children. Delegating some responsibilities to local government councils would promote better collaboration between the state and local governments, and reallocating resources to areas with inadequate educational facilities would enhance educational outcomes.

Introduction

Education is a social good that creates so many externalities which manifests in all spheres of the society. Thus, education is a public service that government must ensure that it is delivered efficiently and effectively. To achieve this, the government must put in place the right structure and management processes geared towards meeting the educational needs of its citizens.

Primary education, according to the National Policy on Education (2013) is the level of education where children aged 6 to 11 plus are taught how to read and write. This is the foundation upon which other levels in the education system build. Once this level in the educational system is faulty or not adequately managed, it creates dysfunctional citizens. Therefore, policymakers and practitioners must ensure the proper functioning of the primary education system.

Lagos state, as the focus of this article, is considered the commercial nerve centre of Nigeria. It has a population of over 21 million, the majority of who are young people. The State government is constantly under pressure to deliver social services to an ever-increasing population; whose expectations centre on equal access to these services. The challenge before the State government is how to plan and

implement programmes that will meet these expectations. For instance, Psacharopoulos (2014) observed that primary education in Nigeria is characterised by low enrolment, repetition of classes and high drop-out rates of pupils in public primary schools. These figures clearly show the inability of the country to meet targets set for education in the Millennium Development Goals. Harma (2013) commenting on the growth of private primary schools in Lagos, noted that parents perceive government schools as failing to meet the educational needs of their children. In terms of funding, Onyekwena et al (2016) observed that from 2012-2014, the federal government contribution to the funding of primary education in Lagos State amounted to 91% of the total expenditure. The Lagos state government contributed 9% of the total expenditure and this was to finance the operations of the Lagos State Universal Basic Education Board. Likewise, the bulk of the funding goes into payment of teachers' salaries while little is left for capital projects. These observations necessitate an investigation of primary education delivery in Lagos state to identify gaps inherent in the process.

The following sections describe in detail the history and development of primary education in Lagos state. This is to understand the context within which primary education is being delivered in the state. This will be done through a historical account of the state of primary education before the return to civilian rule in 1999. The analysis to be drawn from this historical account is how primary education has evolved in the state. This will be followed by a description of primary education from 1999 till date. The essence is to evaluate the performance of the State government in improving the level of primary education in the state. The paper examined issues such as overcrowding of pupils in classrooms, dilapidated structures, inadequate funding and recruitment of qualified teachers. This is to ascertain if these issues have been resolved or are still recurring problems.

Primary Education in Lagos State: Pre-1999 Period

Historically, the education system in Lagos state evolved from Christian missionary activities dating back to the latter part of the 19th century. Before the creation of the state in 1967, there were two different educational systems in place. One was operating under the old federal territory and the other under the colony division of the ancient western region (Adedokun, 2013). These two systems differ in terms of duration and syllabi. While that operated under the old Western Region had a duration of six years, the one run under the federal territory had eight years duration. Consequently, the first primary task of the state government was to bring the two systems into one uniform system that will cater for the primary education of school-age children. The state adopted a uniform school system in 1969 (Adeoti, 2014).

The creation of the state in 1967 began the process of urbanization as other ethnic groups from across the country migrated into the city in search of education and employment opportunities. This incidence of urbanization brought with it new problems for the primary education sector. Adeoti (2014) observed that there was a high rate of drop-out from schools. Part of the reason for this is the unduly high school fees charged by schools in Lagos state. As a result, many parents had to withdraw their children from school. Apart from the high school fees, the academic performance of these pupils was also low. A Lagos state Ministry of Education report (1972, cited by Adeoti, 2014) showed that out of 1,165 children that enrolled in schools in January of 1971, 558 had dropped out by December of the same year. Therefore, the fundamental problem confronting the Lagos state government was how to make accessibility to primary education convenient for the poor and reduce the drop-out rate. Within this context, the federal government introduced the Universal Primary Education (UPE) scheme in 1976.

The UPE scheme was introduced in September 1976 to address the issues of accessibility to primary education as a way of resolving geographical imbalance and making it free of charge to primary school pupils. (Ityavyar, 1986). The UPE scheme was welcomed with great enthusiasm by parents as before this period, an estimated 15,000 school-age children could not gain admission. Consequently, there was an upsurge in the number of children seeking entry into primary schools (See Table 1). However, the UPE brought new challenges for the state government to handle. First was the high turnout of children for the scheme. The state was ill-prepared for the vast enrolment rate that heralded the UPE scheme. As a result, existing facilities could not accommodate the additional number. The state government had to adopt a temporary measure of operating a shift system. Selected schools within the state were

to run on shifts between 7:15 am and 1:15 pm, with each shift being for three and a half hours, thus totalling three in a day. The implication was that pupils could only stay in school for three and a half hours a day. In the same vein, the number of schools in the state rose from 544 in 1975 to 598 in 1976 and 624 in 1977. Similarly, the number of pupils increased from 355,645 in 1975 to 388,429 in 1976 and 411,416 in 1977.

The quality of primary education under the UPE scheme was questioned as many observers noted that there was a lack of teaching aids and materials, a shortage of teachers and a lack of adequate accommodation. The ratio of teachers/students stood at 1:37, and the state government had to maintain the shift system during this period to address the persistent shortage of classrooms. However, this practice eroded the standard of primary education. Adeoti (2014) observed that this system fell short of an acceptable standard and those pupils had to trek many miles to schools in the city as the number of schools in rural Lagos was inadequate. In 1979, a democratically elected government came into power and established a committee to review the education system in the state. According to Shodipe (1997), the committee found out that the schools were not adequately administered, coupled with overcrowded classrooms where pupils had to go through an unripe system of morning, afternoon and evening sessions. The effect was that pupils did not inculcate the requisite knowledge as the mode of instruction was based on recitation than learning. Clearly, the observation of this committee shows that the goal of developing permanent literacy in these children was not achieved. To address the shortage of classrooms, which was considered the main problem confronting primary education in the state, the democratically elected government embarked on building 4,984 classrooms for primary schools by 1980.

Table 1 below shows that the total number of schools increased gradually except for 1973 when there was a decline of schools by one and in 1978 a drop of 19 schools. However, the ratio of one teacher to pupils shows a large number ranging from 30 pupils to one teacher to 37 pupils to one teacher. This could affect learning as pupils may find it challenging to comprehend in an overcrowded class. The design of these classrooms was devoid of elegance or aesthetics. On the contrary, the state government was thinking in terms of functionality which led many critics to call these classrooms "chicken Houses". The policy thrust of the civilian administration did not last long as the government was overthrown through a *Coup d'etate* in December 1984.

The era of military rule from 1984 to 1999 (except for a brief period of civil administration in 1992) witnessed a lot of policy inconsistencies in primary education. The country began to experience an economic downturn that affected government revenue and finance primary education. A World Bank report (1994) observed that the gross enrollment ratio (GER) in primary schools as high as 93% in the 1982/83 session, declined to around 78% in 1990. Similarly, the period witnessed a lot of strikes by primary school teachers as salaries were not paid for several months. This was because the Federal government had withdrawn from financing primary education in 1981 and gave State and Local governments the responsibility of financing the sector. However, most State and Local governments found it difficult to fulfil their financial obligations to the primary education sector.

Table 1: Lagos State: Growth of Primary School Education, 1967-1981

Year	No. of Schools	Annual increase	No. of pupils	% Increase	Pupils	Pupils
					Per School	Per Teacher
1967	442	-----	195,655	---	442.7	30.3
1968	446	4	207,126	5.9	464.4	32.0
1969	450	4	231,560	11.8	514.6	32.4
1970	453	3	237,560	2.6	524.4	32.7

1971	456	3	240,941	1.4	528.4	33.1
1972	472	16	270,533	12.3	573.1	34.1
1973	471	-1	309,455	14.4	657.0	33.6
1974	524	53	318,270	2.9	607.3	30.0
1975	544	20	355,645	11.7	653.8	31.3
1976	598	54	388.429	9.2	649.5	33.9
1977	624	28	411,416	5.6	659.3	36.9
1978	605	-19	434,543	5.6	719.4	37.5
1979	725	120	477,371	9.8	658.4	32.1
1980	812	87	527,649	10.5	649.8	33.9
1981	911	99	583,816	10.7	640.9	36.9

Source: The World Bank, 1989

This compelled the Federal government to intervene by creating the National Primary Education Commission (NPEC) to handle primary education in the country regarding management, policy formulation and disbursement of funds.

In Lagos, the State government had to contend with rising the enrolment rate without an increase in the number of classrooms. The option for other States in the country after the Federal government stopped financing primary education was to introduce tuition and levies. However, the Lagos state government did not introduce any levy. Therefore, the state government had to provide funds for the primary education sector. The World Bank (1989) noted that the decline in the financing of primary schools led to a downward spiral in enrolment. This was not because pupils were not offered admission, but because the quality of schools had dropped. This was attributed to the poor state of physical infrastructures- toilets, roofs, fences,

Table 2: Primary School Age Population in Lagos

Year	**Number**
1975	357,750
1982	470,774
1985	529,557

Source: World Bank, 1989.

Table 3: Primary School Enrolments in Lagos State

Year	**Figure**
1975/76	374,645
1982/83	570,921
1985/86	662,380

Source: World Bank, 1989.

Table 4: Number of Local government areas, schools and classes in Lagos state

Lagos	No. of LGAs	No. of Schools	No. of Classes
	8	951	17,293

Source: World Bank, 1989.

Table 5: Number of Teachers in Lagos State 1987

Gender	Male	Female	Total

Figure	5,223	11,421	16,844

Source: World Bank, 1989.

Table 6: Number of Students in Lagos State 1987

Gender	Male	Female	Total
FIGURE	384,616	387,615	772,299

Source: World Bank, 1989.

Table 7: Students Per Class, Teacher, LGA and School in1987

Class Ratio	Teacher Ratio	LGA Ratio	School Ratio
45	46	96,537	812

Source: World Bank, 1989.

Table 8: Number of Schools 1975/76 – 1985/86 in Lagos state

YEAR	1975/76	1982/83	1985/86
FIGURE	244	909	888

Source: World Bank, 1989.

Table 9: Pupils per school 1975/76 – 1985/86 in Lagos state

Year	1975/76	1982/83	1985/86
Figure	1535	628	746

Source: World Bank, 1989.

Table 10: Class size, Teachers per class and Pupils per Teacher 1982/83 in Lagos state

Enrollments	No. of Class	Average Class Size	Teachers Per Class	Pupils Per Teacher
570,921	14,273	40.0	1.06	38.0

Source: World Bank, 1989.

playgrounds, classrooms- and teachers' salaries which were falling into arrears such that teachers were being retrenched. This indicates the deteriorating situation in the primary education sector in the country.

Lagos State was not immune to this precarious situation as it had to manage overcrowding in the classrooms (Table 2). Available data shows that the number of pupils in the classrooms was above the recommended number of 36 pupils per class. Similarly, the state government could not sustain the financing of primary education. Under the military administration of Col. Olagunsoye Oyinlola, primary school teachers threatened to go on strike after one week's notice if the state government failed to clear several months of unpaid salaries (Oyelaran-Oyeyinka, 2006). The state government defaulted in paying primary school teachers' wages due to the inability of the federal government to fulfil its financial obligation of remitting funds for paying teachers' salaries to states under the re-introduced UPE programme.

Another noticeable trend during the period under review was that there was no clear delineation of the management of primary education between the federal, state and local governments.

Primary Education in Lagos State: 1999-2019

The successive challenge administration in Lagos state had in primary education was how to provide enough classrooms for the growing number of pupils and ensure quality in terms of teachers and learning outcomes. The observation in the previous section was that the significant challenge facing the Lagos state government was the funding and administration of primary schools. The Universal Basic Education (UBE) programme was launched in 1999 by the federal government under the administration of President Olusegun Obasanjo. According to Asodike and Ikpitibo (2014), the UBE scheme intends to ensure that learners inculcate functional literacy, ability to communicate and vocational skills. It was structured into a nine-year programme covering six years of primary education and three years of junior secondary education.

Similarly, the programme was made compulsory and free for children aged six to twelve. Although the UBE programme was launched in 1999, the Act stipulating the

objectives, responsibilities and functions of each tier of government was enacted in 2004. The Act provided for the establishment of the Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC), the State Universal Basic Education Board (SUBEB) and the Local Government Education Authority (LGEA). The Lagos State Universal Basic Education Board (LSUBEB) was established on the 30th day of December 2005 and inaugurated on the 30th day of January 2006. This shows that though the programme was launched in 1999, it took another six years after the launch for the programme to commence at the state level since the structures were not yet in place.

Before the commencement of the UBE programme, the state government, on return to civil rule in 1999, made efforts in improving the standard of primary education in the state. The major challenge confronting the state government was the overcrowding in the classrooms, teachers' quality, and pupils' performance. In addressing these issues, the state government embarked on the construction of new schools and the renovation of existing ones. Similarly, the state government introduced free education to ensure accessibility to children whose parents could not afford school fees. Under the free primary education policy, all fees and levies were abolished by the state government (Ige, 2015). Consequently, funding of all aspects of the public primary education sector in the state was financed by the state government. An EC-EMCA/NISER (2005) report on the effectiveness of public expenditure in Nigeria observed that Lagos state was one of the states that exhibited a reasonable level of autonomy in financing the public primary education sector. In other words, it was not dependent on the allocation from the federation account. The report also highlighted the effectiveness of the state government's expenditure on primary education vis-à-vis the output generated. In ascertaining the effectiveness of public expenditure, it examined the percentage deviation between the amount budgeted and the actual releases to the sector. A percentage deviation that returns a zero score shows no difference between what was budgeted and the amount released. However, a percentage deviation that returns a negative score shows that the government spent less than what it budgeted, while a positive score shows that the government spent more than what it budgeted. Table 11 below shows the percentage deviation of Lagos state government releases against the budget for the years 1998 to 2003 on primary education.

Table 11: Actual Government Releases to Primary schools compared with facility Reported

Year	Personnel cost % Deviation	Overhead Cost %Deviation	Capital Cost % Deviation
1998	-61.9	-3.5	-99.7
1999	-94.3	-73.8	-99.9
2000	-95.3	-2.5	-99.9
2001	-95.3	-84.9	-99.9
2002	-95.7	-7.5	-99.9
2003	-94.9	-42.1	-99.9
AVG	-52.3	-21.7	-99.9

Source: Compiled from EC-EMCA/NISER, 2005

Table 12: Total enrolment, the number enrolled for final exams and number of students who passed final exams in Lagos state, 1998 – 2003

YEAR	TOTAL ENROLMENT	NO. ENROLLED IN FINAL EXAMS	NO. OF STUDENTS WHO PASSED
1998	133,339	28,958	25,092
1999	131,929	27,406	23.946
2000	127,906	26,955	22,916
2001	120,046	26,967	22,408
2002	116,341	25,003	20,586
2003	108,312	22,347	18,098
MEAN	122,979	26,356	22,174

Source: Compiled from EC-EMCA/NISER, 2005

The table above shows that the state recorded a negative percentage deviation score between the amounts budgeted and the amount released. An indication that the state government was spending less than what it budgeted. Thus, it could be deduced that the budget preparation did not follow a rational process of aligning expenditure with anticipated output. On the contrary, the budget preparation may be more of a routine exercise of itemizing areas government intends to spend funds on without necessarily justifying those expenditures with target goals. The table shows the output recorded in the primary education

sector from 1998 to 2003 in terms of total enrolment, number of students enrolled for the final exams and number of students who passed. The output showed a gradual decline in output for all the variables from 1998 to 2003. This also correlates with the negative percentage recorded in government expenditure within the same period. This is an indication that as the state government was spending less on primary education, the anticipated results were also declining.

In a study done by Tooley, Dixon and Olaniyan (2005), they observed the 'mushrooming' of private unregistered primary schools in Lagos. They attributed this to the poor quality of public schools for the poor. Factors such as teachers not being available during class periods and low commitment levels were more prevalent in government primary schools than in private registered and unregistered primary schools. The authors also found out that the rate of teacher absenteeism at primary 4 was higher than unregistered and registered private schools. The percentage was 8.2 per cent at government schools and 1.1 per cent and 1 per cent at unregistered and registered private schools, respectively. It was also observed that the number of hours teachers gave to teaching was more minor in these government schools than in private schools. This is because a high percentage of the teachers in government schools were engaged in other activities like selling domestic items when they were supposed to be teaching. The observation from these findings is that despite the teachers in public schools earning higher wages than those in private registered and unregistered schools within these poor communities, there was less teaching activity there. This could result from ineffective monitoring and enforcement of standards by the Lagos State Primary Education Board in these schools. Although the Lagos state government made a significant financial contribution to the primary education sector, the outcome recorded did not indicate an effective utilization of these funds (EC-EMCA/NISER, 2005).

In a similar study done by Harma (2013) on the growing number of private schools in Lagos state, her findings revealed not much distinctive change in the state of primary education compared with the year 2006. The number of private registered and unregistered private schools had increased, and more children of school age were enrolled in these schools than public schools. She traced this development to the perception parents residing in Lagos state had of public schools. According to the author, most low-income families choose private schools over public schools because of overcrowding in the classrooms and poor quality of instruction. On the other hand, the private schools offered them closeness to their homes, and smaller classes in size and quality (Harma, 2013). This probably explains why Sixty-Two (62) per cent of school-age children were in private registered and unregistered primary schools compared with only Thirty-Nine (39) per cent in government schools in the 2010-2011 academic sessions. Table 13 below shows the gradual decline in enrollment in government primary schools in the Makoko area, Lagos state.

Table 13: Enrolments at Public Primary Schools serving Makoko, 2008-2011.

Year	2008/2009	2009/2010	2010/2011
Primary Sch. 1	1,084	877	774
Primary Sch. 2	620	594	438
Primary Sch. 3	697	1,860	1,607
Total	2,401	1,860	1,607

Sources: Lagos Annual Education Sector Performance Report, 2011

Table 14: Number of Public Primary Schools, Pupils and Teachers by Sex: 2004/2005 - 2010/2011 Academic Sessions

Year	No. Of Sch	M	F	Mf	Per Sch	Per Teacher
2004/2005	983	3,095	13,885	16,980	432	25
2005/2006	1,010	2,854	12,942	15,796	443	28
2006/2007	1,030	2,841	13,389	16,230	442	28

2007/2008	1,045	2,808	13,543	16,351	446	29
2008/2009	1,081	2,633	12,570	15,203	443	32
2009/2010	986	2,372	11,397	13,769	393	28
2010/2011	1,001	2,247	11,068	13,315	417	31
2011/2012	1,001	2,213	11,025	13,238	524	40

Source: Lagos State Ministry of Education, 2013

Table 14 above shows a fluctuation in the number of schools within the state, number of pupils (male and female), pupils per school and pupils per teacher. The 2011/2012 session data indicates that the number of pupils per teacher had gone beyond the twenty-seven-standard pupil per teacher. Thus, showing that overcrowding in classrooms is a significant issue for the Lagos state government.

In the Lagos Annual Education Sector Performance Report (2010), the state government evaluated its input against the output generated. The primary input was the amount of funds expended on the education sector in terms of recurrent and capital expenditure. The recurrent expenditure covers salaries, allowances and overheads to cover day-to-day activities. Similarly, the report stated that a sum of N484,671,485 was expended on infrastructure while N103,858,175 was spent on instruction materials/furniture and N103,858,175 was paid on teacher training.

With this expenditure on personal and overheads, the expected output should be seen in the learning achievements outcome, retention rate and transition rates of primary school pupils to junior secondary schools. However, the report measured its output in available classrooms, water and sanitation and pupils per teacher. These factors are intended to create the right environment for the pupils to learn and not indicate what the pupils learnt or the skills acquired. Tables 16 and 17 showed the state of the classrooms across the various LGEA and pupil-teacher ratios. In Table 16, only a few LGEA had pupil-classroom ratios below 30 (Ikeja and Lagos-Island). The two LGEAs also had a more significant percentage of adequate seating for pupils. Most LGEAs had above 50% classrooms with Blackboard. This shows that sufficient attention needs to be paid to overcrowding and more adequate seating.

A critical examination of these figures shows a level of disparity in the distribution among the LGEAs. For instance, Ikeja recorded 28 for the pupil-classroom ratio and 25 per cent of the classroom in need of significant repairs, 64 per cent of the teachers received training. On the other hand, Ajeromi-Ifelodun recorded a 69 pupil-classroom ratio and 46 per cent of classrooms in need of significant repairs, about 25 per cent of the teachers received training. Consequently, these teachers in Ajeromi-Ifelodun LGEA are faced with the challenge of overcrowding in the classrooms, and a small percentage of them received training. The likely implication is that the ability to inculcate into these children life-long skills of numeracy and verbal aptitude is reduced. This is because learning in an overcrowded classroom may be complex and the majority of the teachers have not received additional training to cope with this large number.

Table 15: Recurrent Expenditure by LGEA

LGEA	**Personal**	**Overheads**	**Total**
Agege	935,811,433	14,376,000	950,187,433
Ajeromi Ifelodun	878,290,930	20,040,000	898,330,930
Alimosho	988,952,623	18,600,000	1,007,552,623
Amuwo Odofin	437,511,259	15,144,000	452,655,259
Apapa	411,341,280	10,843,200	422,184,480

Badagry	604,018,467	15,705,600	619,724,067
Epe	575,459,647	21,916,800	597,376,447
Eti-Osa	351,502,182	15,156,000	366,658,182
Ibeju-Lekki	231,416,138	12,868,800	244,284,938
Ifako-Ijaiye	525,910,892	10,603,200	536,514,092
Ikeja	606,722,388	12,883,200	619,605,588
Ikorodu	831,577,208	19,723,200	851,300,408
Kosofe	966,882,578	15,163,200	982,045,778
Lagos Island	488,690,397	13,257,600	501,947,997
Lagos Mainland	687,940,253	17,097,600	705,037,853
Mushin	1,057,472,068	21,312,000	1,078,784,068
Ojo	604,724,343	15,103,200	619,827,543
Oshodi-Isolo	794,233,938	20,433,600	814,667,538
Shomolu	810,367,729	14,078,400	824,446,129
Surulere	812,933,625	21,772,800	834,706,425
Total	13,601,759,379	326,078,400	13,927,837,779

Source: Lagos Annual Education Sector Performance Report, 2010

Table 16: State of Classrooms

LGEA	**Pupil-Classroom ratio**	**Share of the classroom in need of Major repairs**	**Mud/earth floor (%)**	**Classrooms with Adequate Seating (%)**	**Classrooms with Good Blackboard (%)**
Agege	36	24	3	31	75
Ajeromi-Ifelodun	69	46	4	37	56
Alimosho	64	40	17	21	54
Amuwo-Odofin	37	50	15	19	54
Apapa	44	38	0	36	63
Badagry	45	47	9	26	48
Epe	31	36	1	24	50
Eti-Osa	41	21	1	58	57
Ibeju_Lekki	53	47	1	42	62

Ifako-Ijaiye	42	44	6	35	56
Ikeja	28	25	7	59	74
Ikorodu	55	46	0	24	79
Kosofe	44	39	7	51	71
Lagos-Island	29	18	4	71	70
Lagos-Mainland	32	25	2	42	54
Mushin	32	39	0	51	70
Ojo	59	47	5	21	45
Oshodi-Isolo	36	32	5	59	55
Shomolu	30	46	2	31	39
Surulere	38	37	3	50	60
Total (AVG)	42	37	4	39	60

Source: Lagos Annual Education Sector Performance Report, 2010

Table 17: Teachers in Lagos State Schools (Primary)

LGEA	**Pupil-Teacher ratio**	**Pupil-Qualified Teacher ratio**	**Teachers who received Training (%)**
Agege	22	23	51
Ajeromi-Ifelodun	36	37	25
Alimosho	36	37	35
Amuwo-Odofin	33	34	55
Apapa	28	29	40
Badagry	36	38	30
Epe	30	36	32
Eti-Osa	39	42	61
Ibeju_Lekki	46	57	52
Ifako-Ijaiye	22	22	42
Ikeja	18	19	64
Ikorodu	38	39	29
Kosofe	25	25	13
Lagos-Island	21	23	64
Lagos-Mainland	29	30	43
Mushin	21	22	29
Ojo	34	35	37
Oshodi-Isolo	25	25	39
Shomolu	20	21	25
Surulere	22	23	26
Total (AVG)	28	29	37

Source: Lagos State Annual Education Sector Performance Report, 2010

Similarly, this set of figures cast doubt on whether this data or political preferences informed government decisions. This observation is similar to the findings of Oguntade (2005). He observed that rural/agricultural LGAs in Lagos state were at a disadvantage in distributing primary schools and infrastructures. There were more primary schools in urban LGAs than in rural/agriculture LGAs. Thus, prompting some parents to send their children to other communities to obtain education. It appears little has been done over the years to redress this lopsided distribution of primary schools and infrastructure.

The 2011 National Assessment of Learning Achievements in Basic Education stated the mean performance of pupils in the English language from primary 4 to 6 across the country. It noted that Lagos state recorded a mean of 58.04, 69.83 and 68.72 for primary 4, 5 and 6 respectively. These scores were above the national mean score for these classes. Thus, indicating that the state government was making progress in some indicators of learning among pupils. Similarly, the performance of pupils in Mathematics was above the national mean score of 51.03, 50.36 and 52.94 for primary 4, 5 and 6, respectively. The state recorded 54.41 for primary 4, 54.87 for primary 5 and 56.47 for primary 6. In the same vein, the 2014 Quality Assurance report on the performance of the State Basic Education Board observed that the Lagos State Basic Education Board made significant progress in the monitoring of primary schools. However, the report noted that the board needed to do more in the recruitment of qualified teachers and renovation of dilapidated buildings in certain schools. While efforts were made to recruit more teachers for the public primary schools in the state, this appears to be insufficient.

Data from the Lagos state 2018-2019 Annual School Census Report (2019) showed an increase in terms of Pupil-Teacher ratio from 1:36 in year 2017/2018 to 1:57 in year 2018/2019. This ratio is above the recommended ratio of 1:45 for the State as stated in the report and 1:35 as prescribed by the National Policy on Education (Ogunode and Ahaotu, 2020). This data shows that the State government is yet to resolve the issue of overcrowding in its classrooms.

Discussion of Findings

The above historical analysis of primary education in Lagos state reveals some noticeable gaps in delivery. For instance, funding, a major component in delivery is inadequate for capital projects and allocation is skewed against rural and semi-urban areas. This inadequate funding limits the expansion of primary schools which invariably leads to overcrowding of classrooms in some schools. Figures of the number of primary schools in Lagos state was 1001 (see Table 14) and rose to 1015 public primary schools in 2019 (Lagos State Annual School Census Report, 2019). This showed an increase of 14 new public primary schools. This number is inadequate as evidenced by the high Pupil-Teacher ratio in the state. A resultant effect of this shortage of schools and overcrowding of classrooms is the growing demand for private provision of primary education in the state. Furthermore, enrolment in public primary schools dropped from 482,485 in the 2017/2018 session to 467,903 in 2018/2019 session. Thus, lending credence to the claim that parents would prefer to enrol their wards in private unregistered schools than public schools (Harma, 2013). Generally speaking, compared to other levels of the educational system, the government's funding for basic education has been minimal. From 1996 and 2002, 11.5% of the federal government's total education expenditure was allocated to primary education. Distribution to tertiary and secondary levels (federal unity schools) in the same time frame was 68% and 14.5%, respectively (FME, 2005). Since that it falls under its constitutional purview and that it only intervenes in basic education, the federal government must support tertiary education heavily. Given that more money is allocated to the secondary level than the primary level, state governments have not fared any better in this regard. In addition, secondary schools received 67% of the state government's education spending, compared to primary schools, which received 11% (ibid). Similar to the federal government, state governments that run higher institutions spend an average of 34% of their education budget on them, further decreasing funding for primary and secondary education (Hinchcliffe, 2002).

Conclusion and Recommendation

Primary education in Lagos state has evolved from minimal government involvement at inception to full-scale administration of primary

schools. While a lot has been achieved in teachers and infrastructural development, specific areas still need improvement. Efforts still need to be made in reducing the number of children aged six years and above not in primary school in the state. This may require the state government to build more schools and rehabilitate existing ones. Similarly, the state government needs to address the distribution of infrastructure and adequate funding of these schools. Funding is a critical input in the administration of primary education in the state. Therefore, funds must be utilized in a prudent way to achieve specific results. The gaps observed in the delivery of primary education in the state such as overcrowding of pupils in classrooms, dilapidated structures, and recruitment of qualified teachers are due to funding. The bulk of funding for primary education comes from the intervention fund of the federal government and the statutory allocation of Local governments. A large percentage of these funds go into the recurrent expenditure of teachers' salaries and training. A smaller percentage is left for capital expenditure. This limits the expansion of needed infrastructure in public primary schools such as classrooms and additional public primary schools. While the emphasis had been on recruiting and training teachers, not much had been done in expanding public primary schools. Although, private primary schools had stepped in to fill the gap, it has led to inequality as parents with low income could not afford the fees (Unterhalter et al, 2018). To bridge this funding gap, the State government must engage relevant stakeholders particularly the Local government councils on how to ensure better funding of public primary schools. Primary education falls within the jurisdiction of Local governments. However, they lack the financial capacity to expand primary schools in the state. Resolving the funding issue would require the active participation of the Local governments.

Increasing funding for primary education in Nigeria requires a multifaceted approach that involves the government, non-governmental organizations, and the private sector.

Here are some recommendations to be taken:

1. Increase government spending: The Nigerian government should prioritize education and increase its funding for primary education. This can be achieved by allocating a larger portion of the national budget to education.

2. Seek international support: The Nigerian government can also seek support from international organizations, such as the World Bank, the United Nations and other donor agencies, to increase funding for primary education.

3. Encourage private sector involvement: The private sector can be encouraged to invest in primary education by offering tax incentives and other benefits for companies that support education initiatives.

4. Enhance accountability and transparency: Measures should be put in place to ensure that funds allocated to primary education are properly utilized and accounted for. This can be achieved through effective monitoring and evaluation systems.

5. Improve the quality of education: Improving the quality of education in Nigeria will attract more funding from both local and international sources. This can be achieved by maintaining and improving investing in teacher training, improving teaching materials and facilities, and enhancing curriculum to meet international best practices.

In conclusion, increasing funding for primary education in Lagos state requires a comprehensive approach that involves the government at all levels, non-governmental organisations and the private sector. By working together in a collaborative framework, the state can improve its primary education system and ensure that every child has access to quality education.

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AN APPRAISAL OF NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY THRUST FROM 1960-2023

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ABSTRACT
The study appraised thematically (administration by administration) Nigeria's foreign policy thrust since 1960 till 2023. The justification for adopting this approach is to review how each Nigerian government undertook the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy and how it has translated to economic security and prosperity of the Nigerian State-cum-citizenry whose interest foreign policy is expected to serve. The central proposition of the study is that for Nigeria's foreign policy to be perceived as legitimate, its implementation must be seen by Nigerians to advance the domestic national development. The study adopted three theoretical frameworks, the decision-making model, the power approach and the linkages theory in the analysis of the discourse. The utility of the Decision-making model is that it seeks to uncover the underlying motivations and values that push decision makers towards preference a certain course of action. The utility of the power approach to the discourse is that states in international relations are always possessed by the national interest which nations attain only by improving upon the element of their national power relative to other states. The linkage theory emphasizes the interconnection between the domestic economy of any country and its foreign policy. Findings from the study revealed that Nigeria allowed the system goals to take precedence over actor's goals that would have reverberate in greater economic opportunity and prosperity for the people. That this confusion over what constitutes Nigeria's national interest and the procedure for its realization vividly explains why Nigeria's foreign policy since independence until date has witnessed enormous cost without any corresponding dividends. The study recommended,

among other things, that Nigeria's foreign policy thrust should be more inward focused, aimed at adding value to Nigeria's development.

Introduction

The term Foreign Policy is nebulous in the sense that scholars of international relations have not been able to formulate a universally acceptable definition of the concept given the changing nature of power politics in the international system. But the consensus among scholars is that foreign policy is that conscious behaviour of a nation state towards the external environment (Piate, 2020). Foreign policy is that instrumentality through which state seek to influence at the international arena in order to attain those objectives that are in consonance with their perceived national interest. Arising from this, Nigeria's foreign policy can be conceived as those explicit objectives which Nigeria seek to pursue and achieved in her external relations.

Foreign policy thrust refers to the primary or overarching goals and objectives that a nation aims to achieve in its interactions with other countries. It's essentially the strategic direction a country takes in its international relations. It is a reflection of its unique circumstances, historical experiences and political culture. It guides its interactions with the international community and shapes its global standing. Key components of Foreign Policy thrust includes national interest which is the core goals that a nation seeks to protect or advance (they can include economic prosperity, national security, ideological promotion or regional influence), priorities (the specific areas of focus within the broader national interest for example, a nation might prioritize economic ties with certain countries or security co-operation with regional allies), strategies (the methods and tactics used to achieve these goals – this could involve diplomacy, economic engagement, military power or international organisation) and values (that is the underlying principles and beliefs that shape a nation's foreign policy – such as human rights, democracy or environmental protection). Nigeria's Foreign Policy Thrust has evolved significantly since its independence in 1960. It has been shaped by various domestic and international factors, including economic considerations, political ideologies and regional dynamics.

Nigeria's foreign policy is anchored on certain ideals as enshrined in Section 19 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended), popularly known as foreign policy objectives which guide the formulation and implementation of Nigeria's Foreign Policy and which successive Nigerian governments have remained faithfully to these articulated objectives of foreign policy. While some were assertive, critical and vibrant, others were cautious, conservative, timid and subservient (Gambo, 2021). This must have been the reason Asobie (2012) argued that the first half of a century of Nigeria's diplomatic history may be divided into five distinct periods. The first period, 1960-1974, may be characterised as the age of innocence. The second, 1975-1984, was the era of awakening. The third, 1985-1992, was the epoch of realism. The fourth, 1993-1998, was the Dark Age and the fifth 1999-2010 maybe described as the Renaissance.

Nigeria's external relations since 1960 till 2023, has not been generally remarkable in terms of its productivity and overall impact on people's wellbeing especially when assessed in the context of the economic dividends it has generated by way of attracting foreign investment, wealth creation and poverty reduction or political dividend in Africa where greater investment has been made. Foreign policy of any nation must be based on the premise of national interest. This is because, it is the yardstick that one could use in assessing the success or failure of any foreign policy. An exploration of Nigeria's Foreign Policy in the past decades reveals that Nigeria has consisting been pursuing her domestic development goals independently of its foreign policy. The conduct of the nation's foreign policy has not been translated into a source of national development. Consequently, the nation suffered serious development challenges. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the years since independence; most governments often adopt policies in their foreign policy that appeared inconsistent and contradictory to the country's domestic development. From Belewa to Buhari, Nigeria's Foreign Policy has never been directly related to the needs of the masses of its people. Rather, this policy has been formulated, articulated and implemented in highly elitist

circles, reflecting the needs and aspiration of national elite. Hence, the history of Nigeria's foreign policy has been related to some extent, a quest for national consensus behind the major goals and objectives of its external relations (Gambari, 2008; Mustpha, 2008 and Piate, 2022).

A perusal of Nigeria's Foreign Policy since 1960 till 2023, shows an inversion of tertiary objectives over primary objectives that would have resulted in greater economic opportunity and prosperity for the people and the state. This has accounted for the huge deficits in the overall Nigeria's foreign policy over the years. Since independence, whether under civilian or military dispensation, the leader's disposition significantly affected the outcome of foreign policy decision. Pronounced policies were zealously executed with hardly any review or input from professionals in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and less inclined leaders have presided over more inert foreign policy formulations. It is within this context that the study seek to appraise thematically (Administration by Administration) Nigeria's foreign policy thrust since 1960 till 2023. The justification for adopting this approach is to review how each Nigerian government undertook the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy and how it has translated to economic security and prosperity of the Nigerian State in general and average citizenry in particular, whose interest foreign policy is expected to serve. The central proposition of this study is that for Nigeria's Foreign Policy to be perceived as legitimate and supported at home, its implementation of the policy must be seen by Nigerians to advance the domestic national development agenda (Piate, 2013). In view of these, the study seek to answer this question, to what extent has Nigeria's foreign policy thrust since 1960 till 2023 influenced its domestic development goals.

Theoretical Explication of the Discourse

The study adopted three theoretical frameworks, Decision making model, Political realism otherwise known as the power approach and Linkage theory in the analysis of the subject matter. Decision making models in foreign policy analysis are frameworks used to understand how states make choices regarding their international interactions. The basic postulate of this theory is that foreign policies are not made by states but by official decision-makers who act on behalf of the state. State actions is the action taken by those acting in the name of the state. Therefore, the key to the explanation of why the state behaves the way it does lies in the way its decision making as actor define the situation. A common assumption is that decision-makers are rational actors who strive to maximise their nation's interest or goals. This implies that they have clear objectives, consider all available information and weigh the costs and benefits of different options before making a decision. Ogwu (2005) posits that every foreign policy decision maker operates within an environment defined by three critical variables which include psychological, the domestic and the external variables. The psychological component of the environment deals with the idiosyncrasies of a leader, that is, what are the likes and dislikes of a leader? Is the leader a pacifist or a belligerent? The seek to uncover the underlying motivations and values that push decision makers towards preference a certain course of action to others.

The power approach is the school of thought that explains international relations in terms of power politics. Realism as the traditional orthodoxy in the understanding of international relations from the point of view of the national interest has an intellectual pedigree in classical scholars like Hans Morgenthau, Machiavelli, Hobbes and Thucyclides. They see power as the prime motivation of political life in international relations. It derives its relevant from two basic assumptions: human weakness and the anarchical nature of the international system. Given the structure of the international system which is devoid of any effective enforcement authorities, every state must always be in the business of accumulating power. Its arsenal must be continually updated as that is the only assurance for its existence to achieve its national interests. For this theory, power can be possessed for actual deployment or deterrent purposes in defence of national interest. The utility of the theory to the study is that states in international relations are always possessed by the national interest which nations possessed by the national interest which nations attain only by improving upon the elements of their national power relative to other states.

The linkage theory posits that state can influenced the behaviour of other states by connecting unrelated issues in negotiations. This theory, popularised during the cold war, suggest that states can use leverage in one area to gain concessions in another. The theory assumes that

states are strategic actors that can use their bargaining power to achieve their foreign policy goals by tying together different issues. That is propositions that link the stability, functioning, institution and goals of national political systems to variables in the external environments is system actually developed. The utility of the theory to the study is that it emphasizes the interconnection between the domestic economy of any country and its foreign policy.

The Abubakar Tafawa Balewa Administration (1960-1966)

At independence in 1960, there was the need to accelerate the economic development of the country but the choice of strategy for development became the major challenge. This informed why the leaders settled for dependent import-substitution strategy as a means of attaining industrialization. The thinking was that Nigeria's foreign policy could be use as a means of attracting net inflow of external financial resources and technical assistance from a variety of international actors (Asobie, 2002). Nigeria's foreign policy during this period was geared toward attracting foreign investment. This period coincided with the cold war era. So the first major challenge was the needs to mobilize external resources in a world that was split into two ideological camps. Balewa recognised that reliance on the great powers involved in ideological rivalry entailed some political risk for a weak and undeveloped state like Nigeria. This informed why Nigeria officially adopted non-alignment as a cardinal principle of her Foreign Policy.

The Balewa administration adopted non-alignment as its foreign policy thrust primarily due to the following reasons: Independence and sovereignty. Nigeria, having recently gained independence from Britain, sought to assert its sovereign and avoid being drawn into the cold war rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. The policy thrust allowed Nigeria to maintain its freedom of action and pursue its own national interests without being beholden to either superpower. On National Interest, the Balewa's administration believed that a non-aligned foreign policy would best served Nigeria's national interests. By avoiding alignment with either superpower, Nigeria could maintain diplomatic relations with a wider range of countries, access foreign aid from various sources and promote its economic development. On African Unity, Nigeria, as a leading African nation, sought to promote African Unity and decolonization. Non-alignment was seen as a way to strengthen Africa's voice on the international stage and to support the liberation struggles of other African Countries. Finally, on Domestic concerns, the Balewa's administration was also focused on domestic issues, such as economic development and nation building. By avoiding involvement in foreign conflicts and maintaining a non-aligned stance, the government could concentrate its resources on domestic priorities. While Nigeria's Foreign Policy during the Balewa era was generally non-aligned, it was not always strictly neutral. The administration did maintain closer ties with western countries, particularly Britain, due to historical and economic factors. However, Nigeria also sought to developed relationships with countries in the East and South, demonstrating its commitment to non-alignment. In conclusion, the policy of non-alignment was a response to the geopolitical realities of the cold war, providing a means for newly independent nations to protect their sovereignty, pursue economic development, and contribute to global peace.

`While non-alignment allowed Nigeria to diversify its economic relationships, it is also meant that the country did not fully benefit from the economic advantages offered by either the western or Eastern blocs. The non-aligned policy sometimes led to a lack of strategic direction in Nigeria's foreign policy, as the country struggled to balance its interests with the demands of international diplomacy. Finally, Nigeria's non-aligned stance make it vulnerable to external pressures from both super powers particularly during times of crisis or conflict.

Balewa maiden address to the 15th session of the United Nations General Assembly, made pronouncement of Nigeria's Foreign Policy to include the maintenance of friendly relations with all nations and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of and peaceful co-existence with all countries; development of cultural cooperation as a means of strengthening political ties with all African countries and commitment of African Peace, development, co-operation, decolonization and fight against racism and apartheid. Hence, African as a centre piece of Nigeria's Foreign Policy was evolved.

At the dawn of political independence in 1960, Nigeria had tried to show the world that she was the leader Africa needed. This is why the country took upon itself to champion a lot of

issues bordering on Africa's progress and development. This claim of manifest destiny to lead Africa was made against the background of domestic, continental and global challenges, which Nigeria was to handle, based on the country's high potentials on human and material resource. Being the most populous Black Country in the world may have compelled her to shoulder, wittingly or unwittingly, the leadership of the black world. This led to Nigeria's Feeling that she had a responsibility far beyond her boarders. Some might say beyond her means. (Omelle,2004; Osuntokun, 2005). In the same manner president Obasanjo during an interactive session in 2001 at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs opined that even before independence, Nigeria has been pre-determined to play a leading role in Africa on the basis of its manifest national endowments. Such national endowments included its geographical size, population, its human and natural resources (compared to other black African States). These efforts, according to him, were demonstrated in Nigeria's policies on the Congo Crisis, the formation of OAU, the atomic test ban in the Sahara, the anti-apartheid struggle and international peace keeping under the United Nations (Obasanjo, 2001).

The strong Afrocentric bent in Nigeria's external relations was derived from and is fed by the prestige of continental leadership. One obvious source of the prestige illusion derives from Nigeria's role in offering and mobilizing support for the eradication of colonialism and apartheid from Africa, expansion in Nigeria's diplomatic space, global recognization as a leading nation in peace keeping operations, commensurate influence in international organisation such as ECOWAS and AU. Whether Nigeria's support was actually decisive in shaping the eventual outcome and/or the extent to which Nigeria's support was really valued or appreciated by the recipients is yet to be fully established in literature. Put in another way, the impact of the Afrocentric policy has been the subject of contention. While some see nothing wrong in such commitment, others see it as having negative impact on Nigeria's national interest. For those scholars, who see such commitments as having a negative impact on Nigeria's national interest, argued that African alone should no longer be the one and only reason for the existence of a foreign policy in Nigeria. Their argument is predicated on the fact that Nigeria has sacrificed a lot for African countries without anything in return. On his path, Reuben Abati, posits that Nigeria has been extra ordinarily naïve by restricting its foreign policy to Africa as its cornerstone. For him, Nigeria has given so much to ensure the implementation of that foreign policy. The implication according to him, has been the sacrificing of the true national interest of Nigeria on the alter of region leadership role. The central line of argument of this school of thought is that there has been displeasure with Nigeria's African Policy and Nigerians had expressed concern on what they considered the unrewarding African Policy of the Nigerian State, not being created on any firm principle of reciprocity. Ate (2011) corroborated this position by arguing that Nigeria at independence did not have the means to sustain an assertive-cum-robust foreign policy but rather was playing adjunct leadership role for the west. For him, the notion of an African-centredness of Nigerian foreign policy as such did not stem from a strategic choice made by Nigeria's new political leadership on the basis of the fundamental national interests of the country, but was indeed a derivative of enormous influence exerted on it by the western powers, principally Britain and the United States in the context of their cold war priorities in Africa. The point being emphasized here, is that, the pre-occupation by Nigerian government on regional issues of political liberation, peace keeping operations, conflict resolution, institutionalized the Africa-Centredness syndrome without the leadership ever assessing seriously, the development benefits to Nigeria's economy arising from its Foreign decisions. In other words foreign policy initiatives were never linked originally, to the requirement of transforming the national economy, nor were the reality of a weak domestic economic capacity ever considered as a fundamental constraint on such initiatives (Piate, 2017). In the end, the pay-off of an Africa-centred foreign policy was the perpetuation of under development, corruption, poverty and mismanagement of governance. This is why, the foreign policy record of the Nigerian political leadership was after fifty years adjudged to be anti-development.

General Yakubu Gowon (July 29, 1966-1975)

Nigeria's military rule which began on January 15, 1966 was a child born in crisis and for the next six-months. General Ironsi battled with the internal squabbles such that he had little time left to think of any concrete foreign policy for the country, which unfortunately also consumed

him in a counter coup of July 29, 1966. Unlike his predecessor Balewa, Ironsi neither had domestic nor foreign policy because of the relative shortness of his tenure as Head of State. General Gowon succeeded him as the Head of State.

General Gowon upon assumption of office, was confronted with the challenge of overcoming the Biafran irredentism, which eventually resulted in a 30 months civil war (1967-1970) with foreign policy demands outside diplomatic moves to end the civil war put at the back burners. The focus of government policy under Gowon, was the defence and protection of the country's territorial integrity, cessation of hostilities and peaceful resolution of the conflict. The experiences acquired in prosecuting the war and eventually restoring peace affected the country's foreign policy. So Gowon foreign policy thrust after the Nigerian civil war was the defence of the country's territorial integrity and continued friendly relations with the rest of the world, especially countries that supported her during the civil war. The importance of the OAU as an instrument for peaceful resolution of conflicts became manifest and appreciated, the policy of good neighbourliness paid off with many countries in the subregion supporting Nigeria in her efforts at preserving her territorial integrity, independence-cum-sovereignty and the need for greater regional co-operation was brought to the fore (Olusegun, 2011; Osita, 2011; Kunle, 2021 and Olagunju, 2021). So the Gowon regime's foreign policy could be classified into two eras, the period of war and the period of reconciliation at home with the secessionist and the period of rapprochement with countries such as Tanzania, Zambia, Ivory coast and Gaban who had recognised Biafra. This was the basis of his Reconciliation, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction after the war. Other achievements in his foreign policy was the establishment of ECOWAS in 1972, the reinvigoration and revitalization of OAU, direct financing for liberation movement during his OAU chairmanship.

Mohammed and Obasanjo Regimes (1975-1979)

The foreign policy thrust of General Murtala Mohammed could be inferred from his speech during the African Heads of State and Government Conference at Addis Ababa where he Lampooned. Some African countries that he described as Lackeys of erstwhile colonialists, accused them of supporting apartheid policy and advocated for the establishment of liberation movements. Unfortunately, he was brutally assassinated in counter-coup led by Lt Col Buka Dimka on February 13, 1976 and was succeeded by General Obasanjo his second in command who pursued and continued the dynamic and radical foreign policy as conceived by his predecessor.

It was under these regimes that the anti-colonial and racist posturing of the nation's foreign policy assumed a forceful, radical and uncompromising dimension. The regimes went to great lengths in giving Africa and African Affairs pride of place in foreign policy and foreign relations. Though Nigeria had always asserted that Africa is the cornerstone of its foreign policy, it was only during the duo regime that the country maintained a militant oriented foreign policy which sought to dictate the pace and direction of progress on the continent. That is the new Nigeria's African policy became much more articulated during their regime. This commitment was informed by the glaring behaviour of the remaining colonial regimes in countries like Angola, Mozambique, |Southern Rhodesia and Apartheid South Africa that never wanted to grant them independence in a hurry.

It was the resolute support of this regime of the popular movement for the liberation of Angola (MPLA), that led to Angola's independence in 1975. Demonstrating the same assertive Pan-African disposition, the Obasanjo regime opposed British arrogance over Zimbabwe's independence which led to the nationalization of the shell. Bp. Nigeria's tough stance at the conference of commonwealth prime ministers that hastened the Lancaster House negotiation which led to Zimbabwe's independence in 1970. Under Obasanjo, Nigeria Launched the South African Relief Fund (SARE) in December. 1976 and donated ₦2.5 million to this fund. Nigeria also co-sponsored the world conference for Action Against Apartheid (WCAAA) in Lagos between 22-27 August 1972 (Osita, 2011).

Nigeria's relative self-reliance and independence in the execution of its African policies during this era was as the result of the factors stated below:

First, its western partners had stunningly refused to provide the Federal Government with the required military assistance necessary to suppress Biafra's rebellion in the Eastern region

of the country. Ironically, the USSR, the west arch enemy in the cold war, fulfilled that need, this bringing home to the post war governments that it was fool-hardiness for the Belewa government of the first Republic to rely exclusively on western support for its security and development requirements.

Second and more crucially, post-war Nigeria was awash in petrol dollars. Nigerian governments no longer needed. Western financial assistance to execute their national development plans, and hence the pressure to conform to western demands in bilateral and regional relations no longer existed.

The question remains in a world where loyalties do not extend beyond sovereign borders, why do countries extend the hand of generosity to others? Simply put, countries extend help to others on the basis of calculated self-interest. For instance, china provides assistance for infrastructure projects in many African countries as part of a package of its investment activities in oil and mining. Nigeria's African centerpiece policy has remained essentially altruistic; it has essentially been a fruitless exercise in charity. Nigeria's avuncular policies and programme in Africa were (and are) never requited. Writing in the new Nigerian newspapers of September 28, 1986, Mohammed Haruna attributed Nigeria's unrequited favours in Angola and Zimbabwe to the country's conservative and Anglophile policies. Haruna, in explaining what might have informed the MPLA government in Angola failure to acknowledge Nigeria's assistance in getting its independence and the frosty reception that Joe Garba got in Lauda, averred that in the initial days of the struggle, Nigeria, through Garba, was hardly enamoured of the MPLA. Preferring instead the so-called government of national unity, and the Angolans knew it. A semblance of an ideological position was only taken by Nigeria when apartheid South Africa moved into Angola, promoting Nigeria's recognition of the MPLA. The same scenario, played out in Zimbabwe. It was Nigeria's Anglophile tendencies, for the country under General Obasanjo was for a long time hostile to Mugabe and supportive of Nkomo, presumably on account that the British preferred him. What this mean is that Nigeria's policies in these countries were marred by the country's initial lack of decisiveness in its actions or positions, the nebulousness and cloverleaf nature of its initial positions might have angered the so-called beneficiaries of its assistance. Thus, not being consistent to follow through a single policy position has been the albatross of Nigeria's African Centrepiece policy (Piate, 2022).

Alhaji Shehu Shagari (1979-1983)

The foreign policy thrust of the Shagari's administration, can be inferred from his speech during the conference at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs on October 20, 1980. Under Shagari, Africa remained the centre-piece of the country foreign policy. That is, Nigeria still professed its commitment to Africa such as strengthening of African solidarity, promotion of peace and stability in Africa, support of the rights of peoples to self-determination and unwavering support for the eradication of apartheid in South Africa. The administration inherited a radical foreign policy and this posturing therefore became the parameter for measuring the administration foreign policy. Shagari appointed foreign affairs advisers to complement the role of experts on foreign policy but didn't valued their advices which led to series of mistakes by the government in the handling of the country's foreign policy. The administration was accused of frustrating the efforts of African leaders towards decolonization in western Sahara, allowing herself to be used by the United States and France in effecting the withdrawal of Libyan troops from chad in other to install Hissene Habre and blamed for denying Libya under Muammar Gaddafi chairmanship at the 19th summit of the OAU in Tripoli (Osita, 2011). Part of poor diplomacy on part of the administration, clash of objectives between Nigeria's interest of acting as a big brother and objective of attaining her desired goals make France to reject the idea of granting loan to the Nigerian government and openly campaign against debt relief or wavers by international community when Nigeria found itself is poor financial situation and needed to obtain loan from the European Union to cushion the austerity at home (Olagunju, 2021). In conclusion, Shagari's Africa Policy lacked direction as opposed to the dynamism of the Murtala/Obasanjo regime and his ouster in December 31, 1983 by the Military put an end to whatever ambition the government had of its foreign thrust.

General Muhammadu Buhari (1983-1985)

The Buhari/Idiagbon administration like the others, still professed Africa as the centre-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy and clearly articulated this in the concentric circles theory. The regime recognised the MPLA in the power struggle in Angola and reiterated its commitment to the anti-apartheid cause in South Africa, recognised the polisario government in Western Sahara against the background of opposition by some African States and the Saharawi Arab Republic and backed its admission into OAU (Kunle, 2021).

Generally, the Buhari's administration inherited foreign policy commitment that were over-ambitious in scope especially when the Nigerian economy was on the brink of collapse. To save the country from total collapse, his administration had to re-order Nigeria's priorities to cope with available resources, but his option according to Okoro (2002) and Osita (2011) was contradictory to Nigeria's Foreign Policy objectives. For them, Buhari administration foreign policy was characterised by hostility to Nigeria's neighbours, undefined objectives, confrontational diplomacy, a demoralised foreign service and contracted instrument of diplomacy. Several factors seem to corroborates their position. First action Buhari administration took was to reduce the members of the Nigerian diplomatic mission. Second, he ordered the closure of Nigerian borders and the expulsion from the country citizen from Nigeria neighbour who were pejoratively labelled "illegal aliens" thereby destroying Nigeria's relation with her neighbours, including the policy of good neighbourliness. Again, in its attempt to punish those allegedly accused of contributing to Nigeria's economic predicaments, strained the country's relations with Britain when efforts were made to illegally repatriate from Britain Umaru Dikko, Shagari's former transport minister in the second republic. Although the Buhari's administration did not make much impact to achieve Nigeria traditional principles and goals of Nigeria's foreign policy, it clearly demonstrates how strong a country's domestic factors are in determining focus of foreign policy behaviour.

General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida (1985-1993)

The Babangida administration on assumption of office was confronted with two major problems. The first was an economy that was in Shambles, second was an uninspiring foreign policy which was based on the theory of "concentric circle", a concept which was the brain child of Ibrahim Gambari, the then external affairs minister during the Buhari era. His foreign policy thrust can be inferred from his maiden address to the nation in August 27, 1985 depicting that he did not deviate much from Nigeria's Afro-centric foreign policy. Hence, there was continuity in the pursuit of objectives and major policy thrusts. Babangida conceived the idea of medium power as a means of curtailing the excesses of the then two rival world powers, United States and USSR. The project suffered a setback due to the replacement in a cabinet reshufflement of professor Bolaji Akinyemi the progenitor of the project and the successor did not have the same interest towards the project.

In continuation of the Afro-centric foreign policy, the Babangida administration established the technical aid scheme in 1987, where qualified Nigerians in various fields were recruited and sent to aid African countries in their various developmental efforts. The Technical Aid Corps Scheme (TAC) as a foreign policy tool was to promote goodwill and foster social and economic development in partner countries. As it turned out to be, the amount that was expended on the programme remains shrouded in mystery. Another great achievement of the administration foreign policy was the founding of the West African Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in dire response to festering crisis that erupted in Liberia. The reason for this initiative could be broken down into two broad categories: objectives and subjective conditions. The objective conditions include Nigeria's size, population, resources, the size of its military and colonial experience (which makes it wary of allowing external powers free rein in the sub-region). The subjective condition, in a world dominated by a handful of global powers, projecting regional power status was more feasible for Nigeria than claiming world power status or projecting global power. Other condition includes fear of the so-called domino effect that is, destabilization spreading from hotspots to another countries in the sub-region, concern over the possible influx of refugees and the pressure it would put on resources.

While Nigerian leaders point to national interest, humanitarian considerations and regional stability as reasons for intervention in peace-keeping in Africa, but Nigeria's interventions through ECOMOG cannot be said

to have been solely motivated by the pursuit of national interest, perhaps this partly explains the lack of fellow up or peace dividends Nigeria never realises. It appears that the Babangida administration did not have a clear-cut idea of the nature of the national interest in its decision to intervene in Liberia and Sierra-Leone, this is because Nigeria has been a party to many peace keeping operations with so many sacrifices, yet no explicit or implicit post policy dividend has ever been derived from such military exertions. When the United State invade irag and topple saddam Hussein, Halliburton and the entire defence sector were positioned for the post conflict reconstruction in that country. In the case of Nigeria in Liberia and Sierra Leone under ECOMOG, no such post-conflict reconstruction engagement ensued to the benefit of the Nigerian state. This is a clear example of the fruitlessness of the Nigeria's foreign policy within the context of the national interest (Piate, 2022).

Economic development also dominated the Nigeria's foreign policy under the Babangida's administration. Thus, economic diplomacy was invented as a major element of Nigeria's foreign policy because of the successful stories of the economic miracles of South Korea, Thailand, Taiwan, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. The policy was predicted essentially on four tools – export promotion, inflow of direct investment, inflow of capital and debt rescheduling. But any policy in which capital outflow systematically exceed capital inflow is based on faulty econometric or theoretical foundation. Such a policy which may stultify an endogenous development process and frustrate national aspirations is a sure road to recolonization-cum-contradiction of an inward-looking development strategy. Economic diplomacy rather than bring about development, growth, domestic security and public welfare, had led among other things to a situation of no profit in the industrial sector, no investment, no growth, and therefore no increase in employment, at best the strategy was a constructive destruction. Economic diplomacy as a foreign policy tool did not translate to domestic economic development. The only new development was that the adopting of the policy strategy only signals an attempt to completely shed off the radical pan-Africanist elements in the country's post-colonial foreign policy during the oil boom years even with its broad pro-western orientation.

The annulment of the presidential election in June 12, 1993 and the subsequent domestic crises tended to erode whatever achievements that stood in the administration credit and further marred. Nigeria's aspirations as an influential country within the sub-region and Africa.

Chief Ernest Shonekan/Sanni Abacha/Abdulsalami Abubakar (1993-1998)

Chief Ernest Shonekan became the head of interim National Government due to the annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election and given the circumstance of the period and short duration of three months in office, he could not initiate any foreign policy that could be pointed to his credit. The same fate befell Sani Abacha, who sacked the Shonekan administration in a palace coup and assumed the reign of power. His administration was largely pre-occupied with maintaining power or regime survival, and therefore did little on the foreign scene. The government by its actions or inactions turned Nigeria into a pariah nation amongst the comity of nations as a result of its poor human rights records. As an act of survival, it made a policy shift away from the west to Asia courting countries like China, North Korea and Libya (Osita, 2011). The sudden demise of Sani Abacha led to the emergences of Abdulsalami Abubakar. Abubakar unlike, this predecessor, focused more on domestic than foreign issues. He avoided taking any step that could destabilise the programme of his return to civil rule.

Olusegun Obasanjo (1999-2007)

The immediate foreign policy agenda of the Obasanjo regime, was to tackle Nigeria's credibility problem and the ignoble reputation and status of a pariah state as a result of the human rights record under the Abacha regime (Adeniji, 2005). One of his first foreign policy objectives was to make Nigeria safe for foreign investors particularly in those areas that suffered neglect under the protracted military rule (Olusegun, 2011). Generally, Obasanjo entered the presidency with a clear-cut ideas of how he wanted to run the foreign affairs of Nigeria because of his personal experience, preference, orientation, perception threshold and interpersonal relations. His foreign policy was reintegrating Nigeria into the world, renaissance of Africa, recovery of looted monies and management of Nigeria external debts. Under

his administration, Nigeria once again resumed its leadership rule in Africa which was a continuation of centre piece of Nigeria's foreign policy.

This was exemplified in its contribution towards the management and resolution of the conflict in cote d'Ivoire, use of diplomacy to avoid a disguised military coup in Togo, ensure that a democratically elected government is maintained in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) , re-instate the democratically elected government in Sao Tome and principle, formation of NEPAD, a framework that seeks to develop an integrated socio-economic development strategy for Africa, peace keeping missions in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Sudan and instrumental in the evolution and enactment of Article 4 of the AU charter, which declared unlawful takeover of governments in Africa as illegal.

The administration also launched a campaign for debt relief. The Obasanjo's administration before securing a debt relief adopted a number of strategies to overcome the obstacles, which includes, being more regular in external debt repayment, taking measure to reduce corruption and rent seeking, improving transparency and accountability in governance, creating and nurturing democratic institutions, engaging in active advocacy under the aegis of the commonwealth of nations, the African Union and the New Partnership for African Development. In October 2002, Nigeria and the Paris club announced a final agreement for debt relief worth $8 billion. The creditors had cancelled $18 billion and Nigeria repaid $12 billion.

Despite securing debt relief, successive government especially the last Buhari's government continued on borrowing spree and as at today, Nigeria's public debt is N121.67 trillion ($91-46 billion) | (Dmo, 2024). It appears nothing has really changed in the country to project the debt relief as an outstanding achievement. This is because the environment that led to huge debt accumulation remain intact, as the entire 2024 budget is through borrowing. The follow-up actions after the debt relief were secured ought to have been the elimination of the grounds for more debt accumulation.

Another achievement of the Obasanjo's foreign policy was the settlement of the Bakassi border issue between Nigeria and Cameroon. The Bakassi peninsula judgement handed down by the International Court of Justice (ICT) in 2022, had several significant effects on Nigeria's development. First is the loss of territory and resources. Nigeria ceded a significant portion of its territory, including the oil-rich Bakassi peninsula to Cameroon. This resulted in the loss of valuable natural resources, particularly oil revenue, which could have contributed to Nigeria's economic growth and development. Second was the displacement of Residents. The judgement led to the displacement of Nigerian residents living in the Bakassi peninsula, causing significant social and economic disruption for those affected. Many residents were forced to relocate and rebuild their lives in new areas, often facing challenges in finding employment and housing.

Umaru Musa Yar Adua and Goodluck Jonathan (2007-2015)

Yar Adua would have made tremendous impact and achievements on foreign policy but for the untimely death that robbed the nation of his impact. He was succeeded by Goodluck Jonathan the then Vice president. Jonathan like his predecessor was bogged down by domestic issues such as the Boko Haram Insurgencies, Banditry and Herder-Farmers clashes. Both He continue the foreign policy thrust of Yar Adua which was citizenship Diplomacy. This policy thrust was announced by the then minister of foreign Affairs, Chief Ojo Madueke on Monday July 30, 2007 while addressing the opening ceremony of the conference on Foreign Policy and Nigeria's economic development organised by the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA). The following were the major pillars of Nigeria's citizen diplomacy: Nigeria and Nigerians should be at the centre of Nigeria's Foreign Policy; Nigeria's Foreign Policy must meet her development aspiration and objectives in a manner that impacts more directly on the lives of the country and Nigeria's Foreign Policy must seek a synergy with domestic policy to ensure that the former benefits ordinary Nigerians. Indeed, the boundary between domestic policy and Foreign Policy has collapsed into national security for collective well-being of Nigerians. Some other contents of the Nigerian's Foreign Policy as expressed in citizen diplomacy include the desire to ensure that Nigerians travelling or resident abroad are treated with respect by other nations, the growing number of Nigerians in the dispora invest their resources in the development of the Nigerian economy, the

images of Nigeria and Nigerians are improved abroad and Nigerian dispora who seek consula assistance receive sufficient and timely diplomatic attention.

The appraisal of citizen diplomacy under the two regimes was not entirely satisfactory given the cases of maltreatment of Nigerians both at home and abroad. This is because, as a foreign policy thrust, citizen diplomacy was to put the interest of the Nigerians at home and abroad at the centre of the country's national interest. This is why one may be cynically assumed that Nigerian government has ever been more security concerned about the protection or wellbeing of every Nigerian at home let alone those outside the shore of the country. There have been several instances of Nigerians in several countries languishing in prisons, on death row, deported, marginalised, detained, tortured and most of the time, the reasons are unknown. The inhuman treatment meted out on Nigerians abroad also replicates itself right here in Nigeria. A good example is the Nigerian Police Force vested with the responsibility of maintaining internal peace and security have in all ramifications become agents of terrorism engaging in extra-judicial killing, arrest and detention of innocent citizens, extortion of multifarious dimension and brutality. Against this backdrop, citizen diplomacy as a foreign policy thrust didn't translate to economic development of the Nigerian state, at best, it was only to lauder, rebrand and positive projection of the country's international image.

Muhammadu Buhari (2015-2023)

Upon assumption of office, the Buhari's administration realised that domestic or foreign policy will amount to nothing except there is a concerted effort to win the war against Boko Haram and that this cannot be possible except with the support and collaboration of Nigeria's neighbouring countries. Arising from this, his foreign policy thrust aimed to enhance regional influence and co-operation, promote regional integration and stability, and strengthen Nigeria's position as a key player in regional affairs. However, internal challenges such as insecurity and economic difficulties impacted on the effectiveness of this Foreign Policy.

Some of the Key aspects of Nigeria's foreign policy during this period included regional integration. Under the Buhari's administration, Nigeria actively participated in regional organisations like ECOWAS and the African Union, advocating for stronger regional co-operation and integration. This was aimed at fostering economic growth and stability with the region. Nigeria also played a leading role in regional security initiatives, particularly in the fight against terrorism and insurgency. This involved collaboration with neighbouring countries and international partners to address security threats. Nigeria sought to strengthen economic ties with other countries, particularly through trade and investment agreements. This was aimed at diversifying the economy and attracting foreign investment. The government also recognised the importance of the Nigerian dispora and sought to engage with them to contribute to the country's development.

While these efforts were made, the internal challenges faced by Nigeria, such as insecurity and economic difficulties, limited the effectiveness of its foreign policy. Again, lack of clear and consistent implementation strategies hindered the achievement of foreign policy goals. This was evident in the areas like regional security cooperation, where initiatives like the Multinational Joint Taskforce (MNKTP) faced challenges due to funding issues and coordination problems. The prioritization of domestic issues. Particularly security challenge like Boko Harman insurgency at the expense of foreign policy initiatives led to a reactive rather than proactive approach to international relations. These challenges diverted resources and attention away from foreign policy initiatives, hindering Nigeria's ability to fully realise its regional aspirations.

Conclusion

The study appraised thematically (administration by administration) Nigeria's Foreign Policy Thrust. Since 1960 till 2023. The justification for adopting this approach is to review how each Nigerian government undertook the conduct of Nigeria's foreign Policy and how it has translated to economic security and prosperity of the Nigerian state in general and average citizenry in particular, whose interest foreign policy is expected to serve. The study concluded by demonstrating that the chronic inability on the part of the country's leadership to foster a dividend yielding foreign policy that is sufficiently people-oriented or citizen-centric, suggest that Nigerian leaders are yet to appreciate the fact that the articulation of

the national interest of any nation is inexorably dualist in character in the sense that involves first, the resolution of the conceptual problem and second, the consideration of the strategy for its attainment. Nigeria and its past leaders have consistently been pursuing her domestic development goals independently of its foreign policy so that the nation's foreign policy has not been translated into a source of national domestic development, consequently the nation suffered serious development challenges. Given this position, it is apparent that there will be a clash between the assumed primary aim of foreign policy vis-à-vis external roles and domestic livelihood. This confusion over what constitutes Nigeria's national interest and the procedure for its realization vividly explains why Nigeria's foreign policy since independence until date has witnessed enormous cost without any corresponding dividends.

The way forward is that Nigeria's foreign policy thrust should be more inward focused, aimed at adding value to Nigeria's development. That is, the Nigerian people should be the focus of Nigeria's foreign policy thrust, which should be tailored towards energizing the domestic economy, creating jobs and generally reducing unemployment.

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TECHNICAL EDUCATION AS A PANACEA FOR CURBING BANDITRY AND SECURITY CHALLENGES IN NORTHWEST NIGERIA

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Banditry, fragility, education, technical education, security, government

ABSTRACT
Banditry is among the major security trepidations stifling development in the Northwest and Nigeria at large. This has heighted insecurity and internal displacements in the region with humanitarian issues as farmers have limited access to their farms. Despite government's attempts to end insecurity in the region it has been proven abortive. This paper therefore examined leadership challenge in inculcating technical education in the context of unending banditry in Northwest Nigeria. Relying on secondary sources, the paper drew extensively from the state fragility theory and posited that the lackadaisical attitudes of Nigerian government to introduce technical and vocational education has caused a lot of challenges to the ever-growing population that relies on farming and pastoralism for survival. The paper submitted that governments of the Northwest Nigeria have not invested in technical education which has made the youth vulnerable to banditry. The paper concluded that until the government invest in formal education that is technically inclined to get the youth engaged, banditry will continue to be the order of the day. To do this government has to direct the budgetary allocation to education with sincerity of releasing the budgeted funds for the implementation of technical oriented educational programmes for the youths. Also, the stake holders have to engage the youth in meaningful projects to make them self-sustaining. This can start with abolishing the Almajiri system in the region so that parents will be held responsible for the upbringing of their children.

Abstract

Introduction

Banditry is among the major security trepidations stifling development in the Northwest and Nigeria at large. The extant explosion of small arms and light weapons in the region has occasioned an inadmissibly high level of armed crime and banditry (Idris &Umaru,2024). Consequently, an unquantified number of people are killed kidnapped or attacked and cattle rustled s on a daily basis across the region. Armed bandit according to Lamidi (2024), have a major impact on the development programmes of a nation. This can be experienced in the deterioration of physical infrastructure during armed conflict, as well as the decline in agricultural productivity (UNCTAD, 2002). The growing number of literature on the origin of banditry especially in the Northwest is centred on the chronological analysis of farmer herder crisis and climate change (Ojewale, Osasona, &Shamsudeen, 2024 Bello & Abdullahi, 2021). This group of scholars hinge their argument on the natural resource perspective of the crisis. The perspective emphasises over reliance on the limited natural resources for survival by an increasing population which naturally resort to scarcity perpetuated by climate change. Thus there is a constant violent interaction between the sedentary and pastoral farmers. The fact that there are cases of cattle rustling and farmer-herder crisis in the Northwest region, this can be considered narrowly as the cause of banditry because resource depletion can be predicted and managed with good policies.

Another line of scholars dwells their arguments on the ungoverned spaces (Okoli &Ngwu, 2024; Lamidi,2024; Okoli &Ugwu, 2019). This perspective emphasises the inability of government to govern all its territories especially in the rural areas who organise their government around traditional non state actors without formal rules. Usually you have the traditional and religious leaders mobilizing the local youths into vigilante groups for the protection of the communities who most times operate beyond their limits. The fact that some states in the Northwest shared international borders, managing the borders by the untrained and ill equipped vigilante becomes difficult paving the way for trans-border banditry, the case of Islamic State of West Africa Province (ISWAP) and Boko Haram insurgency. The un-governability of the remote communities, hinterlands, mountains and forest zones in the Northwest states like Katsina, Zamfara, Kaduna among others has become heavens for the bandits. Okoli and Ngwu (2024) reinforce this position that abandoned environment is prone to warlordism implying that in an unprotected environment banditry is highly anticipated.

Another related perspective emphasises illegal mining, poverty and unemployment (Aina, Ojo, & Oyewole, 2023; Ogbonaya, 2020; Azeez, & Yahaya, 2016). Related to the perspective on ungoverned spaces, this is scholars are of the view that when the government is not able to harness the natural resources in a formal way, the politicians use the youths to incite violence while they feed on such violence. To this end many interests come to play sometimes from the government or from the stakeholders who push the youth into illegal means either to mine the resources illegally for them or to attack the miners threatening the inhabitants to forcefully relocate. All these perspectives are valid and enduring in the Northwest region and the Nigerian governments have taken the kinetic and non- kinetic steps to manage the situation by deploying the army to quell the bandits (Okoli & Ngwu, 2024) and negotiating for amnesty (Lamidi, 2024). However, these appear secondary to the cause of enduring banditry in the region.

This paper takes a departure from the above by looking at the governance inability ab initio to invest in education for transformation. According to Siele (2011, p.1) “education is seen as a way of supporting the production system, as a way out of poverty, as a way to reduce conflict, as a source of economic diversification, as an insurance against drought and in the longer run as an adaptation to climate change”. This implies that without due consideration for education especially technical education, all the efforts made to curb banditry are reactionary in nature because the children who find themselves in IDP camps are most times left on their own with no livelihood to sustain them (Apinean & Gever, 2020). This however ought to be the starting point to give the displaced children formal and technical education to distract them from being vulnerable to be recruited into banditry as a means of survival (News Agency, 2021). Climate change is a natural event that is predictable and this predictability shows that it can be managed (IPCC 2023; Agbakoba & Akande, 2019). If technical education was embraced by the leadership pastoral farming would have been improved upon if the government had introduced technology by introducing ranching

system (Umoru & Okele, 2012). As it stands farming and animal husbandry, which are the main economic activities of the north western states, have been significantly affected by bandit campaigns.

The paper therefore, examines leadership challenge in inculcating technical education in the context of unending banditry in Northwest Nigeria. Relying on secondary sources, the paper drew extensively from the state fragility theory and posited that the lackadaisical attitudes of Nigerian governments to introduce technical education has caused a lot of challenges to the ever-growing population that relies on farming and pastoralism for survival. Following from the foregoing, the remainder of the paper is structured under the following subheadings: the concept of banditry, theoretical framework, education, banditry, curbing banditry in Northwest Nigeria, conclusion and recommendations.

ii. Concept of Banditry

Banditry can be explained in many perspectives depending on the outlook of the scholars. Egwu (2016) described banditry as act of rustling animals from herders or prowling of cattle from their studs. This implies that banditry is a violent attack on the pastoralist with the aim of stealing their animals. This has not given a wider view of banditry especially in the Northwest Nigeria experience where it cut across all facets of life. To this end Uche and Iwuamadi, (2018) argue that it is reflected in criminal adventures like cattle swooshing, abduction, armed theft, drug abuse, arson, rape and the unabashed and horrific extermination of rural societies with urbane arms by alleged herdsmen and retaliation attacks from remaining victims, a development that has been brought to the front burner of national security. This view explains a multi- faceted nature of banditry that is characteristic of their activities in most parts of Nigeria. In the context of this paper, it is defined as the entirety of occurrences of mugging such as kidnapping, cattle rustling, community invasions as well as highway incursions which involves the use of unwarranted force, threat, to bully a person or a group of persons with the aim of robbing, rape, kidnap or kill the victims.

iii. Theoretical framework

The study adopts state fragility theory to understand the remote and immediate cause of insecurity in Nigeria generally and Northwest in particular. A state is measured as fragile when it cannot sufficiently and faithfully carry out its task (Ojo, 2020). State fragility theory emphasizes the ultimate botch of a state to execute the essential roles to meet citizens' basic needs as well as their anticipations (Imasuen, 2015). This reflects the administration's inability to guarantee rudimentary safety of life and property, uphold the tenet of law, order and justice, or avail their citizens with indispensable services and economic prospects. The major tenet of this theory has to do with the feeble, inadequate and insufficient ability of the central government in concrete control over considerable space of its territory, provision of socio-economic services, control over sleaze, criminality and degeneration of violence and averting internal displacements (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2013) such states are typically linked with tensions permeating in various places with high consequences. This is a replica of the Nigerian state as replicated by the unrest in the Northwest, Northeast, southeast, south-south and the North central regions. that is characterized by all the elements of a failed state as the basic ingredient for emancipation and transformation is not guaranteed.

iv. Education in Northwest Nigeria

Education is a process of learning that opens up to the learner, a comprehension of situations around him/her. According to Ajiboye et al (2024, p.170), "an individual develops a pattern of taught and conduct that is consistent with the level of education as a result of the knowledge they have acquired". This helps in attending to the demand of a community when it arises implying that an individual develops acquaintance with the situation base on the extent his knowledge can take him. Modern education is oftentimes the emancipation of individuals from the traditional way of life implying that it is a tool in the hands of individuals to overcome difficulties by exploring better ways of attending to the society's threatening demands (Siddiqui,2005). By implication the standard of living of any society is linked to the level and nature of education that is embraced by such a society. The justification of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)

recommendation for 15% and 20% of the annual budget to education sector has come to pay here. The thinking is if this is achieved and the funds well utilized the sector will push aside the shackles of ignorance and prepare the society for socio- political economic attainment and aggravate the level of technology to transform agriculture and industry engaging the society's population in the work force for further transformation and a secured environment.

Nigeria is an African giant that refuses to lead the way in implementing the recommendations and hardly have the Nigerian budget nears half of the UNESCO recommended percent explaining how education for development and secured environment is not on the agenda of the Nigerians.

In the midst of the above there have been strikes in the Nigerian education sector from primary, secondary to tertiary levels. Worst of it all technical education is not on the mind of Nigerian governments over time despite the availability of natural resources that technical education can harness to change the situations of the nation. A summary of budgetary allocation to education in Nigeria from 1960 to 2023 explains why insecurity is very high in Nigeria.

Table i: The budgetary allocations to the education sector in percentage by the FGN (1960-2023)

Year % Allocation	**Year % Allocation**	**Year % Allocation**	**Year % Allocation**
1960	1976	1992	2008
6.02	8.71	3.86	13.00
1961	1977	1993	2009
6.15	3.12	5.62	6.54
1962	1978	1994	2010
5.19	11.44	7.13	6.40
1963	1979	1995	2011
3.45	3.70	7.20	1.69
1964	1980	1996	2012
3.65	4.95	12.32	10.00
1965	1981	1997	2013
3.57	6.45	7.59	8.70
1966	1082	1998	2014
4.23	8.09	10.27	10.60
1967	1083	1999	2015
4.88	3.04	11.12	9.50
1968	1984	2000	2016
2.84	4.49	8.36	6.10
1969	1985	2001	2017
2.20	3.79	7.00	7.38
1970	1986	2002	2018
0.69	2.69	5.90	7.03
1971	1987	2003	2019
0.53	1.93	1.83	7.20
1972	1988	2004	2020
0.62	2.40	10.50	6.70
1973	1989	2005	2021
0.88	3.55	9.30	5.60
1974	1990	2006	2022
2.96	2.83	11.00	5.40
1975	1991	2007	2023
4.57	1.09	8.09	5.30

Source: culled from Ohagbuelum compilation of the World Bank

Narrowing down to the Northwest the governors of the states in the region have perpetually shown less interest in technical education and education in general looking at their allocation to education sector. For instance, from 2016 to 2019 available records show a consistent decline in the allocation to the sector, according to Agu (2022) Katsina state witnessed a consistent decline in the allocation to education from 30.60% in 2016; 21.55% in 2017; 17.88% in 2018 to 15.75% in 2019 respectively and the actual amount released has not been commensurate to the allocation. Year 2019 that witnessed least allocation to education also recorded Katsina state with the number of out of school children in Nigeria with 781,500 children out of 10.5 million second to Bauchi with 1.1 million (Agu,2022). Even with this the United Nations Children Education Fund (UNICEF) in 2024 cautioned the Katsina state Governor to ensure budgetary allocations for education tallies with release and expenditure (Yusuf,2024). This has been the situation in the region over time and all the Northwest states have been on the list of out of school children with Kebbi, Sokoto and Zamfara among the first four on the Nigeria scale.

There is no denying that education is essential for the growth and transformation of society. The importance of education to the process of socioeconomic development, citizen orientation, conflict resolution, peace-building, and the general prosperity of the society is

supported by evidence from human history as well as findings from a vast array of empirical studies on related topics (Okebukola, 2021; Dye, 2005) investment in education is just as crucial as a nation-building strategy since it may increase people's human capital assets and promote economic growth for improved welfare and livelihood (Odigew & Owan, 2019). The Nigerian government at different levels has spent over 462 trillion dollars on national security in the previous years. The government's attempts to halt the threat (of theft and cattle rustling) of the banditry against the inhabitants and prevent a total collapse of law and order appear to have failed to generate the desired outcome.

The inability of the Nigerian government to pay attention to formal education and particularly technical education over the years has giving rise to avoidable insecurity situation in the country. An analysis of banditry influx in Nigeria shows that those stats that are ranked low in education as well as the highest number of out of school children like Zamfara, Taraba, Katsina have high level of banditry activities (International Crisis Group, 2018). Scholars have advanced the causes of insecurity in Nigeria to include unemployment, climate change, unemployment (Rufai, 2017). These are no doubt extrapolations of the true confirmation of the Nigerian situation.

v. Banditry in Northwest Nigeria

Northwest Nigeria has a history of education right from pre-colonial times; the only difference is it was a conventional system of education to train the children in religious and faith based ideology and not an educational system meant to train the children to relate with the environment to transform it for their sustenance. According to Ajiboye et al (2024), this system of education known as Amajiri was funded by the Emirate system. The advent of colonialism that ought to change the African way of life which was considered barbaric to a modern way of life throw the *Almajiri* system off balance as the white men took control of the finances of the region. Rather than embrace formal education with the already existing structure of *Almajiri* the children were dispersed to fend for themselves through begging for alms sowing the seed for what transcend the Northwest Nigeria today. It should be remembered that northern region had a well centralized administrative system that would have been used to bring the children together and impart modern values in them to be good citizens. Instead, they were thrown out without care and over time they have received no value beyond fending for themselves without protection, care, direction from neither the community nor the government.

Northwest Nigeria is known for pastoral and crop farming as major occupations that have sustained the region over time through the crude or traditional system due largely to lack of knowledge of modern technology and the lackadaisical attitudes of the government to encourage modern technical education in the region. According to Kratli and Dyer (2009, p.5) "To be a successful economic operator in a pastoral economy requires among others (i) a detailed knowledge of the technical aspects of livestock husbandry – for example a sophisticated knowledge of grasses, shrubs and animals, and (ii) membership of social networks which enable the capture of economies of scale in production and provide the basis of risk management. These things are a critical part of education but are not taught in school". Sharing the same view Siele et al (2011, p.1) argue that "Education is seen … a way out of poverty and by the household actively involved in pastoral production as a way to support their production system in an increased globalized world" this can only be achieved through technical education that is practical in nature. However, majority of the Northwest Nigerian children were denied formal education and were hired out by cattle owners for grazing and other purposes.

With the increase in population the grazing spaces became thinner over time and an ensued competition over land. Again the continuous grazing destroyed the ecosystem of the area. To protect the grazing activity, cattle owners had to provide the guns for the hired realer in an event of misunderstanding over grazing space. Because the hired grazers lack values they sometimes sold out a number of cows as they travail long distances for months and on their return they find it difficult to reconcile or account for the missing cows and as a result run away from their masters with the arms to the forest fending for themselves through rustling of cattle. To deter their rustling activities, the community recruit from the same *Almajiri* who received no formal values and had lived a wretched life and equipped them with arms to fight the rustlers since most of these spaces are ungoverned (Okoli & Altehe,2019). As the boys work as volunteers with sophisticated weapons

in their custody they soon realize the need to enrich themselves by forming another bandit group.

On realizing the need to train the children who fend for themselves to prevent further insecurity, the government embarked on *Amajiri* schools which was conventional in nature. Reacting to this, Siele et al (2011, p.1) aver that "Educational systems are failing to respond to this shift in demand, and remain oriented towards educating pastoral children out of pastoralism. The model used everywhere is that of a teacher in front of a class, a model that effectively exclude the children directly involved in pastoral production". What this implies is that based on the nature of pastoral occupation they need a technical type of education that is practically oriented to improving their occupation and not that of separating them from what they earn a living from. This would have been the opening up of ranches with the same amount of money for construction of structures for conventional type of education, training the children on the use and the value chain for ranching. Such training is essential as it is more of workshop training to a classroom training and is essential if children acquire the skills about the complex network of ranching that will propel them to an adult producer. Regrettably however, government has taken to lip service on ranching rather emphasis is on free universal basic education hat emphasize the ability to read and write making the youth vulnerable to unemployment at the completion of the study period while our natural resources remain untapped as conventional education only exposes students to knowledge about the availability of natural resources without giving them the skills to tap same for the benefit of the society.

vi. Consequences of banditry in Northwest Nigeria

Banditry has brought a lot of consequences to the Northwest ranging from humanitarian, economic, and social aspects of life. Banditry has given rise to the surge and near permanence of internally displaced persons in the region. According to IOM, Displacement Tracking Matrix, (2023) Katsina state has the highest number of IDPs to the tune of 252,262 who are camped majorly in Funtua local government area who are mostly displaced from Dandum, Faskari, Ssabuwa, Batsari and Faskri local governments; Zamfara had 156, 216 IDPs who camp mostly in Anka, Gusau and Talata Marafa local government areas while Kaduna has 108,370 IDPs living in ChikunLere and Kaduna North local government areas. In Sokoto state the IOM Displacement Tracking Matrix, (2023) recorded 65,393 IDPs who are mostly from Goronyo, Tambua and Wurno local government areas while Kano recorded 27, 058 in Albasu and Taraumi local government areas. These large numbers of people have no hope of return to their homes in the near future in the face of threatening hardship.

Pastoral and crop farming that are the main stay of the region is grossly affected by the scourge of banditry. The hitherto cash crop farmers could not access the land to farm on just like there are no labourers to farm for them in the areas where there is fragile security thereby creating a situation of prolong food shortage, hunger and malnutrition in the face of thousands of people. The region leads the fatality in crime related incidence (Abdullahi, 2019)

The educational system has been affected in the region as bandits have directed their attacks on schools in the region causing the closure of many schools. According to Idris and Umaru (2024) in September 2021, a total of 168 schools were closed in Zamfara state as a result of bandits' incursion while 13 schools were closed in Kaduna state. Economically the repeated attacks have slowed down businesses as thousands of shops have been shut down as a result of kidnapping of business men and women for ransom. In Zamfara state for instance "more than 10,000 houses, shops and silos" aredestroyed (PM News, April 25, 2019). Markets like Maidabino, Dandume, Ilella and Kankara in Katsina state while Bardoki and Shnkafi in Zamfara have been closed (Rufai, 2018).

vii. Curbing Banditry in Northwest Nigeria

Literature abounds on the effort's governments both at the federal and state level are making to fight insurgency. These include the deployment of security to quell the bandits (Ajiboye, et al, 2024; Okoli & Ngwu, 2024; Abdullahi, 2019; Okoli & Ugwu, 2019; Rufai, 2018). Okoli and Ngwu (2024, p. 106) outlined these operations to include "Operation Sharan Daji which was launched in early 2016, Operation Harbin Kunama in July 2016, Operation Dirar Mikiya in 2018, Operation Diran

Mikiya also in 2018, Operation Pull Adder in 2019 and Operation Accord in 2020". The state governments have been providing logistics to the security in their various states to assist in effective operations for instance, former Governor Yari of Zamfara was reported to have spent thirty-five billion naira to assist the army (Momodu, 2019). To complement the efforts of the security the state governments formed local vigilante groups and armed them like the Civilian Joint Task Force in Zamfara (Lamidi, et al, 2024). There have been non-kinetic efforts like the agreements on disarmament with the bandits by the Governors of Zamfara, Sokoto and Katsina states (Dutse & Olowoselu, 2020).

However, these have been reactive and reinforcing in approach because the government has been finding it difficult to come up boldly with initiative to end the insecurity either because it will mean shooting on her own leg or it is merely the way of life. What this means is that everything in Nigeria has been politicized including insecurity. This is why Lamudi (2024) noted that the war on insecurity is taking long because security operatives are part of the kidnap group. Recall the story of Mr. Kabiru Sokoto a member of the Boko Haram who was arrested in Abuja in Borno State Governor's lodge when the indigenes of Borno State were under the scourge of Boko Haram attacks as he was been assisted by an officer of the Nigerian Air Force to sneak out of the country. This same man was assisted by the Police Commissioner to escape by ambushing the four officers who were escorting him from Abaji to Abuja (Vanguard, 2012). Recently it has been alleged that politicians are using the banditry against their opponents the same way public officers are using it as a conduit pipe to siphon the nation's resources (This Day, 2024). This implies that all the secrets about government's efforts to track the bandits are open to the insurgents by the elements in the innermost circle of government. the security will continue to lose the battle on the insurgents so long as the higher echelon of the forces are complicit in the operations of the bandits, using the insecurity as a means to enrich themselves. Annan (2003) declare that "Corruption undermines economic performance, weakens democratic institutions and the rule of law, disrupts social order and destroys public trust, thus allowing organized crime, terrorism and other threats to human security to flourish…And it is always the public good that suffers."

Integrity that is a moral force for persuasion has been called for questioning in the governance of Nigeria in all spectrums and the leadership has been ineffective in chatting a course for development for lack of integrity. The Nigerian government have the opportunity to leverage on the abundant human resources to develop the vast natural resources for the wellbeing of the citizens. It has, however, chosen to trod the path fraudulent share of the nation's wealth pushing the population that is largely made up of the youth to survive through the available means. These long years of neglect by the government has endeared poverty and unemployment leaving the youth a narrow alternative of survival and revenue generation through criminality since they do not have access to benefit from the fraudulent share of the national cake. Banditry is lucrative as it has been paying huge in a shortest possible time and both the government and individuals pay ransom to secure the release of their victims. The non-kinetic attempts made in Sokoto, Zamfara and Katsina to end banditry could not last because the government has not provided a conducive environment for the citizens to thrive and survive so whether it was the exchange of guns for cows the climate change and growing population cannot permit the repentant bandits to endure the occupation since there are no provision for modern ranching with a value chain and it will not be enticing. The exchange of guns for cash was not effective because the cash multiplies when it is transacted and a larger population do not have the cash to transact the business so the rate of turnover of such cash will definitely be slow as compared to when you sit in one place and make a call and people are ready to negotiate for the ransom you have not laboured for. The bandits were frustrated and had to return to their way of life.

This account for the reason why local vigilante are not able to succeed in preventing the attack because they too wear the shoes of poverty and destitute and when they are given the arms, extortion of the intended beneficiaries of their activities become the sole concern and the exceptionally bad ones among them escape with the arms to the bush becoming a threat to the society as there is quick money the other way or have become informants to the bandits thus making them ineffective (Yusuf, 2015). Part of the reason for this is that the government look at them as volunteers and are not giving enough attention even as they trade with their lives even though they are retired monthly on the security vote of the government. Nwabu (2000, p.4)

explained that "Corruption and corrupt leaders both deepen poverty and make it difficult for ordinary people to get ahead as a result of their own efforts. There is increasing evidence that costs of corruption disproportionately affect the poor, who do not only suffer from lack of services and efficient government, but who are also powerless to resist the demand of the corrupt officials".

In 2021 Governor Masari of Katsina state admitted that it is only investment education that will engage the youths outside crime and violence, only sincere investment in youth development and education will help the teaming youth to follow the right track. This implies that by educating our youth, we will reduce banditry. Agbakosa and Akande (2019) aver that vocational and technical education can play a vital role in engaging youth with relevant skills to be self-employed and thereby reducing security challenges. Umaru and Okale (2012) argue that we must embrace technical education because it prepares citizens to prevent, adapt and mitigate the effects of climate change. Supporting this view Ismail and Abdullahi (2023) argue that there is absence of concentration on tackling the roots of the problem. Rather there has been attention on the indicators of the problem, for example the actions of the bandits instead of the fundamental questions that have resulted to the tension. The fundamental factors comprise lack of access to education and weak governance.

viii. Conclusion and Recommendations

Northwest Nigeria is characterised by insecurity as a result of farmer herder conflict, climate change, unemployment that has given rise to banditry in the region. This has affected all facets of life from socio-political and economic sectors. There have been humanitarian concerns that the government is not able to contend with, though a lot of efforts has been made by governments at the federal and state to douse the security situation, not much has been achieved. What account for the government inability to curb banditry in the region is that the root cause of the problem has not been treated over time and what we have now is a manifestation of government insincerity to encourage formal education in the region that is technical and vocationally inclined. As the population keeps growing with the youth having no skills the unrest will persist. Until the government invest in formal education that is technically inclined and get the youth engaged, banditry will continue to be the order of the day. To do this government has to direct the budgetary allocation to education with sincerity of releasing the budgeted funds for the implementation of technical oriented educational programmes for the youths. Also, the stake holders have to engage the youth in meaningful projects to make them self-sustaining. Above all there should be collaboration between the government and the stakeholders in the region devoid of religious affinities to chart a course for modern way of pastoralism which is through ranching. This in a long way will create a linkage between the livestock and crop farmers that will provide job opportunities for the youth. This can start with abolishing the *Almajiri* system in the region so that parents will be held responsible for the upbringing of their children.

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SOCIOLOGICAL IMPACT OF VOTE BUYING IN NORTH-WEST ZONE OF NIGERIA: THE STUDY OF THE 2015 AND 2019 ELECTIONS

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Assessment, election, impact, Sociological, vote buying

ABSTRACT
Vote buying is a widespread phenomenon in Nigeria. It involves an exchange in which the voters sell their votes to the buyer for money during election. This phenomenon has impacted negatively in the Nigeria's free and fair election processes. The ill competent ones occupied elective political positions because they used money to secured votes, while the qualified ones were left behind hence, they were unable to use money during primary and secondary elections. The objective of the study was to find out the impact of vote buying on electing people to various political positions in North West Zone of Nigeria. The theory of Collective Action was used in explaining the study findings. Two different but complementary methods of data collections (questionnaire and in-depth interview) were used to obtained the needed information. The findings revealed among others that; sometimes credible candidates were denied opportunity to even contest, that many of those that were able to buy their ways were not been able to perform to expectations, etc. The study recommended among others; that more political awareness against vote buying should be put in place, that laws prohibiting votes buying should be implemented accordingly etc.

Introduction

The modern democratic nations of the world have developed a system through which smooth and orderly change of leadership can be achieved. Free and fair election is needed for effective democratic transition in leadership (Mu'azu, 2007). Election has been defined as a process of choosing a leader, members of parliament, councilors or other representatives by popular vote (Wikipedia). Some politicians seeking political positions sometimes engages in vote buying to access such positions, this has been affecting the quality of political leaders in terms of service delivery while in office because many of these politicians lack capacity and ability to be in leadership positions. Vote buying is a widespread phenomenon. It is usually viewed as a purely economic exchange in which the voter sells his or her vote to the highest bidder (Schaffer, 2002).

Vote buying as a global issue is in the United States of America (USA), United Kingdom (UK) and other European states. Anecdotes about vote buying and electoral fraud, particularly in the mid to late nineteenth century, are an inescapable, and colorful, part of American political history. Howard W. Allen and Kate Warren Allen (1981) noted, 'stories of fraudulent election practices color the political history of

the US, and anecdotes about vote buying, the dishonesty of election officials, and the like suggesting the widespread prevalence of election fraud in the American past are an integral part of the lore of American politics. Also, in the nineteenth century UK and US, vote buying was common place, parties gave voters cash, food, alcohol, health care, poverty relief packages and myriad other benefits in exchange for their votes during elections. To gain leverage over them, parties gathered information about voters debts, their crimes and even their infidelities (Susan, 2014).

However, in Nigeria and other African states just like in Europe, money and other material items and other gains are been used to influence voters' behavior and choices of contesting candidates during elections. This phenomenon has brought about opportunities to the ill or less competent candidates to buy their ways to the political offices to the detriments of the qualified and competent contestants because they lacked money or material benefits to give to the voters during elections. Poverty and illiteracy are among the factors that pushed many voters to surrendered their votes for money during elections (Liman, 2016).

The problem of vote buying is high in Nigeria, particularly in the North Western part of the country due to high rate of poverty and illiteracy in the area. To this end therefore, the study was designed to unveiled the impacts of vote buying during election on service delivery and how same contributed in depriving opportunities to some of the credible candidates from contesting and winning elections in the country as a whole.

Statement of the Problem

Vote buying in Nigeria and particularly in the North- Western part of the country has always played a role in depriving opportunities to credible candidates in contesting election (Philip, 2020). Only few credible contesting candidates has money while many of such candidates lacked money to offer for them to be voted into various political positions. Those that used money in buying their ways into various positions usually are the less competent ones whom cannot perform as expected (Dini, 2021). Thus, the problem of vote buying has impacted negatively in the performances of the elected political office holders in North-Western part of the country.

However, none of the existing literature that were reviewed covered the subject matter of the time frame of 2015 and 2019 election periods, and they were not based on studies that were conducted in the North-Western part of Nigeria. Therefore, the need to find out the Sociological impact of Vote buying in North- Western part of the country with the focus on 2015 and 2019 elections prompted the need to conduct this study.

Conceptual Clarification

- Vote Buying in this context means using money by contesting candidates to influence voters' behavior or choice to vote in their favour during election.

- Sociological Assessment is primarily concerned with the examining of how money is used to influenced the behavior of popular voters' choice of candidates during election.

- Impact of Vote buying is about the consequences of chosen unqualified political office holders due to collection of money from the contesting candidate(s) during 2015 and 2019 elections, i.e poor service delivery while in office in the communities.

Methodology

Four (4) states (Kaduna, Kano, Katsina and Jigawa) were chosen from the North West Zone of Nigeria as the study locations. A total of four (400) hundred unit of respondents were used for the exercise, with one hundred (100) from each of the four states. The sample size of four (400) was determined using Taro Yamane Model, i.e n/(1+N(e)2)

Where e= margin error =0.05, N=Total population, n= Sample size

The population used for the study comprised of voters that voted in 2015 and 2019 elections were randomly selected during 2013 election in the selected areas in the chosen states. With the used of quantitative method of data collection, questionnaire was designed and distributed to respondents and same were collected back with the used of research assistants in each of the four states. Using statistical package for social sciences (SPSS- Version 23), the responses

obtained were analyzed and interpreted according to the study objectives. Also, the study purposefully selected four (4) Key Informants, one (1) from each of the four (4) states. They comprised of one (1) ex- Councilor, one (1) ex-Council Chairman, one (1) ex- Assembly member and one (1) serving Community leader. In-depth interview guide was used to interviewed them, responses were recorded, transcribed and interpreted according to the study objective to complements the one obtained from questionnaire administration.

Results

The table below highlighted on the experiences of the respondents on impacts of vote buying in the study locations.

Table: Impacts of vote buying

	Item	SA	A	UD	D	SD	TTL
1	Leaders that occupied positions through vote buying are performing below expectations	201 50.8%	153 38.7%	4 1%	31 7.8%	6 1.5%	395 100%
2	Credible contestants are left out of winning elections due to vote buying	172 43.5%	193 48.8%	6 1.5%	17 4.3%	7 1.7%	395 100%

Source: Field work, 2023

KEY: SA – Strongly Agree, A**-** Agree, **UD**- Undecided, **D** – Disagree, **SD** – Strongly Disagree, **TTL** - Total

Item one (1) on the table above revealed that majority of the respondents (89.5%) either strongly agreed or agreed that people in power that occupied positions through vote buying are not performing to expectations while in office. Similarly, from the in-depth interview conducted in one of the study locations, a respondent who was a former councilor in one of the areas visited narrated his experience by saying that;

> *'as at the time of the election, you must use all that you have to win the election and this may include selling out your properties to buy form, sponsored campaign and even gives money out to people so that they can considered you during election. When you are in office your concerned is on how to returned back the money you spent during election' (IDI, 2023).*

To confirmed the statement made by the councilor, one of the ex-council Chairman in one of the states visited for the study stated that;

> *'You know our people particularly party supporters; they are always looking upon you to give them money for transport during campaign and also to buy some voters during elections. As such when you occupied the seat, your concerned is to recovered your money through contracts giving and sometimes people are collaborating with the contractors to render substandard projects all in an effort to recovered what they spent during election and to possibly makes profit out of it' (IDI,2023).*

In the same vein, one of the community leaders in one of the areas visited for the study maintained that;

> *'The politicians are using money and other material items to buy votes or to convinced people to vote in their favour during elections. Some of these people only have the money but lacked ability of leadership, after elections and while in office they cannot contribute in the assembly to fight for the rights of their people. they don't contribute in poverty alleviation programs in their areas, they only accumulate to themselves, family and*

associates in most of the time (IDI, 2023).

These implied that majority of the political office holders that happened to be in power are not performing as it is expected of them.

Item two (2) on the table above showed that majority (93.3%) of the respondents either strongly agreed or agreed that credible candidate or contestants are left out of winning elections due to vote buying by political contestants.

To corroborate on this finding, one of the interviews that was conducted, the respondent who was an ex-Assembly member shared his experienced by saying that;

> *'the people with the knowledge, exposures and capacity to lead may not have the money to buy their ways and as such they had to allowed those with the money to buy their ways and occupied seats of power (IDI, 2023).*

In a related development, one of the ex-Council Chairman argued that;

> *'the use of money are involved at all levels, that you must used money to buy form, you must used money to lured the delegates to be on your side and also you need to save some amounts to win the support of voters on the election day. With all these happening, definitely some of the contestants including the credible ones are been left out of the process (IDI, 2023).*

Similarly, one of the ex-councilor in one of the areas visited for the study also shared his experienced on the subject matter by saying that;

> *'the first time when I wanted to contest for councillorship in our area I was left out of the game because I don't have the money to play around with during election. Sometimes you need to buy some of the voters, party agents, and even the security do collect some amounts from some the powerful contestants during election, where should I get that kind of money?, I was lucky in 2015 to won the election even though I didn't spent much (IDI, 2023).*

These implied that vote buying played a role in pushing away some credible candidates from contesting during elections.

Discussion of Findings

Findings on the first objective revealed that most of the leaders elected through vote buying are not usually performing to expectations when they assumed positions of leadership in the North West Zone of the country in particular and the country at large. This corresponds with the finding of a study conducted by Kwarisima (2016), titled 'Vote buying and its effects on democracy and development in Uganda: a case of Rwamucucu Sub-County, Kabale District, South Western Uganda'. One of the findings revealed that vote buying exist in the area and that money was the major means. The study further revealed that betrayal by leaders, poverty and rampant corruption at the top levels of leadership were among the main causes of people selling their votes. In a related study conducted by Liman (2016), titled 'Factors Influencing Vote Buying in Election Period in Zaria Local Government Area', one of the findings showed that majority of those in power that occupied positions through vote buying were not in for the development of their communities because they lacked the capacity to be in such positions.

On the Second Objective, the findings revealed that credible candidates are usually left out of winning election because they don't have money to buy their ways. This is in tandem with one of the findings of a study conducted by Yunusa (2016), titled 'Credible Candidates are mostly not involved in politics because it Involves the use of money in contesting and winning election in Nigeria'. One of its findings shows that without having enough money contesting candidate can hardly win election no matter how good the candidate is in the community.

However, these findings are best explained with the used of Collective action theory that assumed that people tend to respond to subjective states of disadvantage, which may or may not flow from objective physical and social reality. According to Olson (1965), Collective Action theory posits rational social actors who regularly assess the actions of others to inform their own decisions to cooperate. In this

situation therefore, some voters decided to surrendered their votes to buyers because of their thinking that political leaders in power were not usually performing to expectations in the North western part of the country.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Although it is evident that vote buying is a global phenomenon, but in the Nigerian context, particularly in the North-Western part of the country the phenomenon has being attributed to high level of poverty and illiteracy among the popular voters in the region which pushes them into collection of money from un popular candidates for their votes during 2015 and 2019 elections. It is equally evident that credible candidates are been sidelined in contesting and winning elections in the area. The study therefore recommended the following measures toward enhancing free and fair election in the country, these include;

a. There is also the need for orientation and re-orientations on the part of elected members to learn and internalizes the fundamentals of what it takes to be in elective positions in the country. This can be achieved through Radio, Televisions and other media of enlightenment programmes in our media channels. Independent Electoral Commission (INEC), Parliamentary bodies and Political parties should also be charged with the responsibilities of sensitizing elected members on the does and don't of the offices of the elected members.

b. Measures should also be put in place to discourage the use of money in buying votes to influence the choices of popular voters during elections as this will go a long way in promoting or giving opportunities to credible candidates to contest elections in the North-Western part of the country.

c. Government, Political parties and some other non-governmental organizations (NGO^{S}) should double their efforts in their campaign against vote buying in the country. This can be achieved through Seminars, Conferences, Workshops, Posters and other means of communications.

d. That laws prohibiting vote buying should be fully implemented to the latter. People caught in vote buying should be made to face the consequences of their actions not minding their social standing in the society. Also, new laws should be promulgated toward addressing the emerging challenges.

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PERCEPTION OF PUBLIC RELATIONSHIP OF THE NIGERIA POLICE AS A LAW ENFORCEMENT INSTITUTION AMONG BENIN RESIDENTS

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KEYWORDS
Perception, public relationship, Nigeria police, Benin City

ABSTRACT
The researchers examined the perception of public relationship of the Nigeria police as a law enforcement institution among Benin residents. The study is anchored on the Systems Theory to access and discuss relevant literatures on the study. Using the survey research method, data for this work was obtained through the use of structured questionnaire. The sample size was 384 respondents who were sampled using the multi-stage sampling technique. The collected data was analyzed using frequency counts and simple percentage method and presented in tables. The study found that the police as an institution are important for maintenance of law and order in the public but the relationship between the police and the public is very bad. Therefore, most importantly the study recommended, among others, the need for Edo State Police Command to put up a public relations programme on the radio and television to enlighten the public on the importance of police public relations, highlight the activities of the police and elicit the support of the public.

Introduction

In today's world, individuals, groups, or institutions try as hard as they can to secure reputable personality for themselves, the community where they carry out their operation and in the wide world at large. They need a high level of public relation in whatever they are doing. Public relation is a communication tool or instrument for any organisation or institution that assists in attaining mutual understanding and goodwill between the organisation and its public (Ogbemi, 2012).

Public relation is very relevant in organisations in the present day since it has become the most powerful tool to ascertain and express the overall image of an organisation to the public (Egbulefu & Nwaoboli, 2023). Public relations are often key strategic enablers in today's highly competitive business environment (Shamsan, & Otieno, 2015). This is because well-articulated Public relations

programmes will always result in a good approach aimed at improving the company's image to the public. Therefore, public relations is seen to be the outcome of a strategic thinking process by the top management and public relations practitioner in an organisation mainly to build a mutual and cordial relationship with the public in order to have a better company's image communicated to the public. Hence, The Nigeria Police is not an exception in this business. This is because; through the use of public relations the police are able to evaluate its relationship with the public, with the sole purpose of bringing out harmonious adjustment.

Therefore, the Nigeria Police as an institution with significant ties to the society has realised the importance of public relations and has been putting in place various public relations strategies to attract public understanding, acceptance and cooperation by establishing various Public Relations Departments to help bring individuals, groups and institutions in the society closer to the police, so that information can flow freely without suspicion (Nsirim, 2020). This initiative, the police believe, will help reduce crime and criminality and as such enhance the overall public image of the Nigeria Police. Therefore, without a cordial mutual relationship between and organisation and its relevant publics, and organisation might not be able to achieve its goals and objectives, especially in terms of organisational performance and productivity (Nsirim, 2020).

Therefore, it is clear that it will be very difficult for the Nigeria Police as an organisation to succeed in its objective of maintenance of law and order without the cooperation of the people being policed. To solve this dilemma, therefore, there must not only be a cordial relationship between the police and the citizens, but there must also be a working partnership between them if the laudable goals are to be achieved. It is against this backdrop that this study seeks to examine perception of public relationship of the Nigeria police as a law enforcement institution among Benin residents.

Statement of the Problem

The stained relationship existing between the police and the public can be attributed to the unnecessary involvement of the police in politics. They become politicised, hence very partisan in carrying out their normal duties. In Nigeria, the police are always ready to protect the government in power to the detriment of the public it serves. Clinard & Albolt cited in Umar & Mohammed (2014) observed that the police treat the middle and upper class with respect, because they see them as politically powerful and therefore worthy of respect. The orientation and training of the police is geared towards protecting the operative system (Clinard & Albolt 1973 cited in Umar & Mohammed, 2014). Therefore, there exist a strained relationship between the police and the public which affects police image and credibility in preventing crime and their overall performance. The role of the police in maintaining law and order as often been questioned by the public. The public negative attitude of the police is informed by the involvement of policemen with partiality of the police in cases to favour the rich, police brutality, and taking of bribe as well the poor response to distress call to mention but a few.

The Edo state police command is not different as many policemen have been found conniving with the men of the underworld. In Edo state, for instance, there is public outcry on the illegal extortion of money from motorist and motorcyclist, maltreatment of suspects by policemen, partiality of the police by taking side with the rich in cases brought to them, poor public interaction by policemen, and among other professional misconduct. Therefore, all these constitute serious problem and gives the police a bad image before the public. It is against this backdrop that the study is undertaken to examine the perception of public relationship of the Nigeria police as a law enforcement institution among Benin residents

Research Objectives

The objectives were to:

1. Determine the nature of relationship between the Nigeria police and public in Edo State.
2. Identify the problems of police public relationship in Edo State Command.

Conceptual Review

Overview of Public Relations

Public relations is a conduit, a facilitator, and a manager of communication, conducting research, defining problems, and creating

meaning by fostering communication among many groups in society. Among the many competing definitions of public relations, Grunig & Hunt (1984) is the most widely cited definition of public relations. They defined Public relations as the management of communication between an organization and its publics. One reason this definition is so successful is its parsimony, or using few words to convey much information. It also lays down the foundation of the profession squarely within management, as opposed to the competing approaches of journalism or the promotion-based approach of marketing and advertising that focuses primarily on consumers (Cutlip, Center & Broom, 2006; Egbulefu & Nwaoboli, 2023).

Pandey (2012) defines police performance as the quality of police response to intervene in terms of values of justice, due process diligence, best practices and respect for life, and property of all citizens while Maguire (2003) says police performance is the effective delivery of basic services of crime control and maintaining order while treating individuals fairly and within the bounds of the law. It is important to understand that the measurement of police performance is a complicated task that has multiple dimensions (Maguire, 2003).

Public Perception of the Nigeria Police

The Nigeria Police Force, as a law enforcement institution, plays a critical role in maintaining law and order, ensuring public safety, and upholding the rule of law. However, in recent years, the Force has faced intense scrutiny and criticism over allegations of human rights abuses, corruption, and inefficiency (Asemah & Nwaoboli, 2022). The #EndSARS movement, which gained momentum in 2020, highlighted the deep-seated frustrations and mistrust that many Nigerians have towards the Police, particularly the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS). The protests led to widespread calls for police reform, and the subsequent disbandment of SARS. Despite these efforts, the Police Force still grapples with public perception issues, undermining its effectiveness and legitimacy (Asemah & Nwaoboli, 2023).

By the nature of their operations, the Police are ubiquitous; meaning that they are everywhere in the society. They relate and mingle with individuals and groups at all levels in the society. This is why they are loved and hated depending on circumstances. Perhaps, this is why Pate, Abdullahi & Umar (2014) asserted that the Police are popularly called "*friends to all*" or as the saying goes in Hausa, '*Dansanda Abokin Kowa'* and unlike the other security outfits, the Police are supposed to be the closest and perhaps, the most trusted ally to the ordinary citizens. Although, because of the regularity of interaction between the two sides and the firmness of the Police in the maintenance of law and order, the Police and the Public are bound to experience occasional turbulence in their relationships (Pate, Abdullahi & Umar, 2014). As indicated earlier, the Nigeria Police is the most visible security outfit in the country. The media always feature them; the people always talk about them; the government is always referring to them; in fact stories about the Police bother from the serious, truthful to that of the ridiculous and stupid. You hear stories of bravery as well as jokes of cowardice and the absurd about the Police. In other words, the relationship they have with the society is a relationship of mixed feelings.

Unfortunately, however, studies have shown that majority of stories about the police in the public domain is negative and in bad taste. Alemika & Chukwuma (2004) discovered that highly educated persons were less likely to report arrest by the police. In recent times, it is commonplace to see motorist and commercial motorcycle operators being unjustly extorted at major highways and strategic locations all over the country in the name of checkpoints; in fact, commercial drivers reported the highest level of extortion, arrest, detention and brutality while a good number of members of the public have even observed the police receiving bride, abusing, beating and kicking citizens. In the same vein, Alemika and Chukwuma (2004) added that some police officers even admitted to have ever insulted, beaten and slapped citizens. Similarly Folashade (1999) cited in Pate et al, (2014) added that the public have no faith in police protection. In recent times, it is the loss of public faith in the police, amidst the desire to protect life and property, that various communities across the country evolved alternative ways of protecting themselves such as the vigilante security networks in the south and the *Amotekun* security outfits in the West (the six Yoruba states in Nigeria). This shows that the Nigerian police force does not have a good relationship with the public.

Problems of Police Public Relationship

By the nature of their mandate, the Police have the statutory powers to investigate crimes, to interrogate and prosecute suspects, to grant bail to suspects pending completion of

investigations or prior to court arraignment, to serve summons, and to regulate or disperse processions and assemblies. Police are also empowered to seize and search properties suspected to be stolen or associated with crime and to take and record for purpose of identification (Alemika, 2003). In the process of carrying out their responsibilities, officers and men of the Police Force are bound to be popular as well as unpopular in the society. While they are good guys to a victim of a crime, they would conversely remain enemies to the criminal; such is the world of the Police. They are trained to serve and keep the society safe. However, in other to understand the perception of the people towards the police, Pate et al, (2014) listed the following indices as problems that birthed the negative perception of the public:

1. **Police Brutality:** Police brutality is a common issue that the public worry about in their relationship with the Police. There are numerous allegations of extra-judicial killings, excessive brutalities in dealing with suspects, intimidation, harassment, etc. Stories of accidental discharge, kicking and beating of citizens, arbitrary detentions, etc are commonly associated with the Police. Equally, they are often accused of blind support for brutal leaders and their policies at the various levels of governments.
2. **Corruption:** Corruption is a disease that has permeated the entire fabric of the Nigerian society. Hardly can one mention any sector in the country that the virus of corruption has not affected. It comes in different forms, shapes and ramifications. But perhaps, because of the public trust in the police and the belief that one of the major duties of the police is to investigate cases of corruption and corrupt activities; the dust is often raised when it involves the police. They expect the police to live above board to be able to investigate corruption in the society. There is a notion that the involvement of the Police in corruption undermines their moral authority and basis for fairness in dealing with conflicting parties and handling offenders of the law.
3. **Extortion**: Third, police corruption is often tantamount to extortion, a form of robbery or demand with force. These dimensions of Police corruption explain why the public is threatened by such practices. In fact, it is the most significant source of police brutality. In many circumstances, police brutality is a means of coercing individuals to succumb to demands for bribes, and at some other time, it is punishment for not cooperating with the police in their demand for gratification. The issue of extortion is also commonly associated with the Police. A common trend is the one faced by motorists and commercial drivers on how they drop the popular N50 note or even more, depending on the location at check points, when they existed.
4. **Resource and Management inadequacies:** The general public sympathizes with the Nigeria Police on the glaring difficulties bothering on deficiencies that undermine their efficiency. The system can sometimes frustrate the efforts of individual officers.

From the foregoing, it will be seen; therefore, that a serious communication gap exists between the police and the public and this mutual distrust rather than disappear has continued to grow wider. The situation is so bad that it became fashionable for parents to threaten their unwary and troublesome children with police presence (Aver, 2011). The unfortunate mundane picture of the police painted here by the public has created serious problems for the police/public relations and public perception for the police in the society.

Review of Empirical Studies

Over the years, the image of the Nigeria Police Force has been battered. Therefore, the police commonly work to build their image as law enforcers. Oluwasola (2016) assessed public relations as a tool for repositioning the image of the Nigerian Police Force using the Lagos State

police command as a study. Findings from the study revealed that although, the Nigerian Public Relations Department (NPPRD)'s activities is beginning to penetrate into the minds of the public, its current media relations practice must be addressed. The researcher recommended that police personnel that will be appointed to Man the NPPRD must be certified public relations persons.

Iringe-Koko & Wagbara (2019) examined the perspective of public relations in the quest to eliminate corruption by the Nigeria Police. Findings of the study revealed that there is high level of awareness given to the fight against corruption by the public relations department of the Nigeria Police. Therefore, the researchers recommended that there is need for training and retraining of the Public Relation Officers of the Nigeria Police. It was also recommended that Nigeria Police should ensure that all their Public Relations Department are proactive and result oriented in the elimination of corruption.

Nsirim (2020) examined Police Community Relations Committee (PCRC) as a public relations strategy by the police in Rumuodara community in Rivers State, Nigeria. The objective among others was to find out if PCRC has helped improve the image of the police. The study found that PCRC has helped reduce the crime rate in Rumuodara community, which has in turn improved the image of the police. The researcher, therefore, recommended that PCRC executives should embark on fund raising campaigns to support the police in its battle against crime in the community.

From our empirical review, it is seen that most of our studies focused on police community relations, corruption, and image laundering and crime prevention angle. These studies do not engaged in an analysis of how public relationship influences performance. Hence the gap this study endeavours to address.

Theoretical Framework

Systems Theory

This study is anchored on the systems theory as its theoretical framework. The systems theory, as applied by earliest scholars, implies an analytical scheme for underlying complexity (van Bertalanffy, 1968). The systems theory refers to both complex of interdependencies between parts, component and processes that involves discernible regularities of relationship, and to a similar dependency between such a complex and its surrounding environment (Encyclopedia of Social Science 1968). Toffler (1980, p. 89) maintained that, "a system is set of interacting units which endure, through time within an established boundary by responding and adjusting to changing pressure from the environment in order to achieve and maintain goals". According to Mitchell (1981) a social system consists of two or more persons who are engaged in a patterned or structured form of relationship or interaction, and who are guided by sets of values, and norms generally called roles. In support of the system theory, Brown (1985) observed that a system perspective is the basis for the given definition of public relations in that naturally dependent relationship are established and maintained between an organization and its public with which it interact. Brown argues that any organisation is dependent upon the environment for its monitory, natural and human resources. Hence, for an organisation to achieve its organisational goal in the eyes of the public, communicate effectively and achieve integrity.

The system thereby can be realistically applied to the study. The Nigeria police force is an organisation established under law to achieve a set of objectives for the proper functioning of the system which is made up of different parts, components and units and these parts interacts with one another to achieve a common goal. Therefore, since a system is an entity conceptual or physical which consists of interrelated inter dependent and interacting parts that interact with the environment (public) just like that of the Nigeria police force, the system theory remains the most appropriate theoretical framework work for its explanation.

Methodology

In this study, the survey research method was adopted. This method, as Asemah, Gujbawu, Ekhareafo & Okpanachi, (2022) note, selects and studies samples drawn from the population to discover the relative incidence, distribution and inter-relations of sociological and psychological variables. The survey research method is a suitable method of getting the views of the people about why they behave in a particular way. Since this study is an audience research necessitating opinions, attitudes, motivations and individualistic consideration, the survey method was considered most appropriate for this study. According to National Population

Commission (2016) data, Benin-city has 746,595. In this study the researcher selected three hundred and eighty-four (3840 respondents from Benin City using SurveyMonkey sample size calculator, while multi-stage sampling was employed. In the first stage, the City was divided along the five (5) local government areas (Oredo, Ikpoba-Okha, Egor, Ovia North-East, Uhunmwode). In the second stage, respondents were randomly sampled from each of the five (5) local government areas. Thus, 384 copies of questionnaire were administered to respondents while 317 were retrieved and 300 found usable (78.1%). The data were analysed using simple percentages, frequency counts and mean score and presented in tables.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Table 1: Respondents' views on whether Edo State Police Command has a PR unit

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	274	91.3
No	-	-
Can't Say	26	8.7
Total	300	100

Source: Field Survey, 2022

From table 7 above, this data clearly established that majority of the respondents are aware that Edo State Police Command has a Public Relations Unit.

Table 2: Respondents' views on the nature of relationship between the public and the Nigeria Police

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Excellent	5	1.7
Good	28	9.3
Fair	92	30.7
Bad	175	58.3
Total	**300**	**100**

Table 2 above clearly shows divergent views on the nature of relationship between the public and the Nigeria Police. This shows that in line with the popular belief, majority of the respondents are of the view that the general public does not have a good relationship with Nigeria police force.

Table 3: Respondents' views on the problems that affect police public relationship

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Maltreatment of suspects by policemen Involvement in crime by the police	59	19.7
Corruption and extortion of money from the public by policemen	51	17
Policemen not being friendly or service-oriented	27	9
Underfunding of the Police	26	8.7
Partiality of the police by taking side with the rich in cases	45	15
All of the above	92	30.7
None of the above	-	-
Total	300	100

Table 3 indicates that all the respondents were able to identify with all the listed factors as problems that affect the public image of the police as well as their performance. Specifically, respondents identified maltreatment of suspects by policemen Involvement in crime by the police (19.7%), corruption and extortion of money from the public by policemen (17%), as well as partiality of the police by taking side with the rich in cases (15%). However, majority of the respondents (30.7%) affirmed that all the listed factors constitute problems affecting the overall image and performance of the Nigeria police.

Discussion of Findings

This section takes us to the thrust of the study which is public relationship and the enhancement of the Nigeria police performance among Benin residents. In terms of the nature of relationship between the Nigeria police and the public in Edo State, the study showed that the police public relations is rated bad. Thus, this relationship has not been able to promote the image of the police and the police as an institution have not lived up to expectation in the eyes of the public. This again, mirrors the finding of the Oluwasola (2016) study that concerted efforts must be made to completely erase police negative image as such effort will achieve unprecedented success when backed by adequate funding by necessary authorities.

In understanding the nature of problems facing police public relations, it was found that maltreatment of suspects, police brutality, corruption and corrupt practices by policemen and partiality or taking sides with the rich and affluent. Others are poor public interaction attitude of policemen, and lack of communication gadgets, vehicles and materials for police operation. This is confirms the perception of the public as the Police as a law enforcement agency has been marred with so many irregularities in the last two (2) decades that majority of members of the public has totally lost faith in their capacity to uphold the law fairly. Again, this corroborate the study of Nsirim (2020) which had found that factors, such as lack of fund to sponsor PCRC activities and poor membership drive, have hindered the effective operation of the Police Community Relations activities in Rumuodara in Rivers State.

From the foregoing, it could be seen that the imperativeness of the Nigeria Police in creating, maintaining and sustaining mutual relationship with members of the public cannot be overemphasised. This is because the public as well as corporate image of the Nigeria Police as an institution saddled with the responsibility of maintaining law and order and protecting lives and property has never been so battered at any point in history than in the present era. This has made the majority of members of the public to develop ill will, hatred and disdain for the men-in-black whenever they are sighted in the society, hence they sometimes withhold crucial information from the police as well as even sabotaging their efforts at resolving crimes and crises situations because they do not necessarily trust and/or have confidence in their capacity to be fair and uphold the rule of law in their dealings. Therefore, there is need for the police force to consciously endeavour to rebuild this image in other to have a good relationship with the members of the public in order for their efforts to be recognised.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The study has given us a better understanding of the nature and problems of police public relations, from the perspective of Benin residents. Arguably, it can be inferred that the relationship between the police and the public in Nigeria is not cordial; the police are more accountable to the government rather than to the members of the public whose interest they were statutorily established to protect. Nevertheless, the enormous role of police public relations in the realisation of the objectives of the police is not in doubt. Therefore, considering the state of police public relations in the Edo State, concerted effort need to be made in restoring sanity to the police force in order to earn the cooperation, support and goodwill of the members of the public. Based on the findings in this study the following recommendations are made:

1. There is need for Edo State Police Command to put up a public relations programme on the radio and television to enlighten the public on the importance of police public relations, highlight the activities of the police and elicit the support of the public.
2. Community heads within the local government areas and the entire society should assist the police in discharging its

duties through provision of information and enhanced cordial relations.

3. The police force should embark on an accountability exercise to fish out the bad eggs. All police practices that are negative and infringe on human rights should be abolished. Similarly, disciplinary action for erring officers who are corrupt should be taken to serve as deterrent.

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ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE AND ITS EFFECT ON NIGERIAN YOUTH IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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ABSTRACT
The world advancement in the 21st century is highly commendable and aimed at making human endeavours very easy to achieve. The various advancements hinges on the technological development which has been revealed in various means and format which as a matter of emphasis have led to a crescendo which is the recent spread of Artificial Intelligence (AI). It is aimed at setting ease for human endeavours, but a call for concern as aimed in this paper is the relevance of AI in the Nigerian context in light of various challenges among Youths in the contemporary time. Creating answer to the question of necessity and validity of AI in the Nigerian setting will go a long way to encourage or discourage the emphasis on adopting it hook, line and sinker. Studies on AI have mostly been channelled towards the positive effect on the society at large but this study strikes a new path of examining the usage among youths. Therefore, using evaluation research method which considers the AI phenomenon in Nigerian context, this work weighs the effect of AI on Nigerian youths and observes that it has more tendency of complicating poverty if not properly handled by the leaders of the country. As such, the study recommends that, proper education be made available for the usage, and less emphasis should be placed on the usage in industries where human services are needed.

Introduction

The field of computer science known as artificial intelligence (AI) focuses on creating intelligent computer systems that can recognize, interpret, and respond to inputs (Spector, 2006). Humans are widely regarded as the most sophisticated and intelligent species on the planet. The attributes that have enabled them to win this title include their capacity for independent thought, reasoning, logic application, and understanding of complexity.

The inception of Artificial intelligence is a very advance form of usage and function of a computer system and this goes on to give credibility to the source of the idea. Therefore, in an attempt to develop a "man-made

homosapien" species, they attempted to make use of artificial intelligence (AI), which is a concept that relates to the world of computers and is defined as "man-made and intelligent" (Ghosh and Thirugnanam, 2021). The motive or notion behind AI tend to be in the bid to alleviate some tasks which are to be carried out by men and this is seen to even do it better than the way man might have executed same task. This is because of the accuracy and perfection that the AI will most likely adopt in making the task properly executed.

But as good as the idea is, situating in the context of Africa and Nigeria in specific focus of this paper, the spread of the usage of AI appear to pose some major challenges and questions in light of the hardship, economic imbalance, unemployment, social vices among other situations in Nigeria. Some of these questions are; can the country adopt the usage in full understanding of the intention? Is the country really in need of AI based on current realities? Does the usage in other American or European countries justifies the innovation of the idea into the Nigerian setting as well? These among many other questions are what this paper seeks to create answers to even as the subject matter is vividly examined in light of the social implication on the citizens of Nigeria.

Contextual Clarification of Terms

Artificial Intelligence: The area of computer science known as artificial intelligence (AI) develops machines that can simulate human behaviour in order to help people perform better in the fields of science and technology.

Nigerian Youth: This refers to young individuals who are agile and active in their daily activities as the fate of a society lies on them. The age bracket used for this study is eighteen to forty years (18-40 years).

Artificial Intelligence: An Overview

From the coinage of the term informing the words, Artificial Intelligence, it could be depicted that it refers to intellectual prowess originated by man, this assessment is further advanced by Bhbosale, Pujari, and Multan (2020) where they purported that, Artificial intelligence can be defined as the branch of computer science that allows us to create intelligent machines that can behave like humans, think like humans, and make decisions based on a logic program stored in memory. The words artificial and intelligence are interchangeable, with artificial meaning manmade and intelligence meaning the capacity for thought.

AI is seen as means through which human efforts are reduced and substituted. It is a highly technological advance aid for human endeavours in modern times. The attributes that have contributed to their achievement in this regard are their capacity for independent thought, reasoning, planning, and problem-solving to a greater degree; they can also think critically, apply logic, comprehend complexity, and make decisions. Since the inception of AI, it spread has been vast and almost an household tool for many, banking on its usefulness in almost every human field and being able to give answers to almost every questions posed by man.

According to Ghosh and Thirugnanam, (2021), Artificial intelligence is seen to be aimed at various types based on their functionality and their capabilities. Based on functionality types include; Reactive Machines, limited memory, theory of mind and self-awareness, these types are discussed briefly below;

Reactive machines: These are the devices that process data that is readily available as pre-defined datasets. It is devoid of the ability to store data from the past and future. It is entirely dependent upon the available data. Reactive machines include Google's AlphaGo, IBM's deep blue system, and the chess algorithm that beat world champion Garry Kasparov (Singh, 2017).

Limited Memory: These are the devices that have the capacity to temporarily preserve memories or prior experiences. An illustration of memory limitations AI is what makes self-driving cars possible since it can retain data like speed, distance, and speed limit that are necessary for the vehicle to navigate.

Theory of mind: These are the kinds of machines that are supposed to comprehend the mental and emotional processes of humans and function appropriately. Although these machines are yet only concepts, scientists are attempting to build them in the near future.

Self-Awareness: These devices are part of a theoretical notion that will be regarded as extremely intelligent machines capable of thinking, acting, and being self-aware since they

will share human consciousness and emotions. Such devices are being researched for potential use in artificial intelligence in the future.

While the types of AI based on capabilities include; weak or narrow AI, General AI, and Strong AI. They are discussed below;

Weak or Narrow AI: It is a kind of artificial intelligence that lacks the ability to reason and can only carry out a predetermined, limited set of commands. This is the form of AI that is most commonly employed worldwide. Several well-known instances of weak AI include IBM's Watson supercomputer, Apple's Siri, Alexa, Alpha Go, and Sophia, the humanoid (Singh, 2017).

General AI: It's the kind of AI that can carry out tasks that humans can. Up until now, no computer has been able to think or function exactly like a person, but this could change in the near future.

Strong AI: With this kind of AI, it is anticipated that a computer would be able to perform tasks that a human cannot. Though difficult, it is not insurmountable, and it will outperform humans in terms of performance. The time may come when it can be predicted that machines would rule the world and replace people. Scientists, including Stephen Hawking, have deemed it to be a serious threat to society.

The basic goals or target of AI could be summarised into three as stated by Copeland (2024) that, Artificial intelligence research aims to accomplish three objectives: cognitive simulation, applied AI, or artificial general intelligence (AGI).

The goal of AGI, often known as strong AI, is to create thinking machines. The ultimate goal of artificial general intelligence (AGI) is to create a machine with an intellectual capacity that is identical to that of a person. However, progress has been uneven to date; some researchers in AI's other two fields believe AGI is not worth pursuing, and even if large-language models have advanced, it is questionable whether AGI can arise from even more powerful models or if an entirely different technique is required (Copeland, 2024).

Second on the goal is the target of applied artificial intelligence, sometimes referred to as advanced information processing, is to create "smart" systems that can be sold, such as stock trading and "expert" medical diagnosis systems. Applied AI has had a great deal of success.

Lastly on the details by Copeland (2024) Computers are used in cognitive simulation to test ideas regarding the operation of the human mind, such as those pertaining to facial recognition and memory recall. In cognitive psychology and neuroscience, cognitive simulation is already an effective tool.

Advantages of Artificial Intelligence

Artificial intelligence can reduce the amount of work that humans do by replacing humans with machines so that people can perform other tasks. Some of the advantages as enumerated by Bhbosale, Pujari, and Multan (2020) include;

1. programming, writing, altering oneself, and so forth. The man feels burdened by these works.
2. Artificial intelligence can be compared to cheap labour; by utilising it, our task will be completed more quickly and profit will rise.
3. The use of artificial intelligence is simple.
4. Similar to humans, machines do not require breaks or refreshments.
5. Long periods of time without boredom or fatigue are possible for the machines to be reprogrammed for.
6. Because humans can create new robots but not human beings, the science of robotics and artificial intelligence can be used to the mining and other fuel exploration processes, thereby saving human lives.
7. Companies and sectors can use artificial intelligence.

The term "human error" originated from the fact that mistakes are made by people occasionally. But if computers are properly programmed, they don't make these errors. Using a specific set of algorithms, AI makes decisions based on information that has already been obtained. Because of the decrease in errors, there may be a potential of achieving accuracy with a higher level of precision.

Disadvantages of Artificial Intelligence

As highly credible as AI have been regarded, it also have some perceived disadvantages based on the usage and the availability. Some of the disadvantages as also posited by Bhbosale, Pujari, and Multan (2020) include;

1. It is difficult to develop machines since the necessary equipment is costly.

2. May be extremely expensive and time-consuming to build, reconstruct, and fix. Robotic repair can reduce the amount of time it takes and the need for human intervention, but it will require additional funding and resources.

3. Robots can lead to extreme unemployment by taking over tasks that AI cannot perform, unless humans can drastically alter the government to a communist one.

4. In the wrong hands, machines can readily cause havoc. That is, at the very least, a dread of different people.

5. Because AI programs automate most of the job, humans are becoming lazier. People have a propensity to become addicted to these technologies, which could harm coming generations.

6. Human intervention is decreasing as AI replaces most repetitive processes and other labour-intensive jobs with robots, which could pose a serious risk to utilisation standards. Every company wants to replace the least competent workers with AI robots that can complete comparable tasks more quickly.

7. Without a doubt, machines perform considerably better than humans when it comes to efficiency, but they cannot take the place of the interpersonal relationships that build a team. The ability to form bonds with people is something that machines cannot replicate, and this is crucial for team management.

8. Machines are limited to the jobs that they are intended or planned to do; if they are asked to do something beyond that, they frequently malfunction or produce results that are not relevant.

Artificial Intelligence versus Nigerian Youths

The crux of this study is to examine the effect of Artificial Intelligence on the Nigerian youths, having clearly established from the initial description that the youths are those in their working age and fill with agility to get involved in the working class of the country.

The phenomenon of AI is commendable and is clearly something to be enviable about, but realising the rampant usage and spread of the advanced form of AI in the modern Nigeria, it poses various challenge which is to be discussed in this section of the paper. This is essential because, the country, Nigeria is already laced with so many challenges ranging from poverty, sickness among other life-threatening situations, and as such, the advancement of AI in the country appear to be of greater threat to the people when closely examined than it is of an advantage. This situation can only be averted if there is a proper balance between the management of AI and the Nigerian youth population.

Based on recent statistics, the number of Youths in Nigeria is about 40% of the total population of the country (Teniola, 2023), while the number of jobs available for employment opportunity annually is not in correspondence with the Nigeria labour force every year. The unemployment rate according to the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2024) increased significantly in their last rating by 0.8% thereby making about one quarter of the Nigerian workforce (youths) to stay unemployed, while a about one-third of those categorised as employed are actually underemployed (NBS, 2024). A study of the chart and record of the NBS reveals that there has been successive increase in the number of unemployed or underemployed youths. Nigeria produces graduates across various fields and profession ranging from Universities, Polytechnics, colleges of Education, Monotechnic, among others. An examination of the available statistics attests that, the figure being employed is widely less than the number of graduates being produced and ready for employment opportunities in the country.

It is already an eye-saw that many youths and young adults are willing to leave the country (emigration), thereby coining a term for the act of leaving the country as *Japa.* The basis for this assessment is that, despite the number of youths that travel out of the country to various other countries of the world (Europe, America and even other continents of the world, including some African countries), there is still no sufficient job opportunities for the youths on ground. Based on this argument, an introduction of AI which is aimed at reducing workload on people will indirectly enter into a competition with the Nigeria Youths, "competing" or totally dominating the market opportunities where youths are supposed to work.

In the researcher's view, AI is well needed in advanced country where they are short of personnel and countries where they are able to manage the available persons rather than a system in Nigeria where the human resources are not well managed. An establishment of this argument will usher in the effect of AI on Nigerian Youths.

Effect of Artificial Intelligence on Nigerian Youths

Some of the perceived effect of AI on the Nigerian youths include but not limited to the areas as to be discussed below;

First effect to be considered is the lack of employment in the Nigerian society which is an obvious situation. The economy in the country over some few years has been dwindling and unstable with perceived pressure on the available resources by some group of individuals. The masses are obviously anguished with hunger in the land and the reward or wages for salary earners appears to be insufficient to cater for the basic needs of the people, aside other societal needs. With this persistent unemployment and underemployment in the country, introducing Artificial Intelligence into the system will only increase the percentage of youths who are either unemployed or underemployed. This is because, the AI will be preferred by so many business men, private institutions among others who are still in the business of dousing the pressure on the government of the country and across states.

Furthermore, Artificial Intelligence could be abused and brood laziness if mishandled by the Nigerian youths. The usage of AI is discovered to simplify task, a youth can decide to commit tasks he or she should do intentionally and closely for AI to execute. This is essential to be stated because, a AI is still a machine regardless of its great exploit and how versatile it can converse and fit in place of humans, a dominant use of it by an individual who is not well guided will submit such fellow to the risk of being nonchalant to situations that they should be serious towards. Therefore, Artificial intelligence is perceived to hold the tendency of encouraging laziness among Nigerian youths.

Lastly, it can be seen as a fact to hamper natural intelligence if not properly handled. The human brain appears to be something that needs to be engaged and exercised from time to time. As a matter of emphasis it is because of some set of people sought to maximise their brain and exercised it properly, they were able to come up with this great invention of human makings. Failure of Nigerian youths to exercise their brains and be sensitive in the usage of their intellectual prowess will render their rationality idle because they could simply feel that the AI can do all the thinking for them and as such, only wait on application.

Equilibrium for Artificial Intelligence and Nigerian Youths

In a bid to balance the usage of Artificial intelligence, the need to draw an equilibriumbecomes essential if properly checked within the Nigerian context. The popular Maxim expressed that "if the purpose of a thing is not known, abuse is inevitable", which if situated in the scheme of this paper, the purpose of AI should be well defined in the Nigerian system in order to avoid abuse of the advanced technological invention.

Artificial Intelligence should be a means of self-development in which youths are to adopt as a means of self-development and advancement thereby taking the challenge of also being creative rather than totally dependent on others for their survival and feat attainment. Nigerian youths are to see Artificial Intelligence as an invention of fellow humans like them and as such, seek to also utilise their God-given intelligence for maximal productivity to their country.

Unarguably and as earlier established in the course of this paper, artificial intelligence is the capacity of computers or computer systems to

emulate human intellect and carry out operations like learning, reasoning, problem-solving, and decision-making that normally call for human intelligence. Artificial Intelligence is to be utilised in the field of education to create cutting-edge instruments and technologies that have the power to revolutionise the established approaches to teaching and learning (Ibrahim, 2023). It should be approached as a means to improve the existing forms and means of teaching in education of the youths and young adults in the Nigerian society. An adoption of the system of advancement in the existing form should be canvassed rather than a potential substitution of the means of education.

On this note, this paper discourages the abuse of technology by youths in regards to adopting the negative side of the usage of AI. It is not unusual to establish that, AI can be used to perpetuate crimes of various degrees and various social vices in the country as such, Nigerian youths and the leadership of the country must sit up in utilising the technologically advancement of AI for development of education, agriculture, medicine among other advantages rather than utilising it for social vices.

Conclusion

The world is going through the fourth industrial revolution, and artificial intelligence and its related technologies—machine learning, deep learning, natural language processing, etc.—have invaded it very strongly and had an incredible and efficient impact on almost every sector, from agriculture to education to space technology (Singh, 2017).

But in the midst of all of the advanced development which surrounds the 21st century world, Nigeria as a country appear to be on the weak side of the globe with various internal setbacks hindering correspondence with the pace at which the wider world is moving, as such, some of the innovations and inventions appear to be wrongly applied when adopted into the Nigerian system, the reason being that, there is no proper alliance of the mindset of the leadership and citizens of the country.

Therefore, this paper is strongly of the position that, the adoption of Artificial Intelligence, as good as it appears will have negative effect on the stability and progress of youths in the society as it will create room for the thriving of a minority and causing the depreciation of majority based on the realities of the system obtainable in the country. It is therefore a call to caution in the usage of Artificial intelligence to Nigerians, especially the Nigerian youths of the 21st century.

Recommendations

In view of the details discussed so far in this study, this paper recommends that;

1. The government should prioritise education of the people and create room for intentional reasoning and creativity by the Nigerian citizen

2. The leadership at various levels should initiate schemes or competition that can help in productive reasoning of her citizens. This will help in the control and utilisation of the human natural intelligence rather than given room for relegation of the human reasoning

3. The youths are to be engaged in regulating their dependence on AI for all things, rather the usage should be wisely adopted by the youths.

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DISEASES OF NATURAL RUBBER (*HEAVEA BRASILENSIS*) INDUCED BY THE CLIMATIC ELEMENTS OF RAINFALL AND TEMPERATURE IN IKPOBA-OKHA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF EDO STATE, NIGERIA

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Climatic, elements, rainfall, temperature, diseases and production

ABSTRACT
*This paper examined the diseases of natural rubber (**Heaveabrasilensis**) induced by the climatic elements of rainfall and temperature in Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Area of Edo State, Nigeria. The paper identified the varieties of natural rubber cultivated in the study area, the diseases of natural rubber induced by the climatic elements of rainfall and temperature in the study area, the level of awareness of natural rubber farmers on the impact of the climatic elements on natural rubber production in the study area and the problems induced by the climatic elements of rainfall and temperature on natural rubber production in the study area. To achieve these objectives, the researcher used both primary and secondary research methods to collect the data used for the study. In the study area, a total of five hundred and fifteen (515) structured questionnaires representing 0.1% of the projected population for 2023, which is, 515,042 were administered directly by the researcher to the respondents in the study area. The secondary data used were obtained from National Population Commission (NPC), Agricultural Development Programme (ADP) and the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources (MANR). The data obtained were analysed using tables, percentages and degrees. The results showed the varieties of natural rubber cultivated in the study area. The study also reveals the diseases of natural rubber induced by the climatic elements of rainfall and temperature in the study area. The problems associated with the diseases were also revealed. The following recommendations are made: effective disease management strategies, monitoring of climatic conditions, incorporating resistant natural rubber clones and improving cultural practices, sustainable practices to manage diseases, governments' intervention to encouragenatural rubber farmers annually. This*

paper is therefore concluded by advising the governments at all levels to implement the recommendations made by the researcher.

Introduction

This paper examines the diseases of natural rubber *(Hevea brasiliensis)* induced by the climatic elements of rainfall,and temperature in Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Area of Edo State, Nigeria. From time immemorial, climatic elements such as rainfall, temperature, humidity, sunshine, wind, pressure and cloud cover have played very crucial roles in inducing diseases on cash crops particularly natural rubber (Opeke, 1987; *Prakash et al.,* (2023)). The impact of climatic elements on the emergence and prevalence of diseases on cash crops (including natural rubber) cannot be marginalized (Akinyosoye, 1986; Prakash *et al.,* 2023). Natural rubber is a vital cash crop, particularly in tropical regions, where its cultivation is influenced by climatic elements such as rainfall and temperature.

Disease is an illness affecting humans, animals or plants, often caused by infection (Oxford Advance Learner's English Dictionaries, 2024). So, diseases of natural rubber are the illnesses caused by infections that prevent natural rubber trees from functioning optimally.

Natural rubber ((*Hevea brasiliensis)*) is a very important commercial tree crop that thrives and yields most in the low latitudes of the world in general and the rainforest regions in particular (Akinyosoye, 1986; Adelekan and Taiwo, 2012). Para rubber, more commonly called natural rubber is the tree cultivated mainly for the commercial production of latex. Latex is the whitish, milky liquid used for making natural rubber. Since the discovery of natural rubber in Brazil, its cultivation has outspread to other parts of the world particularly in the humid tropical regions of South and Central America, Asia and West Africa (Adelekan and Taiwo, 2012).

Natural rubber belongs to the plant family, *euphorbiaceae.* It is a humid tropical tree crop, which at maturity has a stout, erect stem, several branches and bushy head. Natural rubber has the ability of growing to a height of 30 metres or above. It is a deciduous tree crop because it shed it leaves sometime each year (Akinyosoye, 1986; Adelekan and Taiwo, 2012). Natural rubber is a monoecious tree crop because it bears both male and female flowers on the same tree and both occur in the same flower cluster called inflourescence. All flowers are small and scented therefore, facilitating pollination by insects. The fruit of a natural rubber is a capsule with three locules, each containing a seed. When the seeds attain maturity, the capsule splits by a process known as explosive mechanism so that the seeds are scattered far away. The seeds have two cotyledons which are flattened. The seeds lose viability within two weeks after they are shed. Natural rubber is a dicotyledonous crop and it has a tap root. Natural rubber trees start producing flowers at 4–5 years after germination. The arbitrary girth used as a yardstick for tapping is 0.45m at a height of 1metre above the root collar.

Weather succinctly refers to the state of the atmosphere at a given point on the earth surface or over an area at a specified time while climate on the other hand simply refers the totality of the characteristics of the atmosphere deduced from repeated observations over a long time, usually between 30-35years (Ayoade, 2004;Okhakhu, 2019). The elements of climate include rainfall, temperature, humidity, sunshine, pressure; wind and cloud cover.

Emielu (2011), and Okhakhu (2019) posited that in the tropics, the term rainfall is interchangeable with precipitation since snow is generally absent except on some high mountains like the Kilimajaro in Tanzania, East Africa. So, in this paper, rainfall and precipitation are used interchangeably because the study area falls within the humid tropics. So, in this paper, rainfall comprises rainfall itself, mist, fog dew and hail. Ayoade (2004), andEmielu (2011) maintained that rainfall is the release of excess condensed water vapour from the lower atmosphere (troposphere) to the surface of the earth. They added that it is any aqueous deposit in liquid form derived from the lower atmosphere (troposphere). Rainfall is measured by means of rain gauge–the recording or autographic and the non-recording (Ayoade, 2004;Okhakhu, 2019)).

Temperature as used in this paper is conceived of in terms of movement of molecules such that the more rapid the movement the higher the temperature. Temperature is usually defined in relative terms, that is, on the basis of the degree of heat a body has (Ayoade, 2004; Okhakhu, 2019)). It is the condition that determines the flow of heat from one substance to another. More frequently, heat moves from body with high temperature to a body with a lower temperature. The temperature a body has is determined by the balance between incoming and outgoing radiation and its transformation into latent heat and others Ayoade, 2004; Emielu, 2011Okhakhu, 2019)). Temperature is measured by means of an instrument called thermometer (maximum and minimum) and it is expressed in degree Fahrenheit (^{o}F) or degree Celsius (^{o}C).To a very large extent, the climatic condition of an area largely determines the prevalent diseases of plants, including natural rubber in that area.

2. Statement of the Problem

Available literature on the diseases of natural rubber *(Hevea brasiliensis)* induced by the climatic elements of rainfall, and` temperature abound. For example, Kittikhun et al. (2023) highlighted the potential for increased disease outbreaks in Southeast Asia due to expected changes in rainfall patterns and temperature fluctuations. These findings emphasize the need for adaptive management strategies to mitigate disease risks associated with climate change. The interaction between rainfall and temperature is crucial in determining disease dynamics in rubber cultivation. Studies suggest that the combined effects of high temperatures and excessive rainfall can create an ideal environment for disease proliferation. For example, Nguyen *et al*., (2023) and Nwankwo *et al.,* (2023) found that concurrent high rainfall and elevated temperatures lead to a synergistic increase in the incidence of leaf spot diseases, necessitating integrated management approaches that consider both climatic factors.

From the numerous studies carried out, it is unequivocally obvious that studies on the diseases of natural rubber induced by the climatic elements of rainfall and temperature in Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Area of Edo State, Nigeria are non-existent. This non-existent situation of the above subject matter represents the research gap which this current paper intends to fill.

3. Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this paper is to examine the diseases of natural rubber induced by the climatic elements of rainfall and temperature in Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Area of Edo State, Nigeria. The specific objectives of the study are to:

i. identify the varieties of natural rubber cultivated in Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Area of Edo State, Nigeria.

ii. identify and analyse the diseases of natural rubber induced by the climatic elements of rainfall, and temperature and their attendant problems in the study area.

iii. examine the level of awareness of natural rubber farmers on the diseases of natural rubber induced by the climatic elements of rainfall, and temperature in the Study Area

4. The Study Area

Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Area which is the study area is one of the eighteen local government areas that constitute Edo State. Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Area lies approximately within Latitudes 6^{o} 35'–6^{o} 45' North of the Equator and Longitudes 5^{o} 45'-5^{o}48' East of the Prime Meridian (Ikpoba–Okha Local Government Council, 2017).Ikpoba-OkhaLocal Government Area is bordered on the north by Uhummwode Local Government Area, Orhionmwon Local Government Area on the east, Oredo Local Government Area on the northwest, Egor on the far northwest and Delta State (Ethiope and Warri North Local Government Areas) on the southern most part. Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Area was created in November, 1996 and its administrative headquarters is located at Idogbo. It occupies an area of approximately 75.03 square kilometres and has a population of about 372,080 people (NPC, 2006) with an annual growth rate of 3.0 percent (Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Council, 2015). With the annual growth rate of 3.0 percent, the projected population of Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Area in 2023 was 515,042 people.

Ikpoba-Okha Local Government area has virtually the same geographical and relief

characteristics with the area designated as Benin-City. According to Eseigbe (2011), the geographical structure of the study area generally comprises of two major formations known as crystalline rock of the precambrian basement complex and the sedimentary rock of cretaceous tertiary and quaternary formations of Miocene-Pleistocene age most commonly referred to as Benin formation. Esiegbe (2011) argued that the study area is a tilted undulating plain which slopes in a South-West direction. The Esan and Asaba Plateaus form the highest elevation.

The study area is located within the Sub Equatorial Humid Region and owing to this, it experiences the Humid Tropical Climate. Humid Tropical Climate is usually characterized by two seasons: dry and wet. The dry and wet seasons in the study area are usually determined by rainfall (the amount, intensity, duration and distribution throughout the study area are brought about by the wind systems, clouds cover, temperature, atmospheric pressure and the deflection of the maritime air masses).Rainfall rather than temperature is the most influential element of climate in the study area (Udo, 1978;Eseigbe, 2011).

The wet season is experienced from early February to mid-December every year. However, in most parts of the study area, scanty rainfall is experienced in December and January annually (Udo, 1978). Rainfall is mostly the convectional type and it falls heavily with torrential down pour. The dry season normally occurs between December and January with scanty rainfall. As a result of its latitudinal location, the study area has a daily temperature of between 27 and 36^{o}C and rainfall amount of about 2000-2200mm yearly (Eseigbe, 2011). The study area experiences the bimodal rainfall cycle with the highest rainfall amounts recorded in the months of July and September yearly.

High relative humidity of between 75-85% occurs regularly in the study area. This relative humidity is steady in the mornings, unstable in the afternoons and enhances during the evening and night times because of the difference in environmental factors of evaporation, transpiration, pressure decrease and the dominance of tropical maritime air mass for a greater part of the year. The second air mass which is technically termed tropical continental air mass is most dominant and felt as from mid-December and persists till January. The tropical continental air mass originates from the Sahara Desert and blows in North-East direction. This air mass is associated with the harmattan wind which is cold, dry, dusty, harsh and hazy in nature. It brings about dry season in the study area (Eseigbe, 2011).

5 Conceptual Framework and Literature Review

The Ergoclimate Concept by Duckham (1963) was examined and applied in this paper in line with crop weather relations.

5. (i) Ergoclimate Concept

Ergoclimate Concept by Duckham (1963)is a concept of crop-weather relations. Climate affects both crop growth and the condition under which they take place. This, no doubt prompted Duckham (1963) to develop the ergoclimate concept (that is work climate). This concept is concerned with those conditions which influence the ease or difficulty of crop production and hence the speed of work and which may, as a result curtail the length of the climate-growing season by delaying one or more of the cultivation stages. Rain affects directly the physiological condition of crops so as to make their handling difficult in terms of both the time and energy spent on the farm. The effect of climate is however the most important with respect to the timeliness of farm operations, since there are limits to the season or period within which certain operations can be performed. Climate exerts or exercises a direct impact on the range and yield of crops. Climate also operates indirectly through its influence on the geographical range, the seasonal development and the activities of crops pests and pathogens to attack crops. In addition, temperature amongst others is regarded as the most important climatic factor affecting and influencing the spread of pests and diseases. Obviously, temperature often controls regional distribution of pests and diseases particularly in terms of latitude, altitude and seasonal incidence. Optimum temperature for infection or infestation and the subsequent development vary with the host species and the varieties of pests and pathogens, the length of the life cycle of such organism decreases and the rate of the development increases with increasing temperature.

As a result of the reliance on climatic elements of rainfall (precipitation) and temperature, most types of crop production practices and stages are unavoidably subject to

unpredictable long and short-terms fluctuation characteristics of atmospheric conditions. Climate introduces an element of risk in crop production which makes it a particularly risky or hazardous human activity. A climatic hazard could be said to be a type of extreme atmospheric (that is, actual weather) condition and that can damage or destroy or harm crops and cause a particularly unusual decrease in production. Drought, rainstorm, flooding, fire, desiccating winds etc are some of the major types of climatic hazards to crops in general and natural rubber in particular. The extent to which climate creates serious hazards depends on several variables. These include the time of occurrence, the intensity or magnitude, and the duration of the particular event on one hand and the age, state of development and inherent tolerance or resistance of the pest or diseases on crop plants on the other hand. Crop plants are normally more sensitive to extreme weather conditions during the growing season and more particularly, in their early stages of growth. The above review could prompt one to agree with Waggoner (1969) who posited that meteorological data are required by farmers in order that they can suggest and decide those approaches best suited to cope with current weather as well as to enable them to plan long-term strategies in relation to variation in climate.

5. (ii) Literature Review

Natural rubber is a very important commercial tree crop of the humid tropical region (rain or high forest belt) of the world in general and Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Area of Edo State, Nigeria in particular. Since the discovery of natural rubber in the 18th century in the Para region of Amazon Basin, Brazil, its production and yield have been a subject of great concern (Opeke, 1987).Opeke (1987),contend that since its discovery, its production has spread to other tropical areas of North and South America, Asia, Europe and West Africa (with Nigeria, Liberia and the Congo Free State taking the lead in its production and yield since the 19th century in the sub region).López et al., (2023) and Wang *et al.,*(2022) noted that the cultivation of natural rubber (Hevea brasiliensis) is significantly influenced by climatic elements, particularly rainfall and temperature, which play cruciall roles in the prevalence and severity of various diseases affecting the plant. Recent studies have investigated and highlighted how changing climatic patterns, including increased rainfall variability and rising temperatures, aggravate the incidence of natural rubber diseases such as South American leaf blight (SALB) and Phytophthora bark canker.

In regions where natural rubber is predominantly grown, shifts in rainfall patterns can create conducive environments for fungal pathogens, leading to outbreaks that severely impact yield and quality. For instance, excessive moisture can promote the development of foliar diseases, while prolonged dry spells may weaken plant resilience, making them more susceptible to infections (Chen *et al.,* 2023; Nguyen *et al.,* 2022). In addition, temperature increases have been linked to accelerated pathogen development and virulence, presenting additional challenges for natural rubber plantations.

Recent studies reveal that changes in climatic patterns, particularly variations in rainfall and temperature, can exacerbate the prevalence of rubber diseases such as white root disease caused by Ganoderma species, leaf diseases like leaf blight, and others like tapping panel dryness (TPD). For instance, Arif*et al.*, (2022) and De Souza *et al*., (2023) observed thathigh rainfall can create a humid environment conducive to fungal infections, while high temperatures may stress the trees and make them more vulnerable to pathogens. Research by Khin *et al.,* (2021) suggests that the relationship between temperature and disease incidence is not straightforward; while some pathogens thrive in warmer conditions, others may be inhibited. This underscores the complexity of climate-disease interactions in natural rubber cultivation. Furthermore, studies have demonstrated that increased rainfall can lead to waterlogging, which has been linked to root diseases, particularly in poorly drained soils (Nguyen *et al.,* 2023).

Rainfall is a crucial factor inducing fungal diseases in rubber trees, particularly Fusarium and Phytophthora species. High moisture levels create favorable conditions for the proliferation of these pathogens. For instance, a study carried out by Prakash e*t al.,* (2023) reported a significant correlation between increased rainfall and the incidence of Phytophthora leaf fall, which can cause severe defoliation in natural rubber trees. The authors emphasized that prolonged wet periods enhance spore dispersal and infection rates, leading to economic losses in rubber plantations

Excessive rainfall can also exacerbate bacterial diseases such as bacterial blight caused

by *Pseudomonas spp.* (Sharma *et al.,* 2022). These pathogens thrive in humid conditions, leading to significant leaf necrosis and reduced yield. Moreover, viral diseases, such as natural rubber wood streak virus, have shown increased prevalence during wet conditions, although the exact mechanisms remain under investigation (Nguyen *et al.,* 2023). Temperature fluctuations play a critical role in the lifecycle and virulence of natural rubber pathogens. Recent studies indicate that higher temperatures can enhance the virulence of Fusarium species, leading to increased root rot incidences (Kumar *et al*., 2023). Conversely, extreme heat conditions may inhibit some fungal growth, potentially shifting disease patterns in natural rubber plantations. For example, Jansen *et al.*, (2023) noted that while moderate warming may reduce the severity of certain fungal diseases, it can simultaneously promote the emergence of other pathogens that are more heat-tolerant.

The literature review showed that thediseases of natural rubber caused by the climatic elements of rainfall and temperature have been carried out in the humid tropics of the world. However, the specific case of the diseases of natural rubber induced by the climatic elements of rainfall, and temperature in Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Area of Edo State, Nigeria has not been examined in any study. Thisrecent vacuum is what this current paper intends to fill scientifically.

6 Materials and Methods

The study area is made up of 10 political wards. The study area was divided into ten areal units in accordance with the political wards (based on the information gathered during the preliminary surveys) for easy data collection. Major natural rubber farmers and the general public were engaged and consulted for the collection of the required data. Direct field surveys and measurements were used to prove the authenticity of the data that were collected from documentary and archival sources. A total of five hundred and fifteen (515) structured questionnaires representing 0.1percent (0.1%) of the projected population for 2023, which is, 515,042 (that is, 0.1% of 515,042 =515) were administered directly by the researcher and his research assistants to the respondents in the ten areal units that constitute the study area.

The population figures for each of the wards or communities are not available (NPC, 2006; Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Council, 2015). So, it was not possible to administer the questionnaires based on the population size of the wards or communities. However, the preliminary and actual field surveys carried out in 2023 by the researcher revealed that there are 2,061 natural rubber farmers in the study area. The 2,061 natural rubber farmers represent 0.4% of the projected population of the study area for 2023. Twenty-five percent (25%) of the population of natural rubber farmers was sampled in the study area. The twenty-five percent (25%) of the population of natural rubber farmers is 515. The multi-stage sampling and simple random sampling techniques were used

7 Methodology

Two types of data were obtained and they were analyzed using descriptive, statistical and cartographic methods.

8 Results and Discussions

8.i Varieties of Natural Rubber Cultivated in Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Area

Table 4.1 shows the varieties of natural rubber cultivated in Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Area and it reveals that five different varieties of natural rubber are cultivated in the study area at present. The varieties of natural rubber cultivated in the study area include NIG 800-807, NIG 900-907, RRIM 600; 606 and 607, IRRI (GT1 and PB 101, 102 and 107) and RRIC45. NIG 800 and 900 series are collectively referred to as indigenous clones because they were cloned in Nigeria hence the name NIG (Nigeria) and they are the products of Rubber Research Institute of Nigeria (RRIN), Iyanomon, Benin-City. The other varieties such as the RRIM 600 series, IRRI (GT and PB) series and RRIC 45 are collectively referred to as the exotic clones. RRIM 600 series are natives of Malaysia, that is, from Rubber Research Institute of Malaysia (RRIM), IRRI (GT1 and PB) series are natives of Indonesia, that is, from Indonesia Rubber Research Institute (IRRI) and RRIC 45 is a native of Ceylon (now Sri-Lanka), that is, from Rubber Research Institute of Ceylon (RRIC). The GT1 and PB in IRRI mean GODENG TAPEN 1 (GT1) and PRANG BESANG 101,102 and 107 (PB 101, 102 and 107) respectively.

Table 4.3 further reveals that 136 respondents representing 26.41% of the sampled population cultivate NIG 800-807 series, 139 respondents representing 26.99% of the sampled population cultivate NIG 900-907 series, 81 respondents representing 15.73% of the sampled population cultivate RRIM 600; 606 and 607 series, IRRI (GT 1 and PB) series are cultivated by 86 respondents representing 16.70% of the sampled population whereas 73 respondents representing 14.17% cultivate RRIC 45. So, from Table 4.3, it is obvious that NIG 800 and 900 series are the most cultivated whereas RRIC 45 is the least cultivated in the study area.

Table 4.1: Varieties of Natural Rubber Cultivated in the Study Area.

Varieties of Natural Rubber	Number of Response	Percentage Response
NIG 800 – 807	136	26.41
NIG 900 – 907	139	26.99
RRIM 600, 606 & 607	81	15.73
IRRI (GT1 & PB 101, 102 &107)	86	16.70
RRIC 45	73	14.17
Total	515	100.00

Source: Fieldwork, 2023.

8.ii The Diseases of Natural Rubber Induced by the Climatic Elements of Rainfall and Temperature and their Attendant Problems in the Study Area

Table 4.3 shows the diseases induced by the climatic elements of rainfall, and temperature on natural rubber in the study area. The table shows that the diseases induced by the climatic elements of rainfall, and temperature on natural rubber in the study area are conveniently grouped into the three parts of the natural rubber tree: leaf, stem and root.

8. iii Leaf Diseases

Table 4.3 reveals that the leaf diseases induced by the climatic elements of rainfall, and temperature on natural rubber in the study area are: leaf disease *(Collectotrichumgloeosporioides)*, bird's eye spot *(Dreeshlerahevea)*, new foliage disease (*Corynesporacoccicola)*, Leaf spot disease *(Anthracnose)* and Powdery mildew.Table 4.3 also revealed that 167 respondents of the sampled population are of the opinion that the leaf disease *(Collectotrichumgloeosporioides)* is a disease caused by the climatic element of rainfall. Oral interview also revealed that this type of disease is a collection of swollen spots on leaves. At maturity, the swollen spots break open and perforate the leaves. This disease affects

Table 4.2: The Diseases of Natural Rubber Induced by the Climatic Elements of Rainfall and Temperature in Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Area of Edo State.

Disease Induced by Climatic Elements	Number of Respondents	% Respondents
Leaf diseases		
Leaf disease (Collectotrichumgloeosporioides)	167	32.43
Bird's eye spot (Dreeshlerahevea)	129	25.05
Corynesporalcaccicola	45	08.74
Leaf spot (Anthracnose)	53	10.28
Powdery mildew	81	15 .73
Leaf spot disease (Phyphthoralpalmivora)	40	07.77
Total	515	100.00
Stem disease		
Mouldy rot	515	100.00
Total	515	100.00
Root diseases		
White root rot (Rigidoporuslignosus)	293	56.89
Red root rot (Ganoderma phillipii)	137	26.60
Brown root rot (Phellinus noxius)	85	16.51
Total	515	100.00

Source: Field Surveys, 2023

the rate and amount of photosynthesis in the natural rubber trees. Leaf disease *(Collectotrichumgloeosporioides)* is a disease whose incidence of occurrence is prevalent during the rainy season.

Another disease induced by climatic elements on natural rubber in the study area is Bird's eye spot *(Dreeshlerahevea)*. Out of the 515 respondents, 129 respondents revealed that it is a leafdisease caused by the climatic elements of rainfall on natural rubber in the study area. The disease is made up of numerous little spots on the surfaces of leaves. Over time the spots enlarge and cover the entire surface of the affected leaves. The disease occurs all year round but most prevalent during the wet season. Bird's eye spot *(Dreeshlerahevea)* reduces the chlorophyll content and quality of the leaves so, the ability to attract sunlight needed for photosynthesis is reduced. This no doubt, reduces the amount and quality of natural rubber yield in the study area.

In addition to the above, powdery mildew is a leaf disease induced by climatic elements of rainfall on natural rubber in the study area. Mildew is the growth of minute destructive fungi on the damp parts of natural rubber especially the leaves. Eighty-one (81) respondents opined that this disease affects natural rubber in the study area.

Also, 53 respondents of the sample population revealed that natural rubber is affected by leaf spot disease *(Anthracnose). Anthracnose* is a type of disease that affects leaves. Leaf spot disease *(Anthracnose)* comprises of concentric ring-like structures that are found on the surfaces of leaves of natural rubber trees. This disease is induced by soil nutrient deficiency occasioned by leaching caused by rainfall.

Another leaf disease induced by the climatic elements of rainfall,and temperatureon natural rubber in the study area is new foliage disease *(Corynesporacoccicola)*. This disease attacks the new foliage (leaves) that emerge after natural rubber trees have shed their leaves. Forty-five (45) respondents of the sample population in the study area reveal that it is disease that attacks the young leaves of natural rubber during dry season.

The last leaf disease induced by the climatic elements of rainfall, and temperature on natural rubber in the study area is leaf spot *(PhyphthoraPalmivora).* This disease is caused by the climatic element of rainfall as it occurs during the rainy season. Leaf spot *(PhyphthoraPalmivora)* makes fresh natural rubber leaves to drop. This disease reduces the rate, quality and amount of photosynthesis and chlorophyll available to natural rubber trees. Forty (40) respondents revealed that leaf spot

(*PhyphthoraPalmivora)* is a leaf disease posed by the climatic elements of rainfall on natural rubber**.**

8.iv Stem Disease

In the study area, only one stem disease induced by the climatic elements of rainfall and, temperature in the study area was identified and it is known as mouldy rot. Mouldy rot disease is a stem disease that is prevalent during the wet season in the study area. Mouldy rots are spots on stems that look like wounds or damaged barks or they are actually wounds or damaged barks. This disease reduces the quantity and quality of latex available to the affected natural rubber trees. This diseaseaffects the stems and consequently the tapping panels. Also, mouldy rot makes tapping difficult because it leads to disjointed and distorted flow of natural rubber latex hence more attention, time and energy are required to control the flowing latex. Natural rubber trees affected by mouldyrot disease can easily be broken down by wind of high velocity. All the respondents, that is, 515 respondents of the sample population revealed that mouldyrot is a climate induced caused by rainfall on natural rubber.

8. v Root Diseases

Table 4.3 shows that white root rot (*rigidoporouslignosus)*, red root rot *(Gonodermalphillipi*) and brown root rot (*Phellinus noxius)* diseases are the root diseases posed by the climatic elements of rainfall, and temperature on natural rubber in the study area. White root rot disease is the most serious of all the root diseases induced by the climatic elements of rainfall, and temperature on natural rubber in the study area. Root rot disease forms a chalky substance on the roots of the affected natural rubber trees. It produces whitish-thread-like structures called rhizormorph. It causes decay in the roots of natural rubber trees such that a slight breeze can lead to the fall of the affected natural rubber trees. Oral interview report revealed that the disease is so serious that it can bring down a large plantation (as large as five hectares) within a short time if not checked aptly. Also, two hundred and ninety-three (293) respondents of the sample population, posited that white root rot disease *(rigidoporouslignosus)*, is induced by the climatic elements of rainfall, and temperature on natural rubber in the study area.

Another root disease induced by the climatic elements under consideration on natural rubber in the study area is red root rot *(Gonodermalphillipi)*. It is active during wet season. This disease attacks the roots of both young and matured natural rubber trees. Natural rubber trees whose roots are affected by the red root rot disease are easily identified because they produce yellow leaves which rapidly fall and the infected trees are likely to die. Out of the 515 respondents, 137 respondents attested to this finding in the study area.

Finally, 85 respondents of the sample population revealed that brown root rot (*Phellinus noxius)* disease is caused by rainfall and it is active during the rainy season. It is slow but its end result can be catastrophic if not checked aptly.

8. viThe Level of Awareness of Respondents on the Diseases of Natural Rubber Induced by the Climatic Elements of Rainfall, and Temperature in the Study Area

Table 4 reveals the level of awareness of natural rubber farmers on the diseases of natural rubber induced by the climatic elements of rainfall, and temperature in the study area. From the table, it is clear that 297 respondents of the sample population possess high level of awareness of the subject matter in the study area. In a similar vein, 201 natural rubber farmers of the sample population revealed that they possess a very high level of awareness on the relationship between climatic elements of rainfall, temperature, humidity and wind speed and natural rubber yield in the study area. Also, 15 natural rubber farmers/respondents of the sample population in the study area were of the opinion that they possess a low level of awareness of the relationship between climatic elements of rainfall, temperature, humidity and wind speed and natural rubber yield in the study area. Finally, 2 natural rubber farmers which represent 2.52% of the sample population possess, a very low level of awareness of the relationship between climatic elements of rainfall, temperature, humidity and wind speed and the yield of natural rubber. From the available results, it is unequivocally clear that a high percentage of the sample population is very conscious of the relationship between climatic elements of rainfall, temperature, humidity and wind speed and natural rubber yield in Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Area of Edo State, Nigeria. Figure 4.7 further throws more light on the level of awareness of natural rubber farmers on the relationship between the climatic

elements of rainfall, temperature, humidity and wind speed and natural rubber yield in the study area

Table 4.2: The Level of Awareness of Respondents on the Diseases of Natural Rubber Induced by the Climatic Elements of Rainfall, and Temperature in the Study Area

Level of Awareness	Number of Response	% Response
Very High	201	39.03
High	297	57.67
Low	15	2.91
Very Low	2	.39
Total	515	100.00

Source: Fieldwork, 2023.

9. Conclusion.

The major objective of this paper is to examines the diseases of natural rubber *(Hevea brasiliensis)* induced by the climatic elements of rainfall, and temperature in Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Area of Edo State, Nigeria.These recommendations will no doubt record stupendous and unprecedented successes if adequate resources and suitably qualified manpower are employed, mobilised and stimulated aptly to give their best. Also, peaceful co-existence, unity, good neighbourliness, absence of religious and ethnic crises arising from stable political system among the key players in the entire natural rubber production process in Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Area of Edo State, Nigeria (the study area) are recommended. It is strongly hoped that when all these policy recommendations are painstakingly, carefully, genuinely, conscientiously, appropriately, and scientifically executed, natural rubber would unequivocally witness unprecedented high yield in the study area. It is also strongly hoped that the unprecedented high natural rubber yield would be of great economic benefits to the natural rubber farmers and other inhabitants in the study area (Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Area of Edo State, Nigeria) in particular and the entire country at large.

10 Recommendations

This paper examined the diseases of natural rubber *(Hevea brasiliensis)* induced by the climatic elements of rainfall, and temperature in Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Area of Edo State, Nigeria..Based on the findings of this study, the following actionable policy recommendations are made:

1. Effective disease management strategies should be enforced by government at all levels;
2. Climatic conditions should be monitored to help predict potential disease outbreaks;
3. Incorporating resistant natural rubber clones and improving cultural practices,
4. Sustainable practices to manage diseases without harming the environment such as the use of bio-pesticides and organic amendments should be encouraged.
5. Governments at all levels should promulgate laws on the granting of soft loans, diseases resistant clonesand other inputs to natural rubber farmers annually to encourage them.

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Here is how you would format the references in APA 7th edition:

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THE CONTENDING ISSUES AND REALITIES IN NIGERIAN FEDERALISM

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ABSTRACT
The paper examines the contending issues and realities in Nigerian federalism. The paper adopted the theory of pluralism as its framework of analysis and relied on the secondary sources of data to explicate the contending issues and realities in Nigerian federalism. Before the amalgamation of Southern and Northern Protectorates in 1914, Nigeria had empires, emirates, and kingdoms that interacted diplomatically, economically, politically, socially, and culturally. These entities had unique ways of political and justice administration, conflict mediation, conciliation, and resolution processes. The amalgamation of 1914 brought new forms and patterns of exercising power, which were spelt out and entrenched in the Lugard's Constitution of 1914. However, not all regions were represented in the Legislative Council, leading to bitter struggles and agitations towards the formation of a new government. The Richard's Constitution in 1946 provided for regionalism, while the Macpherson's Constitution of 1951 improved upon by introducing quasi-federalism. The Lyttleton's Constitution of 1954 introduced federalism in Nigeria, providing greater autonomy to various regions and functional division of powers between the central and regional governments. This was the first genuine federal constitution of the country, and its adoption was externally motivated for administrative convenience of the expatriates. Nigeria's complex diversity was a major factor that combined with other centrifugal and centripetal forces to produce a federation. The choice of a federal system of government was facilitated by the social, historical, political, and economic differences of the various groups and regions in the country. However, the legacy of colonialism continued to influence the functioning of federalism in the country. The uneven distribution of resources, power and structural imbalances, and ethnic rivalries among others have continued to challenge Nigerian federalism. The paper recommends that Nigeria's fiscal federalism should focus on revenue generation rather than

distribution. Future reforms should encourage states to develop fiscal capacity, enabling them to control their own revenue. This will enhance fiscal viability and reduce oil dependency. Also, encouraging a sense of national identity and unity among the diverse ethnic nationalities in Nigeria by emphasizing shared values, history, and common goals that will bridge differences and reduce tensions.

Introduction

The history of federal state in Nigeria dates to the period of amalgamation in 1914. Nigeria is one of the most ethnically diverse countries in the World with over 250 ethno-linguistic groups (Ojo, 2009). The Nigerian federalism is a creation of the British. Before the arrival of British colonialists, the area now known as Nigeria was inhabited by peoples who belonged to different empires, kingdoms, and societies, which were traditionally administered (Adigwe, 1974). At that time were the stateless societies in the East, the Hausa state in the North and Oyo Empire in the West. The major difference among these political organizations was the existence of a formal checks and balances system inherent in the then Oyo Empire and all other kingdoms in the West compared to the caliphate and Emirate System of Administration in the North. While the Oyo Mesi constituted a powerful body to check the excesses of the King, the powerful Emirates in the north were governed absolutely, with only the fear of God as guiding principles as well as the restraining force. There were only very powerful chiefs, groups or individuals that could challenge the authoritarian Emirs (Adigwe, 1974). This implies or shows the existence of a small form of democracy and egalitarianism in the West. Furthermore, apart from political ambition, the realization and protection of groups' and individuals' rights and liberty were some of the reasons for the intra and inter-ethnic conflicts and wars particularly among the Yoruba's.

Expatiating further, Aderonke (2015) noted that, in the Eastern part of Nigeria, there was no state organization. The Igbo society was stateless and the only form of political leadership in their domain was council of elders. In the council of elders' membership was chosen based on age consideration. The council of elders was seen as the highest form of democracy and egalitarianism. The attempts by the colonial administrations to create monarchical head like what was obtainable in the North and the West failed. The aim principally was to effect proper colonial administration in line with the policy of indirect rule and as well as system of tax collection; consequently, it led to the 1929 popular Aba Riot. Therefore, traditional institutions were not significant parts of the culture of the Igbo prior to colonial rule.

These ethnic groups were characterized by conflict and ritual killings in some parts of the nation (Adigwe, 1974). The differences among these ethnic nationalities in history, politics, culture and even geography were carried into amalgamation. There were differences in culture and orientation among the people of Lagos colony, the River protectorate and Niger territories. They were different and conflicting systems of administration employed by the British to govern these areas as well as boundary frictions. The boundary friction and other problems made the British govern these areas by setting up the Lord Lugard committee to consider the future administration of Nigeria. This was due to the outcome of the report that led to the River protectorate and Niger territories to unite and form southern protectorate in 1900 (Aderonke, 2015). Thus, the other remaining part of the Niger, Idah for instance, was merged with part of the Northern Nigeria ruled by Fredrick Lugard. Similarly, the southern protectorate was ruled and exposed to executive and legislative councils with laid down laws. However, there were no such arrangement in Northern Nigeria. All powers were regulated by proclamations and there was no uniform policy for the two protectorates. These were some of the factors that made indirect rule to succeed in the North.

Therefore, Nigeria as a plural society, its constituent groups are detached from each other by substantial differences of ethnicity, language, culture, and traditions. These

differences in character, outlook, and attitudes indicated that federalism was the solution (Aderonke, 2015). Nigeria accepted federalism as a means of accomplishing its much-needed goal of national unity among people of different religion, ethnicity, and culture. The federal state structure adopted was expected to lessen the massively destructive inter-ethnic competition and tension, alleviate the usually assumed fear of majority and minority domination, bringing government closer to the people and give these diverse groups more opportunities, thereby integrating the country.

The federal system of government was set up for the purpose of national unity in the plural society like Nigeria and to preserve the distinct social identities valued by various nationalities. The federal system in the Nigeria has continued to work with minimum unity to resolve issues of diversity. Competition among these ethnic nationalities prompted by cultural common distrust progressively deteriorates the stuff of Nigerian Authority (Ola, 1995).It is within this premise that the study examines the contending issues and realities in Nigerian federalism.

Conceptual Clarification

Colonialism: Colonialism is an act of a powerful nation directly controlling a weaker nation and using that nation's resources to advance its own wealth and power. Ake (1981) explains that colonialism was a process of incorporating African societies into the world capitalist system which was effected through monetization, forced labour, imposition of tax, and plunder of resources. To Onimode (1983), colonialism is the achievement of the expansionist drive of capitalism through the subjugation, domination and imposition of its political will, culture, and economic needs. The major objectives of colonialism in Africa were to subjugate the people politically and militarily, under a repressive system of law and order to create a conducive atmosphere for economic exploitation, plunder, and transfer of resources.

Federalism: Federalism is a system of government that shares power between two or more levels of government. To Amah (2017), federalism is a system of governmental organization whereby two or more independent states agreed to form a common government while retaining their distinctive autonomy. It is a concept that attempts to give meaning to a form of government in which, rather than power being concentrated in one body, is decentralized between the central authority and the component units. They come together for one or more significant reasons and exist under constitutional arrangement exercising specific powers to avoid clashes and the provision for a means of compromise where and when clashes are inevitable. Federalism is a constitutional arrangement which divides the lawmaking powers and functions between two levels of government in such a way that each within its respective spheres of jurisdiction and competence, is independent and coordinate (Wheare, 1953). It is a system of government in which sovereignty is divided between the central and state governments. The central and regional governments are co-ordinate in the sense that neither level of government is subordinate to the other in legal authority. In this system of government, each level of government is limited to its own sphere and within that sphere, it is independent of the other. This system of government can therefore be contrasted with a Unitary System in which the component units are legally subordinate to the central government (Wheare, 1967). A federal system of government often arises from the desire of the people to form a union without necessarily losing their identities.

The State: The concept of state has been defined variously by scholars based on the way they perceive it according to their ideological standpoint. Ijere (2014) asserted that, the state is a community of persons occupying a definite territory, independent of external control, and possessing an organised government to which the inhabitants render habitual obedience. This suggests that there are four distinctive characteristics of the state, namely: population, sovereignty, government, and territory. The state is the most powerful and universal organisation. The primary purpose of the state is to maintain order and security. It does so by means of a system of laws backed by force (Agi, 2003). A state is an institution that make, interpret, and enforce laws that are binding on the people within a defined geographical territory.

Theoretical Framework

This paper adopted the theory of pluralism by Bentley (1908), Truman (1951), Latham (1952), Robert A. Dahl, Miller (1983) among others as its framework of analysis. The theory traditionally explained the complexity and heterogeneity

nature of the nations such as ethnic and religious differences in the federating units. It is premised on the assumption that citizens of different backgrounds are accommodated under federal arrangement. It prefers working together as a single entity to protect the interest of all the citizens. It believes that political power and resources should be shared equally to secure the genuine welfares of the citizens and none of these groups should be dominated by the other groups in the federating units (Miller, 1983).

The first strength of this theory is that it discusses and recognizes the reality of diversity among different groups in the federating units in the nation. It suggested for equal power and resources allocation as well as equal opportunities to all citizens whether minority or majority to have equal access to power and resources in the nation, based on their political interests. This is because the government is meant to guard them to ensure that they get the same treatment at all levels of power and resources allocation.

Secondly, the strength of pluralism theory is that it inspires minority groups to grow their plans by maintaining their political ambitions. The assumption of the theory centered on unity among the diverse ethno-religious groups and that the government should try to overcome existing problems in the federating units by mediating all conflicts between the various regions, states, and the interest groups. Therefore, the theory leads to averting power domination or over-concentration of power in the hands of few states or in the hands of some regions this is to ensure the principles of equality through check and balance system in the federating units (Arif, 2013; Miller, 1983; Self, 1985).

This framework exemplifies the complexity, heterogeneity, and diversity of Nigerian society. The theory explicated that the complex, diverse and heterogenous nature of Nigeria. The federal state structure in Nigeria is because of the heterogeneity, diversity, and complexity present within Nigerian society such as ethnicity and religion. This means that people of different religion, ethnicity, culture, geography, and history can be accommodated and unified under federalism. The unification of these differences led to a series of violence and crises among the various ethno-religious groups across the nation, because of majority and minority domination and inequality in power and resources allocation. The people of different background compete in sharing power and resources allocation among themselves. This unhealthy competition leads to conflict among these religions and ethnic groups, because of the differences in culture and tradition. All the above problems resulted from the amalgamation of the two regions under system call federal system.

The Evolution of the Federal State Structure in Nigeria

Before the amalgamation of Southern and Northern Protectorates in 1914, Nigeria had empires, emirates, and kingdoms. These entities were autonomous and sovereign within their respective spheres of jurisdiction. They interacted diplomatically, economically, politically, socially, and culturally, and had unique ways of political and justice administration, conflict mediation, conciliation, and resolution processes. Awofeso (2014) argued that all the functions of modern-day government were performed by rudimentary, non-differentiated and non-secularized structures which cut across different levels of administration. Laws were made, executed and adjudicated. Decentralized, semi-centralised and centralised political administration could be identified within the Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa/Fulani political systems, respectively. This showed the ways and manners in which the pre-colonial Nigeria was administered.

However, with the official conquest and annexation of Lagos in 1861, colonial rule was established in Nigeria. Since 1900, when the British government decided to take full charge of the administration of the entire country through embarking on progressive amalgamation policy in the country. After a series of efforts at pacification and conquest, effective British occupation of the area took place from the Royal Niger Company, whose charter was revoked in that year. After this, three separate territories emerged. These were Lagos, the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, and the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria (Aderonke, 2015). The British government divided the entire country into three administrative units - the Northern Protectorate, the Southern Protectorate, and the Lagos Colony in 1900. Similarly, two administrative units - the Protectorate of the Southern Nigeria and the Colony, and the Northern Protectorate were created in 1906, and then into a single unit of administration in 1914 (Awofeso, 2014).

The amalgamation of 1914 brought with it new form and pattern (indirect rule) of exercising power which was spelt out and entrenched in the Lugard's Constitution of 1914. The inadequacies of the Lugard constitution of 1914 led to the introduction of Clifford constitution of 1922. However, not all the regions were represented in the Legislative Council due to the introduction of Elective Principle. The unnecessary exclusion, marginalization of certain sections of the country and Europeanization of the Order-in-Council, Legislative Council and Executive Council, led to bitter struggles, agitations and increase in tempo towards the formation of a new government. The federal structure began to form in 1939 under Sir Bernard Bourdillon who divided the Southern Protectorates into two. Again, the government headed by Sir Arthur Richardson came into existence with the Richard's Constitution of 1946 which provided for regionalism as against Unitarianism earlier adopted. The 1946 Constitution which aimed at promoting unity for the diverse elements that made up the country provided the groundwork for eventual evolution of federalism in Nigeria. The Macpherson's Constitution of 1951 improved upon the Richard's Constitution by introducing quasi-federalism. The Macpherson constitution of 1951 gave further concrete and solid support to the emergence of Nigeria as a federal state because:

i. the constitution appointed Lieutenant Governors to head these three regions,

ii. legislative powers were also granted to the legislative and executive councils that were established.

This signifies that greater autonomy was given to the various regions.

The Lyttleton's Constitution of 1954 introduced federalism in Nigeria. By this, greater autonomy was provided to various regions thus giving room for functional division of powers between the central and regional governments. It was the first genuine federal constitution of the country. The constitution was introduced following defects in the Macpherson constitution, the motion of self-government, and the Kano riots of 1953. These events convinced the colonial administration that considerable regional autonomy must be granted to the regional governments and that only federalism could hold the Nigerian peoples together. The constitution for the first time provided for the division of powers into three lists include:

a. The exclusive list
b. The concurrent list
c. The residual list

The exclusive list gives powers to central government to deliberate on exclusive matters such as security, defense, printing and minting of currencies, foreign relations among others. The concurrent list takes care of matters that can be handled by both the central and component parts. Such as healthcare services, education, water, among others. More so, residual power considers powers not specifically mentioned in the constitutional division of power and both level of government can exercise authority on such issues like local government creation, community development among others (Ogundiya & Abdullahi, 2012).

Therefore, the realities of the Nigeria's historical past coupled with perceived economic reasons, geographical and political factors made federalism appealing to both expatriates and nationalists prior to independence. These factors were reinforced by growing suspicion and fear of domination by the North against the West and the East against West or the North. Thus, it became appropriate to have a system of government that will grant units' considerable freedom and autonomy in the internal governance of their people. This desire was found fulfilled in federal state structure because of its inherent decentralization and deconcentration of powers. The emphasis here is that Nigeria's nationalist leaders long before independence became convinced and reached the conclusion that the country could only survive based on a federal option. For instance, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Nigeria's first President (1960-1966) canvassed for a 'federal commonwealth of Nigeria' (Azikiwe 1945). Similarly, Nigeria's first Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was reported to have argued the case for a federal option in the following words:

> *I am pleased to see that we are all agreed that the federal system is, under the present conditions, the only sure basis on which Nigeria can remain united. We must recognize our diversity and the peculiar conditions under which the different tribal*

> *communities live... therefore... we must do all in our power to see that this federal system is strengthened and sustained (Elaigwu, 2000, p.41-42).*

However, the adoption of federalism in Nigeria was externally motivated. Federalism was seen as a British imposition meant to serve the political interest of the British alone. Alapiki and Odondiri, (1992) noted that British introduced federal state structure in Nigeria for the purpose of administrative convenience of the colonial state apparatus. Even before 1954 when federalism formally evolved, the country had been a conglomeration of different subcultures administered unitarily, to later introduce the federal system therefore reflects nothing but the self-interest of the British. It was a shared notion of achieving "unity in diversity" that federalism was introduced as a divide and rule strategy and to this extent was an abominable, disruptive, and divisive British heritage (Awolowo, 1968). To Okhaide (1992) federalism was imposed on the country in order to maintain a neo-colonial state apparatus for effective control of the country after independence because British colonialists had the opportunity to de-emphasize the particularistic tendencies of the different ethnic groups in the country but for selfish reasons, they ended up creating 'structural imperfections to bedevil inter-ethnic relations after independence'. The above signifies that Nigeria's federalism arose as an imposition by the British government. Though, it remained the sole and feasible political resolution to the Nigerian state as a united political entity (Aliyu & Isa, 2018). Nigeria as a nation with large and heterogeneous population, geographical, cultural, political, and religious settings and organizations operates better on federal structure.

The evolution of federalism in Nigeria was driven by factors such as ethnic differences, religion, fear of domination, desire for unity among others made it desirable for the country to remain united. It is on this premises, Watts (2000, p. 5) aptly made this point while describing the relevance of the federal idea in the post 1945 period. He opined that:

> *… the creators of the new states approaching independence found themselves faced with simultaneous conflicting demands for territorial integration and balkanization. They had to reconcile the need, on the one hand, for relatively large economic and political units in order to facilitate rapid economic development and to sustain genuine political independence, with the desire, on the other hand, to retain authority of the smaller political units with traditional allegiances representing racial, linguistic, ethnic and religious communities. In such situations, where the forces for integration and separation were at odds with each other, political leaders of nationalist independence movements and colonial administrators alike found in the "federal solution" a popular formula, providing a common ground for centralizers and provincialists.*

One important question that arises from the previous analysis is: if the federation of Nigeria was driven by various compelling factors, including mutual fears and suspicion of domination among groups, the quest for self-determination, economic prosperity, and the desire for unity in diversity, to what extent have these imperatives been resolved after many years of its adoption?

The Contending Issues and Realities in Nigerian Federalism: An Assessment

Federalism has emerged as one of the most preferred forms of government based on its integrative competence to accommodate the diverse political life of multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-linguistic societies. The practice of federalism in Nigeria suffered significantly due to twisted nature of federal system leading to serious contestations among the integral populations resulting in limitless fiddling and dissolution. The problem Nigeria has had to face is how to save an efficient and effective central government that would help preserve national harmony and allowing free choice for the diversities of the multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-lingual integral parts (Lanre, 2017). Some of the problems of federalism are discussed below:

The Issues of ethnicity and regionalism: In Nigeria, there are three dominant territorially concentrated ethnic identities (Yoruba, Hausa-Fulani, and Igbo) together with some 350 linguistic minorities distributed across the country. This depiction provides an explanation for why the social and political, as well as the economic import of ethnic grouping is central to

the analysis of politics in Nigeria. The ethnicity variable remains a significant factor in determining who gets what and when in Nigeria. Ethnic cleavage in Nigeria 'appears permanent and all-encompassing, predetermining who will be granted and denied access to power and resources' (Diamond and Plattner, 1994, p.18). This inherent centrifugal force explains why ethnic conflicts have become almost inevitable in the country. As remarked by Hameso (2001, p.38), the 'forced unification of different ethnic groups with different traditional values with memories of animosity and history of warfare worked to harness the basis for conflicts.

Colonialism through its system of divide-and-rule which pitched one ethnic group against the other partly sowed the seeds of ethnic conflicts in the former British colonies, but it would be erroneous to suggest that colonial rule is to blame for the resentment that characterises social relations in contemporary Africa (Babalola, 2014, p. 20). However, the lumping together of different peoples laid the foundation for the assertion of ethnic identity among the different ethnic groups in Nigeria and other similar multi-ethnic countries. The colonial rule policy which resulted in the regionalisation of politics in Nigeria particularly brought about a situation in which the three major ethnic groups in the country see themselves as constituting the tripod-stand upon which the country stands (Babalola, 2014, p.21). Moreover, the process also brought into sharp focus the majority/minority dichotomy, marking the 'cradle of ethnic minority problems in Nigeria' (Osaghae, 1991, p. 239).

Nigeria's politics is characterised by fierce struggle for national resources with one group doing everything possible to out-compete the others. It is common for Nigerian political elites to promote ethnic sentiments in their quest for political and economic aspirations. When a situation like this becomes the norm, certain groups, especially, the ethnic minorities become marginalised, and when the cry of marginalisation sets in, the agitation for self-determination becomes part of the political lexicon (Babalola, 2014, p. 22). The separating effects of ethnicity and regionalism in Nigerian federalism are noticeable in the political history of Nigeria. For instance, the 1962 declaration of a state of emergency in the Western region; the bitter ethnic-regional dispute over the 1962-63 census; the 1964 federal election crisis; the 1965 western election disaster; the military takeover from the First Nigerian Democratic Republic in 1966 after a bloody ethnic military coup; the complete disintegration and politicization of the military formation along ethnic- regional background; the struggled secession of the Eastern region, under the leadership of its Igbo military governor, Odumegwu Ojukwu, as the independent Republic of Biafra; and, the eventual outbreak of the 30-month civil war, which claimed an estimated one million lives, mainly in the ill-fated Biafra (Osaghae & Suberu, 2005, p.18). These traditions shaped regional rivalry and conflict that were rooted in Nigerian society by the processes of alliance and nation-building. After independence, regional opposition has become the basis for causing conflicts between people of the different regions, region, because of the culture economy and ethnicity. In efforts to minimize this rivalry under the federal system, more states were created to accommodate numerous group interests (Majekodunmi, 2013).

This has remained unresolved till date. Presently, the Independent People of Biafra (IPOB) are agitation for self- determination. The Vanguard News (2016) reported that over 80 protesters for the secession of the Biafiran region from Nigeria have been arrested, detained, and imprisoned. However, on 28-29 November 2008, there was serious religious crises between the Muslims and the Christians over the results of a local election, this was as a result of uniting people of different background under one federating unit, this culminated into conflict because of power and resources allocation among the religious groups (AFP., 2008).

Structural Flaw and imbalance in Nigeria Federalism: The implication of the preponderant size of the defunct Northern as the constituent unit was politically more powerful than any of the other units. It also had numerical advantage in the central government, and this resulted in a situation in which the other two Regions perceived themselves as being at a disadvantage in the competition for national resources. Having one unit of a federation bigger than others is a negation of the principle of federalism. Wheare (1963, p. 50) argued that 'the capacity of states to work as a federal union is also greatly influenced by their size; it is undesirable that one or two units should be so powerful that they can overrule the others and bend the will of the federal government to themselves'. Therefore, the constant division of the country into several constituent units, in consonant with the federal principle, is the minimisation of the cry of

marginalisation, which was the sing-song in the country in the immediate post-independence period. Also, the 36- state structure has gone a long way in sparing Nigerians a return of the electoral controversy that surrounded the 1979 presidential election over what constituted the two-thirds of the then 19 States of the Federation.

The defective federal structure has the propensity to engender conflicts that would endanger the unity of the country which is one of the reasons for opting for the federal system. Ojo (1985, p. 13) asserted that, the regional imbalance with three main ethnic groups, the Hausas in the North, the Ibos in the East and the Yorubas in the West created undue fears, for the East and the West felt threatened by the preponderance of the population of the North, while the minorities also at the approach of independence did not feel sufficiently safe at the hands of the various Regional Governments once the paternalising hands of the British colonial administration were withdrawn.

The Struggle for power and issues of power shift: The Nigerian federalism suffers from the problem of satisfactory sharing of governmental functions and powers between the federal government and component units. The problem is that, if greater powers are assigned to the component units, it leads to a weak center while if greater powers are assigned to the central government, it leads to centralization and very weak state government. In Nigeria today, state government have no substantial share of governmental functions and power especially in areas of security, defence, printing of currencies, revenue mobilization and fiscal allocation (Ogundiya & Abdullahi, 2012).

Adamolekun (2018) noted that the sharing and allocation of responsibilities would be reliable with the decentralized federal system and would follow closely the provisions in the 1954 and 1960 Federal Republic of Nigeria Constitution a short exclusive federal list as well as national defense, the macro economy, and foreign affairs; joint responsibility in respect of some crucial functions that are presently allocated completely to the federal government precisely, “internal security and policing”; and main obligation of the sub-national government in line with some roles in the Second Scheduled of the 1999 Nigerian Constitutions.

Uhunmwuangho and Epelle (2007) assert that ethnic pressure in Nigeria resulted because of the unequal distribution of power and resources among the citizenry. This is because those individuals who are marginalized from the power and resources arrangement and allocation were also clamoring for power and equal resources allocation. They believe it is essential to cooperate with their ethnic groups which will provide them with the necessary services and good ground for opposing with others for resources and against domination by the dominant ethnic groups. This can intensify or deteriorate and lead to conflict among the citizens. In addition to this, it is understood that ethnic politics has become the order of the day as it is believed that a merger with other ethnic groups gives room for access to power and resources easily.

Awa (1976) and Uhunmwuangho and Epelle (2007), reveals that power distribution is an unpredictable problem which if not appropriately overcome would lead to numerous forms of disasters which are certain to crop up. It is clearly observed that Nigeria has not been put on this principle of equal power and resources distribution among the individual in the nation. This has resulted in intensifying ethno religious tension, mutual mistrust among ethnic groups, majority/minority problem, and appeal for an answer to the National questions.

Fiscal federalism and Political Restructuring in Nigeria: The idea of Nigerian federal structure and its fiscal federalism has been enmeshed in contradictions, controversies, and crises. The issue has become a national question as socio-cultural groups, with varying ideological learning severally demonstrate interest and concern especially on the issue of resource control. As a national question, the seriousness of Nigerian federalism has translated into question of national unity, local government autonomy, self –determination and equitable distribution of resources, opportunities, rewards, and powers (Anifowose, 2004). Meanwhile, given the rising concern endangering the peaceful co-existence of the multi-ethnic nationalities that confederated, engendering the palpable need for Nigerian nation, some Marxist scholars, see the Nigerian federalism as presently unworkable; given the collaborative politics of emergence socio-cultural group, thus the situation itself canvases for the dissolution of the federal union. The issues of decentralization of power and fiscal resources have ranked very highly in Nigeria federalism. In fact, one of the major issues in the federal restructuring is the imbalance in the distribution of resources and

needs among the federating units and has thus become sensitive to the question of fiscal federalism as an issue in Nigeria, government, the function of resources allocation distribution and stabilization of the polity (Okpata, 2007).

Tensions between the federating units and central government, between the constituent units themselves, and of various interests often fuel the demands for restructuring. Various interests insist on a voice and the correction of perceived structural defects. Demand for equity and justice in the allocation of political space from minorities and marginalized groups have all made for a consistent and perennial stream of agitations for restructuring, which suggests that the search for a national community has remained elusive in Nigeria. In fact, the destabilizing effects of these agitations or even the potential for destabilization have always constituted a question mark on the legitimacy of the political order in Nigeria (Abutudu, 2010). However, there are substantive issues that need to be addressed through the restructuring process, but a lack of agreement on what should qualify for inclusive in the restructuring agenda has been a weighty obstacle on launching the process. Equally fundamental, therefore, are the procedural issues that have to do with representation in the restructuring process, and in fact, the structure of the restructuring process itself.

Issues of Resource Control, Revenue Allocation and Distribution of National Wealth: Resource control involves the access of communities and state governments to natural resources located within their boundaries and the freedom to develop and utilize these resources without reference from the federal government (Hedayo, 2010). Dickson and Asua (2016, p. 5) posited that, resource control is the principle that every federating unit must be empowered to be self-governing. It amounts to an expression of self-determination by the zone which places a collaborative duty on other parts of the country to assist the zone in the realization of their objectives. Afoyemi (2013) argued that resource control is the way and manner the government revenue is shared among the various tiers of government – the federal, state, and local governments, as well as how resources available are harness and determined. Ya'u (2001, p.46) asserted that resource control may be taken to mean the substantive power for the community to collect monetary and other benefits accruing from the exploration, exploitation, and use of resource in their domain and deploy some to its developmental purposes.

Another inherent feature of the Nigeria federal systems is the contentious nature of the distribution of national wealth. The adoption of a federal system of government is usually trailed by the fundamental problem of how to share revenue between the central government and those of the constituent units on the one hand, and among the constituent units on the other. Just like in any federal state, political leaders in Nigeria also must contend with the problem of how to distribute national resources. Nigeria's history of revenue distribution is about each ethnic group or state seeking to maximise its share of the scarce national economic resources, and this has often led to rancour between the central government and the federating units. The main reason for the acrimonious revenue allocation system is not far-fetched: Nigeria's constituent units lack viable sources of revenue of their own. Also, the economic disparity that has given rise to unequal development among them is another source of contention. Not only that, but the political sensitivity of revenue sharing has, also been compounded by the 'perceptions of regional ethnic dominance' among the ethnic minorities (Baker, 1984, p.5).

Central to the issue of wealth distribution in the post-1999 period is the continual debate on the application of the principle of derivation. In the Nigerian context, derivation is the method of distributing centrally generated revenues to the constituent units of the Federation in relation to the contribution made by each to the country's revenue pot. It simply means that, in addition to the regular federal statutory transfer, some proportion of the revenues collected from a federating unit is returned to the government of that unit (Babalola, 2014, p.121). The derivation principle has particularly generated the most controversy in the history of revenue allocation in Nigeria, thereby reinforcing the view that politics plays a significant part in shaping the distribution of the country's revenue. The near abandonment of the principle became the most debatable topic in the country immediately after the advent of democratic rule in 1999. So, in addition to the typical controversies that surround the vertical and the horizontal revenue sharing was the controversy over the percentage of national oil revenue that should be allocated to States in the oil-producing region. Babalola (2014, p. 121) posited that, derivation witnessed a progressive decline, beginning from 1970 when it was 25 per cent, to 3 per cent towards the end

of military rule, and then raised to 13 per cent at the start of democratic rule in 1999.

Sharing Nigeria's wealth among the contending parties is a daunting task, but the central government has, at different phases of the country's history, adopted different revenue-sharing formulas aimed at ensuring national unity. Nigeria's revenue distribution system has predominantly been tailored towards the Federation's political and economic circumstances. Revenue allocation in Nigeria is a difficult assignment and may result in the dissolution of a federal union if not properly handled by the country's political leaders. Nigeria's federal system has been able to ensure a relatively fair distribution of the country's wealth. For instance, the current revenue allocation formula as entrenched in the 1999 Constitution has, to some extent, provided succour for the contending parties in the country. It is important to remember that a federal system needs to possess the capacity to achieve relative economic equilibrium among constituent units if the union must endure, so Nigeria's federal system deserves some credit in this respect. The central government's unwillingness to let go of huge oil resources and the inability of states to find other viable sources of revenue have contributed to the federal imbalance.

Conclusion

The evolution of the federal-state structure in Nigeria is traced to colonialism. The British colonial administration established a centralised system of governance that concentrated power at the federal level. However, with the diversity of ethnic groups and regions within Nigeria, there were tensions and challenges in managing the country effectively. During the colonial era, Nigeria was divided into three regions: the Northern, Western, and Eastern regions, each with its own regional government. This regional division reflected the diverse cultural, religious, and ethnic composition of the country.

The central argument is that the federal system of government was set up to unite people with different culture, religion, and language background. The unification has resulted in unequal power sharing and resources allocation among the people across the nation especially between the majority and minority ethnic groups. The problem of inequality in power and resources allocation among the citizens has created a wide gap. This is because the ethnic majority has dominated the few minorities in all spheres of life in the country especially in the power and resources allocation. The domination of some States (regions) as well as the minority ethnic groups has created a wide vacuum which leads to ethno religious conflict across the nation.

Recommendations

Therefore, addressing the challenges of Nigerian federalism requires implementing the following by governments at all levels, such as:

i. Nigeria's federal system should be reformed to ensure the relative hegemony of the centre vis-à-vis the State governments. Absolute supremacy of the federal centre negates a federal principle, but it should not be forgotten that regional federalism in which the defunct Regions were economically stronger than the centre also had its attendant consequences, as was demonstrated during the First Republic. Besides, the size of the Federation, its diversity and its economic disparity require a relatively strong federal government capable of regulating the competition for national resources.

ii. Nigeria's fiscal federalism should be designed to emphasise revenue generation rather than revenue distribution. Any future reform should be tailored towards encouraging the States to develop fiscal capacity that would enable them to generate and control their own revenue. This will enhance their fiscal viability and reduce their dependency on oil. A State's share of federally collected revenue should only complement its internally generated revenue. Thus, the centre would cease to be the locus of struggle for national resources, and it would assume the role of a referee rather than be an active participant in the distribution of national wealth. The capacity of constituent units to be self-financing is vital to the formation, operation, and survival of a federation.

iii. Encouraging a sense of national identity and unity among the diverse ethnic groups in Nigeria by emphasising shared

values, history, and common goals will bridge differences and reduce tensions.

iv. Again, transparent, fair revenue sharing and resource distribution among the federal, state, and local governments will help address grievances related to fiscal federalism and revenue allocation in Nigeria.

v. Enhancing the capacity and autonomy of state governments will help address governance challenges and improve service delivery. Devolving more powers to the states while promoting accountability and good governance at all levels can strengthen the federal system.

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PROVOST'S ADMINISTRATIVE SKILLS AND TEACHER'S JOB SATISFACTION IN SHEHU SHAGARI COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, SOKOTO STATE, NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

This study examined role performance of college Provost's Administrative Skills on Teachers' Job Satisfaction in Shehu Shagari College of Education Sokoto State, Nigeria. The study adopts survey research design. The study population consists of 1500 academic and non-academic staff of the college, Kriejie and Morgan (1970) table for determining sample was used to arrive at a sample size of 306 respondents, which were selected using stratified and simple random sampling techniques. A structured questionnaires based on five Likert scale rating was used to collect data. Descriptive statistic was used to analyze data while corresponding hypotheses were tested at 0.05 level of significance. The result indicates that the college Provost maintains smooth human relations with teachers. The study concluded that college Provost's, human relation with teachers can be effectively maintained through conducive and enabling working environment with zero tolerance for nepotism and if sustain will result in the attainment of organizational goals and objectives, not only in the college but at all categories of our educational institutions.

Introduction

A school is an institution established for the purpose of teaching and learning. It is a place where the minds of student are developed through formal education. The successful, coordination of instruction and administrative task within the school system depends largely on human and material factors. Okore (2008) argues that school administration encompasses managing, administering, teaching, discipline and staff appraisal and relationship with the immediate environment. An administrator is a leader who has much obligation to carry out which ranges from planning, coordinating, directing and controlling organizational activities. Organization is seen as a collection of people who have united together to pursue and achieve a common goal through collective effort and pulling of resources. Organization comes in many forms one of such forms is the school. Every organization has group of people who are saddled with the responsibility of running such an organization to ensure that the mission and

vision of such organization are realized. The school as one of such organization has the headmaster, principal, rector, provost and vice chancellor as leader and administrator managing the various levels of the school system. The provost as the head of college must possess some administrative skills which will help him to perform his task efficiently and effectively. A skill is seen as an ability to perform an activity in a competent manner. According to educational world.com there are some administrative skills that a school administrator must exhibit in order to effectively carryout some administrative activities and obtain satisfaction of his subordinate. The administrative skills include good human relations, effective communication and motivational skills.

Teachers as key facilitators of knowledge play a pivotal role in nation building. It is particularly important to find out how comfortable teachers feel in their work place, as satisfied teachers can fill freely and realize their assigned duties. Researches such as Velmurugan, (2016), Whasemizal, Amarian and Bagheri (2012) has shown that lack the basic administrative skills required for efficient management of the school system is the major factor responsible for teacher's dissatisfaction within the work, A competent provost with competent administrative skills has a great impact on the teachers he manages.

Administrative head must take care of members feelings and interest thus, a good provost is required to act within the framework of human relation rules and skill guiding the cooperate existence of the system. Communication has been found to be a vital factor for effective job satisfaction. Arlestry (2008) opined that administrative head's ability to communicate, increase teacher's moral, reduce misunderstanding and interpersonal conflict among staff and thus increase teacher's effectiveness on their job. Motivation stands as one of the good administrative skill the school provost needs to possess in order to get job satisfaction.

There is a widely held believe that in Nigeria there is low morale and low teachers' satisfaction (Kayode 2012). Teachers' job satisfaction is an important element in human resource management and thus should attract school provost attention as it directly or indirectly affects the school organization. Satisfaction itself is the feeling an individual has towards his job and this feeling is as a result of some factors which range from human relations, communication and motivational skills of the school head. The impact of these administrative skills on the success or failure of any administrative head makes the researchers inquisitive to examine the role performance of college Provost's administrative skills on teachers' job satisfaction in Shehu Shagari College of Sokoto State, Nigeria.

Conceptual Clarifications

i. **Human relations**: Velmurugan (2016) opined those human relations involves the interaction, operation and cooperation of people in groups which operates in different fields such as business, schools, homes and governmental organizations. It involves recognition of workers as human being and treating them as such. This implies that the worker is more important than the work. Dartey-Baah (2010) maintains that human relation encompasses learning about human behavior to obtain a systematic knowledge about it. In ethical sense, it involves individual's dignity, individual effort and valued contributions to the attainment of the assigned goals.

ii. **Motivation**: As administrative skills is described by Hoy and Miskel (2007) as the complex forces, drivers, needs, tension, states or other mechanism that starts and maintain voluntary activity directed towards the realization of personal goals. Guerin et al. (2011) opined that motivation is the process that gives behavior purposes and direction. It appears to be one of the major standings in management of an organization, its status has caused many scholars to devote a lot of energy to researching into what constitutes the nature of this phenomenon. In recent years, emphasis has been placed on the vital role motivation plays in getting employees to give in their best toward attaining organizational goal.

iii. **Communication**: - The impact of proper communication in any organization has been long recognized. Hardly can any action take place without communication leading to it. Fodio and Saidu (2021) perceived communication as a process of creating transmitting, interpreting facts and ideas, feeling and thought about an organization. Communication is a means where by people

in organization exchange information regarding the operation of an organization. The form which a communication takes can profoundly affect the attitude of the employees and the degree to which they put in their effort to support the policies and actions of the organization they work. The provost thus, needs effective communication to coordinate, control, organize as well as delegate responsibility to his staff.

Concept of Job Satisfaction

Kreitner and Kinicki (2012) perceive job satisfaction as the extent to which an individual likes his or her career. Job satisfaction is the fulfillment which an employee feels in relation to his job and work place. Teachers' job-satisfaction is very central to the continuous growth of our educational system as teachers are crucial life wires in the school setting. Robbins (2005) describes job satisfaction as the attitude of an individual towards his work. A person shows a positive attitude towards the work when he has high level of satisfaction and someone who is not satisfied within his work will show a negative attitude towards his job.

Theoretical framework

Equity Theory of Motivation was adopted for this study given its role in explaining the attainment of job satisfaction in an organization. The theory was popularized by Adams (1963) when he considers working situations as a combined relationship of benefits and contributions among employers and employees, for which benefits include salary, recognitions and promotions (Daft, 2003). The theory opined that people can be evaluated by the fairness of their inputs and out puts in a balance for others or the individual relative to the one`s experience from initial point in time. The equity model explains that under conditions of equity, individuals experience job satisfaction. For the same reasons under conditions of perceived inequity, individuals experience dissatisfaction. The state of equity may only exist whenever the ratio of inputs and outputs are on one level.

The theory is relevant to this study in the sense that it helps the provost to develop both human relations and communication skills which enables him to develop a rewarding system to overcome individual perception of inequity and as well enables the administrative head to balanced work-related activities in the school among the teachers.

Review of Related Empirical Studies

Abdulrahman (2014) investigated heads' human relation skills and teachers' job satisfaction in selected colleges in Kogi State Nigeria. The study used descriptive survey research design and population of the study consists of 228 respondents. The study used Questionnaire based on four (4) modified likert scales rating, to measure the respondents' responses, independent t-test was used to test null hypothesis at 0.05 level of significance using (SPSS). The results of the analysis indicated that heads' human relation skill was found to be a criterion that can enhance teachers' job satisfaction in school setting. The study concluded that effective human relations encourage teachers' job satisfaction in school. The study recommended the need to maintain a better human relation with teachers to facilitate job satisfaction towards attaining school objectives.

Aja (2015) examines the influence of school head human relations skill and teachers' effectiveness in selected schools in Ebonyi State, Nigeria. Descriptive survey research design was adopted for the study with a population of 3675 respondents. A stratified, proportionate and simple random sampling technique was used for the study. A questionnaire based on 4 likert scale rating was used to measure respondents' responses. Simple Regression Analysis was used to test null hypotheses at 0.05 level of significance. The results of the analysis indicated that school heads' human relation was found to be prerequisite to teachers' effectiveness. This implies that human relation was found to have greater influence on teachers' effectiveness in school. The study concluded that school principals' human relation enhances teachers' effectiveness in school.

Sulaiman, Mustapha and Ibrahim (2016) investigated influence of administrative head's motivation skill on administrative effectiveness in selected schools in Taraba State, Nigeria. Descriptive survey research design was used, with a study population of 1510 respondents. Research Advisors (2006) was used to select 306 respondents while purposive and simple random sampling techniques were used. The study used questionnaire based on 4 likert scales rating while independent t-test was used to test null

hypothesis at 0.05 level of significant with the aid of (SPSS) version 20. The results of the analysis indicated that school heads' motivation skill was found to be a key determinant of administrative effectiveness. The study concluded that school heads' motivation skill is a source of inspiration to improve administrative effectiveness in school. The study recommended that more should be done by the Ministry of Education to improve motivation skill of school heads to enhance administrative effectiveness in schools.

Adepegba (2017) investigated school head motivation skills and teachers' productivity in secondary schools in south west Nigeria. Descriptive survey research design was used to carry out the study with a population of 5368 respondents while purposive, proportionate and simple random sampling techniques were used for the study. A structured questionnaire was used to measure respondents' responses. The study used descriptive statistics to answer research questions, while hypotheses were tested using independent t-test at 0.05 level of significance. The result of the analysis shows that School heads' motivation skill was found to be the strategy used to enhance teachers' productivity. The study concluded that school heads can improve teachers' productivity constantly, through motivation skill. The study recommended that school head should endeavor to use his motivation skill to enhance teachers' productivity.

Arop, Owan and Ekpang (2018) examine school heads' communication skill and teachers' job performance in selected schools in cross River State Nigeria. The study employed survey research design with a population of 2368 respondents. Research Advisors (2006) was used to select 326 respondents while stratified, proportionate and simple random were used as sampling techniques. Self-constructed questionnaire was used to collect data. The data was analyzed using independent t-test and the results of the analysis showed that school heads' communication skill was found to have significant effect on teachers' job performance. This implies that effective channel of communication has great effect on teachers' job performance. The study concluded that school heads' communication skill is a criterion to improve teachers' job performance and recommended that school heads should use their communication skill to continue improve teachers' job performance through effective channel of communication to endure free flow of information in school.

In summary, the study is distinctive from other research work because it touches extensively most aspect of administrative skills required by the provost in his daily activities in the college, most of the literature reviewed only touch one or two administrative skills. The study found out that quality administrative skills are the major ingredient to be considered in enhancing teachers' job-satisfaction. A review of relevant literature on the relationship between Provost administrative skills and teacher's job satisfaction was highlighted but to the best of the researcher's knowledge no study has been conducted on the relationship between provost administrative skills and teachers job satisfaction in SSCOE with all the above-mentioned variables.

Methodology

The research design for this study is survey research. The purpose is to enable the researchers examine the opinion of the respondents regarding relationship between administrative skills of college provost and teachers job satisfaction in Shehu Shagari College of Education Sokoto. The population of the study comprises of 1500 staff of the College, comprising both academic and non-academic. Based on the population of the study, a samples 306 respondents using Kriejie and Morgan (1970) table was used. A stratified sampling technique was used to ensure fair and equal representation across different strata of both academic and nonacademic staff of the college while simple random sampling was later used to sample the respondents of the study.

The study used structured questionnaires based on five point Likert rating scale, while the corresponding hypotheses were tested using Pearson Product Moment Correlational Co-efficient. The analysis was done with the aid of (SPSS) version 25, while the corresponding hypotheses were tested using Pearson Product Moment Correlational Coefficient at 0.05 level of significance.

Results and Discussions

This section presents the result and the analysis of data obtained from the regression analysis**.** Out of the 306 questionnaires distributed to the sample respondents, a total of 300 were retrieved, the analysis and result presentation was based on the 300 retrieved questionnaires.

The analysis was based on the three hypotheses formulated:

Hypothesis One

$H0_1$: There is no significant relationship between Provost human relation skills and teachers' job satisfaction. This hypothesis was tested by subjecting the scores of school Provost human relation skills and teachers' job satisfaction scores to Pearson analysis as shown in Table 1

Table 1: Relationship between Provost Human Relation Skills and Job Satisfaction (N= 300)

Variables	N	Mean	SD	r-Cal	P-value	Decision
Provost Human Relation Skills	300	21.71	4.25	.519	.000	Significant
Teachers' Job satisfaction	300	19.98	3.48			

Source: Field Work 2024

Table 1 indicated college Provost human relation skills and teachers' job satisfaction in the college is positively related and significant, Pearson's r = .519, p = .000. This indicates that there was significant relationship between college Provost human relation skills and teachers' job satisfaction because the p-value (.000) is less than the .05 level of significance. Thus, the first hypothesis was rejected. This means that provosts' human relation with teachers is paramount to creating enabling working environment that would facilitate teacher's job satisfaction in the college.

Hypothesis Two

H_{O2}: There is no significant relationship between Provost motivational skills and teachers job satisfaction in the college. The hypothesis was tested by subjecting the scores of college provosts' motivational skills and that of teachers' job satisfaction to Pearson correlation analysis as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Summary of the Relationship between College Provost Motivational Skills and Teachers' Job Satisfaction in the College (N= 300)

Variables	N	Mean	SD	r-Cal	P-value	Decision
School Provosts' Motivational Skills	300	19.98	3.48	1.000	.000	Significant
Teachers' job satisfaction	300	19.98	3.48			

Source: Field Work 2024

Table 2 Presents Provost motivational skills and teachers' job satisfaction were positively related and significant, Pearson's r = .1.000, p = .000. This indicated that there was significant relationship between school provosts' motivational skills and teachers' job satisfaction because the p-value (.000) is less than the .05 level of significance. Therefore, the hypothesis which states that there is no significant relationship between Provost' motivational skills and teachers' job satisfaction was rejected. This means that Provost use his motivational skills as a means to enhance the interest of teachers in order to improve their job satisfaction in the college.

Hypothesis Three

H_{O3}: There is no significant relationship between Provost Communication skills and teachers job satisfaction in the college. The hypothesis was tested by subjecting the scores of college provosts' communication skills and

that of teachers' job satisfaction to Pearson correlation analysis as shown in Table 3

Table 3: Summary of the Relationship between College Provost Communication Skills and Teachers' Job Satisfaction in the College (N= 300)

Variables	N	Mean	SD	r-Cal	P-value	Decision
School Provost' Communication Skills	300	19.45	3.19	.321	.000	Significant
Teachers Job Satisfaction	300	19.98	3.48			

Source: Field Work 2024

Table 3 indicated that provosts' communication skills and teachers job satisfaction, were positively related and significant, Pearson's r = .321, p = .000. This indicated that there was significant relationship between college Provost Communication skills and teachers job satisfaction, because the p-value (.000) is less than the .05 level of significance. Thus, the hypothesis which states that there is no significant relationship between provosts' communication skills and teacher's job satisfaction was rejected. This means that Provost Communication skills play important role in the process of coordinating and directing, as well as, inflow and outflow of information hierarchically to enhance teacher's job satisfaction in schools.

Discussion of Findings

This section discussed findings derived from the study:

First finding indicated that Provost maintains smooth human relations among teachers through enabling environment without given room to favoritism and nepotism to facilitate teachers' job satisfaction. This finding agreed with Abdulrahman (2014) who found that human relation skill was found to be a criterion to enhance teachers' job satisfaction in school. The finding also is in line with Aja (2015) who found that human relation was found to be prerequisite to teachers' effectiveness in all categories of schools.

Second finding indicated that adequate provision of instructional materials, regular payment of salary and benefits, constant promotion and staff development training were found to be the motivational strategies used by Provost to enhance teachers' job satisfaction. This finding corroborated with Sulaiman, Mustapha and Ibrahim (2016) who found that school heads motivation skills were found to be a key determinant of administrative effectiveness. Adepegba (2017) also found out that school heads motivation skills were found to be strategies used to enhance teachers' productivity in school environment.

Third finding indicated that communication skills was found to be effective and result oriented through open door policy that created channels for free flow of information in school that could enhance teachers' job satisfaction. This finding corroborated with Arop, Owan and Ekpang (2018) that communication skill was found to have significant effect on teachers' job performance.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the study concluded that provost's human relation with teachers can be effectively maintained through conducive and enabling working environment to facilitate their job satisfaction without giving room to favoritism and nepotism. It is also concluded that Provost's motivational skills such as adequate provision of instructional materials, regular payment of salary and benefits, constant promotion and staff development constituted strategies used to enhance teachers' job satisfaction. Furthermore, the study concluded that Provost's communication skills enhance and significantly improved teacher job satisfaction through open door policy that created channels for free flow of information.

In the light of the findings and conclusions drawn, the study recommends the following:

1. Provosts should endeavor to maintain good rapport and human relations with the teachers by creating conducive and

enabling working environment that could facilitate and enhance their job satisfaction without giving consideration to nepotism and favoritism.

2. Provosts should continue to use their motivational skills to ensure constant and adequate supply of instructional materials for smooth academic activities, as well as, periodic salary increment and staff development to improve teachers' job satisfaction in schools.

3. Provosts of Colleges of Education should improve their communication skills to enhance teachers' job satisfaction by ensuring that there is free flow of information through channels of communication. Suggestions and complaints box should be available on notice boards, as well as, creating room for feedback.

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THE NEXUS BETWEEN POVERTY AND TEENAGE PREGNANCY IN ILORIN TOWNSHIP

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KEYWORDS
Teenager, Poverty, Pregnancy, Ilorin Township

ABSTRACT
Poverty is a hydra-headed monster which affects and destroys anything it touches. In sub-Saharan Africa and indeed Nigeria, the prevalence of poverty is very high with over 110 million Nigerians still living below the poverty line. In Kwara state, the situation is not different as the poverty rate in the state according to the report published by the United Nations Global Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index as of 2023 is 38.9%. This percentage cuts across every part of the country including Ilorin which is the capital of Kwara State has taken its toll on teen girls. Many teen girls between the ages of 13 to 19 years in Ilorin Township have become victims of teenage pregnancy and dropped out of school. An in-depth study reveals that the major cause of this act is poverty as many of the girls were easily lured into sex because of their poor economic condition which makes any little gift item or money attractive. The implication of early sexual activity and pregnancy on the girls and their families goes beyond physical look as many of them are psychologically traumatized, demoralized and can barely pick up the pieces of their lives, thus finding themselves continuing the line of poverty from their parents and wards to the child they deliver. This paper is therefore aimed at discussing and analyzing the connection between poverty and teenage pregnancy in Ilorin Township.

Introduction

Poverty is a multi-dimensional challenge and could span a whole lot of issues of human deprivation. Poverty does not have a uniform or wildly acceptable definition rather, the concept is defined and explained based on certain criteria like growth, good health, and equity (Oladeji, 2015).

According to the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary, (2023), poverty is the state of being poor or indigent, want or scarcity of means of subsistence. This definition above shows clearly that poverty is the state of having less than required for a better living. UNICEF (2020), identifies the lack of basic needs, such as food, clothing and shelter as a characteristic of poverty. In this sense, poverty is the deprivation of the material requirements for minimally acceptable fulfilment of human needs including food. This deprivation goes far beyond lack of private income, it includes the provision of basic health, education and essential services that must be provided by society to prevent people

from falling into poverty (Olorunsanya, Falola, Ogundeji, 2011).

The United Nation's Global Multi-Dimensional poverty index has three dimensions in estimating overall poverty, they are education, health and living standards (United Nations Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index Report, 2023).

In Africa and indeed Nigeria, the level of poverty is high. According to the Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index (MPI) report, as of 2022 Multidimensional poverty is higher in rural areas, where 72% of people are poor, compared to 42% of people in urban areas. Approximately 70% of Nigeria's population live in rural areas, yet these areas are home to 80% of poor people; the intensity of rural poverty is also higher: 42% in rural areas compared to 37% in urban areas, the subsequent report released by the World Bank in 2022 showed that only 38% of Nigeria could be considered poor. The situation has worsened in 2022 and 2023, as the country has become one of the poorest countries in the world following the UN report on Nigeria's Common Country Analysis, with over 80% of Nigerians living below the poverty line. Poverty and hunger have remained high in rural households, remote communities and female-headed households and these cut across the six geo-political zones with prevalence ranging from approximately 17.7% in the South West to 74.3% in the North and North East (United Nations Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index Report, 2023). Female children from poor homes tend to engage in sex early in life and the consequence is teenage pregnancy.

Teenage pregnancy on the other hand is more common among young girls who have been disadvantaged in childhood and have a low expectation of education or the job market. Youths living in poverty have a teen pregnancy rate which is higher than their counterparts who are not poor (Gender and Health, 2008). This foregoing clearly shows that teenage pregnancy encompasses the three multi-dimensions used in estimating overall poverty by the United Nations which are education, health and living standard. This paper attempts to discuss and analyze the connection between poverty and teenage pregnancy in Ilorin township between the period of 2010 to 2022, how it has increased over the years and its resultant effect. For presentation, the historical research method was adopted, it included the use of secondary and primary information obtained from the library, selected junior secondary schools in the Ilorin Township, maternity clinics, Kwara State Ministry of Health, Kwara State Ministry of Education and oral information from some affected teenagers, parents, wards and teachers.

Poverty in Kwara State and Ilorin Township

Kwara state is located in the North Central part of Nigeria with coordinates 8^0 30' 0 N, 4^0 33' 0 E. The state was created on the 27th of May 1967 by the Federal Military Government of Nigeria. At its creation, the state was made up of former Ilorin and Kabba provinces of the then Northern Region and was initially named the West Central State but later changed to Kwara a local name for the River Niger (Wikipedia, 2023). The state has since 1976 reduced considerably in size as a result of further state creation exercises in the country. These creations took place in 1976 and 1991 respectively, which led to the creation of Benue State and later Kogi State. The state consists of sixteen Local Government Areas, which are, Asa, Baruten, Edu, Ekiti, Ifelodun, Ilorin East, Ilorin South, Ilorin West, Irepodun, Isin, Kaiama, Moro, Offa, Oke-Ero, Oyun and Patigi (Kwara State Government, 2018).

The population of Kwara State was 2,371, 089 based on the 2006 national census (NPC, 2006). The State comprises different ethnic groups but is currently dominated by three major ethnic groups i.e. the Yoruba, Nupe and Baruba. However, some Fulanis and Hausas are spread across the state with other ethnic groups from different parts of the country such as Igbos, Igbira, Igala, etc (Kwara State Government, 2018).

Agriculture is widely practised among the people and the principal cash crops are cotton, cocoa, coffee, kola nut, tobacco, beniseed and palm produce. Available mineral resources in the state are gold, limestone, marble, feldspar, clay, kaolin, quartz and granite rocks.

The state is divided into two main parts which are the rural and urban settlements. Ilorin which is the capital is the major urban centre along with a few other centres in the state. However other vast areas of the state fall under the rural area with less socio-economic development (Kwara State Government, 2018). It is important to note that the majority of the people in the

urban areas are civil servants with quite some businessmen, women and artisans.

Ilorin, the capital city of Kwara State is located on Latitude 80 30 N and Longitude 40 35 E, it lies in the plain of the North Central part of Nigeria. The city which lies along the Lagos to Kaduna highway is about 306 km from Lagos, 600 km from Kaduna and about 500km from Abuja, the Federal Capital city of Nigeria. At present, the city of Ilorin cuts across 3 Local Government Areas namely Ilorin West, Ilorin East and Ilorin South Local Government Areas. The evolution of Ilorin began with the early traditional areas built up around the township centre. The trend revealed that the city has four major residential districts which are identifiable on the urban landscape, these are the traditional/core areas such as Oja-Oba, Okelele, Gambari, Balogun Fulani, Ajikobi and Alanamu, the transitional/mixed residential zones such as Taiwo, Gaa-Akanbi, the Government Residential Areas (GRA) and the modern well-planned housing estates such as Oloje, Irewolede, and Adewole housing estates.

The creation of Kwara State in 1967 and the choice of Ilorin as the state capital resulted in its rapid population increase and area expansion. Today, Ilorin has witnessed more physical expansion and open-up of new road networks resulting in the city enveloping many of the smaller settlements surrounding it. The absorbed settlements are Kulende, Elekoyangan and the Polytechnic permanent site campus along Jebba Road to the Northeast. GaaAkanbi, Ero-Omo, Olunlade and Ganmo which are found along the Ilorin Ajasse-Ipo road to the South-east, Ogidi along Ilorin-Kaiama road to the west, Sobi Barracks, Alagbado along Ilorin-Shao road to the north and Agunbelowo, Olorunsogo, Odota etc. along Ilorin-Lagos road to the south-west (Ahmed, 2013). The Ilorin population was projected with an annual growth rate of 2.84% (NPC, 1991) and at the 2006 headcounts; the city has reached 1,064,000 by population (NPC, 2023). Although, Ilorin developed as an administrative centre both economic and social activities have greatly influenced its growth in recent times. The major occupations of the indigene are farming, pottery making, and weaving. There is also a greater percentage of the people who engaged in trading activities, while others are self-employed in various other areas such as mechanics, carpentry, and artisans among others.

A survey by Olorunsanya, Falola and Ogundeji shows that more household heads in the urban area have formal education than in the rural areas as most of the educated people in the rural areas migrated to the urban areas for white-collar jobs rather than farming in the villages (Olorunsanya, Falola and Ogundeji, 2011).

In Ilorin township, there are more non-farmers than in the outskirts of Ilorin, the study made by Olorunsanya, Falola and Ogundeji further shows that there are poor and core (extremely) poor people in the interior of Ilorin and villages outside Ilorin. According to them the high incidence of poverty among the people in Ilorin township could be connected with their low level of income, as over 50% earned not more than N10,000 as income per household per month as against 14% for the urban household.

Poverty incidence is highest among households with no formal education and lowest among those with post-secondary education as educated members are more liable to adopt new technology than their unlettered counterparts. Furthermore, many of the people in Ilorin Township adopt the large household size, this has also contributed to the high incidence of poverty in the township, because of the inability of the household head to adequately cater for the dependents (Aigbokhan, 2019).

With this status, Ilorin Township and by extension, Kwara state has been reported by the World Bank as being poor with a 20.4% poverty rate (United Nations Multi-Dimensional Poverty Index Report, 2023).

The main causes of poverty in Kwara State and Ilorin township are inadequate access to employment opportunities, inadequate physical assets, such as land and capital and minimal access to credit facilities by the poor. Other causes include inadequate access to a market where the poor can sell their goods and services; low endowment of human capital, inadequate access to assistance for those living at the margin and those victimized by transitory poverty and lack of participation, urbanization is also identified as one of the causes of poverty in the state (Bello et al., 2009).

The present state of poverty in Kwara State has a devastating effect on the socio-economic development of the state capital and the people. Vices such as teenage pregnancy, armed robbery, street children hawking, domestic slavery, drugs, malnutrition, prostitution, rituals,

and kidnapping among others have become very rampant in the state and Ilorin Township.

Teenage Pregnancy in Ilorin Township

Teenage pregnancy is a pregnancy that occurs within the age bracket of thirteen to nineteen years of age. It is the pregnancy of young immature girls of secondary school age which occurs between the onset of puberty and late adolescence. This is a period characterized by a great sexual drive in both boys and girls. It is also described as an out-of-wedlock pregnancy.

Teenage pregnancy is a major public health and social problem the world over and its incidence is on the increase. Concern about the increase in unmarried adolescent pregnancy has been expressed throughout Africa. There is a consensus that this is a phenomenon with detrimental effects on African society. The observed consequence includes contributions to higher infant mortality, potential barriers to the development of women, increased maternal morbidity and mortality and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases (Adebola, 2020). It is contributing substantially to overall fertility in Sub-Saharan Africa. Taken as a region, the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa have the highest level of early childbearing in the world. Teenage pregnancy constitutes a health hazard both to the mothers and the fetus. The mother is at increased risk of pregnancy-induced hypertension, anaemia, obstructed labour and its sequelae. They are also three times more likely to die as a result of the complications of pregnancy and delivery than those aged 20-24. The fetus is prone to be delivered preterm, small for gestational age and has an increased risk of pre-natal death (Adebola, 2020). Many issues have strongly influenced the pattern of adolescent pregnancy, these include the declining age at menarche the increase in the number of years spent in school and the influences on the timing of marriage. Adolescents who have finished at least 7 years of schooling (in developing countries) are more likely to delay marriage until after the age of 18 years.

This increases the length of time that they are exposed to the risk of adolescent pregnancy. The reason for teenage pregnancy varies from country to country and from region to region within the same country. Factors that are associated with teenage pregnancy include rapid urbanization, low socio-economic status, low educational and career aspiration, residence in a single-parent home and poor family relationships. In 2010, Nigeria's adolescent fertility rate was 111 births per 1,000 women ages 15 to 19, and Nigerian women averaged more than five births during their lifetime (Adebola, 2020).

Globally, people regard teenage pregnancy as a social and moral problem which often results in shame and distress to the teenager, discrimination against her illegitimate child and added responsibility and expenses to the teenager's family in general. Indeed, Oguguo sees teenage pregnancy as a result of accidents and therefore is seen as a social problem (Oguguo, 1996).

Socioeconomic circumstances play a major role in the rate of teen pregnancy in Nigeria. Most of the girls because of their background see no reason not to get pregnant. For some disadvantaged youth, particularly girls whose self-esteem tends to drop as they mature, sexuality is all they have to value. Furthermore, lack of opportunity and hope for the future has been identified as a driving force behind high rates of teen pregnancy (Gender and Health, 2008).

Children of teenage parents are also more likely to have problems and eventually become teenage parents themselves, thus perpetuating the cycle of poverty begun by teenage birth. Young girls from low-income families are reported to get pregnant at a higher rate than those from middle and upper-income families.

The rate at which teenage girls get pregnant in Ilorin Township is high and the number continues to increase as the year goes. In 2015, over 30 per cent of girls in a junior secondary school within the township were reported to have engaged in sexual intercourse and got pregnant before the senior secondary school certificate examination (Lawal, 2015).

The case is the same in Irepodun, Igbaja, Ifelodun, Moro and Kiama Local Government Area of Kwara State where teen girls dropped out of school because of pregnancy (James). In Ilorin the state capital the situation is not different but rather higher, especially in the township where there is a poor level of education, low income earned by parents and large family size. The core Ilorin township (Gambari, Alanamu, Ajikobi and Balogun Fulani)

reveals a high prevalence of teenage pregnancy. This sad situation has become the norm of the day and it is not condemned by their parent and wards rather these girls are encouraged. Between the periods of 2010 to 2015, the township recorded an increase in teenage pregnancy.

Table 1: Number of pregnant teenage girls registered at the maternity clinic in Ilorin Township from 2018 to 2019,

Names of Hospitals	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
Ajikobi Cottage Hospital	10	12	15	20	18	21
Okelele L.G.A maternity and dispensaries	12	11	18	16	22	19
Temitope Hospital	8	12	7	10	15	16
Total	30	35	55	57	60	56

Source: Authors survey, 2016

Table 1 above shows an increase in teenage pregnancy within the township, these figures, however, represent the number of pregnant teen girls that are registered at the hospital, many of them due to poverty do not go to the clinic but rather use the traditional birth attendance while others deliver at home with the help of experienced mothers.

The Relationship between Poverty and Teenage Pregnancy in Kwara State

There are many causes of teenage pregnancy as identified by Adebola, in Ilorin Township however Poverty has been identified as the major cause of teenage pregnancy in Kwara state. The two evils relate side by side and carry each other along. Counselor Peter O.A who is the state PRO II of the School Counselor Association of Nigeria in Kwara State disclosed that during their field research of over 55 secondary schools in Kwara state, it was discovered that the rate of sex abuse has continued to increase because many girls are lured into it for gift items and money (Lawal, 2015). The irony of it all is that the money that is often used to lure these girls is very little, but because of their background, they tend to succumb cheaply to the temptation. According to a teenage mother, poverty is the major cause of teen pregnancy in Ilorin and has led to its continual increase. Girls from a more privileged home do not fall easily into sex and even if they do they can afford contraceptives to avoid pregnancy which the poor ones cannot. Furthermore, many influential parents and wards tend to guard their female children and provide everything they need to concentrate on their education and disregard untimely sexual relationships (Ahmed, 2022).

Teenage pregnancy in some cases is also used by girls from poor homes as a ticket to leave their parent's houses and have their status changed without considering the dangerous effect on them, their children, and their parents (Adams, 2022). The implication of this deliberate pregnancy ends a lot of them in their parents' houses hence the continuity in the line of poverty.

Some parents and wards who are poverty-stricken arrange for their daughters to be impregnated with the hope of getting them married to the men involved, this arranged sexual act is usually a 50/50 chance, as only in a few cases is such successful.

Some teen girls who are from poor homes do not have access to education. In Ilorin, many teen girls are seen roaming around the street

while others hawk to feed themselves and their families. Ninety per cent of these girls eventually get pregnant and become a mother still relying on petty trading and hawking for survival. Hawking itself has led many girls into early sexual activity among many vices they are exposed to (Olorunmaiye et al, 2022).

The poverty level and the quest to make ends meet in the township expose the teen girls to sexual vices such as rape, sexual abuse, molestation and sexual intimidation. Furthermore, because of their poor background many of them are unable to resist any of this and when raped would not be able to report to the authorities and seek medical help, and in the long run end up becoming pregnant unwillingly (Olorunmaiye, 2022).

Poverty in the state has also been held responsible for loose or poor parenting, as a result of lack of basic needs and the continued strive to make ends meet, many poor parents barely have time for their children, thus giving them unlimited freedom to engage in any sexual vices.

Poverty has also erased the concern for future ambition among the teen girls, many of them do not care for the future all they want is what they can get in the present, and this situation and mindset exposes them to peer pressure in their environment. As a result of this, they prefer to join their friends than remain outside, the effect of poverty and teenage pregnancy have been explained explicitly that the socio-economic condition in Nigeria means that those who live in poverty are often exposed to more "live" sexual activity because families are regularized to live in small houses where there is lack of privacy for the parents, children that grow up under such situation can easily engage themselves on sexual activity as soon as they entered the puberty age (Joubert, 2019).

The traditional practice of giving teenage boys room out of the main building in Ilorin township has also been identified as one of the causes of teenage pregnancy. polygamous marriage is very common in the study area with wives fighting for rooms for their sons, the teen boys often use this independence to perpetrate different acts one of which is engaging in sexual activity with teen girls around which in most cases are not known by the parents until the supposed girl gets pregnant and points out the boy (Ibrahim, 2022).

Effects of Teenage Pregnancy on Girl Child

The effects of teenage pregnancy are enormous and can continue from generation to generation. The effects of teenage pregnancy are as follows, it leads to early marriage which may also result in medical implications during childbirth. In some parts of Kwara state and Ilorin township, early marriage is highly practised and encouraged by the community, so as soon as a teenager gets pregnant she is married off to the man, irrespective of his background, age, financial status and level of education. It is important to note that the percentage of these married girls that successfully stay married is low as many of the girls end up living with their parents, (Ogiri, Shittu and Yakub, 2013), corroborated this finding that early marriage and traditional gender rules are important causes of teenage pregnancy, as it is seen as a proof of the girl's fertility, especially in Northern Nigeria.

Another effect is the educational implication, the pregnant teenage girls have to drop out from school to nurture their pregnancy, as a result of this, many of the girls find it difficult to go back to school because they are now saddled with the responsibility of taking care of their baby and by extension their new family (Bisell, 2000).

Table 2; The number of teen girls that dropped out of school on account of teen pregnancy

Names of school	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
Ojagboro secondary school	5	6	3	10	8	9
Adeta secondary school	3	2	5	7	3	5
Government-day secondary school	4	6	3	1	3	5
Total	12	14	11	18	14	19

Source: Authors survey, 2023

Teenage pregnancy disrupts the normal life course of the teenager who is now proposed to become a mother, a role which is only causally prepared for and often feels unready to assume, this situation often leads to divorce, separation, child abandonment, living in poverty, health problems and become socially dependent (Miller, 2006). This has also led to a high number of abandoned babies dropped at unhealthy places in the state of Ilorin metropolis over 20 babies were rescued and handed over to the police force in 2023.

Psychologically, teenage pregnancy harms the mother and the baby. This is usually associated with pre-natal, child delivery, and post-natal care. Many unfortunate girls end up with virginal fistula disease while others suffer from mental depression and other problems associated with early delivery. Furthermore, most teenage mothers can barely take care of themselves and talk more of the baby who needs utmost care to survive and grow up. Basic needs such as good food, shelter, clothing and education often elude the child, therefore continuing the cycle of poverty (Martin, 2007).

Conclusion

This paper examined poverty and teenage pregnancy in Ilorin township with a focus on four wards: Ajikobi, Alanamu, Gambari and Balogun Fulani. The paper reveals that poverty is quite high among the dwellers in the township because many of the people are into farming (substance) and few are civil servants who earn less than N10:000 monthly, artisans and businessmen. Furthermore, the level of income earned by these people is low when compared to those in the urban areas of G.R A, Irewolede, Adewole e.t.c who live a modern life. However, because of their low level of income, and interior location, exposure to current trends eludes them. In the capital's urban areas, there are equally many people living in poverty but not as high as those in the interior. The poverty experienced by these people placed a barrier to what they can access in terms of good living. The effect of poverty is higher on teenage girls who at the adolescent stage need lots of care and financial support from their parents or guardian.

This study highlighted the intricate relationship between poverty and teenage pregnancy in Ilorin Township, shedding light on the socio-economic challenges that exacerbate this issue. The findings underscore that poverty is a significant driving force behind the high rates of teenage pregnancy, as economic hardship compels many young girls to engage in early sexual activities for financial support. This situation not only disrupts their education and prospects but also perpetuates a cycle of poverty and socio-economic disadvantage.

Addressing teenage pregnancy in Ilorin Township requires a multi-faceted approach that targets the root causes of poverty. This includes improving access to quality education, healthcare, and economic opportunities for young girls and their families. Effective poverty alleviation programs, combined with comprehensive sex education and accessible reproductive health services, are crucial in empowering girls to make informed choices about their lives and futures.

The persistent issue of teenage pregnancy in Ilorin Township serves as a reminder of the broader socio-economic inequalities that need to be addressed. By tackling these challenges head-on, we can ensure that every girl has the opportunity to thrive and contribute positively to her community, free from the constraints of poverty and early motherhood. The study, therefore, shows that poverty is the major cause of teenage pregnancy in the township, as many of the girls are lured into early sexual activity due to their parent's and guidance's poor status.

Recommendation

The study recommends that teenage girls should be exposed to early sexual education in primary 5 to 6 and early secondary school.

Sensitization programmes should be organized and carried out to sensitize and enlighten the girls on the effect of early pregnancy on their physical, emotional and psychological health.

The government on their part should provide empowerment to indigent girls and scholarships to keep them in school

Parents should be discouraged from allowing their children to be exposed to sexual activity at an early age and should also be encouraged to discuss sex-related topics with their children to build a confident relationship between the parent and daughter before being exposed to the world.

Mothers should monitor the movements and the behaviour of their daughters as soon as they attain the age of puberty and guide them accordingly.

NGOs should come to the aid of street hawkers and domestic servants, providing them with financial and psychological help to pursue their dreams and ambitions in life.

Schools should have a well-trained guardian counsellor who will be ready to attend to students who have trouble with male students and those from poor homes who may feel intimidated by the lifestyle of their mates from comfortable homes.

Furthermore, community engagement and support systems are essential in creating a protective environment for adolescents. Policies that promote gender equality and protect girls from exploitation and abuse must be enforced rigorously. Only through a concerted effort involving government, non-governmental organizations, and the community can the cycle of poverty and teenage pregnancy be broken, paving the way for a healthier, more prosperous future for the youth of Ilorin Township. Religious bodies and leaders should also discourage this vice as it is frowned upon by God which is clearly stated in the Holy Scriptures.

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ASSESSMENT OF DIGITAL MIGRATION SWITCH-OVER PREPAREDNESS AMONG SELECT BROADCAST STATIONS IN BENIN CITY

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Digital, analogue, broadcasting, technological determinism, broadcast stations, Benin

ABSTRACT
The researchers assessed the digital migration switch-over preparedness among select broadcast stations in Benin City. The rationale of the study was to ascertain the state of digital switch-over programme among broadcast stations in Benin City and how prepared select broadcast stations are in the switch over policy. Anchored on the Technological Determinism Theory, the researcher employed the survey research method and questionnaire as data collection instrument. The population of the study covers broadcasters from select broadcast stations in Benin City and the purposive sampling technique was used in administering 186 copies of questionnaire on the sample size that was arrived at using Roger Wimmer sample size determiner. Findings of the study revealed, among others, were that the level of preparedness and extent of adoption of DMSO was low and there are factors militating the full migration to digital broadcasting. The researchers recommended, among others, that broadcasting stations, especially smaller ones, would benefit from financial support or incentives provided by regulatory authorities or industry associations to aid in the acquisition of digital broadcasting equipment and infrastructure upgrades.

Introduction

The global shift towards digital technologies has significantly impacted the broadcasting industry, leading to the transition from analogue to digital broadcasting. This transformation, commonly referred to as digital migration switch-over (DMSO) or digital switch-over (DSO), has brought about numerous changes and challenges for broadcast media and broadcasters.

The notion of DSMO was birthed at the International Telecommunications Union's (ITU) Regional Radio-communication Conference (RRC-06) in Geneva, Switzerland in June 2006, when nations around the world agreed to a treaty to migrate from analogue to digital

broadcasting on or before 17th June, 2015 (Olagoke, 2015; Olalere, Oyeyinka, Lateef, Olakunle, Kenneth, Rauf and Nancy, 2013; Berger, 2012). As explained by Akinreti, Ojo, Odegbenle, Owolabi et al. (2013, p.90) the clarion call for the transition to digital broadcasting by the ITU is hinged on the following objectives:

> *The International Telecommunication Union, in its agreement, stated that the transition from analogue to digital broadcasting is set to improve coverage of digital television transmission, ensure that the bandwidths are available for wireless broadcasting services, enhance sound and picture, in particular, High-Definition Television (HDTV), enable more channels (additional content) and give unfettered access to digital radio transmission.*

The ITU's project of digitizing broadcast media globally is to revamp and proffer solutions to the lapses of analogue broadcasting which include defects in sound and picture quality, limited channels and no internet access. Berger (2012) explains that 30 of Africa's 54 states are actually given up till 2020 in the same treaty – that is, nearly two-thirds of the continent. Though Nigeria is part of thirty African countries given an extra five-year grace period to migrate to digital broadcasting (Olalere et al, 2013), the country commenced her digitisation process as early as 2007 by setting 17th June, 2012 as deadline for a complete switch-over of all broadcast channels from analogue to digital (Ihechu & Uche, 2012). Therefore, on 22nd December, 2016, Nigeria made a huge leap in her digital migration process following the launch of the Abuja phase of the Digital Switch-over (DSO) by the then President Muhammadu Buhari, signalling the commencement of the full roll-out of digital broadcasting across country (Onyianyi & Okwumba, 2019).

From inception, television broadcasting in Nigeria has been accomplished by analogue transmission which uses complete waves to transmit pictures and sound. Over the years, the transmission process has improved incrementally. It moved from monochrome (black and white) to colour transmission, and recently it has begun the transition into the digital format (Omale, Ekhaerafo, & Essien, 2016). Digital broadcasting is superior to the analogue format because of some advantages such as improved signal quality, versatility, efficiency and interoperability with other electronic media. Ihechu & Uche (2012) notes that digital signals have as an additional advantage, the capability of generating no noise and are more resistant to signal interference This new technology allows audio, video and data to be transmitted over airwaves like a computer. Due to the dynamic nature of technology and the fact that the analogue system currently in use may be unable to support future developments in the industry, there is a dire need to make this change so that the country can keep up with other nations and meet the demands of the age (Adeyeye & Nwaoboli, 2023).

Although, the transition from analogue to digital broadcasting offers potential benefits such as improved signal quality, efficient spectrum utilization, enhanced interactivity, and the possibility of delivering diverse multimedia content. However, this transition is not without challenges, including infrastructure upgrades, equipment costs, regulatory compliance, and audience adaptation (Ihechu & Uche, 2012). Therefore, the motivation behind this study stems from the need to understand the current state of digital migration among select broadcast stations in Benin City.

Statement of the Problem

In a country that intends to phase out analogue transmission and attain full digital switchover in broadcast stations of thirty-six states in less than two years, it is instructive to provide empirical evidence and contribute to the ongoing conversation on the broadcast stations' awareness of, and readiness for, digital migration process. Existing studies in Nigeria that investigated the state of preparedness and awareness of broadcast media professionals to the digitization of broadcasting observed that broadcasters were aware of digital migration and willing to broadcast digitally but they lacked the financial prowess to acquire the new digital technologies (Alalibo, 2009; Okon & Eleba, 2013; Alalibo, 2017; Obot & Inwang, 2017). However, without robust empirical evidence as to the situation among broadcast stations and broadcasters in Benin City, which is the host of one of first private broadcast stations in Nigeria (the Independent television and radio), the existing findings may be deficient in representing the situation in Nigeria. In other words, it is imperative to understand the perspectives held by broadcasters in select broadcast stations from

Benin regarding the implications of digital switch-over. It is, therefore, essential to fill this knowledge gap by focusing on Benin City, Edo State, in our attempt to establish the extent to which broadcast stations from the zone are aware of, and prepared for, and challenges militating against the digitization of broadcasting in Nigeria.

Research Objectives

The objectives of the study were to:

1. Find out the level of preparedness of select broadcast stations in Benin City for the digital migration switch-over.
2. Determine the extent to which select broadcast stations in Benin City have adopted digital technologies in their broadcast operations.
3. Ascertain the challenges faced by these broadcast stations in the digital migration and/or full digital switchover.

Theoretical Framework

Technological Determinism theory

This study is anchored on the technological determinism theory. Technological determinism is a theory that suggests that technological developments drive and shape the course of societal change, often having profound effects on various aspects of human life, including culture, communication, and economy (Asemah, Nwammuo & Nkwam-Uwaoma, 2022). Within the context of media, technological determinism theory examines how technological advancements influence the evolution of media forms, content, and their impact on society (Arijeniwa, Nwaoboli, Ajimokunola & Uwuoruya, 2022). The theory proposes that each technological innovation comes with its own inherent qualities, capabilities, and limitations, which can influence how it is used and its effects on society and considers how changes in media technology, such as the printing press, telegraph, radio, television, and the internet, have transformed how information is communicated, distributed, and consumed (Asemah et al., 2022). The theory argues further that significant technological shifts can lead to societal transformation, altering social norms, cultural practices, and economic structures and highlights that the adoption of new media technologies can have unintended consequences, both positive and negative, on various aspects of society (Arijeniwa et al., 2022). This means that media technologies can influence perceptions of reality and shape how people understand and interpret the world.

Given the overall objectives of this study, employing the technological determinism theory as the framework is relevant. This is because the Technological Determinism Theory provides an vantage standpoint in understanding how digital switch-over, as new media technology would shape the thinking, feelings, and operations of the broadcast stations and broadcasters as Nigeria moves from analogue broadcasting to digital broadcasting.

Conceptual/Literature Review

Digital Migration Switch-Over and Digital Broadcasting

Digital migration in broadcasting refers to the process of transitioning from analogue to digital transmission technologies and standards for the delivery of audio and video content over the airwaves. According to Hart (2010), digital migration switch-over in broadcasting refers to the process of transitioning from analogue to digital broadcasting technologies, involving the upgrading of broadcasting infrastructure, transmission systems, and content delivery mechanisms. This definition emphasises the comprehensive nature of the switch-over process, encompassing technological advancements in both hardware and software components of broadcasting systems. It involves replacing traditional analogue broadcasting methods with modern digital technologies. The switch aims to improve the efficiency, quality, and diversity of broadcasting services.

However, Orlu-Orlu (2017) opined that digital means the application of digits or numbers in the representation of information. In this regard, digital broadcasting is a means of ensuring capacity in broadcast transmission networks by improving spectrum efficiency (Plum, 2014). By implication, digital broadcast content is considered superior in quality compared to analogue broadcast. In addition, digital broadcasting offers multiple programme options, and minimised energy usage among others, thus creating an unavoidable avenue for a shift of attention from analogue to digital.

Some requisite equipment needed to foster digital broadcast operations is a studio mixing board, microphones, headphones, digital cameras, broadcast media server for television automation, capture cards for ingesting live material, scheduler, hardware encoder, studio transmitter link, streaming receiver, digital TV transmitter, digital mixer, digital monitors, virtual studio equipment, satellite technology, capture card, streaming digital receiver (Inaba & Kolia, 2016).

In addition, digital television offers interference-free, quality sound and multiplexing of up to 6 channels under one bandwidth. Okhakhu (2015) cited in Benike (2022) on his part described digitalisation as the cutting-edge technology that enables the broadcast industry to do away with the obsolete method of transmission. He further noted that digitalisation is about making broadcast transmission to be digitally compliant; by implication, television means nothing but quality of broadcast transmission that requires improvement. This is in agreement with the position of Jayson (2014) that digital transmission (also called digital switch-over or analogue-switch off) which analogue television is converted to and replaced by digital television. Therefore, digital migration switch-over in broadcasting represents the strategic overhaul of broadcasting infrastructures, involving the transition from analogue to digital technologies for content delivery, transmission, and reception.

Challenges to Digital Broadcasting in Nigeria

Digital broadcasting has fundamentally transformed the landscape of content production, transmission, and consumption, introducing both exciting prospects and significant challenges. One of the primary challenges lies in technological infrastructure and associated costs. Upgrading existing broadcasting systems to support digital transmission necessitates substantial financial investment. This includes acquiring new equipment, establishing digital transmitters, and ensuring widespread signal coverage. For smaller broadcasters or those with limited financial resources, making this transition can be particularly daunting, potentially leaving them at a disadvantage in an increasingly competitive market (Omale et al., 2016).

Another critical challenge is the audience's transition from analogue to digital broadcasting. This shift requires viewers to adapt to new technologies, such as acquiring digital television sets or set-top boxes. In regions with lower technological penetration or limited consumer affordability, this can pose a significant barrier. Consequently, the audience may experience a lag in the adoption of digital broadcasting, which could impact viewership and engagement levels (Hassan, 2015).

Spectrum scarcity further complicates the digital broadcasting landscape. As digital broadcasting relies on efficient spectrum allocation and management, the limited availability of broadcast frequencies can lead to heightened competition among various stakeholders (Ayeni and Nwaoboli, 2023). This scarcity not only affects broadcasters but also raises concerns about the equitable distribution of spectrum resources, which is essential for the successful implementation of digital services.

While digital broadcasting offers the potential for high-definition and interactive content, the challenges of content creation and quality cannot be overlooked. Producing high-quality digital content often demands higher production costs and specialized technical expertise. Smaller broadcasters, in particular, may struggle to maintain the required level of quality and diversity in their programming, which can hinder their ability to compete with larger, more resource-rich organizations.

Additionally, the regulatory and policy frameworks surrounding digital broadcasting play a crucial role in facilitating a smooth transition. Effective regulations and policies are essential for guiding the shift to digital broadcasting; however, inadequate regulatory frameworks or delays in policy formulation can create significant uncertainties for stakeholders. Such uncertainties may impede progress and deter investment in digital broadcasting initiatives, ultimately affecting the sector's overall growth (Dyikuk & Chinda, 2017).

Lastly, interoperability and standardization present another layer of complexity in the digital broadcasting ecosystem. Ensuring compatibility between different digital broadcasting technologies and standards can be a challenging task (Nwaoboli, 20223). The lack of standardization may lead to fragmentation within the industry, complicating the efforts of broadcasters and manufacturers to provide

seamless and user-friendly services. Addressing these challenges is vital for realizing the full potential of digital broadcasting and ensuring that it serves the diverse needs of audiences and stakeholders alike.

Prospects of Digital Broadcasting in Nigeria

Digital broadcasting presents numerous prospects that can significantly enhance the media landscape. One of the most notable advantages is the improved signal quality and efficient spectrum usage. Digital broadcasting offers superior audio and video quality compared to analogue, which enhances the overall viewing experience for audiences (Okhakhu, 2015 cited in Benike, 2022). Additionally, digital broadcasting utilizes spectrum more efficiently than its analogue counterpart, allowing for more channels to be accommodated within the same frequency bandwidth. This efficient spectrum use not only reduces energy consumption but also leads to potential cost savings, contributing to the sustainability of broadcasting operations.

Another significant prospect of digital broadcasting is the enhancement of interactive content. Digital platforms enable features such as program guides, digital text, and multimedia services, which provide viewers with more engaging and personalized experiences (Adaramola, 2017; Kawu, 2017). This interactivity fosters a deeper connection between broadcasters and their audiences, allowing for a more tailored viewing experience that can adapt to individual preferences.

Moreover, digital broadcasting facilitates multi-channel and multicast services, allowing for the transmission of multiple channels within a single frequency. This capability enables broadcasters to offer diverse content options and niche programming, catering to a wider range of audience interests (Benike, 2022). Beyond traditional broadcasting, digital platforms can also support data services, including emergency alerts, weather updates, and educational content, thereby enhancing the value of the broadcasting service.

The convergence of digital broadcasting with internet technologies is another promising prospect. This integration allows for hybrid models that combine linear broadcasting with on-demand and interactive features, creating a more versatile media consumption experience (Plum, 2014). Such convergence not only broadens the scope of content delivery but also aligns with the evolving preferences of modern audiences who increasingly seek flexibility in how they consume media.

Finally, digital broadcasting opens up opportunities for new revenue streams. It enables targeted advertising, pay-per-view services, and value-added content offerings, which can significantly enhance the financial viability of broadcasting operations (Dyikuk & Chinda, 2017; Aginam, 2017). By leveraging data analytics and audience insights, broadcasters can create more effective advertising strategies and develop content that resonates with specific viewer demographics, ultimately driving revenue growth.

Overall, the transition to digital broadcasting presents both challenges and prospects for the industry. While overcoming technological, regulatory, and financial hurdles is essential, the benefits of improved quality, interactivity, and efficiency make digital broadcasting a promising avenue for the future of media delivery. Effective policy frameworks, collaboration among stakeholders, and strategic investments can help maximize the prospects while mitigating the challenges of digital broadcasting

Empirical Review

Obot & Inwang (2017) investigated the awareness of and preparedness for digital broadcasting among communication practitioners and educators in Uyo, Akwa Ibom State. Anchored on the Diffusion of Innovation and the Technological Determinism theories, the survey method was adopted for this study. The research instrument (questionnaire) was administered directly to the respondents by the researchers. Based on the findings of the study, it was found that communication educators in Uyo are aware of the digitization process in the broadcast industry and are already teaching the subject of digitization in tertiary institutions in Uyo, Nigeria. The researchers recommended that there is a need to carry out timely information and communication activities for the communication practitioners and educators, and even to the general public to raise awareness and understanding of digital broadcasting.

Akinola-Badmus & Ojebuyi (2021) examined broadcast journalists' perception of challenges

and benefits of digitization of broadcasting in Oyo State, Nigeria. Driven by the Technological Determinism and Diffusion of Innovation theories as the framework, the study employed survey and in-depth interviews as the research methods to examine broadcast journalists' levels of awareness, readiness for, and perception of, the challenges and benefits of digital switchover.

Findings showed that most broadcasters were aware of the digital switchover. However, majority of the broadcasters confirmed that they were not adequately prepared for digital transition. Further findings confirmed that, apart from skills, costs of content creation and procurement of digital technologies required by digital broadcast were the major impediments to digital switchover while they identified job creation, more revenue generation, richer contents, stronger bandwidths, and enhanced patronage as the benefits of digital broadcast. The researchers concluded that relevant government agencies in charge of digital switchover in Nigeria should, through training and equipment procurement, motivate and empower broadcasters and broadcast stations to prepare them for a successful digital switchover.

Oyedokun, Molindo & Ajayi (2022) examined the progress, challenges, and benefits of the analogue-digital switchover in the Nigerian broadcast industry. The technological determinism theory serves as the theoretical backbone upon which this study is anchored. The study employed the library research approach. Findings revealed that digital television provides crisper pictures and sound, the signals are less prone to distortion and the audience will be provided with numerous channels to choose from. Furthermore, it was found that the digitisation process is faced with some challenges such as inadequate funding, scarcity of qualified manpower, inadequate power supply, citizens' unawareness, and inadequate digital equipment. The researchers concluded that until these issues and other relevant issues are solved, a successful analogue to digital migration may be unachievable on time in Nigeria. The researchers, therefore, then recommended that government should provide enough financial resources to fund the switchover. Also, the concerned agencies should embark on rigorous publicity as many Nigerians are still not aware of the initiative.

Benike (2022) investigates migration from analogue to digital broadcasting in selected government and private media stations in Delta State. The objectives include examination of availability of digital equipment, the patterns of equipment use, and the investigation of the impact of digital broadcast equipment in government and private media stations. The study was anchored on the technological determinism theory and used a cross-sectional research design on a sample of 186. The study found that digital equipment are available in both private and government owned stations but are employed more by private TV stations and that the marked disparity gives private stations greater impact. The researcher, therefore, recommended that government should encourage the training of media personnel to enable them to handle digital equipment to ensure better service to consumers.

Methodology

The study adopted Cross-sectional research design. This design aids the collection of data through survey approach. It allows a researcher to make inferences about a population under investigation (universe) at one point in time while trying to measure their perception of the subject-matter (Asemah, Gujbawu, Ekhareafo & Okpanachi, 2017). The population of the study is three hundred and sixty (360) constituting all the broadcast staff of ITV-Radio, EBS (radio and TV), NTA, Silverbird TV, Channels TV, Bronze 101.5FM, Rhythm 93.7FM and KU 92.7F.M all in Benin-City. The category of staff comprised technical and non-technical staff such as engineers, technologies, cameramen as technical and reporters, and presenters as non-technical staff. The purposive sampling technique was used for this study. One hundred and eighty-six (186) respondents were drawn from the select broadcast stations as the sample size using RogerWimmer sample size determiner and purposive sampling technique was used in administering copies of questionnaire on the respondents. According to Oguonu & Anugwom (2014), the purposive sampling technique allows the investigator to select members to be included using his individual judgment as regards their suitability to the research. A structured questionnaire was used to generate data for the study and the data obtained were analysed using descriptive statistics of mean and frequency count.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Table 1: Level of preparedness of select broadcast stations in Benin City for the digital migration switch-over

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Fully prepared	33	17.7
Moderate prepared	68	36.6
Not Prepared	85	45.7
Total	**186**	**100**

Data presented above shows that majority of the respondents are of the view that the broadcast stations in Benin are not prepared for the DMSO.

Table 2: Extent to which select broadcast stations in Benin City have adopted digital technologies in their broadcast operations

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
High extent	21	11.3
Moderate extent	56	30.1
Low extent	109	58.6
Total	**186**	**100**

Data from table 2 shows that the extent of adoption of digital technologies in broadcasting among select broadcast stations in Benin City is very low.

Table 3: Challenges of DMSO among Broadcast Stations in Benin City

Variables	SA	A	N	D	SD
Insufficient budget for equipment upgrades and technology adoption.	97 (52.2%)	78 (41.9%)	11 (5.9%)	-	-
Difficulties in sourcing and procuring digital broadcasting equipment.	103 (55.4%)	83 (44.6%)	-	-	-
Technical compatibility issues between existing infrastructure and new digital technologies.	71 (38.2%)	93 (50%)	22 (11.8%)	-	-
Challenges in optimizing signal quality and coverage for digital transmission.	83 (44.6%)	98 (52.6%)	5 (2.7%)	-	-
Lack of expertise and training for technical staff in managing digital broadcasting systems.	61 (32.8%)	82 (44.1%)	43 (23.1%)	-	-

From table 3 above, it can be seen that there are challenges militating against the adoption of full DMSO among broadcast stations in Benin City.

Discussion of Findings

Findings revealed that majority of the broadcasters in Benin, which constitute the respondents in the study are of the view that most broadcast stations in Benin are not fully prepared for the digital migration switch-over. This is seen in the response rate of 45.7% that answered to that effect. The reason for their inability could be linked to the fact that most of the broadcast stations in Benin are local stations that are not with enormous economic power nor do they serve a broader audience. However, some of the respondents are of the view that there are stations in Benin City that are fully prepared for the DMSO. This finding is in tandem

with the studies of Obot & Inwang (2017) and Akinola-Badmus & Ojebuyi (2021) where they found that majority of the broadcasters confirmed that they were not adequately prepared for digital transition.

In ascertaining the extent of digital technologies in broadcasting, it was found that majority of the broadcasters are of the view that the broadcast stations in Benin have been able to adopt digitalisation in their broadcasting to a moderate extent, as seen in a response rate of 58.6% in table 2. This shows that although their level of preparedness is not significant, the stations have embraced digitalised broadcasting. This is in tandem with the thrust of the technological determinism theory that as information and communication technology evolves, the communication patterns in the society reflect such technological advancements. This also mirrors the finding of Benike (2022) which found that digital equipment are available in both private and government owned broadcast stations.

The findings reveal that while significant strides have been made in upgrading broadcasting infrastructure and adopting digital technologies, there are persistent challenges that need to be addressed to ensure a successful and seamless transition. The switch-over process has brought about improvements in signal quality, content diversity, and interactive features, which have enhanced the overall broadcasting experience. However, it is evident that certain factors, such as financial constraints, regulatory complexities, and audience education, continue to pose obstacles to the full realization of the benefits of digital migration. This supports the study of Oyedokun, Molindo & Ajayi (2022) that digital broadcast is impinged by myriads of challenges and issues.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Based on the findings, it is concluded that the level of preparedness and extent of adoption of digital migration switch-over among select broadcast stations in Benin City is low, hindered by challenges such as insufficient budget, equipment procurement difficulties, technical compatibility issues, signal quality challenges, and lack of expertise, highlighting the need for urgent attention and support.

1. Broadcast stations should implement a phased digital migration plan, prioritizing equipment upgrades and training for technical staff to enhance preparedness and adoption of digital technologies.

2. Broadcast regulatory bodies should collaborate with broadcasters to establish a clear and updated regulatory framework that addresses technical standards, spectrum allocation, licensing procedures, and compliance requirements for a smooth digital migration process.

3. Training programs and workshops should be organised for broadcasting personnel to enhance their technical skills and knowledge in managing digital broadcasting technologies, signal encoding, and content delivery.

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THE CONSEQUENCES OF KIDNAPPING ON THE COMMUNITY: A CASE STUDY OF ZURMI, ZAMFARA STATE

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Kidnap, ransom, victim, strategies, rational choice theory, crimes, prevention

ABSTRACT
This article examines the consequences of kidnapping on the community. It contributes to the current body of literature on the menace by looking closely at how kidnapping affects the community -- an aspect that previous studies have ignored. Kidnapping exerts enormous and far reaching economic and social costs. It induces and creates a palpable ambience of fear and despairs for all citizens and stultifies economic growth and hinders sustainable development. This study adopted a mixed method, administering structured questionnaires, in-depth and key informant interviews were conducted with Traditional Rulers, Religious leader, Zamfara State Community Protection Guard (ZSCPG) personnel, Military and police officers, and Victim of Kidnapping in Zurmi, Zamfara state. The data revealed majority of the respondents believe that the consequences of kidnapping on Zurmi community are enormous including: emotional depression, anxiety, psychological trauma, and an experience of economic hardship, joblessness after victims' release, abject poverty, anxiety, depression and trauma. The research adopted the Rational Choice Theory (RCT) as its theoretical frame of reference to explain the menace of kidnapping and its consequences on the community. RCT sees individuals as rational actors, capable of making their own choices, which includes choosing to commit crime. Before kidnappers go into the menace, they must have weighed the options and concluded more rewards than punishment. The study offered recommendations to address problems of kidnapping in the study area. Among them is the need for the federal government in collaboration with the Zamfara state government, to review the current strategy of dealing with the issue of kidnapping in Zurmi, Zamfara state especially and Nigeria generally. In particular, there is the need to explore the extant laws and the extent to which they are being enforced with a view to establishing their efficacy.

Introduction

Nigeria has in recent with witnessed an upsurge in insecurity that include kidnapping, banditry, cattle rustling, brigandage, robbery, secessionist and insurgency. There is no place that the effect of insecurity is much felt than in the North. Because of all the insecurities mentioned above, only secessionist that has not manifest in the North. This scourge has brought along with it the much abhorred dangers to the people, the northern state and the nation at large. The thrust of this article is to explore some of the negative effects which are felt by Nigerians particularly those living in Zurmi Local Government of Zamfara State.

Kidnapping has great adverse effect on the nation's socioeconomic development (Okorie-Ajah, Nwokeoma & Okpan, 2018). Inyang and Ubong (2013) noted that over the last few years, the wealthy and the income earners have been picked up by kidnappers who only free their victims after payments of ransom. Kidnapping exerts enormous and far reaching economic and social costs. For them, it induces and creates a palpable ambience of fear and despairs for all citizens and stultifies economic growth and sustainable development. It is one major development challenge bedevilling Nigeria today (Okorie-Ajah, Nwokeoma & Okpan, 2018). But it is mainly practiced in the northwest, Zamfara state inclusive. Even in Zamfara, Zurmi local government has been one of the places that are worse hit and make a good "laboratory" for an experiment of the effects of kidnapping on the community.

Statement of the Research Problem

Globally, kidnapping is a problem that effects the development of nations across the world. The increasing rate of kidnapping despite all efforts to prevent and control it, constitutes a burning issue in the heart of the governments, researchers, public organizations, criminal justice system as well as the residents. Nigeria has witnessed an overwhelming increase of kidnapping involving every level of the society and motivated by many reasons such as financial or political purposes. This menace portends serious negative consequences to the nation. At times kidnappers hold their captives longer in order to demand huge amount of money from the relatives of their victim. No one is free from being kidnapped in Nigeria. Every day many people are kidnapped and forced to pay ransoms in millions, some are killed before they were rescued by their relatives (Kanu & Agbo, 2023).

The problem of kidnapping in Nigeria has been felt in the economic, diplomatic, security and worse still the national image of the country. It has created a state of insecurity in Nigeria, which has affected Nigeria's economic growth. It took a rather dramatic dimension in Nigeria recently with its spread to other areas of the country most especially in the northern region. This has therefore posed a serious challenge to Nigeria's socioeconomic development. Its impact on the nation has been quite enormous as it affects. Accordingly, Okoli and Agada (2014) posited that kidnapping constitutes a great threat to Nigeria's sustainable development. Previous studies have examines various aspects of kidnapping, including the meaning, types or forms, causes, consequences on the economy, foreign investment, foreign relations, tourism, agricultural production, among others (Turner, 1998); Bello, 2024; Ibrahim, and Mukhtar, 2017; Inyang & Ubong, 2013; Okoli, and Atelhe, 2014; Okoli, and Agada, 2014; Okorie, Nwokeoma, & Samuel, 2018; Osumah, & Aghedo, 2011); Sunday, Nuyong, and Nancwat, 2022; Thomas, and Nta, 2009; Yusuf, and Abdullahi, 2020). By this therefore, there exists a gap in the body of existing literature because they have not examined a very critical component; the consequences of kidnapping on the community, especially in Zamfara state, where the menace is rampant. Against this background therefore, this research was set out to address that gap in the literature by critiquing the existing scholarship and ultimately extending the existing scholarship by contributing to it through bringing forth the effects of kidnaping as experienced by the people of Zurmi in Zamfara state.

Conceptual Clarification

There are many definitions of the concept kidnapping. For instance, Thomas and Nta (2009) defined kidnapping as robbery of the highest rank. According to the duo, it is an organized and systematic robbery which is not as deadly as armed-robbery, but more profitable than the former. The profitability has encouraged those that indulged in it to carry on with the act although there is a law prohibiting it. Academic definitions also periodically tie kidnapping to terrorism, because kidnapping uses act or threats of violence to achieve an objective. Osumah and Aghedo (2011 cited in Ekechukwu

& Osaat, 2021) outlined three forms of kidnapping as follows:

1. Ritual kidnapping: The targets of ritual kidnapping are often children, the developmentally disabled. The victims of this form of kidnapping are most often killed, as the desire of the kidnappers is usually to harvest organs or other body parts for sacrifice or money-making rituals.

2. Political kidnapping: Political actors in Nigeria place a "high premium on power and employ any means to acquire power for self-regarding gains". Political kidnapping is reported to be the highest in area with large amount of politicians with a pool of available individuals ready to be dispatched for kidnapping missions by desperate politicians.

3. Business oriented, or economic kidnapping: Originally, this form of kidnapping was done to threaten rivals or curb competition, but today it has morphed into more of the money-making and ransom motivated kidnapping events.

From the above rendition therefore, this article presents a conceptual clarification by critiquing the literature and narrowing down with the concept and version of kidnapping that best describes the study area – Zurmi in Zamfara state. On the whole, ritual kidnapping does not apply to the study area because it involves organs or other body parts harvest and ultimately sacrifice and money-making rituals. On the other hand, political kidnapping deploys some sort of means to acquire power for self-regarding gains. From the outset, kidnapping in Zurmi appeared to look like politically-motivated act due to the fact that the culprits were believed to be political thugs to some top or ruling elites. But over time, it metamorphosed into a different type all together. Lastly, the business oriented, or economic kidnapping appears to best describe the pattern that occurs in Zurmi because, clearly there are camps that are in rivalry or competition to demonstrate power, domination and control. Again, kidnapping in Zurmi is purely a money-making and ransom motivated phenomenon. Conclusively, the social problem experienced in Zurmi is economic or business motivated.

A Brief History of Kidnapping

Kidnapping is a global phenomenon and every part of the world has its share of this menace. America, Mexico and other parts of the world are doing as much as they can to ensure that kidnappers are captured and dealt with, and that kidnapping is completely eradicated. The rates of kidnapping in Europe, North America and South America are attracting worldwide attention. The practice of kidnapping has become quite lucrative for some and there are criminal groups that have made it their business model. Mexico has its experience especially with its history of drug-related violence and police corruption; kidnapping is an old story. According to the U.S. Department of State, Mexico suffered an estimated 105,685 kidnapping cases in 2012 and in 2013, the number increased tremendously to 131,946, the highest number ever recorded (Ekechukwu and Osaat, 2021). Similar case of kidnapping remains a challenge to the United States. The disappearance of children in the country is not unheard of either, and such is a problem that the police and other agencies are working relentlessly to address. According to the National Centre for Missing & Exploited Children, roughly 800,000 children are reported missing annually in the country (Freeman, 2006 in Ezinwa, 2015). Furthermore, Turner (1998) has attempted a documentation of how kidnapping originated. According to him, the term 'kidnapping' originated in 17th century in England where children were 'kidnapped' and often sold as slaves or agricultural workers to colonial farmers.

The discovery and exploration of gold in Zamfara made many young herdsmen turn to kidnapping and banditry to make ends meet, having realised that it was lucrative. They make their millions in ransom collection from any large catch victim, and in rural areas of Zamfara and Katsina States, villagers were compelled to pay monthly insurance premiums for protection on their land and people. Those who default on paying this monthly and unholy imposition due to one reason or another are severely dealt with by the summary execution of the family members to compel obedience. This is the unfolding situation in the rustic areas of the north-west, where sheep and cattle roam freely.

Moreover, Yusuf and Abdullahi (2020) accounted that in the Nigerian, kidnapping was considered for social reasons and it is as old as history and not of recent development. In

ancient times, individuals, especially strangers, were often kidnapped either for ritual or burial purposes of prominent chiefs and warriors. Reasons for this trend can be ascribed to a set of factors that are greatly interlinked. These include; excessive greed for power and wealth by politicians, misplacement of value system with emphasis increment on material gains at the expense of respect and hard work for constituted authorities, unemployment, abject poverty, fraud and Corruption.

Consequences of Kidnapping on the Community

Regardless of the type of kidnapping and the factors contributing to its occurrence, the psychological and economic effects of the problem can be quite devastating, first for the victims and their significant others. Victims of kidnapping differ in age, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, the level of education and the country of origin. Although anyone can be a victim of crime, certain groups are especially vulnerable to this form of victimisation (Kaylor, 2015). Kidnapping exposes children to sexual abuse as well as the chance of developing sexually transmitted illnesses. Pretence for sexual assault of kidnapped children is the forced marriage of underage victims to older men. Aside from the psychological and physiological effects on the victim and his or her family, kidnapping also has significant economic and financial consequences.

Ibrahim and Mukhtar (2017) opined that some left-behind parents revealed that they had thoughts of severe violence at the time and found peace via religious. Others spoke of their difficulty to settle while their children were away, as well as feeling unhappy and ill all of the time. These parents described losing their hair, becoming physically ill, and becoming addicted to medications. At the government level, it has created a toll on government expenditure, substantial part of the budget is allocated to security every year thereby affecting other sectors. Similarly, between 2006 and 2009 according to Ubong, (2013 as cited in Sunday, Nuyong & Nancwat, 2022) about 15 billion was paid to kidnappers. Large amounts of money spent on ransom payments can have a significant effect on the state economy, as it can be used for substantial socio-economic development.

Also, on several occasions due to fear of being kidnapped, workers (expatriates and nationals) stopped work on various sites which have dire consequences on the economy. Some folks went as far as to borrow money to secure freedom for relatives from kidnappers. The victims' workplace will likewise be negatively impacted. If the casualty is an entrepreneur, business will suffer a setback while waiting for him or her to return. Many people are held hostage in their houses from nightfall until dawn for fear of being kidnapped, which has an impact on their social lives and relationships. Night travel has become a high-risk activity as a result of kidnappings. For fear of kidnappers, many people are hesitant to purchase or operate new vehicles. People known to be wealthy are now travelling with ordinary people using taxis and okadas to keep an eye on hostage takers (Inyang & Ubong, 2013).

Kidnapping has led to a high level of mistrust when it comes to interpersonal relationships. Only a few people still extend strangers typical African hospitality. Some people do not accept or reply strangers' greetings, nor do they oblige strangers seeking directions. Most people are afraid of being kidnapped; thus, they refuse to help persons in difficulty. Few people would risk stopping to aid persons on the expressway who were in need.

The Socio-Economic Effects and the Implications of Kidnapping in Nigeria

Kidnapping has plagued the socio-economic development of northern Nigeria and has had spill-over effects on youths who see kidnapping and hostage taking as a lucrative alternative means of making money, acquiring economic power and getting social recognition. This has had adverse effects on the socio-economic development of the northern Nigeria. The social life of people has been affected and there is mistrust among people due to incidence of kidnapping in northern Nigeria (Okorie, Bonaventure and Samuel, 2018). In other words, various socio-economic factors contribute to banditry and abduction in Nigeria, with poverty being a major cause. Economic desperation among millions of impoverished Nigerians drives some to resort to criminal activities like kidnapping or banditry for financial gain. Lack of economic opportunities pushes others into crime for survival. Criminal networks exploit poverty by offering incentives, recruiting vulnerable individuals to escape economic hardships, perpetuating the cycle of crime.

The implication is always felt particularly within the family, whereby members of such families will have to feed themselves and adjust to their normal daily activities, until they secure the release of the victim. If the victim is a businessman or woman the business will suffer, if the victim is a civil servant, his work will be affected adversely. In both cases there is going to be a setback. If he works in an organization, the challenges to be experienced are enormous as the victim's absence will have impact in the system and the output may drop.

Victims of kidnapping also suffer indirect cost from the incidents. Some of the victims are killed in the process of kidnapping; and some sustain various levels of injuries like bullet wounds which may deform them forever. Many victims suffer various degrees of assault, abuse and torture in the hands of the kidnappers. Some of the female victims are even raped by the kidnappers. Generally, most victims suffer severe traumatic pains from their experiences in the hands of the kidnappers (Bello, 2024). Kidnapping has contributed to high level of mistrust among people. This has reduced the traditional high-level hospitality among the south eastern Nigeria. People do not freely help those in distress for fear of being kidnapped. Wealthy individuals now demand for police escort in their daily activities and public outings for fear of kidnappers. This demand for police escort depletes the number of police that are available for their main functions in the states.

Theoretical Framework

This study adopted Rational Choice Theory (RCT) as its Theoretical Framework. It is rooted in classical criminology during the late 18th century, as seen in the work of Cesare Beccaria. Since then, the theory has been expanded upon and extended to other perspectives, such as deterrence, situational crime prevention and routine activity theory. RCT adopted a utilitarian belief that humans are reasoning actors who weigh means and ends, costs and benefits, in order to make a rational choice. The originator of rational choice theory anchored its argument on the economic principle of *cost-benefit analysis*. According to these neo-classical criminologists, people commit crimes after weighing their options and being convinced that the benefits of committing the crime outweigh its risks and costs. How individuals decide what will serve them best is dependent on personal preferences. For example, one individual may decide that abstaining from smoking is best for them because they want to protect their health. Another individual will decide they want to smoke because it relieves their stress. Although the choices are opposite, both individuals make these choices to get the best result for themselves. They insist that crime will decrease when opportunities are limited, benefits are reduced, and costs are increased (Schmalleger, 1997).

This dysfunction within the society causes deprivation as well as marginalisation. It also causes high levels of poverty, unemployment and low per capita. The result is visualised in the high crime rate of kidnapping and banditry at the forefront. This crime has been identified as profitable and functional to its perpetrators and disastrous to the economy at large. It is a theory for understanding and often modelling social and economic as well as individual behaviour. RCT sees individuals as rational actors, capable of making their own choices, which includes choosing to commit a crime. In any course of action, individuals weigh up the likely benefits and disadvantages of each action. It was developed by Clarke and Cornish (1985) and generally begins with the consideration of the choice behaviour of one or more individuals before jumping into action. It holds that individuals, as reasoning actors, usually act under free will and, in doing so, seek to avoid costs and weigh the rewards of an action or behaviour against those costs before making a choice. The theory suggests that individuals are unlikely to go through such deliberate, calculating mental processes and intuit the values and costs of an action, being unable to process information to the level assumed by this normative model (Cherniak, 1986).

Rational choice theory is based on numerous assumptions, one of which is individualism. The offender sees himself as an individual. The second is that individuals have to and maximise their goals, and the third is that individuals are self-interested. Offenders are thinking about themselves and how to advance their personal goals. The above assumptions of rational choice theory show that the offenders (kidnappers) see themselves as individuals who have freedom of choice and action. They use calculations to make choices and achieve outcomes that are aligned with their personal goals. This indicates that criminals (kidnappers) in Zurmi, Zamfara state choose to commit the act of kidnapping for them to achieve their personal goals. The theory also assumes that the offenders (kidnappers) as

individuals are rational actors using rational information to actively try to maximize their advantages and goals in every situation. Individuals, therefore, are assumed to be sensitive to the consequences of their actions and thus make reasoned judgments after considering the costs and benefits. Unfortunately, there are consequences on the kidnapped persons (the victims), their immediate family members, the community, the economy, foreign relations, tourism, food security, and a sense of mistrust in the society.

Based on the foregoing, the rational choice theorists advocated for very stringent punishment in order to deter further commission of crime. Essentially the central points of the Rational Choice Theory are:

i. That, the human being is a rational actor;

ii. Rationality involves ends/means calculation;

iii. People freely choose behaviour, both conforming and deviant, based on their rational calculation;

iv. The central element of calculation involves a cost-benefit analysis: pleasure versus pain or hedonistic calculus;

v. Choice with all other conditions equal will be directed towards the maximization of individual pleasure;

vi. Choice can be controlled through the perception and understanding of the potential pain or punishment that will follow an act judge to be in violation of the social goal;

vii. The state is responsible for maintaining order and preserving the common goals through a system of laws (this system is the embodiment of the social contract) and,

viii. The swiftness, severity and certainty of punishment are the key elements in understanding a ruling class ability to control their citizen's behaviour.

Igbo (2017) agreed with the notion that free will and hedonistic tendencies of man as a rational pleasure, seeking pleasure-seeking animal that chooses what will bring pleasure and not pain or suffering. Corroborating the above, Agha (2010) observes that one desirable thing for man is pleasure or happiness to be sought by an individual. To control crime with this orientation in mind, severe punishment will serve as an adequate deterrent to intended offenders by making the crime unattractive to all potential criminals in society. According to this theory, therefore, people choose to commit crimes (such as kidnapping) after they analyse the costs and benefits. The weight of the options of potential cost and benefit of an illegal act led to choosing the violation of crime in their pursuit of societal goals. Furthermore, rational choice theory shows that the offenders (kidnappers) are self-interested. Self-interest refers to actions that elicit personal benefit.

Consequently, kidnapping acts are premeditated, conceived, planned and executed for the personal and idiosyncratic goals of the perpetrators. Kidnappers are conscious and voluntary violators of the common law, which guarantees freedom of movement for every law-abiding citizen of Zamfara. Kidnappers willingly and wilfully transgress against the common good, which amounts to flagrant abuse and disobedience to the Nigerian Constitution. They may be considered atavists and recidivists who are aware of the social, economic, psychological and political implications of their dastardly criminal disposition. It could be stated that the Rational Choice Theory took a clear position concerning crime and criminal behaviour. They expressly stated that (1) choice can be controlled through the perception and understanding of the potential pain or punishment that will follow an act judged to violate the social goal, the social contract, (2) the state is responsible for maintaining order and preserving the common good through a system of laws; and (3) that the swiftness, severity and certainty of punishment are the key elements in a law's ability to control human behaviours. Conclusively, Rational Choice Theory helps us in understanding kidnapping in Zurmi as it provides a rigorous framework for analyzing kidnappers' behavior. By assuming that individuals act rationally, the theory provides a clear and systematic way to analyze the motivations and decisions of the culprits.

The kidnappers in Zamfara state and Zurmi local government, in particular, are acting with their self-interests in mind, which they think can create benefits for them at the expense of the community. Thus, this theory facilitates our understanding of the actors' (kidnappers')

motives but with attendant consequences on the community. As a result, the RCT is a suitable theory to be adopted a Theoretical Framework because it serves as a roadmap for the research. It encompasses a theory as well as the narrative explanation about why kidnappers act and the effects of their irrational, albeit "rational" to them on Zurmi community. It justifies and contextualizes the research as well serves as critical step for the study.

Methodology

This study adopted a mixed method, administering structured questionnaires, in-depth and key informant interviews were conducted with Traditional Rulers, Religious leader, Zamfara State. The research design was adopted because it is appropriate for gathering information on factors responsible for kidnapping in Zurmi, Zamfara State. Therefore, this research design assists in producing good responses from people concerning the study. The population of the study consist of the people of Zurmi local government area, both males and females who are 18years and above. The population also include the traditional rulers, civilian joint task force, military and police officers and victims of kidnapping.

i. **Sample Size:** The study draws a sample size of Three Hundred and Seventy-Two (372) respondents out of which 360 respondents were drawn from the public. Zurmi has 11 wards namely: Zurmi, Dauran/BirninTsaba, Yanbuki/Dutsi, Kwashabawa, Rukudawa, Moriki, Kanwa, Dole, Mashema, Mayasa/Kuturu and Boko wards. As many as 6 wards were selected. In-depth and key informant interviews were conducted with 1 religious leader, 3 traditional rulers, 3 Zamfara State Community Protection Guard (ZSCPG) personnel, 1 military and 1 police officer and 3 victims of kidnapping.

ii. **Sampling Techniques:** Multi-stage sampling techniques were used to select respondents for the study. At first stage, 6 wards were purposely selected namely: Zurmi, Rukudawa, Mashema, Mayasa/Kuturu, Kwashabawa and Yanbuki/Dutsi wards because there were mostly affected with the menace of kidnapping. At the second stage, 2 streets were selected in each of the 6 wards using lottery method. The names of the streets were written on small pieces of papers, folded, squeezed and put in a container thoroughly mixed and drawn without replacement to select street from the wards, respectively. In stage three, 30 respondents were selected from each of the two streets of the wards using the accidental method, making a total of 360. Purposive sampling method was used to select 12 respondents for in-depth interview. The interview was conducted with 1 religious leader, 3 traditional rulers, 3 members of the civilian joint task force, 1 military and 1 police officer and 3 victims of kidnapping.

iii. **Instruments of Data Collection:** The instrument for data collection includes a structured questionnaire and In-depth Interview guide. Both open and close-ended questionnaire was used which allowed the respondents to pick from the predetermined options and also allowed the respondents to freely express their opinions without restrictions. The justification for adopting the two is to enable the researcher to elicit in-depth information concerning the phenomenon under study from the relevant stakeholders.

iv. **Methods of Data Collection and Data Analysis:** The data were collected from primary and secondary sources. The primary data were collected through the questionnaires, In-depth and Key Informant Interviews. The secondary data were generated from textbooks, journals, newspapers, magazines, etc. The interviews were conducted by the researcher. A Tape recorder was used and notes were taken during the interviews. The interview was conducted in-person by the researcher with the help of three research assistance. The questionnaire was made in English and translated into Hausa language were applicable. The questions have both open-ended and close-ended, this is to allow respondents to express their opinion freely on the topic (open-ended) and gather empirical data (close-ended). The researcher employed the service of three research assistant to ease the task of distribution and collection of the questionnaire as well as conducting the interviews, considering the time-frame, distributions of the sample, and the researcher`s human capability. On every visit for data collection, the researcher and the three research assistants administered the instrument to the respondents for filling and retrieve the filled instrument and also make clarification of items where need arise.

With regard to the qualitative data, researcher scheduled, in line with the convenient time of the respondents. The researcher and the research assistants conducted the interviews while simultaneously recording and jotting key responses from the discussion.

The quantitative data generated were processed with the Social Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) vision 20. Both descriptive and inferential statistics were used during the analysis; and presented in the form of tables, frequencies, charts and percentages. For the qualitative data, no software was used in the analysis. Instead, the researcher uses thematic analysis to analyse the data, focusing on the major themes that made up the research objective: the causes of kidnapping in Zurmi local government area of Zamfara state, the effects of kidnapping in the study area and recommendations that will facilitate in addressing the menace in the study area. A thematic analysis is a method for analysing qualitative data, which that describe opinions, thoughts, feelings, and other information. It is a method in social sciences research that helps researchers to identify broad themes across a variety of qualitative sources.

Data and Discussions

As with most social science studies, this research had inquired about the socio-demographics of the respondents and the results are captured in the Table below:

Table 1.1: The Consequences of Kidnapping

Responses	**Yes (%)**	**No (%)**	**Total (%)**
Emotional depression	202 (76.5)	62 (23.5)	**264 (100.0**
Anxiety	208 (78.8)	56 (21.2)	**264 (100.0)**
Psychological trauma	216 (81.8)	48 (18.2)	**264 (100.0)**
Economic hardship	228 (86.4)	36 (13.6)	**264 (100.0)**
Joblessness	193 (73.1)	71 (26.9)	**264 (100.0)**
All of the above	221 (83.7)	43 (16.3)	**264 (100.0)**

Source: Field Work, September, 2023

The above Table 1.1 above indicates that majority - 76.6% of the respondents are of the view that the emotional depression was the major consequences of kidnapping. 78.8% are of the view that anxiety was the consequence of kidnapping and 81.8% said psychological trauma was main consequences of kidnapped victims experienced. Up to 86.4% are of the view that the victims of kidnapping experienced economic hardship and 73.1% stated that the victims of kidnapping experience joblessness after release while 83.7% said that they experienced multiple consequences ranging from abject poverty, economic hardship, anxiety, depression and emotional trauma in the study area.

Similarly, an in-depth interview conducted with the Kidnap Victim narrated that, apart from anxiety, depression, emotional trauma there is the problem of starvation, stigmatization, which her fiancée defies to marry her. In an interview with Traditional Ruler posited that:

> *Kidnapping brought many consequences to the lives of people of Zurmi, these consequences include, under-development, chronic diseases like hypertension, HIV/AID, separation, divorce, abject poverty, starvation people can't afford three-square meal, not buying of new cloths and items even if you have the means. People cannot longer farm which is the major occupation in Zurmi (IDI with a Traditional Ruler, 2023).*

In another interview with a Traditional Leader, he opined that:

> *There are cases of kidnapping, of recent there was a man who was kidnapped in his farm and he spent a week with them and was seriously tortured for not agreeing to have had wealth but he was lucky to be released after collecting a ransom of one million naira. After his released he was invited and interviewed by JTF to give a statement of what happened to him and he gave them the true narration but unfortunately he was asked to give money to the police but he told them that he has none and was expecting to have some assistance from them but they pressurized him until he gave*

them the only five hundred naira in his possession (IDI with Traditional Leader, 2023).

Looking at the qualitative data above, it can be attested that the victims of kidnapping has experience an undeniable inhuman treatment from kidnappers in the study area during the period under stay in their custody and cannot be ascertained.

Table 1.2: Respondents' Views on whether the Consequences mentioned above have Effects on the Community

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	308	85.6
No	52	14.4
Total	**360**	**100.0**

Source: Field Work, September, 2023

On the effects of the consequence on the community, the above Table 1.2 above shows that 85.6% of the respondents believe that the consequences mentioned have effect on the community, while 14.4% said its does not. Thus, the overwhelming of the respondent indicates that the consequence has effects on the community.

Table 1.3 Respondent's Views on the Effects of Kidnapping on the Community

Responses	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)
Unplanned relocation	246 (79.9)	62 (20.1)	**308 (100.0)**
High rate of suicide	274 (89.0)	34 (11.0)	**308 (100.0)**
Fear and lack of trust	268 (87.0)	40 (13.0)	**308 (100.0)**
Post-traumatic stress syndrome	240 (78.0)	68 (22.0)	**308 (100.0)**
Forceful closure of business	301 (97.7)	7 (2.3)	**308 (100.0)**
All of the above	241 (78.2)	67(21.8)	**308 (100.0)**

Source: Field Work, September, 2023

The above Table 1.3 above indicates that as many as 79.9% of the respondents said that the effect of kidnapping on the community was unplanned relocation while 89.0% said the community experiences high rate of suicide. 87.0% explained that they experience fear and lack of trust within the community as a result of kidnapping issue in the study area and 78.0% said that the community member's experiences post-traumatic stress syndrome due to kidnapping issue. On the other hand, 97.7% said the kidnapping has affected the community members which lead to forceful closure of businesses and 78.2% of the respondent identified several effects of kidnapping on the community. The above indicates that kidnapping has tremendous effects on Zurmi LGA of Zamfara State. Looking at the response, it can be deduced that the intensity of kidnapping activities has pushed people out of their community. In an interview with Community leader, he affirmed that:

Actually, there were communities displaced because of the high level of insecurity caused by the kidnappers. People ran out of many communities to save themselves from the indiscriminate killing by the kidnappers (IDI with Community Leaders, 2023).

A Police officer in Zurmi Ward also revealed that:

Many communities were displaced due to attacks by the kidnappers, an act which claims many lives and loss of public and private properties (IDI with Police Officer, 2023).

A ZSCPG personnel revealed that:

Certainly, some people were displaced from their communities although many of them were accommodated in the government own schools and were

taken care of by the government with the support of some NGOs but the security still continue to protect them (KII with ZSCPG Personnel, 2023).

Looking at the above data, it can be deduced that people Zurmi were seriously terrorized by the activities of kidnappers and bandit, which forced many of them to flee to other places to escape from the indiscriminate destruction and killings. This implies that the kidnappers were strong and determined and thus have the courage to perpetrate their atrocities in the study area.

In summary, the study revealed that the kidnaped victims have experiences different inhuman treatment from kidnappers, such as torture like burning rubber on body, flogging with wire cable every day, placing hot food on our palm, closing of our eyes with black rag for weeks, luck tightly with chain both hands and legs, leaving, raped insult and many other. The consequences are multiple, ranging from abject poverty, starvation, stigmatization, economic hardship, anxiety, depression and emotional trauma. Others consequences include chronic diseases like hypertension, HIV/AID, divorce, starvation people can't afford three-square meal, not buying of new cloths and items even if you have the means. People cannot longer farm which is the major occupation in the study area. These have affected the community members, which led to unplanned relocation, high rate of suicide, fear and lack of trust within the community as well as post-traumatic stress syndrome due to kidnapping issue. More so, the consequences have affected the community members which lead to forceful closure of businesses.

Conclusions

Kidnapping exerts enormous and far reaching economic and social costs. It induces and creates a palpable ambience of fear and despairs for all citizens and stultifies economic growth and hinders sustainable development. This study adopted mixed methods – quantitative (questionnaires) and qualitative (interviews) design to examine the negative consequences of kidnapping on Zurmi community. The study gathered stakeholders to gather the required data. The research adopted the Rational Choice Theory (RCT) as its theoretical frame of reference to explain the menace of kidnapping and its consequences on the community. RCT is a branch of criminology that sees individuals as rational actors: individuals are capable of making their own choices, which includes choosing to commit crime. In any course of action, individuals weigh up the likely benefits and disadvantages of each action. Before kidnappers go into the menace, they must have weighed the options and concluded more rewards than punishment.

The results revealed that majority of the respondents believed that kidnapping on Zurmi community has enormous negative consequences. They are emotional depression, anxiety, psychological trauma, and an experience of economic hardship, joblessness after victims' release, abject poverty, anxiety, depression and trauma. The study offered recommendations to address problems of kidnapping in the study area. Among them is the need for the federal government in collaboration with the Zamfara state government, to review the current strategy of dealing with the issue of kidnapping in Zurmi, Zamfara state especially and Nigeria generally. In particular, there is the need to explore the extant laws and the extent to which they are being enforced with a view to establishing their efficacy.

This article concludes that the people of Zurmi local are faced with devastating consequences of kidnapping which include abject poverty, starvation, stigmatization, economic hardship, anxiety, depression and emotional trauma were the consequences of kidnapping. Other consequences include chronic diseases like hypertension, HIV/AID, which led to unplanned relocation, high rate of suicide, fear and lack of trust within the community as well as post-traumatic stress syndrome due to kidnapping issue. More so, the consequences have affected the community members which lead to forceful closure of businesses. It induces and creates a palpable ambience of fear and despairs for the community and stultifies economic growth and sustainable development.

Policy Recommendations

Considering the data and the findings, the following recommendations are hereby proffered:

1. The federal government should also try to create jobs and job opportunities as well as enabling environment so that

private sector can employ the youth, especially the young generation.

2. There should be the proper protection of the identities of the public members that supply useful information to security agencies particularly on kidnapping.

3. Any body found committing or conniving with kidnappers should be dealt with no matter how wealthy, politically or religiously exposed the person may be.

4. In order to reduce the vices of kidnapping in Nigeria, politicians should not use their money and influence to conscript youths as a political ruffian during campaign.

5. The military, security agencies and community members, having realized that they need each other more than they can both imagine, need to take some pro-active measures towards enhancing the relationships among security agencies.

6. There is the need to have a constant forum with opinion leaders (traditional rulers, religious and political leaders, journalists and NGOs, among others) to discuss some issues that could help in strengthening the relationship between civil populace and the security.

7. There is the need to review the current strategy of dealing with the issue of kidnapping in Nigeria. In particular, there is the need to explore the extant laws and the extent to which they are being enforced with a view to establishing their efficacy.

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FUEL SUBSIDY REMOVAL AND GOVERNMENT POLICY ON POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN NIGERIA (2015 – 2023)

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KEYWORDS
Subsidy, Fuel Subsidy, Policy, livelihood and Poverty Alleviation

ABSTRACT
The study has tried to find out the impact of fuel subsidy on government poverty alleviation policies. Successive governments in Nigeria have announced reduction in the amount of subsidy it is paying on petroleum products persistently. The study used qualitative data in its investigation. The study found out that fuel subsidy removal had both positive and negative impact on the governments' poverty alleviation policies. The study recommends that government should put adequate measures on ground in order to ensure that fuel subsidy removal do not have adverse effect on its poverty alleviation policies because poverty alleviation policies are essentially tools in addressing the impact of fuel subsidy removal.

Introduction

Successive governments in Nigeria have attempted to to implement subsidy in different aspects of the economy in order to mitigate the economic impact of certain policies on the citizenry.

Subsidies are government interventions to reduce the impact of government policies or to support the ability of citizens to benefit from certain services.

According to Schwartz and Clements (1999) is any government assistance that allows consumers to purchase goods and services at prices lower than that offered by a perfectly competitive private sector or that raise producers' incomes beyond those that would be earned without intervention.

In Nigeria, successive governments have consciously lowered the price of fuel in order to allow citizens of the country who are major consumers of fuel to buy the product at lower prices. Producers and marketers are paid the extra deficit involved in selling petroleum products.

Subsidies can also be viewed as best given to an individual, business or institution usually by government to remove some kind of burden and it is often considered to be in the overall interest of the public given to promote a social good or an economic policy (Scott &Kvilhaug,2024).

Subsidy can be direct or indirect. Subsidies exist because the government fixes the price of petrol for consumers below the international price and use government resources to pay for the difference (Mccullough, Moerenhout &Yang, 2021).

Onyeiwu (2024) fuel subsidies have been in place in Nigeria since the 1970's when the government sold fuel to Nigerians at a price below the cost price at the international market even though most consumers were not aware of

this. He emphasised that the 1977 Price Control Act made it illegal for some products including petrol to be sold above the regulated price.

It is important to note that Chief Olusegun Obasanjo the former Executive President of Nigeria is credited with establishing the Price Control Act when he was military Head of State in 1977 to cushion the effects of inflation caused by worldwide increase in energy prices. Fuel subsidy was subsequent therefore on governments attempt to shield Nigerian consumers from the volatility of fuel prices in the international oil market.

Since fuel subsidy was institutionalized as a government policy in 1977, whenever the subsidy payment regime is adjusted by government this usually has impact on the price of goods and services since Nigeria largely depends on fuel in all sectors of its economy ranging from agriculture, commerce, transportation, industry and others (Onyewu,2024).

Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this paper is to investigate the impact of fuel subsidy removal on poverty alleviation policy of government. The specific objectives however include:

1. To find out impact of fuel subsidy removal on poverty alleviation policy of government
2. To identify government poverty alleviation policies and how it has been impacted by fuel subsidy removal

Methodology

The study adopted qualitative data to carry out the research. Content analysis was deployed and secondary source of data was implored, these include books by several scholars on development, underdevelopment, and democracy. Journals and other research work were equally consulted.

Theoretical Framework

The sustainable livelihood approach has been adopted for this study. The idea of sustainable livelihood approach was first introduced by the Brutland Commission on Environment and Development and the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development expand the concept advocating for the achievement of sustainable livelihoods as a broad goal for poverty eradication.

Chambers and Conway (1992) defined sustainable livelihoods as the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living. They emphasized that that a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation which invariably contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term.

The Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SL) has three underpinning insights about poverty which include:

1. That while economic growth may be essential for poverty reduction, there is no automatic relationship between the two;
2. That poverty as conceived by the poor themselves is not just a recognition of low income, but also include other dimensions such as bad health, illiteracy, lack of social services as well as a state of vulnerability and feelings of powerlessness in general.
3. The poor themselves know their situation and needs best and must therefore be involved in the design of the policies and project intended to better their lot (Krantz,20001).

Since government policy on poverty is geared towards its reduction and alleviation the sustainable livelihood approach is relevant to the study as its definition by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) supports this objective of government. The UNDP describes sustainable livelihood as a programming framework to devise a set of integrated support activities to improve the sustainability of livelihoods among poor and vulnerable groups by strengthening the vulnerability of their coping and adaptive strategies. It takes into cognizance policy and governance issues as they impinge on people's livelihoods.

Part of the objective of this study in relation to the above perspective by the UNDP (1997) description is to find out the impact of fuel subsidy removal and how it affects government policy on poverty reduction and alleviation.

To further buttress the relevance of this theory to the study DFID's description of the Sustainable Life Approach aligns appropriately. DFID (1999) stated in relation to sustainable life approach objectives, it affirmed its overriding aim of eradicating poverty by mainstreaming a set of core principles which emphasize that poverty development activity should be people-centered, responsive and participatory, multi-level , conducted in partnership, sustainable and dynamic.

They hoped to achieve this goal by using the Sustainable Livelihood framework which they regarded as an analytical structure to facilitate a broad and systematic understanding of the various factors that constrain or enhance livelihood opportunities and to show how they relate to each other.

Subsidy

Subsidy has been defined variously by different scholars but one point of convergence of the definitions is that subsidy is seen as a special intervention mostly by government to reduce the price of a particular commodity in order to provide some form of relief for consumers of such products.

Subsidy has also been defined as a form of financial assistance or benefit typically from the government that is given to businesses, individuals and other organizations in order to promote specific economic activities or advance certain social objectives.

Julien (2022) Subsidies are usually measures put in place by governments in order to promote long term economic stability but also help governments to respond to economic shocks during recessions or in response to unforeseen shocks.

In the case of Nigeria, subsidy was introduced to respond to the shocks and volatility of oil price in the international oil market.

Other reasons for subsidy include government intervention to help citizens pay bills, and stimulate economic growth. It is also an effective economic tool to ease economic hardship amongst citizens. It is also a police tool to reverse negative market imperfections which has impact on goods and services and access to it by citizens who are the consumers (Benedict and Ian, 2018)

Though subsidy is not only restricted to government interventions in order to enhance access to goods and services it can also refer to any type of support (apart from government) from non-governmental organizations and other bodies.

Subsidies can be direct or indirect interventions. Subsidies can be direct when it comes in the form of cash grants, and interest free loans and indirect when it comes in the form of tax breaks, insurance, low interest loans. accelerated depreciation, rent rebates and a host of others that do not involve direct cash intervention of government or any other body as the case may be (Haley and Haley,2013)

It is important to note that most modern countries use subsidies via national and sub-national entities through different forms such as tax incentives and direct grants. Subsidies are part of government initiatives to intervene to cushion economic hardships in the lives of its citizens in different areas of its national economy (Gerd and Benedict, 1999).

Categories of Subsidy

Categories of subsidy include

1. Production and consumption subsidy
2. Broad and narrow subsidy
3. Monetary and non-monetary subsidy

Classification of Nigeria's Fuel Subsidy

Nigeria's fuel subsidy can be classified as monetary and non-monetary. Monetary when the government pays subsidies directly to those involved in the distribution of subsidized goods and services and non-monetary when it uses tax relief to pursue its subsidy goals.

Fuel Subsidy in Nigeria

Fuel subsidy in Nigeria started officially in 1977 with the 1977 Price Control Act. Its main no objective was to shield Nigerians from the volatility in the international oil market. The vagaries of the oil market are such that whatever

happens to the price of oil in the international market can have an invariable impact on the domestic price of oil. If the domestic price of oil is left to always respond to the fluctuations in the international oil market it can have adverse effect on the local economy with such volatility triggering uncontrollable inflation and other shocks for the economy.

Fossil fuel subsidy is financial support by governments for oil, gas, and electricity generated from them. In the case of Nigeria, fuel subsidies government financial support essentially on PMS – Premium Motor Spirit which is used to power all aspects of Nigeria's developing economy.

The goal of fuel subsidy is to sell fuel at cheaper price to Nigerians and make goods and services available at affordable rates in the country.

According to Onyeiwu (2024) the 1977 Price Control Act made it illegal for some products including petrol to be sold above the regulated price. The General Olusegun Obasnjo regime introduced this law in order to cushion the effects on inflation caused by a worldwide increase in energy prices.

Since 1977, successive governments in Nigeria have continued the tradition of funding fuel subsidy with the same aim and objectives the government had when it was introduced in the late seventies.

Aim and Objectives of Fuel Subsidy Removal in Nigeria

According to the Nigerian Economic Summit Group (2024) some aim and objectives of fuel subsidy removal include:

1. To cushion the effect of rising global oil prices and the attendant effect it can have on the economy especially in the area of inflation.
2. To reduce inflation rates of goods and services
3. To make fuel available at cheap and affordable rates
4. To alleviate poverty and citizens access to essential services through stable price of goods and services
5. Support and sustain industries
6. Stimulate economic growth

Implications of fuel Subsidy Removal in Nigeria

Some implication of fuel subsidy removal in Nigeria as suggested by the Nigerian Economic Summit Group (2023) include:

1. Ripple effect on the cost of business operations
2. Lower labour productivity due to spillover effects on other economic activities
3. Increased inflationary pressures due to high cost of goods and services and
4. Risk of lowering citizens welfare, particularly poor and marginalized households.

History of Fuel Subsidy Removal in Nigeria

Fuel subsidy removal in Nigeria started with the regime of General Olusegun Obasnjo in 1976.He reviewed the price of fuel from 8.4kobo – 15.73 kobo. Below is a table of fuel subsidy reduction:

Table 1

Administration	Year/Date	Fuel Subsidy Reduction
Gen Obasanjo	1976	8.4K to 15.37 K
Alh Shehu Shagari	1982	15.37K to 20K
General Babangida	1986	20K to 39.5K
General Babangida	10/4/88	39.5k – 42K
General Babangida	1/1/1989	42k to 60k for private cars
General Babangida	3/6/1991	60k – 70k

Chief Ernest Shonekan	8/11/1993	70k t0 ₦5 but reduced to N3.25k on 22/11/1993
General Sani Abacha	2/10/94	N3.25k to N15 but reduced to N11 on 2/10/94
General Abdulsalam Abubakar	20/12/94	N11 – N25 but reduced it to N20 on 6/1/1999
Chief Olusegun Obasanjo	1/6/2000	N20 to N30 but reduced it to NN25 8/6/2000 and N22 on 13/6/2000
Chief Olusegun Obasanjo	1/1/2002	N22 to N26
Chief Olusegun Obasanjo	23/6/2003	N22 to N40
Chief Olusegun Obasanjo	June 2007	N40 – N70

Source: Adenikunju (2000)

Table 2

Alh Umar Musa Yar'adua	2007	N70 to N65
Dr. Goodluck Jonatha	1/1/2012	N65 to 141 but was reduced to N97

Source: Enyiuche (2012)

Table 3

Administration	Date/Year	Fuel Subsidy Reduction
Dr Goodluck Jonathan	2015	N97 to N87
General Muhammadu Buhari	2016	N87 to N145
General Muhammadu Buhari	2020	N145 to N121 but later reviewed to N140
General Muhammadu Buhari	2020	N140 to N151
General Muhammadu Buhari	2020	N151 to N161
General Muhammadu Buhari	2022	N161 to N195
Asiwaju Bola A.Tinubu	29/5/2023	N195 to N540
Asiwaju Bola A.Tinubu	July 2023	N540 to N617

Source: www.autogirl.ng

Impact of Fuel Subsidy Removal

Irrespective of government policy on poverty alleviation as noted by George (2012) fuel subsidy removal has made the nation to continue to witness depreciation in standard of living and a pauperization of the Nigerian populace. This diametrically opposes whatever poverty alleviation programme the government is initiating since the continuous removal of subsidy has occasioned in standard of living and many households in the country have fallen into poverty necessitating the initiation of different poverty alleviation programs by the government.

Poverty Alleviation Programmes of Government 2015 – 2023

Some poverty alleviation programs of government between 2015 and 2023 include:

1. Home Grown School Feeding Programme (GSFP)
2. Government Enterprise and Empowerment Programme (GEEP)
3. N-Power
4. National Social Safety Net (NASSCO) and

5. National Cash Transfer Programmme (N-CTP) also known as the Trader Moni

Impact of Fuel Subsidy Removal on Poverty Alleviation Policy of Government

Fuel subsidy reduction impacts poverty alleviation policies of government as more households grapple with the after effects of such reduction in subsidy.

Fuel subsidy removal affects access to goods and services and creates an avenue for a degeneration in sustainable livelihoods which is one of the indices for measuring poverty levels.

According to the International Centre for Investigative Reporting (2023) some poverty alleviation programs of government from 2015 – 2023 during the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari included National Social Investment Program which embodied:

1. Home Grown School Feeding Programme (GSFP)
2. Government Enterprise and Empowerment Programme (GEEP)
3. N-Power
4. National Social Safety Net (NASSCO) and
5. National Cash Transfer Programmme (N-CTP) also known as the Trader Moni

Between 2015 – 2023 subsidy on fuel was reduced seven times and this affected the realisation of the objectives of the poverty alleviation programme of government.

The removal of subsidy impacted negatively on government poverty alleviation programmes as the effect of the removal had great impact on poverty , despite over 5.5 trillion naira spent by President Muhammadu Buhari's government .Most of the government social intervention scheme failed to make the need impact by lifting many Nigerians out of poverty (Edeh,2023)

According to Punch (2023) NBS research indicates that poverty had risen to about 61% by 2015.According to the ranking of the world poverty clock by 2018 Nigeria replaced India as the world capital for poverty and held it for four years.133 Million Nigerians in spite of all the social intervention programmes are alleged to have fallen into "Multi-dimensional poverty" with the country ranking very high on the global hunger index which is a major parameter for measuring poverty.

In agreement with the above, Punch (2023) notes that Buhari's various poverty reduction intervention schemes such as Trader Moni , famer – moni ,N-Power and others were expensive and had limited results. Fluctuation in international oil prices which necessitated further subsidy removal negatively impacted the success of the poverty alleviation programmes.

Fuel subsidy removal triggered inflationary rates that increased hunger in the country by engendering difficulty in accessing basic necessities of life for survival. The scenario as indicated above gave Nigeria the unenviable position of poverty capital of the world from 2018 – 2022.

Ozili (2023) highlighting the impact of subsidy removal on poverty alleviation noted that fuel subsidy removal may decrease economic growth in the short term, increase inflation , increase poverty, increase in fuel smuggling, increase crime , increase the prices of petroleum products and loss of jobs in the informal sector. This is to say that fuel subsidy removal affects governments poverty alleviation objectives as it has been noted that fuel subsidy reduction induce factors that create poverty such as inflation ,job loss and decrease in economic growth.

Inflation is a macro-economic element that determines poverty levels in a country.Mohammed,Ahmed &Adedeji (2020) noted that the removal of subsidy cause a sharp increase in the price of goods and services and as always , the poor will suffer the most through a significant reduction in their purchasing power.

In agreement with this Raji (2018) observes that one of the negative macro-economic implications of removal of subsidy is that it will increase poverty in the short term which will lead to immediate pain and hunger for families. He emphasized that more families will go hun gry , while the poor and the middle class consumers will witness a fall in their purchasing power and small businesses will witness increase in cost of production and low patronage.

By and large reduction of subsidy has negative effect on the poverty alleviation policies of government

Findings

1. The study observed that fuel subsidy reduction has negative impact on the purchasing power of citizens

2. The study observed that subsidy removal increase poverty and this affects government policies on poverty alleviation.

3. The study was able to identify government poverty alleviation policies from 2015 – 2023

Conclusions and Recommendations

From the above study fuel subsidy reduction have negative implication on government policies of poverty alleviation as data within the period of study have indicated that fuel subsidy was reduced seven times between 2015 – 2023 and within this period Nigeria for four consecutive years (2018 – 2022) Nigeria attained the position of World Poverty Capital.

The study thus recommends

1. Fuel subsidy removal or reduction should be carried out gradually through careful planning and right timing.

2. Nigerian government should understand that subsidies are part and parcel of measures government all over the world use to stabilise the economy and lift their people out of poverty.

3. Government should remain conscious of the fact that lackadaisical handling of subsidy removal poses a great threat to the well-being of its citizens as observed from the data of the study which states that 133 million Nigerians fell into multi-dimensional poverty during the tenure of President Muhammadu Buhari's tenure (2015 – 2023)

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BEYOND ONE PARTY STATE DOMINANCE: A REVIEW OF RECURRENT ISSUES IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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Political Dominance, Democratic Consolidation, Party System, Electoral Reforms, Nigeria

ABSTRACT
This study investigates the recurring concerns connected with party dominance in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, focusing on the obstacles given by the de facto two-party system dominated by the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the All-Progressives Congress (APC). While Nigeria restored multiparty democracy in the 1990s, genuine democratic consolidation has been hampered by entrenched power dynamics, patronage networks, and a lack of political variety. The PDP's long-standing dominance from 1999 to 2015, followed by the APC's rise, has created a political environment that marginalizes minor parties and inhibits true political competition. This research also looks into the impact of internal party democracy, ethnic and regional politics, political defections, and the widespread influence of political godfathers on Nigeria's political landscape. Recent events, notably the rise of the Labour Party (LP) in the 2023 elections, indicate a probable shift in political dynamics, as urban and young voters increasingly prioritize governance and policy problems over ethnic and regional loyalty. The findings show that voters are more aware of the relevance of programmatic socioeconomic issues, implying that Nigeria's democratic norms are maturing. However, the persistent issues of weak opposition, limited political competition, and entrenched corruption create serious worries about the survival of democracy in the Fourth Republic. This study adds to our knowledge of Nigeria's political trajectory by emphasizing the need for election changes to build a more inclusive and competitive political scene.

Introduction

The strength of a country's democratic institutions, including political parties, is frequently used to assess its health and resilience (IDEA 2017). Political parties, in addition to their traditional functions of "electoral structure," "symbolic integration," and aggregation of citizens' interests, also contribute to ensuring political accountability, democratic stability, and national unity (Mainwaring & Scully, 1995). Political parties are expected to be inclusive and transparent in their operations, as well as to adhere to democratic principles, particularly in their internal processes, in order to be effective (Morton 2017). Furthermore, political parties play a crucial role in representing diverse perspectives

and fostering public participation in decision-making processes. Their ability to adapt to changing societal needs and effectively communicate their platforms can greatly impact the overall health of a democracy.

While many Sub-Saharan African nations re-instituted multiparty democracy in the 1990s, democratic consolidation has stagnated across the continent. One of the causes for slow or delayed democracy is African leaders' ongoing power over the political process (Leila, 2020). Indeed, parliament, the primary democratic institution responsible for providing checks and balances on the administration, has frequently been found to be insufficient to actively participate in lawmaking and hold the executive accountable.

Political party systems may be one-party, two-party, or multi-party. The higher the number, the more likely the electorate will be confronted with alternative platforms. Over the previous six decades, Nigeria has tried with several systems. In heterogeneous cultures like Nigeria, the one-party system has been hailed as a way to build national unity while also managing religious and ethnic diversity (Hamalai et al., 2017). Regardless of its theoretical benefits, it has been argued that a one-party system is more likely to result in authoritarianism and political exclusion. Alternatively, the two-party system, in which parties have distinct ideological positions, such as in the United States and the United Kingdom, is said to benefit the electorate by providing political information in a simplified and understandable manner, political stability and balance, and fewer voting options. Others, on the other hand, have highlighted the problems with the two-party system, such as the exclusion of minority views, limited choice (and thus voter apathy), and, in some cases, negative partisanship, also known as affective polarization (Iyengar et al., 2012; Hetherington & Rudolph, 2015). This system has a lengthy history in Nigeria, having been tested in 1992 and 1993 (during the so-called abortive Third Republic) (Oyediran & Agbaje, 1991; Lewis, 1996; Adejumobi, 1997). This, like the one-party system, failed because the two parties were ideologically similar (Yaqub, 2002). As a result, many argue that the two-party system in Nigeria has not effectively represented the diverse political views and interests of the population. The lack of ideological diversity within the parties has led to challenges in addressing the complex issues facing the country.

Since the establishment of Nigeria's Fourth Republic in 1999, the country's political landscape has been characterized by a developing system of government, with a shift from military control to civilian democracy. Despite this transformation, a few large political parties, most notably the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the All-Progressives Congress (APC), have dominated the political sphere, raising worries about the long-term viability of real democratic plurality. The dominance of one or two political parties has raised concerns about inclusivity, internal party democracy, and the general viability of Nigeria's democratic experiment.

A useful component of the more recent shift in the study of Nigerian political parties has gone beyond this previous emphasis on 'valence' language, suggesting that diverse ideological perspectives may be discerned in both governing practice and election debate. While Thurston (2018) and Obe (2019) highlight subtle but significant differences in left/right terms in the economic platforms of the All-Progressives Congress (APC) and People's Democratic Party (PDP), Egwim (2022) contends that these dominant parties have 'converged ideologically at the center' by embracing 'the post-Cold War global consensus on neoliberal ideology'. This paper seeks to explore the recurrent issues associated with the beyond one-party state dominance in Nigeria Fourth Republic.

Statement of the Problem

The People's Democratic Party (PDP) dominated Nigeria's Fourth Republic for 16 years (1999-2015), followed by the establishment of the All-Progressives Congress (APC), establishing a de facto two-party system that marginalizes smaller political parties and hinders real political competition. This tendency has hampered the formation of a truly pluralistic democracy as political power continues to shift between two major parties, leaving less opportunity for alternative voices and policy perspectives. Despite constitutional provisions for multiparty democracy, the political landscape is confined by patronage networks, ethnic and regional alliances, and elite control, inhibiting the creation of a more inclusive and ideologically varied political system. The ongoing struggle to break away from this dual dominance poses a fundamental challenge to democratic consolidation, political accountability, and policy innovation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic.

Literature Review

Historical Background of Party Dominance in Nigeria

Nigeria's Fourth Republic started with the People's Democratic Party (PDP) assuming power following the 1999 elections, which marked the country's restoration to civilian governance after years of military dictatorship. From 1999 until 2015, the PDP controlled both the federal government and the majority of state governments. However, the PDP's dominance was challenged by the All-Progressives Congress (APC), a coalition of opposition parties that ascended to power after the 2015 general elections. The PDP's long-standing dominance, followed by the APC, has produced an atmosphere in which smaller political parties struggle to compete, reducing political variety and competitiveness in the country (Fagbadebo & Ruffin, 2019). This lack of political variety has raised concerns about the consolidation of power and potential for abuse within the ruling parties. Additionally, the dominance of these two major parties has hindered the development of a robust multi-party system in Nigeria.

Historically, Nigeria's political environment has shifted between multiparty systems and one-party dominance. Several political parties competed in elections during the First Republic (1963–1966), although the majority were regional in nature and connected with certain ethnic groups. This regionalism sparked fierce political competition along ethnic lines, resulting in severe splits. The military coups that followed the First Republic suspended civilian rule and halted political party activity, helping to restructure party structures in following republics (Olanrewaju, 2015). These historical considerations continue to shape the structure of Nigerian party politics today.

The restoration to civilian authority in 1999, which established the Fourth Republic, provided a chance to form national political parties. Despite this potential, the PDP swiftly established itself as the dominant force, leveraging its organizational strength, extensive elite network, and control over state resources. This dominance maintained across numerous election cycles, raising worries about the inclusivity of Nigeria's political system and the marginalization of minor parties. The APC's emergence as a powerful opposition force in 2013 constituted a watershed moment, but it did not totally resolve challenges of political plurality (Oni & Alabi, 2015). The APC's rise did shake up the political landscape, but the PDP still held significant influence. This dynamic has sparked debates about the need for further reforms to ensure a more competitive and diverse political environment in Nigeria.

The APC's ascent to power in 2015, following the historic loss of the PDP, was viewed as a watershed moment in Nigerian democracy. This political change was notable since it marked the first time in Nigeria's post-independence history that an incumbent party lost a national election. Nonetheless, despite the APC's triumph, the two-party system has continued to dominate Nigeria's political environment, excluding minor parties that find it impossible to compete with the two big actors. This has resulted in a de facto two-party system, if not in legislation (Levan, 2019). This dominance of the APC and PDP has raised concerns about the lack of political diversity and competition in Nigeria, potentially limiting the representation of diverse interests and viewpoints. As a result, there have been calls for electoral reforms to level the playing field for smaller parties and promote a more inclusive political landscape in the country.

Recent electoral changes, notably in the 2023 elections, have attracted renewed interest in the policies and socioeconomic platforms of political candidates. One of the distinctive elements of the 2023 election was the heightened focus on the leading contenders' economic and social plans. This was a shift from the conventional emphasis on ethnic, regional, and religious feelings that has dominated Nigerian elections. For the first time, voters engaged fully with the candidates' policy ideas, indicating a maturing in Nigerian democratic practice (Thurston, 2018; Egwim, 2022). This shift in focus reflects a growing awareness among Nigerian voters of the importance of policy-driven governance in addressing the country's economic and social challenges. It also signals a potential turning point towards a more issue-based and progressive political landscape in Nigeria.

The 2023 election was especially remarkable for its unusual conditions, including the Central Bank's "cashless" policy, which restricted cash withdrawals. This strategy had an impact on traditional voter mobilization and campaign funding tactics, which had previously depended on cash distribution to gain votes. Furthermore, the Labour Party, which had hitherto been sidelined in national politics, made considerable gains in this election, threatening the PDP and

APC's supremacy and suggesting a probable shift in Nigeria's political dynamics (Fourchard & Sikiru, 2023). These changes forced political parties to adapt their strategies and find new ways to connect with voters and fund their campaigns. The outcome of the election highlighted the evolving landscape of Nigerian politics and the increasing influence of non-traditional parties.

This growing emphasis on socioeconomic problems in Nigerian elections represents a shift from the long-held belief that Nigerian political parties lack distinct ideological roots. For many years, analysts contended that Nigerian elections were largely motivated by patronage politics and appeals to ethnic and regional identities. However, recent research indicates that Nigerian political parties, while not overtly aligned with conventional left or right ideology, are increasingly basing their electoral campaigns around programmatic socioeconomic problems (Angerbrandt, 2018; Usman, 2020).

A comparative study of African democracies' elections, particularly those in the "third wave" of democratization, has revealed a similar pattern. African political parties, especially those in Nigeria, are emphasizing policy matters in their campaign agendas. Although these parties do not fully embrace clear-cut ideological positions, such as left- or right-wing economics, they do shape their political discourse around concrete socioeconomic concerns, implying a gradual shift toward a more substantive form of democracy (Bleck & Van De Walle, 2012; Elischer, 2013). This shift indicates a growing recognition of the importance of addressing tangible issues affecting citizens' daily lives in order to gain electoral support. It also suggests a maturation of democratic processes in African countries as parties focus on governance and policy-making.

The Rise of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and Political Hegemony (1999-2015)

Between 1999 and 2015, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) emerged as Nigeria's major political party. This dominance was mostly due to its extensive network of political elites, strategic alliances, and control over state resources. The PDP's incumbency advantage enabled it to keep power across numerous election cycles, although questions were raised about its internal democracy. Factionalism and power rivalries among prominent political figures regularly afflicted the party, resulting in internal conflicts. Many party members left to opposing parties in protest at candidate choices and internal dynamics, revealing the party's fundamental flaws (Adejumobi, 2000). Despite these challenges, the PDP remained a dominant force in Nigerian politics for many years. However, its inability to address internal issues ultimately led to a decline in its popularity and influence.

The PDP's ascension to power stemmed from its roots as an offshoot of the G-34, a group of notable Nigerians who opposed General Sani Abacha's self-succession scheme. The G-34, along with 65 minor political organizations, founded the PDP, which swiftly became the dominant national party. Among the party's early members were famous people, including Dr. Alex Ekwueme, Chief Solomon Lar, and Alhaji Atiku Abubakar. However, the PDP suffered an early setback when the People's Consultative Forum (PCF), led by the Afenifere faction, and the Southern Leadership Forum (SLF) split over worries about the entrance of discredited politicians into the party's leadership. These splits group eventually created the All Peoples Party (APP), which became a major opposition party (Egwim, 2020; Briggs, 2023). Despite this setback, the PDP continued to grow in influence and eventually won the presidential election in 1999, marking the beginning of its dominance in Nigerian politics. The party's ability to navigate through challenges and maintain its popularity solidified its position as a key player in the country's political landscape.

Despite these hurdles, the PDP maintained its political dominance for 16 years, winning presidential, national assembly, and gubernatorial elections with large margins. The party's control over governmental resource distribution, as well as its capacity to persuade opposition legislators to defect, enhanced its national dominance. For much of this time, the opposition was seen to have little chance of defeating the PDP in any major election. The concentration of political power and resources at the center helped cement the PDP's position as Nigeria's ruling party until it was defeated by the All-Progressives Congress (APC) in 2015 (Ambose, 2023; Egwim, 2020). The PDP's dominance was also attributed to its ability to appeal to a wide range of voters across different regions and demographics. Additionally, the party's establishment of a strong grassroots network contributed to its electoral success.

Emergence of the APC and the 2015 Electoral Shift

The formation of the All-Progressives Congress (APC) in 2013, following the merger of four opposition parties—the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), and a faction of the All-Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA), marked a watershed moment in Nigeria's political landscape. The APC's win in the 2015 general elections, which marked the first loss of an incumbent president, was hailed as a watershed moment in democratic consolidation. Despite its election victory, the APC inherited many of the problems that plagued its predecessor, the People's Democratic Party (PDP), including internal democratic deficits, political godfatherism, and regionalism.

Nigeria's political atmosphere changed dramatically in the run-up to the 2023 elections, with the advent of the Labour Party (LP). The LP, led by former Anambra State Governor Peter Obi, seized on considerable dissatisfaction with the APC and PDP, particularly among Nigeria's young and urban middle class voters. This marked a departure from the two-party system, establishing the LP as a genuine third force in the country's politics (Fourchard & Sikiru, 2023). Obi's popularity indicated a rising desire for change, notably in governance, economic reform, and anti-corruption measures (Egwim, 2020). The LP's platform focused on addressing issues such as unemployment, infrastructure development, and social welfare programs, resonating with many voters who felt marginalized by the traditional parties. As the election approached, the LP gained momentum and posed a significant challenge to the long-standing dominance of the APC and PDP in Nigerian politics.

Despite the growth of the Labour Party, the 2023 presidential election was principally contested between Bola Tinubu of the APC and Atiku Abubakar of the PDP. Tinubu used his political clout in the South-West and his key role in founding the APC, while Atiku attracted support from the northern area and PDP strongholds. However, Peter Obi's Labour Party gained ground in important metropolitan regions, defying established voting trends (Roelofs, 2023). The 2023 elections also witnessed an increased emphasis on governance, economic management, and insecurity, in contrast to earlier elections that were driven by ethnic and regional loyalty (Husaini, 2020). This shift in focus indicated a growing maturity in the Nigerian political landscape, with voters prioritizing issues over identity politics. The election results reflected a more nuanced understanding of governance and policy among the electorate.

Furthermore, the Central Bank of Nigeria's (CBN) cashless policy, which was enacted shortly before the elections, had a substantial impact on political dynamics, reducing vote-buying tactics that had long dominated Nigerian elections (Bleck & Van de Walle, 2012). However, the elections were not without controversy, with charges of voter suppression, errors in the results collation, and questions about the Independent National Electoral Commission's (INEC) impartiality (Thurston, 2018). Despite these hurdles, Bola Tinubu was pronounced the winner, ensuring the continuance of APC supremacy; however, the Labour Party's growth hinted at a changing political future.

To summarize, the 2023 elections displayed both continuity and change in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. While the APC retained control, the election demonstrated the electorate's growing preference for other political parties, as seen by the Labour Party's victory. The emphasis on policy concerns and changes, notably economic and security challenges, represented a significant shift in voter preferences, indicating a shifting political environment in Nigeria (Levan, 2019). This election also highlighted the increasing importance of issues such as corruption and governance in shaping voters' decisions, signaling a maturing democracy in Nigeria. Moving forward, it will be crucial for political parties to address these concerns and adapt to the evolving landscape to remain competitive in future elections.

Recurrent Issues in Nigeria's Fourth Republic (2015-2024)

1. **Weak Opposition and Limited Political Competition:** One of the most persistent issues of Nigeria's Fourth Republic is the opposition parties' weak strength and capacity. The All-Progressives Congress (APC) and the People's Democratic Party (PDP) have maintained their dominance, marginalizing other parties, limiting political competition, and eroding Nigeria's democracy. Although the Labour Party (LP) emerged as a

prominent contender in the 2023 elections, it still lacks financial resources, organizational structure, and national reach as compared to the APC and PDP (Fourchard & Sikiru, 2023). Smaller parties seldom pose a strong challenge in national elections, sustaining a de facto two-party system that limits democratic plurality (Fagbadebo & Ruffin, 2019). This lack of political diversity hinders the representation of various interests and perspectives within the Nigerian political landscape. The dominance of the APC and PDP also raises concerns about accountability and transparency in governance.

2. **Internal Party Democracy and Leadership Crisis**: Both the APC and the PDP have continued to struggle with internal democratic concerns. Candidate selection processes within the two major parties are frequently rife with manipulation, favoritism, and the influence of political elites, or "godfathers." This has heightened tensions among the party ranks, resulting in defections and political instability. Many political leaders dissatisfied with internal dynamics in the APC and PDP have resigned to other parties or run independently, only to return when political prospects become limited (Obe, 2021). The absence of open and democratic processes inside political parties has harmed electoral integrity and eroded public faith in the political system (Omotola 2010). This lack of transparency and fairness within party structures has led to disillusionment among voters and contributed to a growing sense of apathy towards the political process. Without meaningful reforms to address these issues, the cycle of manipulation and instability within major parties is likely to continue, further undermining democracy in Nigeria.

3. **Ethnic and Regional Politics:** Ethnic and regional differences remain important in Nigerian politics. Both the APC and the PDP have historically depended on ethnic and regional allegiances to gain political triumphs, frequently sacrificing national unity in favor of local interests. The APC has retained considerable support in the northern areas, while the PDP has a bigger presence in the southern and eastern regions. The 2023 elections confirmed these trends; however, the Labour Party's rise under Peter Obi revealed the rising dissatisfaction with ethnically oriented politics, particularly among urban and young voters (Egwim, 2020). Despite this, ethnic politics is firmly entrenched, impeding the expansion of issue-based political participation (Aiyede, 2020). This entrenched ethnic politics continues to hinder the development of a more inclusive and issue-driven political landscape in Nigeria. The challenge remains for political parties to transcend ethnic divisions and prioritize national interests over regional loyalties.

4. **Defections and Political Instability**: Political defections have been a recurring aspect in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, with politicians often switching allegiance between the APC and the PDP for tactical or personal reasons rather than fundamental disagreements. Defections have resulted in political instability and governance inconsistency, as politicians frequently respond to fluctuating power dynamics rather than pursuing unified policy agendas (Roelofs, 2023). This has masked the ideological differences between the two major parties, making it harder for people to distinguish between them on policy grounds (Aiyede, 2020). These defections have also led to a lack of accountability and transparency in governance, as politicians prioritize their own interests over the needs of the people they were elected to serve. The constant switching of parties has eroded public trust in the political system and hindered the development of strong, principled leadership in Nigeria.

5. **Godfatherism and Political Corruption**: The influence of political godfathers remains an important issue in Nigerian politics. Powerful individuals with influence over political processes frequently decide who becomes party candidates, weakening democratic norms and excluding prospective reformers and technocrats. Both the APC and the PDP have been accused of fostering godfatherism, which

encourages corruption and prioritizes personal wealth over public service. This dynamic has not only hampered political changes but has also established a patronage structure that promotes corruption at all levels of government (Olanrewaju, 2019). Despite popular requests for greater openness and change, political elites continue to maintain disproportionate power over candidate selection and resource distribution (Thurston, 2018). This perpetuates a cycle of corruption and inefficiency that hinders progress and development in Nigeria. Without significant reforms to address these issues, the country's political landscape may continue to be plagued by patronage and nepotism.

Conclusion

As Nigeria's Fourth Republic evolves, the dominance of one or two political parties poses a substantial barrier to the establishment of a dynamic, competitive democracy. To get past the challenges associated with one-party domination, Nigeria must work on developing smaller political parties, encouraging internal democracy within parties, and tackling the fundamental causes of ethnic politics, defections, and godfatherism. The future of Nigerian democracy is dependent on political parties' capacity to overcome these obstacles and strive toward a more inclusive, transparent, and competitive political system.

Recommendations

i. Implement measures that level the playing field for minor political parties, such as campaign financing reforms, media access, and lower registration obstacles, to foster political competition and pluralism.

ii. Political parties should use open and democratic candidate selection methods to reduce the influence of political elites ("godfathers") and promote inclusion and accountability within party structures.

iii. Enhance civic education initiatives to raise voter understanding of the significance of policy-driven voting, urging voters to prioritize concerns above ethnic or regional attachments.

iv. To coincide with voters' changing tastes, political parties should promote policy-driven campaigns that target critical national concerns such as economic reforms, security, and infrastructure development.

v. Reinforce the independence of democratic institutions such as the court and legislature in order to decentralize political power and hold political leaders responsible.

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THE IMPLICATIONS OF CLIMATE CHANGE ON STAPLE CROPS PRODUCTION IN EKPOMA, EDO STATE, NIGERIA

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Implications, climate change, rainfall, temperature, staple crops production

ABSTRACT
This paper examined the implications of climate change on staple crops production in Ekpoma, Edo State, Nigeria. The paper identified the causes of climate change,the staple crop cultivated, the major evidence of climate change having implications on staple crops production, the implications of climate change on staple crops production, and the several adaptation strategies that have been proposed and implemented to mitigate its implications on staple crops production. To achieve these objectives, the researcher used both primary and secondary research methods to collect the data used for the study. Four hundred (400) staple crop farmers which represent two-point five percent (2.5%) of the staple crops farmers' population in the study area were considered. Consequent upon the above, four hundred questionnaires were administered across the study area.The data obtained were analysed using tables, graphs and, percentages. The results reveal the causes of climate change in Ekpoma, the staple crops produced in Ekpoma at present, the major evidence of climate change having implications on staple crops production in Ekpoma, the implications of climate change on staple crops production in Ekpoma, Nigeriaand the adaptation strategies that have been used to mitigate its implications on staple crops production.Arising from the above findings, the following recommendations are made which include: effective and regular training and retraining of staple crops farmers on the knowledge of climate change, climate change related- hazards, the place of staple crops in Ekpoma, climatic conditions should be monitored to help predict potential climate change related hazards and how to circumvent them, practicing climate-smart agriculture which includes incorporating climate-hazard resistant crops and improving cultural practices, sustainable practices to manage diseases without harming the environment. governments at all levels should as a matter of urgency promulgate laws on the granting of soft loans, climate change related-hazards and diseases resistant species of staple crops and other inputs to staple

crops farmers annually to encourage them.This paper is therefore concluded by advising the governments at all levels to effect the recommendations made by the researcher.

Introduction

Climate change refers to any significant change in the measures of climate lasting for any extended period of time. In other words, climate change includes major changes in temperature, precipitation (in all its forms), or wind patterns among other effects that occur over several decades or longer. It can also be seen as the physical modification of the general circulation of the earth's atmosphere on which climate ultimately depends (Ayoade, 2004).Okhakhu (2019) and IPCC(2020) observed that climate change is the realistic increase in the average temperatures of the global environment (atmosphere, lithosphere, hydrosphere, biosphere, cryosphere) and other constituent elements which constitute the planet earth mainly as a result of the unguided human activities. From the foregoing, climate change can be referred to as the technical terminology used to describe the significant and long-lasting change in statistical distribution of weather patterns over periods ranging from decades to millions of years.

Staple simply means something that is produced regularly or in abundant supply.Oxford Advance Learner's Dictionaries (2024), conceives of staple crops as the crops that are widely cultivated , consumed and relie upon as primary of food, nutrition, for a particular region or community. Typically, staple crops are high yielding, , nutritious, easy to cultivate and maintain. Additionally, staple crops are adaptable to local climate and soil condition, and are significant culturally. Therefore, staple crops are the common and regular crops that produce food that is often eaten and usually available in plenteous supplies and it constitutes a dominant part of a standard diet for an individual person or a group of individual persons. Typical examples of staple crops are corn (maize), rice, cassava, yam, plantain, millet, wheat, guinea corn, sorghum, potato, and amongst others.

Climate change is one of the most significant global challenges of the 21st century, with far-reaching impacts on various aspects of human life, particularly agriculture and food security. In Nigeria, which relies heavily on agriculture for food production and livelihoods, climate change has exacerbated existing vulnerabilities in the agricultural sector. Changes in temperature, rainfall patterns, and the frequency and intensity of extreme weather events are threatening food security by affecting crop yields, farming practices, and the availability of natural resources essential for agriculture (Adelekan, 2020; Nwafor, 2021).

In recent decades, climate change has had observable effects on the agricultural systems of Ekpoma. According to a study by Ojo et al. (2021), there has been a noticeable shift in seasonal rainfall patterns, including both delayed onset and early cessation of rainfall, leading to reduced crop yields. Additionally, increased temperatures, coupled with unpredictable rainfall, have resulted in a shortened growing season for food crops such as maize, yam, and cassava which are critical for food security in Ekpoma (Nwafor et al., 2022). Such climatic fluctuations compromise the productivity of smallholder farmers, who form the backbone of the kingdom's food production system.

The altered rainfall regime has implications for crop phenology, with some crops now being more susceptible to drought stress during the dry season or waterlogging during periods of intense and excessive rainfall. Research by Ojo et al. (2021) observed that farmers in Ekpoma have reported a decline in the reliability of rain-fed agriculture, which they rely on for food crop production. This situation has forced many farmers to shift to less water-demanding crops or adopt different coping strategies, such as the use of irrigation or agro-forestry, though these solutions are often not sustainable in the long term due to limited financial resources.

This study focuses on the implications of climate change on food security in Ekpoma, a town located in the central part of Edo State, Nigeria. Ekpoma lies at approximately 6.7612° N latitude and 6.0769° E longitude and is situated within the forest-savannah transition zone. This unique geographical location means that Ekpoma's climate is characterized by a mix of

both tropical forest and savannah conditions, leading to a diversity of agro-ecological conditions that are critical for food production. However, this also makes the area particularly sensitive to fluctuations in weather patterns, which can have substantial consequences on the production of staple crops and thereby affects the lives of its inhabitants.

2. Statement of the Problem

In recent decades, climate change has had observable effects on the agricultural systems of Ekpoma. According to Ojo *et al.* (2021), there has been a noticeable shift in seasonal rainfall patterns, including both delayed onset and early cessation of rainfall, leading to reduced crop yields. Furthermore, increased temperatures, coupled with unreliable rainfall, have resulted in a shortened growing season for food crops such as maize, yam, and cassava which are critical for food security in Ekpoma (Nwafor *et al.,* 2022). Such climatic fluctuations compromise the productivity of smallholder farmers, who form the backbone of the region's food production system.

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From the several detailed studies carried out, it is unequivocally obvious that studies in the area of climate change and its implications on staple crops production in Ekpoma,Edo State, Nigeria arenon-existent. This non-existent situation of the above subject matter represents the research gap which this current paper intends to fill, that is, the implications of climate change on staple crops production in Ekpoma,Edo State, Nigeria

3. Objectives of the Study

The overall aim of this paper is to examine the implications of climate change on staple crops productionin Ekpoma, Edo State, Nigeria. The specific objectives are to:

i. examine the causes of climate change in Ekpoma;

ii. examine the major staple crops produced in Ekpoma;

iii. examine the major evidences of climate change havingimplications onstaple crops productionin Ekpoma;

iv. examine the implications of climate-related hazards on staple crops production in Ekpoma;

v. examine the adaptation strategies and policies implemented by farmers to foreclose the negative implications of climate change on staple crops production in Ekpoma.

4. The Study Area

The study area is Ekpoma. It is one of the seven clans that constitute Esan West Local Government Area of Edo State (Eseigbe, 2011 and Ehisuoria, 2012). Ekpoma lies approximately within latitude 06^0 04^1 and 06^0 45^1 North of the Equator and longitude 06^0 05^1 and 06^0 10^1 East of the Greenwich Meridian (Eseigbe, 2011). The study area comprises of twelve (12) communities which are Eguare, Emaudo, Ujoelen, Ukpenu, Uhiele, Illeh, Emuhi, Iruekpen, Uke, Ihumudumu,Idumebo and Ujemen. Ekpoma is located in the humid tropics. It has the humid tropical climate characterized by wet and dry seasons. The climate is controlled by the position of the Inter Tropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ). The Northerly and the Southerly movements of the ITCZ throughout the year are marked by outset of the wet and dry seasons (Eseigbe, 2011). The hottest period of the year in the study area is recorded between January and March (34^0C) while the lowest temperature is recorded between June and July (24^0C).

The soils in Ekpoma are ferri soils on loose sandy sediments. These soils are less leached and consequently retain water and encourage agricultural practices.

The economic activities of the people of Ekpoma encompass agricultural and non –agricultural sectors. The agricultural sector includes crops cultivation, and animal grazing. The crops cultivated include yams, cassava, maize, cocoyam, pepper, plantain, banana, pineapple, pawpaw and mango. Others are oil palm, cocoa, cashew, pear, orange and ducanut. The animals domesticated are goats, dogs and sheep. Poultry farming is also a famous agricultural activity carried out by the people of Ekpoma. The non –agricultural sector is industrialization. The industrial sector of Ekpoma is comprised of both agro and non –agro based industries. The agro-based industries include cassava grating and processing, rice milling and processing, vegetable oil processing and palm oil milling. The non agro-based industries in the study area encompasses block moulding, black smiting, welding, vulcanizing, hair dressing and banking –industries(Ehisuoria, 2012).

The population of Ekpoma is relatively high. The 1991 population census estimated the population of Ekpoma at 45,488 persons. The population of the study area in 2006 population census rose astronomically (though the figures for the locality are not made available by the National Population Commission (NPC). However, the population census conducted in 2006 estimated the population of the entire Local Government Area at 127,718. Ekpoma has over 70% of the total population of Esan West Local Government Area because of the pull factor of Ambrose Alli University which is located in the study Area. The population of Ekpoma is made up of indigenes as well as non-indigenes (Okojie, 1994). The non indigenes are the immigrants who are either staff or students of Ambrose Alli University Ekpoma, Staff of Irrua Specialist teaching Hospital, Staff of Esan West Local Government Ministries and parastatals. The other non-indigenes are the workers employed by trading activities and industries located to service the university such as the banks, private schools, and hotels (Ehisuoria, 2012).

5. Conceptual Framework and Literature Review

Relevant numbers of concepts and models in agro-climatology have been used in the low, middle and high latitudes in line with crop yield. Some of these concepts and models are the Palmer's (1965) Drought Severity Index (PDSI), and Palmer's (1968) Crop Mixture Index (CMI). These concepts were examined and applied in this paper.

5.1. Drought Severity Index (PDSI)

The Palmer's drought index, often described as the Palmer drought severity index and usually abbreviated PDSI, is a measurement of dryness based on recent precipitation and temperature. It was developed by meteorologist Wayne Palmer, who first published his method in the 1965 paper entitled Meteorological Drought. It was developed for the office of Climatology of the United States of America's Weather Bureau. The Palmer's Drought Index is based on a supply-and-demand model of soil moisture (Ped,1975; Bhalla and Singh, 1997; Adekalu and Okunade, 2008). Supply is by comparison easy to calculate but, demand is more complicated as it depends on many factors, not just temperature and the amount of moisture in the soil but also hard to calibrate factors including evapotranspiration and recharge rates. He made effort to surmount these difficulties by developing an algorithm that approximated them based on the most readily available data: rainfall and temperature (Ped, 1975; Adekalu and Okunade, 2008).

The index has proven most effective in determining long-term drought, a matter of several months, but it is not as good with conditions over a matter of weeks. It uses a 0 as normal, and drought is shown in terms of negative numbers; for example, negative 2 is moderate drought, negative 3 is severe drought, and negative 4 is extreme drought. Palmer's algorithm is also used to describe wet spells, using corresponding positive numbers (Bhalla and Singh, 1997; Adekalu and Okunade, 2008). Palmer also developed a formula for standardizing drought calculations for each individual location based on the variability of rainfall and temperature at that location. The Palmer's index can therefore be applied to any site for which sufficient rainfall and temperature data are available.

The Palmer index is widely used operationally, with Palmer's maps published weekly by the United States Government's National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. It has also been used by climatologists to standardize global long-term drought analysis. Global Palmer's data sets have been developed based on instrumental records beginning in the 19th century. Furthermore, dendrochronology (dating of trees by their annual growth rings) has been used to generate estimated Palmer's index values for North America for the past 2000 years, allowing analysis of long-term drought trends. It has also been used as a means of explaining the late Bronze Age collapse (Ped,1975; Bhalla and Singh, 1997; Adekalu and Okunade, 2008). Despite the above merits, critics have complained that the utility of the Palmer's index is weakened by the arbitrary nature of Palmer's algorithms, including the technique used for standardization. The Palmer's index's inability to account for snow and frozen ground is another strong criticism leveled against it.

5.2 Crop Mixture Index (CMI)

As some of the criticisms leveled against Palmer's Drought Severity Index (PDSI) of 1965 became obvious, the Palmer responded to them rapidly by developing Crop Mixture Index (CMI) in 1968. CMI is intended to be a drought index especially suited to drought impacts on agriculture, in that it responds quickly to rapidly changing conditions. It is calculated by subtracting the difference between potential evapotranspiration and moisture, to determine any deficit. CMI is a continuation of the original work done by Palmer in the early 1960s, precisely in 1965. CMI is usually calculated weekly along with the Palmer's Drought Severity Index (PDSI) output as the short-term drought component in which the impact on agriculture is considered (Ped,1975; Bhalla and Singh, 1997; Adekalu and Okunade, 2008). The input parameters in CMI include weekly precipitation, weekly mean temperature and the previous week's Crop Mixture Index value.

Crop Mixture Index (CMI) is useful for investigating crop yield because it is used to monitor drought in which agricultural impacts are of major interest. Also, in applying CMI the output is weighted, so it is possible to compare different climate regimes. Finally, Crop Mixture Index (CMI) responds quickly to fast changing conditions. The above merits notwithstanding, CMI is strongly criticized because it was developed specifically for the grain-producing regions in the United States of America. Also, CMI may show a false sense of recovery from long- term drought events, as improvements in the short- term may be inadequate to offset long-term issues.

Palmer's Drought Severity Index (PDSI) and Crop Mixture Index (CMI) are of great relevance to this research work because they give an insight on precipitation and temperature and how to apply them in investigating crop yield. Furthermore, because of their wide applicability, Thompson (1969 and 1970), Alley (1984) and Tannura, Irwin and Good (2008) used them in United States of America.

5.3 Literature Review

Climate change has emerged as one of the most critical global challenges of the 21st century, with profound implications for various sectors, particularly agriculture. Nigeria, as one of the most populous countries in sub-Saharan Africa, is highly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change, especially in its rural and agrarian communities. Ekpoma, a town in the Esan West Local Government Area of Edo State in southern Nigeria, is not an exempt. Agriculture is the primary livelihood for many households in Ekpoma so, any adverse climatic changes can have severe consequences on staple crop production in the study area.This literature review synthesized existing research on climate change andcrop production in the Nigerian context, with particular emphasis on the situation in Ekpoma.Ojo *et al.;* (2021) observed that farmers in Ekpoma have reported a decline in the reliability of rain-fed agriculture, which they rely on for food crop production. This situation has forced many farmers to shift to less water-demanding crops such as maize, cassava, melon, groundnut, pineapple or adopt different coping strategies, such as the use of irrigation or agro-forestry. However, these solutions are often not efficient, effective, effectual and sustainable in the long term due to highly limited financial resources.

The people of Ekpoma predominantly depend on subsistence farming, with agricultural activities contributing significantly to the local economy and food security. The population of Ekpoma is made up of various ethnic groups, including the Esan, who traditionally engage in farming activities using family labour. Despite

their reliance on agriculture, farmers in Ekpoma face considerable challenges due to climate change. In particular, their vulnerability is amplified by limited access to modern farming techniques, poor infrastructure, and inadequate climate adaptation strategies (Adewumi et al., 2020).

As smallholder farmers are often unable to invest in climate-resilient agricultural practices due to financial constraints, food security becomes increasingly precarious. While some farmers have adapted by diversifying their crops or integrating livestock, many remain highly vulnerable to the unpredictable nature of climate change. This situation is compounded by a lack of awareness regarding the impacts of climate change and the availability of adaptation strategies (Fasina&Fashina, 2016).

A significant body of research has highlighted that climate change has already begun to affect crop yields in Nigeria. In particular, staple crops such as maize, cassava, yam, and rice are highly sensitive to climatic shifts. For example, studies by Adejumo *et al;* (2021) and Nwoke *et al.;* (2022) have indicated that rising temperatures and unpredictable rainfall patterns have led to reduced yields of maize and cassava, essential food crops in Nigeria.

Olanrewaju *et al.,* (2022) noted that increasing occurrences of floods, droughts, and storms have been reported across the country, leading to reduced agricultural productivity and significant losses in food production.

Ogunjimi *et al.,* (2023) observed that changes in precipitation patterns and higher temperatures contribute to soil degradation and loss of fertility, which greatly affects the long-term sustainability of farming. In the case of Ekpoma, where soil types are primarily ferralsols and acrisols, climate change-induced erosion and nutrient depletion are becoming concerns for crop production.

Water is crucial for agricultural production, particularly for irrigation in areas that experience elongated dry spells and season. In many parts of Nigeria, including Ekpoma, the availability of water resources for agriculture has been threatened always by both decreasing rainfall and growing competition from other sectors (Nwafor, M. P.*et all,*Akinyemi *et al.,* 2023). This can aggravate food insecurity by reducing crop irrigation capacity.

Climate change also affects livestock farming, a key aspect of the food sources in Ekpoma. Extreme temperatures and fluctuating rainfalls affect the availability of pasture and water for animals, leading to reduced livestock productivity. This has been evident in various studies such as those by Bello *et al*. (2021), who observed a decrease in livestock productivity due to heat stress and scarcity of feeds.

On the whole, the literature review showed that the impacts of climate change on food securityhave been carried out in the humid tropics of the world in general and Ekpoma in particular. The specific case ofthe implications of climate change on staple crops production in Ekpoma, Edo State, Nigeria has not been examined in any study in the study area. This recent vacuum is what this current paper intends to bridge scientifically.

6. Research Methodology

The data required for this study were collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary source formed the major source of data needed for this paper. The primary data were collected by the use of structured questionnaire administration and personal observation in the field. Sixteen thousand, one hundred and six staple crops farmers were found in the study area. So, 400 staple crop farmers which representtwo point five percent (2.5%) of the staple crops farmers' population in the study area were considered. Consequent upon the above, four hundred questionnaires were administered across the study area. The preliminary and actual field surveys revealed that the staple crops farmers' population is not evenly distributed across the study area. Owing to the above, the questionnaires were distributed in the various communities in this proportion: Iruekpen (50), Ujemen (30), Uke (20), Idumebo (25), Ihumudumu (35), Ujoelen (40), Ukpenu (30), Eguare (25), Emaudo (35), Illeh (30), Uhiele (40) and Emuhi (40).All thefour hundred questionnaires were retrieved and used for the study.Random sampling technique was used to select the respondents for interview. Questions were asked on the causes of climate change, thetypes of staple crops cultivated, the impact of climate change on the production of staple crops, the level of awareness of staple crops farmers on the implication of climate changeon staple crops production, the implications of the climate changeon staple crops productionand

the coping strategies adopted by staple crops farmers in the study area.

The secondary data used in this paper include but not limited to the population data as generated by the National Population Commission (NPC), Esan West Local Government Council, Agricultural Development Programme (ADP) in Irrua, Esan Central Local Government Area/Benin City, and Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources (MANR), Ekpoma–Esan West Local Government Area/Benin City, Edo State. The data collected were collated and analysed using tables, frequencies and percentages.

7. Results and Discussion

The success or failure of any crop productionprocess including staplecrops in particular is largely dependent on the nature of the environmental factors. Some of the environmental factors include but not limited to: soil, climate, diseases and amongst others. These factors singly or in combination influence staple crops production in Ekpoma and other regions having the same or similar environmental conditions or factors.

7.1 The causes of climate change in Ekpoma

Table 7.1 shows the causes of climate change in Ekpoma. It reveals that burning fossil fuels with 120 responses representing 30.00% ranks highest among all the causes and it is followed by deforestation which has 82 responsesrepresenting 20.50% of the sample population. Also, Table 7.1reveals that agricultural activities have 40 responses representing10.00% whereas, industrial actives which ranks next to it has 36 responses and this represent9.00% of the sample population. The others which include bush burning has 35 responses representing 8.75%, the use of fluorinated gases has 24 responses which represent 6.00%, heat from concrete surfaces has 25 responses which represent 6.25% emissions from dump sites has 20 responses which represent5.00%, and finally, heat from roof tops which ranks lowest in the study area has 18 responses representing 4.50% of the sample population.

Table 7.1: The Causes of Climate Change in Ekpoma

The causes of climate change in Ekpoma	Frequency	Percentage
Burning of fossil fuels	120	30.00
Deforestation	82	20.50
Industrial activities	36	9.00
Agricultural activities	40	10.00
Use of fluorinated gases	24	6.00
Bush burning	35	8.75
Emissions from dump sites	20	5.00
Heat from roof tops	18	4.50
Heat from concrete floors	25	6.25
Total	400	100

Source: Field survey, 2024.

7.2 The Major Staple Crops Produced in Ekpoma

Table 7.2 shows the major staple crops produced in Ekpoma. From the table, it is crystal clear that cassava is the first on the list with 148 responses representing 37.00% of the sample population and it is followed by yam with 101 responses representing 25.25% of the sample population in the study area. Corn with 83 responses representing 20.25% of the sample population is next and it is followed by plantain which recorded 49 responses which represent 12.25% of the sample population. The last among the major staple crops produced in Ekpoma is coco-yam with 19 responses (4.75%) of the sample population in the study area.

Table 7.2: The Major Staple Crops Produced in Ekpoma

The major staple crops produced in Ekpoma	Frequency	Percentage
Cassava	148	**37.00**
Yam	101	25.25
Corn	83	**20.75**
Plantain	49	12.25
Coco-yam	19	**4.75**
Total	**400**	**100**

Source: Field survey, 2024

7.3 The Major Evidence of Climate Change Having Implications on Staple Crops Production in Ekpoma

Table 7.2 shows the major evidence of climate change having implications on staple crops production in Ekpoma, Edo State, Nigeria. The table further reveals that unreliable rainfall ranks highest with 116 responses representing 29% of the sample population and it is followed by rising and harmful temperature with 108 responses which represents 27% of the sample population. Extreme weather events such as increasing occurrences of floods, and drought record 72 responses which represents18% of the sample population. The 7.2 further revealed that severe thunderstorms had 60 responses representing 15% of the sample population and finally cloudless skies with 44 responses which represent 11% of the sample population were among the major evidence of climate change having implications on staple crops production in Ekpoma, Edo State, Nigeria.

Table 7.3: The Major Evidence of Climate Change Having Implications on Staple Crops Production in Ekpoma

Major evidence of climate change	Frequency	Percentage
Rising and harmful temperature	108	27
Unreliable rainfall	116	29
Extreme weather events	72	18
Severe thunderstorms	60	15
Cloudless skies	44	11
Total	400	100

Source: Field survey, 2024

7.4 The Implications of Climate Change on Staple Crops Production in Ekpoma

Table 7.3 depicts the implications of climate change on staple crops production in Ekpoma, Edo State, Nigeria. Reduced crop yield and variability with 92 responses representing 23.00% of the sample population tops the list and it is followed by skyrocketing prices of staple crops which records 64 responses which represents 16.00% of the sample population. Emergence and spread of diseases and pests records 51responses representing 12.75%also, death of seeds and seedlings has 50responses whichrepresent12.50%, more labour/loss of man hour with 35 responses representing 8.75%, while impoverishment of soil nutrient/fertility records 34 responses which represent 8.50%of the sample population in the study area. Others

are reduction in arable land available for staple crops production, it has 30 responses representing 7.50%, disrupted farming calendars has 24 responses which represent 6.00% and finally, delayed germination and maturity of staple crops with 20 which represents 5.00% of the sample population in the study area.

Table 7.4: The Implications of Climate Change on Staple Crops Production in Ekpoma

Implications of Climate Change on Staple Food Production in Ekpoma	Frequency	Percentage
Reduced Crop Yield and Variability	92	23.00
Impoverishment of Soil Nutrient/Fertility	34	8.50
Emergence and Spread of Diseases and Pests	51	12.75
Death of Seeds and Seedlings	50	12.50
Reduction in Arable Land for crop Production	30	7.50
More/Loss of Man Hour	35	8.75
Delayed Germination and Ripening of Crops	20	5.00
Skyrocketing Prices of staple Crops	64	16.00
Disrupted Farming Calendars	24	6.00
Total	400	**100.00**

Source: Field survey, 2024

7.5 The Adaptation Strategies and Policies Implemented by Staple Crops Farmers to Foreclose the Implications of Climate Change on Staple Crops Production in Ekpoma

Given the significant threat posedby climate changeto the production of staple crops from the planting to maturity period in Ekpoma, several adaptation strategies have been formulatedand implemented to mitigate its implications on staple crops production. The adaptation strategies include but not limited to;

Climate-Smart Agriculture (CSA)**:** CSA practices, which include the use of drought-resistant crops, improved water management techniques, and agro-forestry, are being promoted as key adaptation strategies to build resilience among farmers in Ekpoma.

Community-Based Adaptation: Local farmers are also adopting community-based strategies such as rainwater harvesting and local irrigation systems. These efforts have helped staple crops farmers to reduce the vulnerability of local agriculture to changing climate patterns. All these localized solutions offer practical and cost-effective ways to enhance staple crops production in Ekpoma, Edo State, Nigeria.

Government and Policy Support**:**At the national, state, local, ward and even community levels,policies aimed at addressing climate change impacts on staple crops are of vital importance. The Nigerian government has launched several programs, including the National Adaptation Programme and the Agricultural Transformation Agenda across the country (with Ekpoma included), which aim to increase climate resilience in agricultural production in general and staple crops production in particular. In Ekpoma, local agricultural extension services and farmers' training programmes are on ground and they playa very significant role in disseminating climate adaptation techniques and strategies to smallholder farmers.

Sustainable Land Management**:** Promoting sustainable land management practices is critical in improving soil fertility and enhancing water retention in Ekpoma. Such practices, along with better integrationof agro-ecological principles, are helping staple crops farmers to circumvent the effects of soil erosion, soil impoverishment, and water scarcity on staple crops productionin Ekpoma, Edo State, Nigeria.

8. Conclusion

Climate change represents a significant challenge to staple crops production in Ekpoma, Edo State, Nigeria, as it disrupts agricultural productivity in general and staple crops production in particular and affects the livelihoods of local farmers. Ekpoma(the study area) relies mainly on rain-fed agriculture. This, makes Ekpoma highly vulnerable and susceptible to fluctuations in rainfall and temperature, which could stultify the shortage of staple crops in the decades ahead. However, various adaptation strategies, including climate-smart agriculture, community-based adaptation, and government interventions, have the potentials to mitigate these challenges and improve on staple crops production outcomes in Ekpoma. It is crucial that policy frameworks at the community, ward, local, state, and national levels prioritize climate resilience and staple crops availability to safeguard the future of farming communities in Ekpoma Kingdom, Edo State, Nigeria.

9. Recommendations

This paper examined the implications of climate change on staple crops production in Ekpoma, Edo State, Nigeria. Based on the findings of this paper, the following actionable policy recommendations are made:

1. Effective and regular training and retraining of staple crops farmers on the knowledge of climate change, climate change related- hazards, the place of staple crops in our society, disease management strategies should be enforced by government at all levels;

2. Climatic conditions should be monitored to help predict potential climate change related hazards and how to circumvent them;

3. Practicing climate-smart agriculture which includes incorporating climate-hazard resistant crops and improving cultural practices, such as proper drainage and canopy management, can mitigate disease risks associated with rainfall and temperature extremes;

4. Sustainable practices to manage diseases without harming the environment such as the use of bio-pesticides and organic amendments should be encouraged.

5. Governments at all levels (federal, state and local) should as a matter of urgency promulgate laws on the granting of soft loans, climate change related-hazards and diseases resistant species of staple crops and other inputs to staple crops farmers annually to encourage them.

10 Conclusion

Climate change represents a significant challenge to staple crops production in Ekpoma, Edo State, Nigeria, as it disrupts agricultural productivity in general and staple crops production in particular and affects the livelihoods of local farmers. Ekpoma(the study area) relies mainly on rain-fed agriculture. This, makes Ekpoma highly vulnerable and susceptible to fluctuations in rainfall and temperature, which could stultify the shortage of staple crops in the decades ahead. However, various adaptation strategies, including climate-smart agriculture, community-based adaptation, and government interventions, have the potentials to mitigate these challenges and improve on staple crops production outcomes in Ekpoma. It is crucial that policy frameworks at the community, ward, local, state, and national levels prioritize climate resilience and staple crops availability to safeguard the future of farming communities in Ekpoma Kingdom, Edo State, Nigeria.

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GENDER INFLUENCE AND ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE IN NIGERIAN UNIVERSITIES SYSTEM: A STUDY OF BABCOCK UNIVERSITY AND UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS

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KEYWORDS
Academic performance, gender, gender influence, gender disparities, Nigerian universities

ABSTRACT
Gender is a biological as well as socially and culturally constructed concept of masculinity and femininity on individuals' actions, opportunities, and societal expectations. The concept of gender has impacted every segment of societal interactions including students' academic performance which encompasses acquisition of information across cognitive, emotional, and psychomotor domains encountered in formal educational environment. However, less attention has been given to the effect of gender differences on academic performance in the literature. Therefore, this study addressed the problem of gender differences in academic performance in Nigerian universities. The survey research design was employed, involving 397 undergraduate students from Babcock University and the University of Lagos, selected through purposive sampling. Data were collected via a structured self-administered questionnaire, and descriptive statistics were used for data analysis. The study was anchored on the social constructivist theory. The study revealed that gender discrimination affects both male and female students, leading to lower self-esteem, uneven performance across disciplines, and influencing study time and career choices. Teaching content and curriculum designed also contribute positively to gender equality in both private and public universities. The study concluded that gender discrimination significantly impacts academic experiences in Nigerian universities. While institutional policies support

gender equality, government policies are ineffective; teaching content and socio-economic factors also influences students' academic performance. The study recommended adequate data monitoring, policy reform, awareness campaigns, curriculum review, support services, and socio-economic support as solutions to the observed challenges.

Introduction

Academic performance is a multifaceted area of research that has received significant attention and investigation over an extended period of time. The focus is often on the level a student attains in their coursework and educational pursuits. There are several factors that have the potential to impact a student's academic performance, including both advantageous and detrimental effects. One of the primary factors that have a significant impact is the inherent drive and exertion shown by a learner. Shing (2020) opined that there is a positive correlation between students' self-motivation and their academic achievement, with those who exhibit greater levels of self-motivation and invest more effort tending to do better academically.

Meanwhile, motivation of students may be influenced by several factors, including the level of interest they have in their courses, their personal objectives, their self-efficacy beliefs, and their utilization of self-regulated learning strategies, the impacts of teachers and peers are also significant in academic contexts. According to Pardo (2019), the provision of assistance, guidance, and relevant feedback by instructors has a favourable influence on students' academic achievement. Similarly, the presence of like-minded individuals who prioritized academic pursuits may have a positive impact on an individual's motivation and level of exertion.

Academic performance, as opined by King et al. (2017), encompasses the acquisition of information across cognitive, emotional, and psychomotor domains, which students encounter in formal educational environment. It is often assessed by means of test results, active participation in class, timely completion of assignments, and the cumulative grade point average. Gender influence, on the other hand, pertains to the impact of socially and culturally formed concepts of masculinity and femininity on individuals' actions, opportunities, and societal expectations (Ozturk et al., 2020). The primary components of gender influence include gender stereotypes, gender roles, and gender socialization experienced throughout the process of parenting.

Numerous scholarly investigations have examined the impact of gender on academic achievement in different countries. According to Essel, Vlachopoulos & Tachie-Menson (2021), gender was found to have minimal influence on academic performance within Ghanaian universities in Africa. In the context of Nigeria, Birhanu (2019) observed that gender was not shown to be a significant determinant of undergraduate grade point averages at institutions located in the Midwestern region. In Lagos for instance, Pitan & Muller (2020) observed a trend where female students in higher education demonstrated superior performance compared to their male counterparts, specifically in the field of humanities.

Conversely, a number of studies have elucidated the adverse impact of gender. According to Keller et al. (2022) meta-analysis research conducted in the United States, it was shown that there is a continuous pattern of female under performance in math-intensive domains. In a study conducted by Onyedikachi (2021), there was a negative impact on academic achievement in elementary schools in Oyo State due to teacher interactions that exhibited gender prejudice. Also, a study conducted in Lagos by Wrigley-Asante (2023), identified gendered impediments to education as the primary factor contributing to comparatively lower WASSCE results in females' secondary schools. When considering various locations and disciplines, it is evident that gender continues to significantly influence academic attainment on a global scale. Thus, this study investigated the problem of gender disparities in the academic performance of Nigerian Universities, focusing on Babcock University and University of Lagos.

Methodology

A descriptive survey technique was adopted for this study. The data for this research was retrieved from primary source, using a questionnaire which was administered to selected undergraduates in University of Lagos, Lagos state and Babcock University, Ogun State, Nigeria, using the purposive sampling technique. The analysis below presents the data obtained from respondents and discusses the findings generated which were analysed using appropriate statistical tools and interpreted accordingly. Using a population of 45,500 (35,436 in University of Lagos and 10,064 in Babcock University), the study utilized the Taro Yamane formular to arrive at the sample size of 397. Three hundred and ninety-seven copies of questionnaire were administered (397), while three hundred and sixty-eight (368) responses were found valid and usable for the study.

Literature Review

Concept of Gender

The concept of gender is multifaceted, and characterized by dynamic definitions and developing interpretations. Gender, in its most fundamental sense, encompasses the attributes that a given community or culture designates as either masculine or feminine (Lindqvist, Sendén & Renström, 2021). Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that the notion of gender is contingent upon cultural and historical contexts and has undergone transformations throughout history. Historically, gender has been conventionally delineated based on an individual's biological sex assigned at the time of birth, categorizing them as either male or female. An individual was deemed to be of the male gender if they were assigned male at birth, whereas they were classified as female if they were assigned female. Current definitions recognize that gender extends beyond the dichotomous classifications of male and female. The existence of intersex and transgender people poses a challenge to the rigid categorization of gender that is traditionally linked only to biological sex (Hyde et al., 2019).

Academic scholars have advocated for the use of a multi-dimensional perspective when examining gender, which encompasses many key components. According to Vamvaka (2020), the idea of gender has three dimensions: identity, behaviour, and relationships. The identification component refers to how individuals self-identify in terms of their gender; the behaviour dimension pertains to the gendered behaviours and appearances shown by individuals. Also, the relationship dimension concerns how individuals are seen by others in connection to their gender. The aforementioned paradigm acknowledges the existence of gender as an inherent aspect of one's identity while simultaneously acknowledging that it is shaped and influenced by social interactions and performances. Advocates contend that gender is a multifaceted construct that encompasses a spectrum, hence, challenging the notion that a single definition can adequately capture the vast array of human experiences.

Factors that affect Students Academic Performance

Academic performance is influenced by various factors, ranging from individual motivation and self-perception to the availability of educational resources and support systems. Motivation, however, plays a pivotal role in academic achievement, as it drives students to set goals, persist through challenges, and engage in learning activities. Motivation levels can vary significantly among individuals and across genders. Research suggests that males often exhibit higher levels of extrinsic motivation, driven by external rewards or recognition, while females tend to demonstrate greater intrinsic motivation, deriving satisfaction from the learning process itself. Self-perception also influences academic performance, with individuals' beliefs about their abilities shaping their efforts and persistence in academic tasks.

Confidence levels significantly affect students' willingness to take on academic challenges and pursue opportunities for growth. Gender differences in confidence and risk-taking behaviours are well-documented, with males often exhibiting higher levels of confidence and a greater propensity for risk-taking compared to females. In the academic context, confidence impacts students' participation in class discussions, willingness to ask questions, and engagement in challenging coursework. Male gender may be more likely to volunteer answers and take academic risks, potentially leading to higher achievement in certain subjects. Conversely, females' reluctance to take risks or speak up in class may hinder their academic performance, particularly in environments

where participation and assertiveness are valued (Onyedikachi, 2021).

Also access to educational resources and support systems is always significantly impact academic performance, with disparities in resource allocation often exacerbating existing inequalities. Gender biases may influence the distribution of resources and support, further perpetuating disparities in educational outcomes. For example, schools may allocate more funding and attention to traditionally male-dominated fields, neglecting the needs of female students in education (Ogunsola et al., 2021). It is essential to recognize that these factors do not operate in isolation but intersect in complex ways to shape students' academic experiences. Gender interacts with motivation, self-perception, confidence, and access to resources to influence learning styles and academic performance. Moreover, the intersectionality of gender with other identities, such as race, socioeconomic status, and cultural background, further complicates their performance. McCoy et al., (2022) submitted that students from marginalized groups may face compounded barriers to academic success, requiring targeted interventions and support systems to address their unique needs.

Family background characteristics, such as financial position, parental education levels, and the quality of the home environment, also have influence. According to Shing (2020), there is a correlation between students' academic performance, as measured by grades, test scores, and graduation rates, and the socioeconomic background of their families, namely the level of financial resources and parental education. Nevertheless, the impact of these contextual factors are often mitigated when children experience more parental support, have opportunities to participate in advanced placement and gifted programmes, or are enrolled in schools that have high expectations for academic success.

Health and well-being are also integral components of the whole picture. The detrimental effects of suboptimal diet, insufficient sleep, elevated stress levels, and mental health disorders on attention, motivation, and academic performance have been well documented in previous studies. Conversely, participation in physical exercise and the use of self-care strategies have been shown to enhance cognitive functioning, facilitate learning, and contribute to overall academic achievement (Jenkins, 2019).

Gender and Academic Performance

Research has been conducted over a significant period of time to examine the correlation between gender and academic achievement; it was observed that boys and girls generally exhibit comparable levels of achievement in aggregate, discernible disparities emerge when examining certain academic disciplines and educational levels. Throughout history for instance, Reilly (2019) said “there has been a tendency for males to exhibit higher levels of achievement in mathematics and sciences, while females have shown more proficiency in reading and writing he posits”. According to Loyalka (2019), females in the United States consistently get a greater number of bachelor's and master's degrees each year compared to their male counterparts. Nevertheless, there exists a disproportionate representation of men in academic disciplines such as engineering, computer science, and physics, both at the undergraduate and graduate levels.

The influence of socioeconomic position was seen to mitigate some tendencies. For instance, research has shown a connection between family characteristics, such as the educational attainment of parents and the availability of resources within the home, and the observed disparities in academic performance across genders. Moreover, the perpetuation of gender stereotypes about abilities and job choices in society might inadvertently impact students' self-perceptions, course preferences, and academic achievements (McCoy & Byrne, 2022). Evidently, gender is only one of many factors that have an impact on academic performance. Additional elements to consider include cognitive ability, goals, learning settings, teacher and peer relationships, as well as physical and mental health (Evans, 2018). In general, it is advisable to refrain from making broad gender generalizations due to the intricate interplay of several factors that impact individual' learning results.

Gender Differences in Learning Styles

Understanding how gender influences learning styles is essential for creating inclusive educational environments and ensuring equitable opportunities for all learners. Over the

years, research has shed light on the cognitive, behavioural, and societal factors that contribute to gender differences in learning styles. One of the key factors contributing to gender differences in learning styles is cognitive variances. For instance, Voyer et al., (2017) suggested that males and females may exhibit divergent cognitive strengths and preferences. Their study has shown that males tend to outperform females in spatial tasks, while females often excelled in verbal tasks. These cognitive disparities can influence learning approaches, with males gravitating towards visual or hands-on learning methods, and females favouring verbal or collaborative learning experiences. Understanding these cognitive differences can help educators tailor their teaching strategies to accommodate diverse learning preferences and promote better learning outcomes for all students.

Behavioural patterns also play a significant role in shaping gender differences in learning styles. Boys and girls may demonstrate distinct behavioural tendencies in the classroom, which can impact their learning experiences. For example, Halpern et al., (2012) noted that boys are more likely to engage in competitive or active learning activities, whereas girls may prefer cooperative or reflective learning environments. These behavioural variances can influence classroom dynamics and teaching methodologies, highlighting the importance of creating inclusive learning spaces that cater to diverse learning behaviours.

Furthermore, societal expectations and gender stereotypes contribute to the perpetuation of gender differences in learning styles. From a young age, children are exposed to societal norms and expectations regarding gender roles and behaviours. These stereotypes can influence their self-perception, academic interests, and learning preferences. For instance, Eccles (2015) posited that boys may feel pressure to excel in subjects traditionally associated with masculinity, such as math or science, while girls may face expectations to prioritize nurturing or social skills over academic pursuits. It is essential to recognize that gender differences in learning styles are not static or uniform but intersect with other factors such as race, socioeconomic status, and cultural background.

Strategies for Addressing Gender Disparities

Gender disparities in learning styles have long been acknowledged within educational settings. Lauwo, (2018) submitted that these disparities can lead to unequal opportunities and outcomes for individuals based on their gender identity. Recognizing and addressing these differences is essential for creating inclusive learning environments that cater to the diverse needs of all students. One effective strategy for addressing gender disparities in learning styles is to adopt gender-inclusive teaching methods. Traditional teaching approaches may inadvertently favour certain learning styles over others, perpetuating gender biases. Gender-inclusive teaching methods aim to create a learning environment that accommodates a wide range of learning styles, regardless of gender.

One approach is to incorporate collaborative learning activities that encourage teamwork and communication. King et al., (2017) suggests that females tend to excel in collaborative settings, while males may thrive in competitive environments. By fostering collaboration, educators can create an inclusive space where all students can contribute and learn from one another, regardless of their gender. Furthermore, incorporating diverse teaching materials and examples can help address gender disparities in learning styles. Ismayilova & Klassen, (2019) posited that this not only promotes diversity but also helps students relate to the material in a meaningful way, regardless of their gender identity.

Another crucial aspect of addressing gender disparities in learning styles is promoting diversity inclusion within educational settings. Creating a supportive and inclusive environment where all students feel valued and respected is essential for fostering academic success. Educators can promote diversity and inclusion by actively challenging stereotypes and biases in the classroom (Eriksson et al., 2020). Policy interventions and institutional support also play a crucial role in addressing gender disparities in learning styles. Educational institutions must enact policies that promote gender equity and support initiatives aimed at creating inclusive learning environments. One policy intervention is the implementation of gender-inclusive curriculum guidelines that promote diversity and representation across all subject areas. Furthermore, educational institutions can provide training and professional development

opportunities for educators to help them recognize and address gender disparities in learning styles effectively (González-Pérez et al., 2020).

Theoretical Framework

Social constructivist theory is adopted for this study, and the efficacy of the theory is to examine how individuals actively construct their knowledge of gender through social interactions and contribute to the dynamics of academic performance. The social constructivist theory, which was introduced by prominent thinkers such as Fischer (2019), posits that meanings are not inherently found but rather formed, and that knowledge is built via social interactions. The central concept is that gender is not an inherently fixed biological characteristic but rather a socially constructed classification that exhibits variability across different cultures and undergoes transformation over the course of time via social mechanisms and interactions. According to Bonvillain (2020), gender is not an inherent quality but rather a construct that is actively shaped and reinforced by various social behaviours, language use, cultural symbols, and societal institutions in daily life.

One of the fundamental assumptions is that gender identities are shaped by contextual sociocultural norms rather than being inherent and universally determined by nature. Birindelli, Iannuzzi and Savioli (2019) asserted that gender plays a significant role in shaping socioeconomic opportunities and connections, leading to uneven outcomes. Gender essentialist ideologies are generated and perpetuated as epistemological frameworks via processes of social acquisition and transmission.

Critics contend that the theory fails to acknowledge the impact of biological factors on human behaviour. The approach in question poses a potential challenge in the form of cultural relativism, since it tends to see all ideologies as equally legitimate without engaging in an evaluation of their implications for social justice. According to Preece and Bullingham (2022), language may serve as a means to reinforce static gender tropes instead of challenging them. They further posited that promotion of gender stereotypes in Nigeria is influenced by cultural, religious, and linguistic factors, which shape distinct roles, behaviours, and self-perceptions that have an impact on schooling. According to Kiker (2019), private institutions have the potential to promote less rigorous socialisation of gender compared to public institutions, hence reinforcing patriarchal beliefs. The theory of social constructivism provides insight into the origins of gender differences in academic achievement, attributing it to societal constructs of masculinity and femininity rather than inherent individual characteristics.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Table 1: The Impact of Gender Discrimination on Progress/Completion Rate among Male and Female Students

		SA	A	D	SD	Mean	Std. Dev.
1	Gender discrimination influence expectations of different academic progress between males and female students	6 (1.5%)	50 (12.7%)	134 (34%)	202 (51.2%)	1.63	1.451
2	Gender discrimination leads to low self-esteem among male and female students	170 (43.1%)	196 (49.7%)	14 (3.6%)	14 (3.6%)	3.32	0.925
3	Gender discrimination makes some students to outperform the others in all disciplines at various levels of the educational ladder	176 (44.7%)	150 (38.1%)	20 (5.1%)	48 (12.2%)	3.15	1.182

4	Gender discrimination affects both male and female students' study paths	118 (29.9%	176 (44.7%	40 (10.2%)	60 (15.2%)	2.89	0.825
5	Gender discrimination affect both male and female students' career choices	232 (58.9%	134 (34%)	18 (4.6%)	10 (2.5%)	3.49	1.329
	Grand Mean = 2.88						

Source: Researcher's field work 2024

Table 2, shows that 1.5% of the respondents strongly agreed to "gender discrimination influence expectations of different academic progress between males and female students" 12.7% of the respondents agreed, 34% disagreed while 51.2% of the respondents strongly disagreed. With a mean score of 1.63, it shows that the respondents disagreed with the notion. The table also shows that 43.1% of the respondents strongly agreed to "gender discrimination leads to low self-esteem among male and female", 49.7% of the respondents agreed, 3.6% disagreed, while 3.6% strongly disagreed. With a mean score of 3.32, it shows that the respondents agreed with the notion that gender discrimination leads to low self-esteem among male and female students. Table also shows that 44.7% of the respondents strongly agreed to "gender discrimination makes some students to outperform the others in all disciplines at various levels of the educational ladder", 38.1% of the respondents agreed, 5.1% disagreed while 12.2% of the respondents strongly disagreed. With a mean score of 3.15, it can be confirmed that most of the respondents agreed with the notion that classes are not overcrowded in Lagos State. Also, the table shows that 29.9% of the respondents strongly agreed to "gender discrimination affects both male and female students' study paths" 44.7% of the respondents agreed, 10.2% of the respondents disagreed, while 15.2% of the respondents strongly disagreed. With a mean score of 2.89, it can be confirmed that most of the respondents agreed gender discrimination affects both male and female students' study paths. Table also shows that 58.9% of the respondents strongly agreed to "gender discrimination affects both male and female students' career choices", 34% of the respondents agreed, 4.6% of the respondents disagreed, while 2.5% of the respondents strongly disagreed to this. The mean score of 3.49, it can be confirmed that most of the respondents agreed that gender discrimination affects both male and female students' career choices.

Decision rule criterion: Where the overall mean is less than 2.50, it means that gender discrimination does not have an impact on progress/completion rate among male and female students. However, if it is above 2.50, it means that the impact of gender discrimination on progress/completion rate among male and female students. Therefore, from the results in table 6, the overall mean score for the impact of gender discrimination on progress/completion rate among male and female students is 2.89. Hence, it can be noted that gender discrimination has an impact on progress/completion rate among male and female students.

Table 2: Influence of Socio-economic Factors on Gender Performances in both Private and Public Universities

		SA	A	D	SD	Mean	Std. Dev.
1	The parental level of education contribute to the students' performance in the school	8 (2%)	4 (1%)	270 (68.5%)	112 (28.4%)	1.76	1.219
2	The parental income affects students' performance in the school	216 (54.8%)	150 (38.1%)	8 (2%)	20 (5.1%)	3.42	1.105

3	Parental involvement in education have a contributory effect on students' performance in the school	232 (58.9%	134 (34%)	18 (4.6%)	10 (2.5%)	3.49	1.329
4	The accommodation of the students influenc3 their performance in the school	170 (43.1%)	196 (49.7%)	14 (3.6%)	14 (3.6%)	3.32	0.925
5	The health of the students is one of the determinants of their academic performance in the school	176 (44.7%)	150 (38.1%)	20 (5.1%)	48 (12.2%)	3.15	1.182
	Grand Mean = 3.02						

Source: Researcher's field work 2024

Table 2 shows that 2% of the respondents strongly agreed to "the parental level of education contribute to the students' performance in the school", 1% of the respondents agreed, 68.5% disagreed, while 28.4% strongly disagreed. With a mean score of 1.76, it shows that the parental level of education contribute to the students' performance in the school. Table shows that 54.8% of the respondents strongly agreed to "The parental income affects students' performance in the school3, 38.1% of the respondents agreed, 2% disagreed while 5.1% of the respondents strongly disagreed. With a mean score of 3.42, it can be confirmed that the parental income affects students' performance in the school. Also, the table shows that 58.9% of the respondents strongly agreed to "Parental involvement in education have a contributory effect on students' performance in the school", 34% of the respondents agreed, 4.6% of the respondents disagreed, while 2.5% of the respondents strongly disagreed. With a mean score of 3.49, it can be confirmed that most of the respondents agreed that parental involvement in education have a contributory effect on students' performance in the school. The table also shows that 43.1% of the respondents strongly agreed to "the accommodation of the students influence their performance in the school", 49.7% of the respondents agreed, 3.6% of the respondents disagreed, while 3.6% of the respondents strongly disagreed to this. The mean score of 3.32, it can be confirmed that the accommodation of the students influence their performance in the school. Table also shows that 44.7% of the respondents strongly agreed to "the health of the students is one of the determinants of their academic performance in the school", 44.7% of the respondents agreed, 38.1% of the respondents disagreed, while 12.2% of the respondents strongly disagreed to this. The mean score of 3.15, it can be confirmed that the health of the students is one of the determinants of their academic performance in the school.

Decision rule criterion: Where the overall mean is less than 2.50, it means that socio-economic effects have no effect on gender performance in both private and public universities. However, if it is above 2.50, it means that socio-economic factors have no effect on gender performance in both private and public universities. From the table, it shows the mean score is at 3.02. Hence, it can be noted that socio-economic factors has an influence on gender performances in both private and public universities.

Table 3: Teaching and Curriculum Contents' influence on Gender in Both Private and Public Universities

		SA	A	D	SD	Mean	Std. Dev.
1	The teaching ensures that content of instruction is non-discriminatory to both gender	216 (54.8%)	150 (38.1%)	8 (2%)	20 (5.1%)	3.42	1.105
2	The content of instruction in the teaching does not favour one gender against the other.	232 (58.9%)	134 (34%)	18 (4.6%)	10 (2.5%)	3.49	1.329
3	The curriculum is organized in a way that one gender is not favour over the other in learning of tasks	240 (60.9%)	142 (36%)	4 (1%)	8 (2%)	3.55	1.019
4	The curriculum ensures both genders are given considerations for participation in classroom instruction.	202 (51.3%)	172 (43.7`%)	8 (2%)	12 (3.1%)	3.43	0.974
5	The curriculum suggests taking a more subtle, cultural position around gender	96 (24.4%)	182 (46.2%)	28 (7.1%)	86 (21.8%)	2.72	0.825
	Grand Mean = 3.32						

Source: Researcher's field work 2024

Table 3 shows that 54.8% of the respondents strongly agreed to "the teaching ensures that content of instruction is non-discriminator to both gender", 38.1% of the respondents agreed, 2% disagreed, while 5.1% strongly disagreed. With a mean score of 3.42, it shows that respondents agreed with the notion the teaching ensures that content of instruction is non-discriminatory to both genders. Table shows that 58.9% of the respondents strongly agreed to "the content of instruction in the teaching does not favour one gender against the other", 34% of the respondents agreed, 4.6% disagreed, while 2.5% strongly disagreed. With a mean score of 3.49, it shows that the content of instruction in the teaching does not favour one gender against the other.

Table also shows that 60.9% of the respondents strongly agreed to "the curriculum is organized in a way that one gender is not favoured over the other in learning of tasks", 36% of the respondents agreed, 1% disagreed while 2% of the respondents strongly disagreed. With a mean score of 3.55, it can be confirmed that the curriculum is organized in a way that one gender is not favoured over the other in learning of tasks. Also, the table shows that 51.3% of the respondents strongly agreed to "The curriculum ensures both genders are given considerations for participation in classroom", 43.7% of the respondents agreed, 2% of the respondents disagreed, while 3.1% of the respondents strongly disagreed. With a mean score of 3.43, it can be confirmed that most of the respondents agreed that the curriculum ensures both genders are given considerations for participation in classroom. Table also shows that 24.4% of the respondents strongly agreed to "the curriculum suggests taking a more subtle, cultural position around *gender"*, 46.2% of the respondents agreed, 7.1% of the respondents disagreed, while 21.8% of the respondents strongly disagreed to this. The mean score of 2.72 showed that the curriculum suggests taking a more subtle, cultural position around *gender.*

Decision rule criterion: Where the overall mean is less than 2.50, it means that teaching and curriculum contents do not ensure gender equality in both private and public universities. However, if it is above 2.50, it means that teaching and curriculum contents ensures gender equality in both private and public universities. Therefore, from the results in table 8, the overall mean score for teaching and curriculum contents' influence on gender equality in both private and public universities is

3.32. Hence, it can be noted that teaching and curriculum contents ensures gender equality in both private and public universities.

Discussion of Findings

The study found that gender discrimination has an impact on the progress and completion rate among male and female students in Nigerian universities. Respondents observed that gender discrimination leads to low self-esteem among male and female students. It makes some students to outperform the others in all disciplines at various levels of the educational ladder, and affects the engagement and study time of male and female students, and their career choices. This aligned with Onyedikachi (2021) who earlier found that gender discrimination tends to affects student growth in academics, and it influenced the expectations of different academic progresses between male and female students. Similarly, Ketchiwou and Dzansi (2024) found that gender discrimination tends to affect women's progress and skills development in organizations. Also, Nakpodia and James (2012) found that gender discrimination exists in the Nigerian school system is highly evident among female students.

The study found that socio-economic factors tend to affect gender performance in both private and public universities. The study showed that the parent level of income and involvement in education contributes to the students' performance in the school. It was also observed that the accommodation and health of students are determinants of academic performance in schools. This is also in line with the findings of Amao and Gbadamosi (2015) who discovered that gender, school location, and socioeconomic status of students and their parents alike have effects on students' performance in agricultural science as a subject. In the same vein, Alordiah et al. (2015) noted that school location and economic status tends to affect the gender performance of individuals in Mathematics. Kola and Taiwo (2013) noted that financial status, school location and parental factors tend to affect the gender performance of students in Physics.

The study further found that teaching and curriculum content has improved gender equality in private and public universities. Teaching ensures that content of instruction is non-discriminatory to both genders. It was found that the curriculum is organized in a way that one gender is not favoured over the other in learning of tasks, and it ensures both genders are given considerations for participation in classroom instruction. This is in consonance with the findings of Akpawu and Terhile (2014) who found that schools provide ways of educating students to promote gender equality in their teaching in the new millennium, using a gender-equitable approach to learning. Mustapha (2014) found that curriculum was implemented in way to identify whether the representation of females are biased or fair, that is to say, that the curriculum is not discriminatory. Similarly, Shakeshafi (2015) noted that the curriculum has been design to include both girls and boys into education, contrary to the previous decades.

Conclusion

In conclusion, gender discrimination significantly impacts the academic experiences of male and female students in Nigerian universities, leading to lower self-esteem, unequal performance, and career choices. While institutional policies generally support gender equality, government policies fall short in addressing gender disparities effectively. Teaching and curriculum content play a crucial role in promoting gender equality, and socio-economic factors also influence academic performance. To improve the academic experience for all students, there is a need for more effective government policies, continued support for gender equality in institutional practices, and addressing socio-economic factors that affect students' performance. By implementing the study recommendations, educational institutions and policymakers can work together to promote gender equality and create a more inclusive and supportive academic environment for all students.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are proposed:

1. There is need to review and strengthen policies aimed at promoting gender equality in education which should include the development of gender-responsive frameworks that will address disparities in educational institutions. Educational institutions should conduct regular awareness campaigns and sensitization programs to educate students, teachers, and administrators

about the importance of gender equality and the negative effects of discrimination in the educational sector.

2. Efforts should be made by all stakeholders to provide socio-economic support to students from disadvantaged backgrounds, including scholarships, grants, and other financial assistance, to ensure that they have equal opportunities for academic success.

3. Nigerian Universities should review their curriculum and teaching contents to ensure it is non-discriminatory and provides equal opportunities for both genders. This should include the incorporation of gender perspectives in teaching materials and methodologies.

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RETHINKING CLIMATE CHANGE AND NATIONAL SECURITY: IMPLICATIONS FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT
The phenomenon of climate change is providing a melting point to the global community through its pervading and undeniable implications for life on planet earth. The overwhelming impact of this on human interface, no doubt raises concerns that cuts across creed, colour, religion, and regional calibrations. It is generally believed that change remains a constant in human affairs; and all creatures anticipate change in their negative and positive configurations. Climate change is the response of nature to the increasing intervention and interference of man in the natural ecosystem, leading to fluctuations in average global temperatures often described as global warming. The implications of this in the long run remains unpredictable but the effect of this in contemporary times is orchestrating outcomes that offers no heritage of good to all and sundry. This ranges from decreased precipitation to deforestation and desertification, the poleward shift of vegetation and its impact on animal populations, the unmitigated rise in sea levels among others. This study interrogates the concept of climate change in the light of national security with the commitment to underscore its implication for sustainable development in Nigeria. Historical materialism offered the theoretical framework for this investigation under the methodological philosophy of qualitative analysis as obtainable in social inquiry. The study unearthed the economic effects of climate change, and underscored the historical, structural and institutional factors that explains why third world countries are more susceptible to climate change. Such factors like poor and weak governance structures, endemic conflict, among others negatively exacerbate the challenge of climate change in these climes. It was on the basis of this that it interrogated the polemics of climate change to national security, and the unmitigated implications of this to sustainable development in Nigeria. It offered the blueprints on the way forward with a modest conclusion.

1.1 Introduction

Every change in human affairs comes at a price. This price could be intentionally accomplished or unintentionally so. Sometimes the choice and preferences of man backed by the corresponding actions we deploy in our interface with the natural ecosystem precipitates the harbinger of change. Creation has empowered man in this light, and accords him the responsibility to push further the frontiers of his natural habitat in the quest for his daily survival. Since the time of the 'Early Man', man has been faced with the responsibility to either discover or rediscover nature or recreate the same to his own advantage, and this process is what defines the concept of change in human affairs. Given this natural tendency, human existence has metamorphosed from one phase to another under the framework of different civilizations. Thus, the recreation of nature from its original premise has become the hallmark of all human interventions in the world of nature.

This perspective explains why climate change is the direct response to the deliberate and most times; the concerted effort of man to make the world a better place to live in for the benefit of humanity. The concept of climate change therefore, is a reflection of the age-long consequences of human interventions in the world of nature which orchestrates a mix of the various gases that make up the earth's atmosphere resulting in the abnormal increase and corresponding fluctuations in global temperature. This tendency has raised awareness about the negative outcome of human interference in the natural ecosystem, and has elicited political discourses that have constituted one of the themes in what is today known as green politics. Prominent among this, is the meeting of 38 industrialised countries in 1997 that produced the famous Kyoto Protocol of 1997. The major resolution from this meeting was the commitment made by the 38 participating industrialised countries to reduce their atmospheric emissions of Carbon dioxide by an average of 5.2 percent from 1990 levels by 2012 (Mclean and Alistair, 2009). From that time till now, the United Nations through the UN Convention on Climate change has championed similar initiatives to this end.

Consequently, several reports and studies have zeroed-in on the existential threat of climate change but mostly to humanity at large thus eliciting global efforts to this end. The report by MSCI (2023) focused on the US homeowner's insurance, while the UNDP casted a shadow account of Africa's vulnerability to this challenge. It was Chavi Meatle's searchlight that highlighted Nigeria's efforts to tackle this challenge. Similarly, the USAID provided another modest attempt albeit, to establish some of the negative implication of climate change on Nigeria. The account by these authors fell short of interrogating specifically the implications of climate change on national security and sustainable development in Nigeria thus leaving a vacuum to fill.

The Nigerian state as an integral component of the global community has not been spared of the negative impact of climate change. This study therefore brings to the fore an appraisal of the dynamics of climate change. It investigates this concept using the qualitative approach to elicit valuable information on the subject matter, and within the framework of Historical materialism, it tried to unearth the implications of climate change on national security vis-a vis sustainable development in Nigeria. It is therefore structured around the framework of an introduction, conceptual clarification, theoretical framework, review of literatures, an excursion into the dynamics of climate change on national security and its implications for sustainable development in Nigeria, with the blueprint on the way forward. All this culminated in the conclusion and reference.

1.2. Conceptual Clarification

i) **Climate Change:** Change is a variation in time and space. It is a constant phenomenon in the natural world. The changes that occur in the natural world are either instigated by man, or flow from the prism of an established natural growth process of a particular human species or structural framework. The word climate change is a testament of the law of cause and effect. The ecosystem of the universe as given, maintained an established and predictable pattern of operation that was almost cast in stone until the contemporary time of increased and intensified involvement and interface of man in the process. Consequently, man's drive to rediscover himself, and his determination to win a living from mother earth including space, has thrown up a series of interventions in the world of nature.

Climate change therefore is the direct response by the atmospheric weather system to the aftermath of the artificial 'products' created by man in the process of earning a living and attaining a fulfilling material existence. The series of deliberate activities of the human element geared towards improving his living conditions and perhaps, achieve a name in the annals of history comes with a price that has drastically altered the sequence of atmospheric weather conditions in what is now known as climate change.

ii) National Security: The dynamics of national security is as old as the birth of the modern state system which took its genesis from the Westphalia peace treaty of 1648. It is often taken for granted that national security is a function of the military strength, capacity and capability of nation-states to protect its sovereign status and territorial boundaries effectively against insidious elements or external aggressors. The concept in contemporary times has gained wider coverage to incorporate other components of national security like environmental security, economic security, security of national resources, political security, energy security, food security, among others. In its composite form therefore, national security encompasses all the measures designed to wade-off all threats both internal and external to a nation's survival. Some of the dimensions of threat today are predominantly man-made as well as naturally orchestrated. The emerging existential threat today to national security are those which hails from the economic adventures of man leading to incidence of outbreak of diseases, adverse weather conditions, food shortages, and many more which impinge on the survival of nation-states. In this context, national security can be defined as the safekeeping of the nation as a whole. It is an all-important duty of the state to its citizens as it embodies their protection from direct military confrontation/assault and other factors that poses a danger to their collective wellbeing and survival (Holmes, K.R, 2005).

iii) **Rethinking:** Rethinking is a word that implies the review of a phenomenon, or an idea with the goal of re-inventing it for the benefit of a social group or interested party/parties. It is an appraisal of what is known, to establish its benefit or otherwise. It is a logical process that applies itself to the act of reasoning in the face of a teething challenge. Rethinking is the domain of social inquiry that is given to asking intrinsic questions about social phenomena with the aim of providing valuable answers to them. This process is synonymous with interrogating an existing idea or situation in order to determine the identified and unidentified implications.

iv) **Sustainable Development:** The keyword 'development' is a many-sided process that transcends the individual, group and national levels. On these premises, development implies increased skills and capacity; greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material wellbeing (Rodney, 1972). A society develops when its members increase collectively their capacity for dealing with the environment in which they live, and this is correspondingly achievable based on their understanding of the laws of nature and the extent to which such knowledge is practicalised and demonstrated by designing tools for organizing the system of labour in such society (Rodney, 1972).

Sustainable development is a global initiative designed to ensure improved health, promote development, guarantee equity needs through a systems approach at all levels. Sustainable development goals (SDGs) are a set of global goals for a fair and sustainable health at every level; from planetary biosphere to local community (UNDP, 1994). It represents a framework of goals that are scientifically crafted as a robust strategy for building on the progress made by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The aim of SDGs is to end poverty, protect the planet, and ensure that all people enjoy the virtues of peace and prosperity, now and in the future (Stephen, M. 2007). Its goals have been adopted by all member states of the United Nations in 2015 and it was intended to last for between 2016-2030. Its priority is to provide the global community with the best chance of ensuring the necessary collaboration and alignment by the global family for the implementation of the necessary approaches for securing a fair, healthy and prosperous life for the present and future generation of mankind.

Quite strategically, Climate Action occupies the 13th position in the schedule of global action for addressing climate change in the SDGs. And under the caption of 'Transforming our World', the Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations has since its commencement date, become the international blueprint that articulates the vision, principles and commitments for attaining a fairer and more sustainable world for the global family.

1.3. Theoretical Framework: Historical Materialism

Historical materialism as a theoretical construct, formed the basis for interrogating economic and political development of human societies as a historical conjecture. Karl Marx is the major proponent of this theory as it represents a profound and rigorous account on the underlining history of socio-economic development. Historical materialism is a reflection of the central ideas of Karl Marx's conception of history with emphasis on economic forces as the driving force behind historical change. According to this theory, it is the economic and material base of society that determines social change and human development (Martins. S, 2009). This position hinges on the perspective that history is the progressive unfolding of man's social and economic development at different epochs. It views history as a reflection of the progressive action of man as the key dynamics of change. To its advocates therefore, the key element of all human actions is economic development which transcend the individual to the group levels. This perspective is predicated on the belief that the moving force behind all important historical events at the realm of economic development of the society are the changes in the mode of production and exchange alongside the corresponding division of society into distinct classes. This position succinctly has become the basis for the classification of nation-states into developed, developing and underdeveloped societies.

The choice of historical materialism as the theoretical thrust for interrogating climate change and national security finds relevance in the strength of its economic analysis which is centred on the need for man to survive in his immediate environment by harnessing the gifts of nature. The process of achieving this orchestrates different relationships, all of which dovetails to human intervention on the world of nature and the undeniable aftermath of this process. It bears acceptance with its materialist's designation of history as the fulcrum of social change and by implication, climate change. In adopting this theoretical praxis, the position of this study is that the challenge of climate change would not have arisen to its present scale, if human (socio-economic) activities on earth, have been conducted in its simple form without the current upscaling and aggressive attack on the natural ecosystem. The materialist drive of man above sustainable levels, but towards self-preservation on a humongous scale is the harbinger of many conflicts, technological adventurism etc., which has negatively impacted on the world of nature.

1.4. Review of Literatures

The account by MSCI (2023) on sustainability and climate trends declares that beyond climate; nature and biodiversity have emerged as additional priority areas to address in order to minimize their underlining and potential negative effects on the ecosystem through some nature-based pragmatic solutions. The major thrust of their report is on extreme weather and its impact on the place of man's abode and the world of work. According to them, physical climate impacts are literally hitting the home and the place of work of millions of people and companies who depend on them coming under its unprecedented consequences. The major area where this is felt the most is the unexpected cost to households in terms of insurance obligations. The study appraised that, as a result of the impact of climate change, the average cost of US homeowners' insurance rose to 145% between 2001 and 2020, which was in excess of the 61% increase in household income over the same period (MSCI, 2023). The consensus on this is that as climate change exacerbates, more expensive policies would emerge with adverse financial burden this would bring on households who are already navigating the painful impact of an inflationary economy. On a continental scale, measuring the cost of this on African households and by extension, Nigeria would precipitate a more worrisome spectacle.

However, in a similar vein, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP, 1994) painted a graphic scenario of climate change on Africa with a searchlight on historical, structural, and institutional factors which have made Africa and other developing nations more vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. On a specific note in their report, incidence of poor governance, incessant conflicts, weakened institutional capacities, high disease burden, lack of food security and endemic poverty greatly impact on the vulnerability of these states to the adverse effects of climate change. This report further revealed that several global initiatives through funding assistance and capacity building mechanisms have been deployed on the platform of global partnerships to mitigate the impact of climate change on Africa and other developing nations.

However, tackling climate change and its impact should not be limited to Africa's developmental needs even though climate change on Africa is exacerbated by food insecurity which impacts on their health systems which confronts the overwhelming spread of preventable diseases. This tendency puts the continent in developmental dilemma and ranks her as the most vulnerable to climate change. The 'dilemma of Africa' was acknowledged in this report which is the fact that African countries contributes least to climate change largely because of their low-levels of industrialization and energy consumption, yet faced with the need for rapid investment in infrastructure and industrialization towards the attainment of its Sustainable Development Goals.

Writing under the prism of Climate finance in Nigeria, Sean Stout and Chavi Meatle (2002) revealed that Nigeria has laid a solid foundation for climate change mitigation through a robust policy landscape that is dedicated to planning and responding to climate change eventualities. However, the inadequacy and challenge with good policy initiatives without profitable implementation was acknowledged, as the report alluded to the rise in greenhouse gas emission in the country since 2009 which ranked Nigeria as the third highest in Africa only after the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and South Africa (climatewatch,2009). From this account, the Nigerian economy is existentially vulnerable, since it entirely depends on the ecosystems and natural resources to achieve her goal of economic survival. The crude oil economy and its dynamics was the focus of this appraisal. Close as this account may seem, the critical elements about the impact of climate change on national security and the long term sustainability of the Nigerian state leave much gap to fill. However, the authors revealed that mitigating climate finance in Nigeria is channeled through a range of financial instruments whereas adaptation efforts is financed through debt, to the proportion of 90%. This raises the sustainability question especially when the frequency of climate shocks is brought under scrutiny.

In another account, the USAID (2023) extolled Nigeria as Africa's largest economy where agricultural production supports a huge percentage of the country's population. Regrettably, it mentioned that rising sea levels orchestrates the vulnerability of the country to flooding, air temperature, all of which adversely impact on food security, health and nutritional standards of the citizenry. The study tipped Nigeria as having the highest rate of deforestation in the world, losing about 3.7% of its forest every year as a result of uncontrolled human activities that impact negatively on the ecosystem. It equally revealed that drought and reduced rainfall, combined with rising air temperatures inhibits the country's hydropower infrastructures and hinder agri-business especially fishing, thus reducing food security with its negative implication on the health and nutritional standards of the people. According to this report, the energy sector of the country, deforestation by peasant farmers, the pattern of land use administration, etc. are the greatest contributors of Nigeria's greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. It articulates Nigeria's efforts towards climate change mitigation through the establishment of the National Council on Climate Change in 2021, the Nigeria Adaptation Plan Framework (2020), the Nigeria Energy Transition Plan. The energy transition plan bears the seal of a sworn commitment to carbon neutrality by 2060 across key sectors ranging from power to cooking, oil and gas to transport and industry, etc.

Reinventing Climate Change Education as articulated by Ulla H, R and Halla, H. L. (2021) zeroed- in on climate change and its challenge to educators. To them, the impact of climate change today underscores the need for sensitization and awareness for stakeholders in this sector. The authors in their account, made the submission that climate change involves addressing not only scientific and environmental issues but also social, cultural and political frameworks that impinge on climate change. In their perspective, climate change is equally a socially constructed challenge that require everybody to play a part towards mitigating its adverse consequences. This necessitates why students should know and learn how to interpret numerical data on the subject matter of climate change, identify its consequences, and be part of the vanguard towards sustainable solutions. The author's perspective is predicated on the belief that the effects of today's emissions could have historic or future implication for communities in the near future. This explains why climate change to them, should not be a regional nor the exclusive problem of any particular nation. It is a global challenge which should involve the students and other stakeholders in the sector towards articulating sustainable solutions. Emphasis therefore should be how to mitigate and adapt to climate change, as well as

appropriate the toolkits required to navigate the climate change albatross and bring it under control. This belief informs why UNESCO's work on climate change education aims at making climate change a central part of the international response to climate change globally. The report therefore recommends that policy makers should articulate; education policy, curriculum development, capacity building for teachers, raise public awareness, increased investment in high-level support and resources for climate change, improvement in communication-related to climate change education among member states (UNESCO, 2015).

1.5 National Security and Climate Change: Implications for Sustainable Development

The conception of national security should not be limited to its kinetic military connotation. Robert McNamara (1968) offered a comprehensive appraisal of the concept when he said that 'in a modernizing society, security encapsulates development; and security is not limited to military hardware though it may involve it'. By this, Security does not exclusively rest on the traditional military activity, though it may encompass it. His position buttresses that Security is development, and without development there can be no security. According to McNamara, any society that seeks to achieve adequate military security against the background of acute food shortage, population explosion, low level of production, low technological development, adequate and inefficient public utilities and chronic problem of unemployment has a false sense of security (Mcnamara,1968). It is in this light that the impact of Climate change is considered as one of the greatest threats to sustainable development, having far-reaching and unprecedented implications on social, economic, political, and environmental dimensions that are exacerbated and foisted on populations that are marginalized on the scale of national development (Fuso Nerini, et al, 2019). In Nigeria and sub-Saharan Africa in general, the impact of climate change on agricultural production have hampered efforts to reduce poverty and hunger as outlined in sustainable development goals (Chilunjika and Gumede, 2021).

In an exploration on the nexus between national security and sustainable development Adigwe, A.N. (2019), re-echoed the United Nations 17 Sustainable Development Goals which are: (1) Zero Poverty (2) Zero Hunger (3) Good Health and Wellbeing (4) Quality Education (5) Gender Equality (6) Clean Water and Sanitation (7) Affordable and Clean Energy (8) Decent Work and Economic Development (9) Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure (10) Reduction in Equality (11) Building Sustainable Cities and Communities (12) Responsible Consumption and Production (13) Climate Action (14) Life Below Water (15) Life on Land (16) Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions (17) Peace and Partnership. The fundamentals of these goal has been summarized into 5 thematic areas of critical importance sobriquet as "5 P's" namely; People, Prosperity, Planet, Peace, and Partnerships. Thus, interrogating climate change in the light of sustainable development leaves a deep hole in Nigeria's effort to achieve most of these goals.

i) **Climate Change and Agricultural Productivity in Nigeria.:** Agriculture is the main stay, as well as the life-wire of a huge percentage of the population of the country. But the current and unmitigated change in weather condition adversely affects both food crop and cash crop farming in Nigeria. The incidence of extreme dry weather in the north, orchestrates seasonal changes that impact on farming activities in the region, where a large percentage of agricultural produce comes from. Again, the 2012 and 2019 episodes of flood disasters presents painful memories about the negative impact of climate change in Nigeria. The overall impact of this is not only the precipitation of hunger and starvation, but the loss of lives and arable/farming lands which has negatively impacted a huge percentage of Nigerian population of more than 200 million people.

ii) **Climate Change and the Goal of Clean Water:** It is popularly said that water sustains life but equally fundamental is that clean water guarantees a sickness-free life. The seasonal changes in weather orchestrated by climate change have multiplied the rate of flooding and erosion in many parts of Nigeria. When floods occur, the quality of water is compromised and this leads to incidence of outbreak of diseases. The outbreak of diseases impinges on the realization of a major component of sustainable development goals which is good health and wellbeing of the people.

iii) **Climate Change and Poverty Reduction:** Poverty subsists when an individual lacks the wherewithal to satisfy his material and basic needs in life. These basic needs include food, clothing and shelter. It is commonly believed that hunger is a symptom of poverty, and the lack of shelter is another testament of poverty. The unprecedented impact of climate change today exacerbates, rather than reduce the menace of global poverty especially among developing countries like Nigeria. The economic effects of climate change such as displacement of agricultural communities, farmers-herder's conflicts, incidence of Internally Displaces Persons (IDP's) impinge on the realization of foremost goal of poverty reduction as enshrined in the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals.

iv) **Climate Change and Building Sustainable Cities in Nigeria:** Building Sustainable Cities and Communities is goal number eleven of United Nation's sustainable goal initiative. It is taken for granted that Nigeria is ranked as the country with one of the fastest growing populations on the continent of Africa. Thus, providing shelter for this ever-expanding population should be a priority that requires opening of the hinterlands. There are societies that have built communities around the coast and this also serve as a tourist heaven and source of revenue. But instances abound in Nigeria where the meteorological agency intermittently issue warning forecast to people leaving around water enclaves to vacate their homes in anticipation of impending floods. This pattern of seasonal relocation is antithetical to building sustainable cities and communities both in the short and long run.

v) **Climate Change and National Security:** Adigwe, A.N. (2019) articulated that national security is widely canvassed as the state-centric perspective on security that is premised on the physical protection of the territorial enclaves of a nation-state against unwanted infiltration by potential aggressors including states and non-state actors. However, because climate change is a global phenomenon that affects all communities albeit at varying degrees, Nigeria is presently having an unfair share of its unmitigated impact as a result of the influx of herders and other criminal elements from neighbouring states into the country. This accounts for the worsening case of insecurity in Nigeria due to insurgency, banditry and kidnapping as they are presently constituted today. Furthermore, the increasing drought in the Sahel states that share border with Nigeria is among the push factors that force herders to migrate into the country. These herders who are in search for green pastures for their animals have relentlessly and without conscience engage in violent confrontation with farmers in their local communities causing of them to flee for safety. The implication of this is the shortfall in crop farming since these farmers can no longer engage in their farming as a result of safety concerns hence, the shortage and high cost of food precipitating a fall in the general standard of living of the Nigerian populace The recurrent scenario as it today has altered the complexion of national security on many fronts in Africa's most populous country called Nigeria.

1.6 Summary of Findings

Interrogating climate change and its impact has opened new frontiers in our understanding of the risks climate change pose to humanity both for the present and in the future. The economic effects of this trend spreads across different regions with social and structural consequences. From this study, it was discovered that human activities is responsible for 1.0-degree C of global warming and it is predicted that if this trend continues unchecked, global warming is likely to ascend 1.5-degree C between 2030 and 2052. It was suggested that, to retain global temperature at 1.5-degree C, there must be a cut on global emissions by 45% in the next six years (2030) from what it was in 2010 in order to attain a net zero emission by 2050. However, the effort to limit global warming to 1.5 C require accelerated commitment to transitions in energy infrastructures and industrial systems (IPCC, 2022). The question about how feasible effective energy transition could be achieved among developing countries is still begging for answer in the light of their peculiar circumstances.

Again, this study revealed that for historical, structural and institutional reasons, Africa and other developing countries are more vulnerable to climate change, and that the malaise of poor

governance, endemic conflicts, weakened institutional capacity, plus high disease burden amplified by food insecurity exacerbates Africa's vulnerability to climate change. It was equally made clear that Africa's natural heritage of unexploited reserves of oil, gas, coal, as well as other natural endowments like cobalt, lithium, uranium and bauxite are fundamental elements that necessitates the compelling use of fossils. This tendency puts this group of states in a development dilemma, and further entrench and deepen their vulnerability to climate change.

This study discovered that on a global scale, developing countries like Nigeria contributes the least to climate change largely because of their low level of industrialization and energy consumption, but yet confronts with the need to embrace industrialization in order to harness their natural resources and forestall their status of dependency. The twist to this is that if industrialization is pursued at the scale required to attain development based on the utilization of her natural resources, then the continent would be working against the 1.5 C global warming reduction target.

Furthermore, from a comparative standpoint, this study discovered that Nigeria, like other African countries have a weak, fragmented and compromised response to the goal of climate change mitigation. The continuous gas flaring in the Niger-Delta region of Nigeria, combined with untamed incidence of illegal refineries and pipeline vandalism, exacerbates fossil emissions which impacts negatively on aquatic life and the environment in general. The timelines for ending gas flaring and other unwholesome practices inherent in the energy sector has become the definition of 'national abracadabra'. From this exploration, it became clear that a well-coordinated and strategic policy framework whereby words are matched with pragmatic actions is needed to reverse this trend.

1.7 Conclusion and Recommendations

The increased human activity on the world of nature is the harbinger of Climate change. The environmental degradation that it precipitates is a threat to human survival in this 21st century. The World Economic Forum (WEF,2020) revealed that more than half of global economic output moderately rely on the resources of nature for their survival, and mitigating the risks that this huge level of human dependence on nature, calls for a concerted effort towards the preservation and restoration of natural ecosystem. With the myriads of unprecedented climatic disasters occasioned by severe adverse weather conditions in different parts of the world, no price is too huge to pay to mitigate the ripple effects of climate change. The current conversation around this global human challenge with emphasis on the green pathway is a commendable approach towards mitigating the impact of climate change,

From this study, the impact of climate change on Nigeria is undoubtedly very clear as the country is faced with the consequences of this in the agricultural sector, which has cascaded down to the security architecture of the country. The intermittent flooding, and the unprecedented drying up of the lake chad axis of the country and its direct impact on the fishing and herders' community that rely on it, orchestrates a migration push that is the harbinger of farmers-herders conflict that abounds in different parts of the country. The obvious effects of this is the shortage in food supply which has snowballed into high cost of living. This shortage in food supply has been sociologically linked to acts of banditry and kidnapping in the country.

In the light of the forgoing, this study recommends that all the rhetoric around mitigating climate change in Nigeria should give way to a more pragmatic approach where policy initiatives are matched with consistent actions. There should be more decisive action towards ending gas flaring and the operation of illegal refineries in the oil producing areas of the Niger-Delta region of the country. The International Oil Companies (IOC's) should be compelled to end this menace, as well clean up the degraded communities through their oil exploration activities. The government should be more proactive against flooding by following through with the early warning signals from the meteorological service department. The recent flood disaster in Bornu state smacks of executive recklessness and carelessness.

Furthermore, the seeming twist to the goal of industrialization in Nigeria by the global action at mitigating climate change should not deter the country. In harnessing her natural resources to this end, the Nigerian state should explore other alternatives to prevent her from working against the 1.5 C global warming reduction target by 2030.

Since agriculture is the predominant occupation of majority of the populace in Nigeria, the government should completely ban open grazing by nomadic farmers and enforce the policy of ranching for herders to discourage the attraction that open grazing holds for nomadic farmers from neighbouring states who are forced by draught to migrate to Nigeria in search for pastures for their livestock. This stands as one the remote causes of insecurity, and by extension food insecurity both of which on national development.

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A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF APPELLATIONS IN OHIMINI LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF BENUE STATE

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ABSTRACT
This study is a sociolinguistic analysis of appellations among the Idoma speaking people of Ohimini Local Government Area of Benue State. The objectives were to identify the appellations and analysis these appellations using Dell Hymes's model of SPEAKING. This is a descriptive research and data was elicited through observation, and informal interviews from selected respondents. Also, the intuitive knowledge of the researchers and secondary sources provided additional data. The findings reveal that appellations do exist and are used when greeting among Idoma speakers of Ohimini LGA. These appellations are gender and clan specific, can be traced to the progenitors of a clan and can be used alone or in conjunction with statutory greetings. Furthermore, these appellations help to preserve and promote the culture, pass down history and traditions of the people, convey information about a person's lineage as well as foster a sense of oneness and brotherhood. This study, therefore, has shed light on an aspect of the culture of the Idoma people of Ohimini LGA and added to the body of written works on the Idoma language.

Introduction

As man lives in the society, interaction and communication are pivotal to existence. In a society or community, there is usually an agreed manner of behaviour, or way of doing things. This can be said to be embodied in culture. To Schaefer (2000), "culture is the totality of learned, socially transmitted behaviour. It includes the ideas, values, customs, and artifacts (for example CDs, comic books, and birth control devices) of groups of people" (p.47). Certain peculiarities arise when a group of people live together or are related in one way or the other. This is reflected in both concrete and abstract aspects as can be seen in the language, behaviour, belief systems, political system, manner of doing certain things such as cooking, dressing, arts and crafts among others. Language is an abstract aspect of culture as it cannot be seen or felt. The connection between language, culture and society cannot be overlooked. To Ikima (2012),

> *language is a veritable and practical means of communication. It is the most efficient means or potent vehicle for transmitting cultures, values and beliefs from generation to generation. Language is indeed a central force in determining the unity and identity of a people; it is the carrier of a people's culture, and to a large extent a determinant of the status of any group of people (p.61).*

This points to the fact that language is the verbal side of culture. Humans are able to think and express inner thoughts using language. As an aspect of culture, language verbalizes the collective decisions a group of people have decided on concerning their way of life, and such groups then have their identity. With language, culture is made known and handed down from generations to generations.

One distinctive and important feature of humans is the ability to communicate using language. According to Anasiudu (2000),

> *it is language that makes the human society what it is as it plays a predominant role in the cultural orientation of the individual in the socio-cultural group he belongs. Language is a very strong tie that binds a group together, serving as a means of identifying the ethnic group whose mother tongue it is. It is the vehicle for culture and values of the group (p.204).*

Language, therefore, is the way humans communicate as sounds are combined into words, phrases, clauses and then sentences, all in a systematic manner to bring out meaning. Man is indeed unique as language gives man an edge over other animals being able to communicate, socialize, and bring about development that is particular to a group of people. Language and its use are therefore structured according to culture of its users.

Statement of Problem

An important aspect of culture as man lives in the society is interaction, which usually begins with greetings. Greetings are expressions used to show a kind of social relationship. Just like societies and cultures differ, so also the manner of exchanging pleasantries differs. The Idoma speakers of Ohimini Local Government Area are no exception and this study seeks to investigate the peculiar manner of greeting using appellations and add to the exiting literature on the Idoma language.
Ohimini Local Government Area was created from the then Otukpo Local Government Area in 1996 with its headquarter in Idekpa. Ohimini LGA has six clans: Aume, Agadagba, Ochobo, Okpiko, Oglewu and Onyagede and is one of the seven LGAs classified as Zone C in Benue State. It is inhibited by the Idoma ethnic group who speak the Central Idoma dialect of the Idoma language. The Idoma language which is an African language is now grouped under the West Benue -Congo along with other languages such as Yoruba, Igbo, and Edo.

Literature review

Appellations can be said to unique names given to both animate and inanimate things and are used to identify them. To Susuawu (2021), appellations indeed are sources of pleasure and satisfaction because they are sublime, beautiful and useful. They stimulate and soothe people, teach, encourage people for strenuous work and invigorate people's spirit (p.254). Appellations which are a means of identification are specific names or titles which are used by a specific group. These appellations become a sense of identity and pride. For a group of people, it fosters oneness and brotherliness.

Greetings are conventional expressions used for welcoming people, or for expressing pleasure when meeting people. Akindele (2007) defines greetings "as the exchange of expressions, pleasantries or good wishes between two people or a group interacting for the purpose of establishing interpersonal relationships" (p.3). Greetings can be a word, phrase or statement that performs a phatic function asking about a listener's wellbeing or expressing goodwill. Greetings aid in establishing and maintaining social relationships. Generally, it shows the person is cultured and well brought up. According to Holmes (2008), "greeting formulae universally serve an affective function of establishing non-threatening contact and rapport, but their precise content is clearly culture specific" (p. 290). Greetings are, therefore, expressions used by humans which could be verbal, non-verbal or both to initiate and uphold relationships. There is no universality as to what constitutes greetings because

basically, it depends on the members of a society and how they use language.

The manner in which language and society are connected is studied under the field of linguistics called sociolinguistics. Agbedo (2015) states that 'sociolinguistics investigates the relationship between language and society with the goal of a better understanding of the structure of how languages function in communication" (p.267). Language does not exist in a vacuum but is used by members of a society. Sociolinguistics brings to the fore how members of a society use language to communicate in different situations. Giving a broader description on what sociolinguistics is all about, Holmes (2008) says that "sociolinguists study the relationship between language and society- investigating why people speak differently in different social contexts, identify the social functions of language and how language is used to convey meaning" (p.1). This goes to show that to a very large extent, the way and manner the members of a community speak or use their language depends on the norms and traditions of the people. Sociolinguistics, therefore, looks at language (or dialects of a language), its use (national, official, regional, lingua franca, etc.) and the users (age, sex, status, etc.) in various contexts.

Olaosun (2013) investigated on creating new brand identities: a stylo-rhetorical study of car appellations in Nigeria. The paper looked at how discourse practice explicated the grammatical notion of epithet and the concept of branding/rebranding as an aspect of rhetoric and advertising. Twenty-six appellations of some popular cars in Nigeria were selected through some retail car dealer shops in Nigeria, participant observation, questionnaire and introspection. The study employed stylo-rhetoric as the theoretical framework. The rhetorical significance of rebranding was analysed under four headings: epithet of value (such as time- *first lady* -Toyota Corolla 1.4 or 1.6, shape – *pencil* -Toyota Camry 1998/1999 model, power – *muscle* -Toyota Camry 2007 model, etc), rhetoric of power competition (such as *end of discussion* -Honda Accord 2003 model), rhetoric of demeaning humour (such as *pure water* – Honda Accord 1986 model) and rhetoric of endorsement (such as *end of discussion* - Honda Accord 2003 model). From the empirical analysis, 83% agree that car rebranding affected purchase behaviour, while 13% were not influenced by the rebranding. Of the 103 with the later claim, 75 were illiterates/semi-illiterates while 55 were literates. The findings reveal that appellations are a form of material honorifics which capture youth sentiments. Car rebranding significantly affects purchase behaviours and youths in Nigeria are effective in linguistic innovations. While the former study looks at car appellations using stylo-rthetoric framework, the current study examines the appellations of the members of a speech community using the ethnography of communication as the framework.

Odebode (2016) did an ethnographic analysis of round characters' onomastics in Wole Soyinka's *Death and the King's Horseman*. The objective was to look into onomastic studies on Soyinka so as to shed more light on one of the playwright's works to reduce the problem of interpretation that often arises with the use of artistic ingenuity and literary versatility. The study employed the ethnography of communication. From the findings, the playwright who has to keep his readers/audience informed about pre-independence Oyo and the names bring different backgrounds which in turn stresses the themes of death and scapegoatism. Conversation genre is a major tool which the author uses to show his naming power over his characters. While five names -Iyaloja, Elesin, Pilkings, Amusa and Joseph have conversations as their linguistic event or genre, only Olunde has paradox or proverbs as its genre. It reveals that the author is conversing and informing his readers/audience through naming strategies. This is evident as there is economy of words in naming though more is being said through these few letters. The similarity in the former and current study is in the use of the same theoretical framework. The former is on a novel, the current study focuses on a speech community.

Susuawu (2021) did a thematic analysis of appellations among the Tongu-Ewes of the Volta region of Ghana: the case of Agave traditional area. The objectives of the study were to identify the various themes of appellations among the Ewe and the usefulness of the classification of these appellations into themes. Participant observation (from the Ewe communities especially from the Volta region) and interview were used to elicit the necessary data. The study showed that the environment has significant influence on the life of the Tongu-Ewe as appellations are performed orally through dialogue while others are on the drum. The appellations are based on life situations such as

truth, love, honesty, struggle etc. which are virtues of life. Also, appellations have a strong hold in resolving conflicts in order to ensure peace and stability in the society. The themes can evolve from political, economic, religious life and social life of the people. Furthermore, these themes are important as the audiences are interested in knowing the central idea in the text. Both studies are similar as they are on appellations. The differences lie in the languages under study and the framework used. While the former is on appellations of Tongu-Ewe, the current study is on appellations used by Idomas of Ohimini LGA using the ethnography of communication as the framework for analysis.

Adaramoda, Owoeye, Ayoola and Dada (2021) examined the sociolinguistic application of names and appellations as expressions of desires among the Yorubas: Biodun Ilori and Olukayode Falegun as the case study. The objectives were to investigate the social contexts of names and appellations among the Yoruba people, explain the effects of names and appellations, determine if these names and appellations are used as social tags for personal identity and to examine the importance of names. The study was descriptive and qualitative. Data was obtained through interview with the key informants who are on air personalities. Garfinkel's (1984) ethnomethodological approach was adopted for the study. The study showed that many African names are meaningful though the culture of naming has undergone transition as language is dynamic. A lot of value is placed on the meaning of a name. Also, names reflect the dialects that a person speaks for instance *Faokunla* – Ekiti, *Sobowale* – Egba etc. In naming, the physical structure of a person, the complexion, or even jobs are used as seen in *Adumaadan* which means a very dark person. Names are, therefore, markers of identity and are an important aspect of the Yoruba culture as these names have extensive socio-cultural, political and emotional meanings. The similarity between the former and later study lies in the fact that the focus is on appellations. However, the approach used for analysis and the focus of the researches are different. The former focuses on two on-air personalities using the ethnomethodological approach, the current study focuses on appellations used by members of a speech community in this case Ohimini LGA using ethnography of communication as the framework for analysis.

Rogo – Laurilla (2022) did a qualitative analysis of meetings in a New Zealand and an Australian work environment using Dell Hymes' ethnography of speaking framework. The objectives were to explore the characteristics of meetings in one (1) New Zealand medical corporate team environment and an Australian team environment a not-for-profit sector. The SPEAKING framework by Dell Hymes was adopted for the analysis and the similarities and differences were examined qualitatively. Data analysed were meeting protocols, paper work related to the meetings and verbal interactions. Four themes were identified: degree of formality, adherence to roles and purpose of the meeting, agenda (minutes verses 'notes') and mode of interaction and communication. The study demonstrated that the model SPEAKING has helped to characterize how speech communities work and how members of the group function. This goes to show that the model SPEAKING can be applied to analyse different speech communities. The similarities in both studies are in the framework used and the fact that it is speech communities that are analysed. The difference lies in the different speech communities.

Methodology

This descriptive research aims to systematically describe an existing phenomenon which in this case is the use of appellations. In this survey research, data was collected through participant and non-participant observation, informal interviews and the intuitive knowledge of the researchers who are native speakers. Secondary sources were from books, journals and the internet. Greetings using appellations were observed around formal and informal settings such as weddings, meetings, gathering among friends, etc. Purposive sampling was used to select thirty respondents (fifteen males and fifteen females) who are indigenes and have in-depth knowledge of the language. Informal questions were asked which centered on the use of appellations. The appellations and greeting patterns were noted through note taking and phone recording which was then transcribed.

Theoretical framework

Ethnography of communication was developed by Dell Hymes. Initially known as ethnography of speaking in 1962, it became ethnography of communication as it was broader, embracing features of non-verbal

communication in 1964. This theory concerned itself with the use of language in specific contexts that is how people communicate and the language peculiarities of the people as they interact. This theory which analyses communicative events brings to the fore the unspoken rules that exist as people in a speech community interact and in turn reveals the uniqueness of every culture. Hymes opines that the study of language must concern itself with describing and analyzing the ability of the native speakers to use language for communication in real situations (communicative competence) rather than limiting itself to describing the potential ability of the ideal speaker/listener to produce grammatically correct sentences (linguistic competence). This theory, therefore, describes all the relevant factors that would help in understanding specific utterances in specific situations. One of the models in this theory is SPEAKING where each letter corresponds to a particular communicative event. From the acronym, S- which is situation means the scene or setting of a communicative event, P - which is participants looks at the characteristics and role of the people involved, E- which is ends means the expected goals at the end of the conversation- goals in the mind when talking and the outcome that is actually achieved, A - which is acts looks at content, form and arrangement of communicative events, K - which is key looks at the manner and spirit with which the communicative event is done, I - which is instrumentalities looks at how the communicative event is carried out- written, oral, non-verbal, variety of a language etc., N - which is norms are the ways in which the communicative event is carried out and finally G - which is genre and it looks at different possible speech activities. This theory has been used to analyse various communicative events such as meetings, texts, personal names, etc. In this study, the theory would be used to analyse an aspect of communicative events -greetings using appellations.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Greetings are important and in the Idoma culture, it is usually accompanied by appellations. These appellations called *Ichagba* can be used as greetings in themselves or they can accompany either the statutory greetings. Thirteen appellations were identified, eight are used for females while five are used when greeting the men. The various appellations are first presented then the analysis using the model of SPEAKING.

Table 1. Appellation for Men

S/N	Clan	Appellation
1.	Agadagba	Agbo
2.	Aume	Ude
3.	Ochobo	Agbo
4.	Oglewu	Ọ̀bandè
5.	Onyagede	Idọga / Omonu Ankpa
6.	Okpiko	Ọ̀bandè

Table 2. Appellations for women

S/N	Clan	Appellation
1.	Agadagba	Aagbo
2.	Aume	Ẹ́naji / aagbo
3.	Ochobo	Aagbo
4.	Oglewu	Ogodo / Ouno / aagbo
5.	Onyagede	Ogodo / oigo / ààna
6.	Okpiko	Ọ̀nyẹ̀tẹ/ aagbo

Appellations in Idoma are usually traced to the progenitors of the clan and the appellations of the Ohimini people are no exception. These appellations can be traced the people's ancestors directly showing their paternal lineage. This is in a bid to preserve the paternal lineage of that clan so that the name of the progenitor would not be lost. These appellations are therefore identity markers and a thing of pride and honour to be addressed and greeted using these appellations. The concept of '*ọ̀lẹ ada'* meaning father's house / place but connotatively place of origin is very important in the Idoma culture. Everyone is traced back to their fore fathers even the women. In the Idoma culture, if a woman marries from another clan, she is still greeted using the appellation of her paternal lineage and not where she is married into. It is frowned at when a wrong appellation is used when greeting and, in some cases, when a wrong appellation is used, it means the paternity

of that person is questioned. It means the person does not know where he / she comes from. Because of the importance placed on appellations, it is usually preferred more than the statutory greetings.

Using these appellations shows ancestral connection, common heritage and a bond related by blood. The appellations which can be traced to the names of the progenitors or the first chief in the area (as in the case of male appellations such as Ọ̀bandè) reveals the history of these people as well. For instance, the appellation *aagbo* (for females) can be traced to the father of the clan whose name was *agbo* and came from Apa. This appellation (*aagbo*) is also used in Apa Local Government Area. It shows they share a common heritage. Also, an appellation like *ààna* shows that the progenitor came from Northern Nigeria. This is evident in their way of life (mode of dressing, religion, etc.). Some other appellations show affinity with the Igalas. Basically, these appellations are not just names formed and given; they have a history traced to the progenitors of the clan.

Analysis using the S.P.E.A.K.I.N.G model

S - situation

Generally, people greet in almost every occasion and when they come across people on the way. In formal or informal settings such as social gatherings, visitations, community meetings or meeting someone on the way, it is customary to greet using these appellations to ask about the person's wellbeing or before serious conversations or discussions begin. These appellations are not time bound as they can be used any time of the day to greet. Anyone can initiate the greeting though most times the younger one initiates. In these situations, the appellations can be used alone or with other types of greeting such as statutory greetings. For instance:

1	Speaker: ouno		Listener: aagbo		
	Greetings		Greetings		
2	Speaker: Nma ọchi, ogodo		Listener: Nma ọchi, ọ̀nyẹtẹ		
	Good morning, greetings		Good morning, greetings		
3	Speaker: ọ̀bandẹ, nma ẹnọ		Listener: Agbo, abo lẹ̀?		
	Greetings, good afternoon		Greetings, how is it?		
4	Aa	Ọ̀bandè	Ọ̀bandè		
	You (pl)	Greetings	Greetings		
	Greetings to you all (used when addressing more than one person).				
5	Aa	Bi	ichagba	Ka	a
	You (pl)	Hold	Appellations	Your	the
	I greet you all with your appellations				

In examples (1) and (4) above, the appellations stand as greetings alone, or can be used with statutory greetings (examples 2,3,4). Examples 3 and 4 show that the appellation can come before the statutory greeting or after it. When greeting a group of people, the second person pronoun (plural) '*aa*' is added to the appellation. The repetition of the appellation in example (4) is just for emphasis as 'aa Ọ̀bandè' is also accepted if every male in that situation is from the same clan. In a situation where the speaker does not want to mention the various appellations possibly due to want of time or the speaker does not know the appropriate appellations to use and does not want to offend the listener(s), the sentence in example (5) would suffice.

P - participants

Participants look at the people involved in the use of appellations when greeting. Participants can be looked at as speaker / addresser and listener / addressee. Participants cuts across both genders and it is not restricted to any age or age range. However, as seen from tables (1) and (2) above, there are appellations for males and different appellations for females. An appellation for a male, for instance, cannot then be used to greet a female and vice versa. Roles and role relationships do not matter as a parent

can greet a child using the appellation and vice versa, friends can use appellations as well as business acquittances as far as the right appellation is used.

E - ends

The purpose can be said to be 'phatic'. The use of appellations creates an opening for conversation and a kind of bound between the speaker and listener. In essence, these appellations are used to establish and maintain relationships as people go about their daily activities. It is also a way to impact the culture of the people (as males have different appellations from females, the reasons etc.).

A - act

The act looks at how the communicative event is structured with emphasis on the content, form and order of arrangement. Here, we have the actual words used and how they are used. The communicative event of greeting is achieved using appellations which are structured in such a way that an appellation can stand as a greeting or the appellation can go with statutory greetings either before the statutory greetings or after. This is shown in examples 1-5 above. These greeting forms can be followed with handshakes for both males and females, genuflecting a little for the females, squatting for some men, and hugging. All these depend on the relationship between those in the communicative event. People who are not too close might not perform any of the non-verbal acts or might decide to. This depends on the individual.

K - key

In a communicative event, there is also the manner and tone with which something is said. This is the key. Greetings are usually uttered in a happy, joyful mood especially when used with the appellations. The person addressed feels light hearted, excited and respected. The speaker is also happy as he/she feels the right thing has done – greeting with the right appellation.

I - instrumentalities

Most times, greetings are done when people meet face-to-face. In addition to face-to face conversations, the use of appellations for greetings are also done over the phone. Just like meeting someone face-to-face, when one picks the phone to answer a call, pleasantries are exchanged which usually starts with greeting. The greetings over the phone can also follow examples 1, 2, and 3. In the face-to-face conversation, other non-verbal acts can accompany the greeting. The variety here depicts that of the community that is, the appellations belong to the variety of language spoken by members of the speech community and not another dialect.

N - norm

Norm here refers to the rules or regulations that members of a community has adopted to be guided by. The norm generally in the Idoma culture is that one is greeted with the appropriate appellation which is gender and clan specific. By gender specific, the appellations for males cannot be used for females and vice versa. For instance:

*Speaker: ogodo. Listener (male)

*Speaker: agbo Listener (female)

Furthermore, the appellations for females are based on their paternal lineage even if they are married. In fact, in some situations, it is highly frowned at when someone is not greeted with an appellation and even more with the wrong appellation. It is expected that if the speaker does not know the appellation to use, questions should be asked. This is shown below:

*Speaker: ọ̀nyẹtẹ Listener (a female from Onyagede)

*Speaker: Ọ̀bandè Listener (a male from Agadagba)

G - genre

Genre looks at the type of utterance which in this case is a unique name and manner for greeting. The use of appellations when greeting is an expressive act which shows some form of emotion.

Conclusion

This study has undertaken an analysis of appellations in Ohimini Local Government Area of Benue State from a sociolinguistic point of view. Thirteen appellations were identified and analysed using the SPEAKING model. The findings reveal that greetings are part of the culture of the Idoma people of Ohimini. The way they greet using appellations reflect their culture. These appellations are gender and clan specific, that is, there are different appellations for males and different appellations for females. There are also different appellations for different clans though there are instances of overlapping as some appellations are used by more than one clan. These appellations reflect where an individual comes from. In the case of females, the appellations used reflect their paternal lineage even if they are married. When the right appellation is not used, you hear statements such as 'ng nma abo ng' I am not from there, 'o wẹ ichagba kum ya abo a no' meaning that is not my appellation or 'o wẹ ọ̀lẹ adam ya bọ a no' meaning that is not my father's place.

Using appellations to greet shows respect, love for the culture and knowledge about the rules of the language and the culture. Indeed, the culture of a people can be reflected in the language of a people as shown in the use of appellations. The use of appellations is a practice that is encouraged, highly regarded and gives the people a form of identity. Furthermore, the use of appellations is a way of preserving the culture, and language of the Idoma people of Ohimini LGA.

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AN ASSESSMENT OF THE EFFECT OF THE ACTIVE AND PASSIVE POLITICAL BEHAVIOR OF CITIZENS ON GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

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Democracy, Governance, Virtue, System of Government, Civic Engagement

ABSTRACT
Democratic elections are fundamental to the functioning of democratic systems, providing citizens with the opportunity to participate in political decision-making processes. However, in third world countries, the extent and nature of political participation vary widely, influenced by a range of socio-economic, cultural, and institutional factors. This research aims to provide insights into the phenomenon of active and passive thinking in democratic elections, highlighting its implications for democratic governance and development. Using the quantitative and primary methods of research and the research drawing on a synthesis of existing literature and empirical studies, the research explores the factors influencing political participation and electoral behavior among citizens in these contexts. Socio-economic, cultural, institutional, and informational factors are analyzed to understand the prevalence of active and passive thinking in democratic elections, with implications for democratic governance and development outcomes. The research found out that, Nigeria democracy is unique to western democracy therefore results to varying outcomes. The research recommends that, INEC in collaboration with the National Assembly needs to reconfigure campaigns to ensure tribalism and identity are eliminated during elections. There is urgent need to foster inclusivity and social cohesion by addressing underlying socio-economic disparities and promoting equal opportunities for all citizens. Encourage participation of marginalized groups in decision-making processes and ensure their representation in political institutions.

Introduction:

The global landscape witnesses a complex interplay of ideologies and practices, with Africa, particularly Nigeria, striving to reconcile indigenous values with Western paradigms in politics and economics. Despite adopting democratic principles from the train of democracy, Nigeria grapples with persistent challenges hindering the consolidation of its democratic institutions (Ambali, 2019). Nigeria,

like many African nations, has embraced Western democratic ideals, reflecting a desire for political stability and economic growth. This adoption is evident in the establishment of democratic structures and the promotion of free-market principles (Birch, 2015). However, the mere adoption of these values does not guarantee their seamless integration into the socio-political fabric of the nation.

Nigeria's democratic journey is marked by impediments stemming from multifaceted factors, including identity politics, vested interests, and the dichotomy between passive and active voter engagement. In the constitutional development of Nigeria, it was noted that the British found an already established political system in Nigeria which made it adopt the indirect rule system. The already established political system, had an already established political culture, because they go together. The Mirage of this, still influences Nigeria political system till today. The poliitical culture of Nigeria is influenced by ethnic and religious identities which often overshadow political discourse, leading to polarization and fragmentation (Bratton & Mattes, 2016). Furthermore, the prevalence of patronage politics undermines the democratic process, perpetuating a cycle of corruption and nepotism (Osaghae, 2013).

One perplexing aspect of Nigeria's democratic landscape is the role of active and passive thinking among its populace. Scholars and policymakers alike are confronted with the question of why some citizens engage actively in democratic processes while others remain apathetic or susceptible to manipulation. This phenomenon reflects deeper socio-cultural dynamics and historical legacies that shape individual perceptions of democracy and civic responsibility (Diamond, 2008).

In analyzing the dynamics of active and passive thinking in Nigeria's democratic landscape, scholars and policymakers has often emphasize the influence of tribalism, level of education, and religion in the influence of the political culture. Tribal affiliations play a significant role in shaping political allegiances and perceptions of democracy, as individuals often prioritize loyalty to their ethnic group over broader national interests (Suberu, 2001). This phenomenon contributes to the fragmentation of the political landscape and impedes efforts towards national cohesion and inclusivity. Furthermore, the level of education attained by individuals has been identified as a crucial determinant of political participation and engagement. Higher levels of education are associated with increased political awareness, critical thinking skills, and a deeper understanding of democratic principles (Adebanwi, 2016). Conversely, limited access to quality education has been seen to exacerbate voter apathy and susceptibility to manipulation by political elites, propagating cycles of ignorance and disenfranchisement. Religion, is also a factor which has been seen to exert a profound influence on Nigeria's democratic processes, with religious identities often intersecting with political affiliations and agendas. Religious leaders wield significant influence over their followers, leveraging religious rhetoric to sway public opinion and mobilize support for particular candidates or policies (Ekeh, 1997). This dynamic not only exacerbates divisions along religious lines but also complicates efforts to promote secular governance and protect the rights of religious minorities. So, the interplay between tribalism, level of education, and religion shapes the active and passive thinking of Nigeria's populace in relation to democracy, this reality therefore serves as a factor that differentiates western society's democracies and Africa democracies.

Statement of the problem

The stagnation of Nigeria's democracy (Rufai, 2023), marked by its inability to progress beyond tentative steps, perpetuates a cycle of underdevelopment that pervades other sectors of the country. While political leadership plays a central role in driving development initiatives, on the part of the citizens, the underlying factors of passive and active thinking stresses the critical importance of democratic engagement in selecting capable leaders and fostering a conducive environment for development.

The completion of a democratic process hinges on the active participation of citizens in choosing representatives who will champion their interests and implement policies that drives socio-economic progress (Economic Commission for Africa, 2012). However, pervasive voter apathy and the continuous susceptibility of voters to manipulation hinder the selection of competent leaders capable of steering the nation towards sustainable development. This lack of quality civic engagement diminishes the accountability of elected officials and perpetuates a culture of

impunity, where political leaders prioritize personal gain over the public good (Adeniran, 2016).

Moreover, the prevalence of identity politics and patronage networks in Nigeria's democracy further exacerbates the challenge of selecting leaders based on merit rather than affiliations. The issue of tribal loyalties and patron-client relationships has most of the time dictated electoral outcomes, sidelining qualified candidates and perpetuating a cycle of mediocrity in governance (Suberu, 2001). Consequently, the failure of Nigeria's democracy to transcend its nascent stage has far-reaching implications on the country's overall development trajectory. This in turn stifles efforts to address pressing socio-economic challenges such as poverty, unemployment, and infrastructure deficits (World Bank, 2018).

Research Objectives

The research aims to examine the impact of active and passive thinking on democratic backwardness in the context of democratic elections.

The specific objective are to:

1. Investigate the concept of active thinking in democratic elections and its relationship to democratic backwardness.
2. Explore the concept of passive thinking in democratic elections and its impact on democratic backwardness.
3. Examine the factors that contribute to active thinking among voters in democratic elections.
4. Analyze the factors that contribute to passive thinking among voters in democratic elections.
5. Assess the effects of active and passive thinking on the overall democratic process and its implications for democratic backwardness.

Methodology

The research carried out the study of the objective through the use of primary research method using quantitative data. A close ended questionnaire is employed to serve as instruments of data collection, which is structured on a five-point Likert-type scale of strongly agree (SA), agree (A), undecided (U), disagree (D) and strongly disagree (SD). Nominal values would be assigned to the options as follows:

Strongly agree	-	5
Agree	-	4
Undecided	-	3
Disagree	-	2
Strongly disagree	-	1

The results of the study were analyzed using excel data analysis.

Theoretical framework

Modernization theory

Modernization Theory posits that economic development and social progress are contingent upon the adoption of modern institutions, including democracy, education, and rational decision-making processes (Parsons, 1951). In the context of Nigeria, the theory elucidates how the failure of democratic institutions to consolidate and function effectively impedes the nation's modernization efforts.

According to Modernization Theory, the transition from traditional to modern societies requires the establishment of democratic governance structures that promote political participation, accountability, and the rule of law (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). However, Nigeria's democratic journey has been marred by challenges such as voter apathy, identity politics, and corruption, which hinder the consolidation of democratic norms and values.

Moreover, Modernization Theory emphasizes the role of education in facilitating socio-economic development by equipping individuals with the skills and knowledge necessary for modernization (Tilly, 1990). In the Nigerian context, limited access to quality education exacerbates voter ignorance and susceptibility to manipulation, thereby undermining the democratic process and impeding efforts towards development.

Application of the theory

Modernization Theory is a very important theory in explaining the role of quality citizen participation in driving overall development initiatives and fostering societal progress (Huntington, 1968). However, Nigeria's political landscape is characterized by a deficiency of visionary leadership, as entrenched interests and patronage networks often dictate electoral outcomes, sidelining competent candidates and perpetuating a cycle of underdevelopment. Thus, Modernization Theory provides a comprehensive framework for understanding the challenges facing Nigeria's democracy and their implications for development. By highlighting the interplay between democratic consolidation, education, and leadership, the theory elucidates the multifaceted nature of Nigeria's developmental predicament.

Literature Review

Concept of Active and passive thinking in Democratic elections in Third World Countries

In democratic elections in third world countries, the concepts of active and passive thinking play a significant role in shaping electoral outcomes and political participation among citizens as this separate the two groups of thinking in electoral process. Active thinking refers to the mindset and behavior of individuals who actively engage in the electoral process by exercising their right to vote, participating in political campaigns, and advocating for their preferred candidates or parties. These individuals are informed about political issues, aware of their rights and responsibilities as citizens, and motivated to make a difference through their participation in democratic elections. Passive thinking, on the other hand, characterizes individuals who exhibit disengagement or apathy towards the electoral process. These individuals may choose not to vote, refrain from participating in political activities, or express indifference towards the political system and its outcomes. Passive thinkers may feel disillusioned with the political process, perceive their vote as inconsequential, or lack trust in political institutions and leaders.

Causative factors that influence active and passive thinking in Nigeria elections

1. Socio-economic factors: Poverty, lack of access to education, and economic marginalization can limit individuals' ability and motivation to participate actively in the electoral process, leading to passive thinking among disadvantaged populations. Thus, individuals who are spiteful in this manner are therefore easily manipulated into passive thinking and while others care less of the political process.

2. Political culture: Cultural norms, traditions, and historical legacies shape perceptions of democracy and political engagement. In some cases, ingrained attitudes towards authority, patronage, and clientelism may contribute to passive thinking and discourage active participation in democratic elections.

3. Electoral integrity: Perceptions of electoral fraud, irregularities, and manipulation can undermine trust in the electoral process and deter citizens from participating actively in elections. Lack of confidence in the fairness and transparency of elections may lead to passive thinking among voters.

4. Governance and accountability: Weak democratic institutions, corruption, and lack of political accountability can erode citizens' confidence in the political system and discourage active engagement in democratic elections. In the absence of effective governance, citizens may feel powerless to effect meaningful change through their participation in elections.

5. Media and information dissemination: Access to impartial and accurate information about political candidates, parties, and issues is essential for informed decision-making in democratic elections. Limited access to independent media and censorship may contribute to passive thinking among citizens who lack access to diverse sources of information.

Concept of Political Culture

This concept refers to the shared values, beliefs, and attitudes that shape individuals' perceptions of politics and government (Almond & Verba, 1963). In Nigeria, deep-seated cultural factors such as tribalism and religious affiliations

influence political behavior, undermining the consolidation of democratic norms and hindering development efforts. Political culture plays a crucial role in shaping the phenomenon of active and passive thinking within Nigeria's democratic landscape. Political culture refers to the collective values, beliefs, and attitudes that influence individuals' perceptions of politics and government (Almond & Verba, 1963). In the context of Nigeria, the country's diverse political culture is deeply intertwined with historical legacies, socio-economic disparities, and ethno-religious identities, all of which contribute to variations in levels of political engagement and participation.

Active thinking in Nigerian political culture manifests among citizens who actively engage in democratic processes, such as voting, advocacy, and civic activism. These individuals often demonstrate a strong commitment to democratic principles, such as accountability, transparency, and the rule of law. They may participate in political rallies, join civil society organizations, or engage in grassroots mobilization efforts to advocate for social change and hold political leaders accountable. Passive thinking, on the other hand, characterizes individuals who exhibit disengagement or apathy towards politics and governance. This may stem from a variety of factors, including disillusionment with the political system, distrust in government institutions, or a perception of futility in political participation. Passive thinkers may abstain from voting, refrain from political discussions, or express resignation towards the possibility of meaningful political change.

The concept of political culture helps to elucidate why certain segments of Nigeria's population exhibit varying degrees of active and passive thinking. Historical experiences, such as colonialism and post-independence struggles, have shaped perceptions of government legitimacy and trust in political institutions (Joseph, 1987). Moreover, socio-economic factors, such as poverty, inequality, and lack of access to education, influence individuals' ability and willingness to engage in political processes (Adebanwi, 2014). Ethno-religious diversity also plays a significant role in shaping political attitudes and behaviors within Nigeria. Identity-based politics often exacerbate divisions along ethnic and religious lines, influencing voter preferences and electoral outcomes (Suberu, 2001). This fragmentation of political culture can contribute to the proliferation of passive thinking among marginalized groups who feel excluded from the political mainstream.

Concept of Democratic Governance

Democratic governance encompasses the institutions, processes, and principles that underpin democratic systems, including free and fair elections, the rule of law, and respect for human rights (Diamond & Morlino, 2005). Nigeria's struggle to consolidate democratic governance is evident in challenges such as electoral fraud, corruption, and weak institutional capacity, which impede development progress. Democratic governance is a system of government characterized by principles such as accountability, transparency, rule of law, respect for human rights, and popular participation in decision-making processes. It encompasses the institutions, mechanisms, and practices through which power is exercised, citizens are represented, and public policies are formulated and implemented.

Thus, democratic governance is essential for promoting stability, legitimacy, and responsiveness in government, as well as fostering inclusive and sustainable development. It requires continuous efforts to strengthen democratic institutions, uphold democratic values, and engage citizens in the democratic process.

Features of Democratic Governance

1. Presence and practice of Rule of Law Democratic governance is founded on the principle of rule of law, which ensures that all individuals and institutions, including government officials, are subject to and accountable under the law. This helps prevent arbitrary exercise of power and promotes legal certainty and fairness.

2. Accountability and transparency: Democratic governance requires that those in power are accountable to the people they serve. This includes mechanisms for holding government officials, elected representatives, and public institutions accountable for their actions, decisions, and use of public resources. Transparency entails openness and accessibility of government information, processes, and decision-making. It allows citizens to

access information about government activities, promotes public scrutiny, and helps prevent corruption and abuse of power.

3. Citizen Participation and inclusiveness: In democratic governance, citizens have the right to participate in political processes and decision-making. This includes voting in elections, engaging in public debate, joining civil society organizations, and advocating for their interests and concerns. Democratic governance respects and values diversity, ensuring that different viewpoints, interests, and identities are represented and included in decision-making processes. It promotes tolerance, dialogue, and compromise among competing interests.

4. Free and Fair Elections: Elections are a fundamental aspect of democratic governance, providing citizens with the opportunity to choose their leaders through free and fair electoral processes. This includes safeguards to ensure electoral integrity, such as voter registration, independent electoral commissions, and mechanisms for addressing electoral disputes.

Concept of Civic Engagement

Civic engagement refers to the active participation of citizens in public affairs, including voting, advocacy, and community organizing (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). In Nigeria, low levels of civic engagement contribute to voter apathy and political disengagement, hampering efforts to hold leaders accountable and drive development initiatives. Active thinking in democratic processes is often associated with high levels of civic engagement. Individuals who actively participate in civic life demonstrate a strong commitment to democratic principles and values. They may engage in activities such as voting in elections, attending community meetings, joining advocacy groups, or volunteering for political campaigns. These individuals are actively involved in shaping public opinion, influencing policy decisions, and holding elected officials accountable for their actions. Passive thinking, on the other hand, is often linked to low levels of civic engagement. Individuals who exhibit passive thinking may feel disengaged or apathetic towards politics and civic affairs. They may refrain from participating in electoral processes, abstain from political discussions, or express resignation towards the possibility of meaningful political change. Passive thinkers may perceive themselves as powerless to effect change or may lack interest in the political process due to disillusionment or distrust in government institutions.

Civic engagement plays a crucial role in overcoming passive thinking and promoting active participation in democratic processes. By encouraging citizens to become informed, involved, and empowered, civic engagement helps to foster a culture of democracy and citizenship. It provides avenues for individuals to voice their concerns, advocate for their interests, and contribute to the common good.

Therefore, civic engagement is essential for promoting inclusivity and social cohesion in democratic societies. By engaging diverse segments of the population, including marginalized groups and underrepresented communities, civic engagement helps to ensure that democratic processes are representative and responsive to the needs and interests of all citizens.

Empirical Review

Voting pattern and voting behaviour are key themes in the study of political behaviour, with their foundation rooted in exploring the factors influencing electoral decisions at both individual and group levels. According to Guardado and Wantchekon (2017), the determinants of electoral choice include socio-economic and institutional factors, which offer a comprehensive framework for understanding voting trends across diverse democracies. While this broad perspective captures various influences, it does not sufficiently address how cultural or psychological factors intersect with institutional determinants to shape voting behaviour.

Similarly, Heywood (2013) emphasizes that electoral behaviour involves both long-term factors, such as party loyalty, and short-term variables like candidate charisma and economic conditions. Heywood's categorization is useful for identifying patterns across different elections. However, it overlooks how these factors interact within emerging democracies, where party allegiance often shifts due to

personal interests or political realignments. For instance, in Nigeria, party loyalty was redefined during the 2015 elections when factions from the People's Democratic Party (PDP) defected to form the All-Progressive Congress (APC), underscoring the fluidity of short-term influences in African democracies (Amao, 2023). This observation strengthens the argument that voting behaviour in developing democracies often deviates from established Western paradigms.

In their study of Ghanaian elections, Agomor and Adams (2014) differentiate between evaluative factors—such as government performance and candidate charisma—and non-evaluative factors like ethnic ties and political affiliation. They argue that issue-based campaigns, which highlight evaluative factors, enable voters to make rational decisions about candidates and policies. However, this analysis has a significant limitation. While it identifies issue-based campaigns as crucial in Ghanaian elections, it fails to consider their short-term applicability. As observed by Heywood (2013), these short-term effects might not influence voter behaviour in subsequent elections, a gap that Agomor and Adams' study does not address.

Expanding on this, Nordin (2014) argues that issue-based campaigns allow voters to assess candidates' capacity to address socio-economic challenges. Although this aligns with Agomor and Adams' findings, it raises questions about the sustainability of such campaigns in shaping long-term voting patterns. This is particularly relevant in developing democracies like Ghana, where fluctuating political and economic conditions could diminish the impact of evaluative factors over time.

In Bangladesh, Hossain et al. (2017) examined voting behaviour in local elections, identifying factors such as political ideology, candidate qualifications, and religious affiliations. Their findings indicate that political ideology and candidate qualifications were the most influential determinants, highlighting their long-term significance in shaping electoral outcomes. However, the study overlooks the possibility that other factors, such as economic conditions or social movements, could play a dominant role in subsequent elections. This omission underscores the need for a more dynamic framework that considers the fluid nature of voter priorities in local contexts.

Data analysis and Discussion

Demographic Data of the Respondents

Table 1: Analysis of the distribution of the respondent by gender

Items	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Male	13	6.7	7.1	7.1
Female	172	92.3	92.9	100.0
Total	185	99.0	100.0	

The table above shows the distribution of the respondents by gender. It is observed from the table that only 13 of our respondents are males, while 172 are females. This simply means that majority of the respondents are females. They formed almost 92.9% of the respondents.

Table 2: Analysis of the respondents by age

Items	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
21 - 30	43	22.9	23.2	23.2
31 – 40	62	33.3	33.5	56.7

41-50	65	34.8	35.1	91.8
51 and above	15	8.0	8.2	100.0
Total	185	99.0	100.0	

The table shows the distribution of the respondents by age. It is shown that about 43 of the respondents are between the ages of 21 to 30 years. It is also shown that 62 (33.5%) of the respondents are between the ages of 31 to 40 years. About 65 (34.8%) of the respondents are between the ages of 41 to 50, while those who are 51 years and above are just 15.

Table 3: Distribution of respondents by educational background

Items	**Frequency**	**Percent**	**Valid percent**	**Cumulative percent**
Highest qualification O.Level	21	10.9	11.4	11.4
ND/NCE	76	41.0	41.1	52.5
HND/BSC	43	23.1	23.2	75.7
Post graduate	42	22.5	22.7	98.4
Others	3	1.4	1.6	100.0
Total	185	99.0	100.0	

The table above shows the distribution of the respondents by educational background. It is shown that 21 of the respondents have O. Level, just 76 of the respondents have either ND/NCE, those who have either HND/BSC are 43. About 42 of the respondents have post graduate certificates, while just 3 of the respondents have other unidentified certificates. From the result, it can be said most of the respondents are educated.

Table 4: Analysis of the distribution of the respondent by religion

Items	**Frequency**	**Percent**	**Valid percent**	**Cumulative percent**
Islam	130	69.8	70.3	70.3
Christianity	55	29.2	29.7	100.0
African Traditional Religion (ATR)	0	0	0	100.0
Total	185	99.0	100.0	

The table shows that majority of our respondents are Muslims with about 70.3 percent, followed by Christians who are about 29.7 percent.

Table 5: Frequency of Research result

S/N	Item	Mean (X)	SD	Remarks
1	How actively do you engage in discussions about political issues with your friends, family, or colleagues?	**38.1**	**0.78**	**Agree**
2	How often do you seek out different sources of information to stay informed about political events and candidates?	**4.69**	**0.41**	**Agree**
3	Do you actively participate in political rallies, campaigns, or volunteer activities during election periods?	**3.45**	**1.02**	**Agree**
4	How likely are you to research and compare the policies and track records of different political parties and candidates before voting?	**3.32**	**0.76**	**Disagree**
5	Do you regularly attend political debates or town hall meetings to hear directly from candidates?	**3.96**	**0.72**	**Agree**
6	How often do you engage in critical thinking and analysis when evaluating political promises and campaign messages?	**3.86**	**0.78**	**Disagree**
7	Are you actively involved in voter education initiatives or organizations that promote civic engagement?	**2.9**	**0.68**	**Disagree**
8	How often do you engage in discussions or debates on social media platforms about political issues and candidates?	**3.96**	**0.72**	**Agree**
9	Do you actively encourage others to participate in the electoral process and exercise their right to vote?	**2.97**	**0.68**	**Disagree**
10	How likely are you to question and challenge political decisions or policies that you disagree with?	**3.67**	**0.86**	**Agree**
	Grand mean	**3.3**		**Agree**

The standard deviation shows no differences in the opinion of the respondents. The respondents all agreed to the selected questions as seen in the table above.

Discussion

This finding offers valuable insights into how people engage with politics and make voting decisions, by shedding light on patterns that align with and differ from earlier research on voter behaviour. The first question revealed that most respondents (86) discuss politics with family and friends. This emphasizes the importance of social networks in shaping political opinions, a concept supported by Lazarsfeld et al.'s (1948) two-step flow of communication theory. However, unlike Lazarsfeld's findings, this study shows that while social interactions influence opinions, they don't necessarily lead to active participation in political activities.The second question showed that 109 respondents rely mainly on media for information about candidates, without seeking further details. This reinforces the agenda-setting role of media described by McCombs and Shaw (1972), which highlights how media shapes public priorities. Yet, it contrasts with Norris (2000), who suggests that informed voter behaviour is more typical in mature democracies. Here, the data points to a more passive reliance on media narratives, indicating a lack of deeper inquiry into political choices.

When asked about participation in rallies, campaigns, or volunteering, 146 respondents said they don't take part in such activities. This low level of involvement challenges Pateman's (1970) idea of participatory democracy, which relies on active citizen engagement. The findings align more closely with Putnam's (2000) observation of declining civic participation in modern societies, particularly during elections. Similarly, 146 respondents admitted they don't follow or evaluate candidates past actions. This challenges rational choice theories, such as Downs' (1957) model, which assumes voters make informed decisions by analyzing available information. Instead, it suggests that many voters rely on shortcuts like party loyalty or media narratives, bypassing detailed evaluations of candidates.

Responses to the fifth question show a mix of behaviours: while some attend town hall meetings or rallies, others only follow snippets on mass media. This reflects the dual nature of political engagement today, where traditional face-to-face activities coexist with media-driven interactions. This aligns with Castells' (2012) view of a networked society, where media plays a central role in political conversations but often at the cost of physical engagement. Interestingly, 136 respondents reported critically analyzing government policies, despite low participation in other political activities. This suggests that while voters might avoid traditional forms of engagement, they still reflect on governance issues. This finding aligns with Inglehart's (1997) theory of post-materialism, where voters prioritize intellectual engagement over physical participation in politics.

The seventh and eighth questions reveal minimal involvement in online voter education and debates, with only 92 respondents participating actively. This challenges the idea that digital platforms democratize political engagement, as suggested by Shirky (2011). Instead, it highlights either a lack of access to or interest in leveraging online tools for meaningful discussions, particularly in developing democracies.

Lastly, while many respondents critique government policies in social settings, these criticisms rarely lead to organized political action. This reflects a gap between private dissatisfaction and public activism, echoing Verba et al.'s (1995) civic voluntarism model, which highlights the importance of resources, networks, and motivation for sustained engagement. These findings challenge traditional theories like Almond and Verba's (1963) civic culture theory, which assumes a direct connection between political awareness and active participation. Instead, they reveal a more complex picture of voter behaviour, where political engagement is often selective and passive. While respondents show some level of critical thinking about governance, their low physical and digital participation suggests a disconnect from formal political processes.

Conclusion

Democracy in its practices are flawed and susceptible to manipulation and easily deviated just like other systems (Aristotle, Plato, Hobbes and Alexander Tytler). Among other scholars, these scholars believed there was no perfect system of government as all depended on the virtue and quality of the people and the system. Traces of prebendalism, aristocracy and elitism can be seen in Nigeria's democratic system and this shows there's a fault in the democratic health and system of the country. Moreover, Socrates's skepticism towards democracy, as

depicted by Plato, centers on the idea that without knowledgeable and virtuous individuals, democracy could lead to populism and demagoguery.

Therefore, the entrenchment of passive and active thinking within Nigeria's democratic landscape presents a significant obstacle to sustainable political development. As the leadership is the pivotal organ for steering the country towards development. Expounding on the works of Alexander Tytler, a pure democracy was a "chimera" or a "utopian theory"—it never existed, and never could exist because a democracy relied on the virtue of its citizens to function properly. This shows that active citizen participation and participation devoid of ethnographic and religious identities are needed for political development. Basically, without a quality citizenry, a country's democracy devolves into a worse form of government. Active citizen engagement and the selection of competent leaders are crucial in overcoming impediments to democratic consolidation, paving the way for inclusive and equitable development in Nigeria.

Recommendation

Based on the discourse on the democratic challenge of civic engagement befalling Nigeria and their implications for development, the research recommends:

1. **Strengthen Civic Education:** the INEC being the electoral umpire, needs to implement comprehensive civic education programs aimed at increasing political awareness, promoting democratic values, and fostering active citizenship among the populace. These programs should target diverse segments of the population, including youth, women, indigent and marginalized communities on the need for quality engagement in Politics.

2. **Enhance Democratic Institutions:** there is adequate need to invest in building strong and independent democratic institutions, including electoral commissions, judiciary, and anti-corruption agencies. Ensure their capacity to uphold the rule of law, protect human rights, and facilitate free and fair electoral processes. This is one major area in Nigeria political system that needs adequate attention.

3. **Foster Political Accountability:** The National assembly needs to implement measures to enhance transparency, accountability, and integrity in governance. This includes strengthening anti-corruption mechanisms, enforcing compliance with financial disclosure requirements, and promoting ethical conduct among public officials.

5. **Promote Inclusive Governance:** there is urgent need to foster inclusivity and social cohesion by addressing underlying socio-economic disparities and promoting equal opportunities for all citizens. Encourage participation of marginalized groups in decision-making processes and ensure their representation in political institutions.

6. **Empower Civil Society:** Support and empower civil society organizations, media, and grassroots movements to advocate for democratic reforms, monitor government performance, and hold elected officials accountable. Protect their freedom of expression and association to ensure their independence and effectiveness.

7. **Encourage Active Civic Engagement:** Promote active citizen engagement in political processes, including voter registration, participation in elections, and advocacy for policy reforms. Encourage dialogue, debate, and collaboration among citizens to address common challenges and promote national unity.

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POLITICAL ECONOMY OF RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR AND THE MACRO-ECONOMIC INSTABILITY IN EUROPE

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KEYWORDS
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ABSTRACT
The Russia-Ukraine war, stemming from a complex web of historical, geopolitical, and territorial disputes, has evolved into a multifaceted crisis with profound implications across political, economic, and humanitarian domains. This war originated with Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014, followed by support for separatist movements in eastern Ukraine, challenging Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity. This paper argued that the war reflects a broader geopolitical ambition, with Russia and Western countries aiming to assert influence in the region and maintain control over strategic territories. This has created a power struggle between Russia and Western nations, impacting the stability of Eastern Europe and beyond. Thus, we employed a time-series research design and documentary methods of data collection while relying on content analysis. The study adopted the Economic Incentive Theory of War as its theoretical framework. The findings of this paper showed that the war has far-reaching implications, notably impacting energy security in Europe due to disruptions in energy supply routes. Moreover, the imposition of sanctions on Russia by Western nations has led to economic repercussions not only for Russia but also for various European economies with interlinked trade relations. The study concluded that resolving the Russia-Ukraine war is pivotal not only for restoring peace and stability in the region but also for safeguarding global security and promoting sustainable economic development in Europe. Therefore, it was recommended that Ukraine maintain neutral status and not join military alliances perceived as threats by Russia while implementing the Minsk agreements.

Introduction

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 marked the final stage in the dismantling of the Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe, which was symbolized by the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact. This event effectively brought an end to the protracted "Cold War" between the Soviet-dominated Eastern bloc and the United States-dominated Western bloc. The Soviet disintegration paved the way for former socialist states – Ukraine inclusive - to turn West and solicit for EU and NATO membership. However, there appears to be the creation of another fault line between the new Europe and Russia (Lawrence, 2022). This was first manifested in the Russian intrusion of the east of Ukraine and the consequent annexation of Crimea in 2014, which was then followed by an invasion of the rest of Ukraine across its eastern and southern borders in 2022.

The issue of Ukraine's sovereignty remained uncertain even after the December 1991 Independence referendum, primarily because of Russia's persistent and overt hesitance (Dragneva-Lewers & Wolczuk, 2016). The removal of the Yanukovych democratically-elected regime and the subsequent Western orientation in Ukraine were not accepted by Russia (Pabriks & Kudors, 2015, in Mbah & Wasum, 2022). Thus, the west has frequently highlighted Russia's hostility towards Ukraine (Charap & Darden, 2014). From Russia's perspective, the separation of Ukraine was seen as abnormal, given its vital importance to the Russians (Dragneva-Lewers & Wolczuk, 2016).

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990's, the relationship between Ukraine and Russia has been fraught with uncertainty, instability and strains to a very large extent. Several factors have contributed to the strained relationship between Ukraine and Russia. Notably, the disposal of assets and debts from the formal Soviet Union has played a significant role. Additionally, Ukraine's substantial energy debt has added to the tensions. The eastward expansion of NATO and the border demarcation between the two nations have also been sources of contention. Furthermore, the situation of the Russian minority in Ukraine has further complicated the relationship (Sol'čanyk, 2001).

During Putin's time in office, Moscow has implemented a strategy towards Ukraine and Belarus based on the belief that their national identities are artificial and thus feeble. Putin's assertions regarding external adversaries fostering Ukrainian (and, to a lesser extent, Belarusian) identity as a means to challenge Russia in the geopolitical arena mirror the historical pattern of his predecessors who disregarded the aspirations of common individuals striving for independence from tsarist or Soviet control (Mankoff, 2022).

The significance that Putin and other Russian elites attach to the concept of unity among Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus provides insight into the root causes of the ongoing conflict. This is particularly evident in Moscow's willingness to jeopardize regional stability by engaging in a large-scale war, despite the absence of any substantial military threat from Ukraine or NATO. Furthermore, it indicates that Moscow's objectives go beyond merely preventing Ukraine from joining NATO, rather, they encompass a broader desire to exert control over Ukraine's political economy (Mankoff, 2022).

Nevertheless, the war is not just about Ukraine and Russia. The conflict has had a profound effect on macroeconomic stability in Europe, leading to widespread consequences across different nations and areas. Commencing in 2014, this prolonged dispute has disrupted trade, raised concerns about energy security, prompted economic sanctions, caused currency fluctuations, posed challenges to investor confidence, and worsened regional economic inequalities. These macroeconomic uncertainties have given rise to an intricate network of interrelated issues for Europe, necessitating thorough examination and well-thought-out solutions.

Thus, this paper is an attempt to delve into the political economy of the recent invasion of Ukraine by Russia and the significant macroeconomic repercussions of the war in Europe. The paper goes beyond the conventional view that the potential Ukraine alliance with NATO is the reason for this invasion and argues instead, that there are other underlying political economy motivations for the invasion.

Conceptual Analysis

To conceptualize this study, some concepts will be operationalized as used in the study; political economy, Russia-Ukraine war, macro-economic stability and geopolitics.

Political economy: Political economy is an interdisciplinary topic of study that combines aspects of political science and economics. It examines the relationships that exist within political and economic processes. It also examines the ways in which economic activity, wealth distribution, and social distribution are impacted by political institutions, policies, and governance frameworks. Marx and Engel (1968) defined political economics as the entirety of a society's economic structure and relations of production. Political economy, according to Ezeibe (2016), is the pursuit of human needs and desires. Thus, the complex relationships between various levels of structure in the relations of production, distribution, and consumption constitute political economics. Political economy also looks into the relationships of power in society and how those relationships affect choices made about the economy. It examines the different ways in which people, organizations, governments, and interest groups can exert influence on economic decisions and regulations. According to Balaam and Veseth (2005), political economics is the process by which the government determines who in a community receives what, when, and how.

Russia-Ukraine war: The Russo-Ukrainian War is an international conflict between Russia and Ukraine that began in February 2014. Russia annexed Crimea after the Ukrainian Revolution of Dignity and aided pro-Russian separatists battling the Ukrainian military in the Donbas conflict. In addition, there were increased political tensions, cyberattacks, and naval mishaps over the first eight years of the conflict. Similarly, Ray (2023) hinted that the war widened in April 2014 as the Donbas region of Ukraine was taken over by Russian and local proxy troops; throughout the seven years that followed, fighting in eastern Ukraine claimed the lives of nearly 14,000 people.

In the same way, in February 2022, Russia launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine. Russia began annexing more territory and launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022. The annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014 and the invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022, marked the beginning of the ongoing war between Russia and Ukraine. Russia successfully held a referendum on September 23, 2022, to acquire four areas of Ukraine. Kherson, Luhansk, Zaporizhzhia, and Donetsk are these regions. Despite the fact that Russian forces had made considerable progress in the war, Ukrainian defenses rejected attempts to take control of Kyiv and other important cities and quickly launched counterattacks against Russian strongholds (Ray, 2023). Russia and Ukraine continued to have a tense relationship because of a number of geopolitical, historical, and ethnic factors. Concerns about NATO expansion near Russia's borders and Ukraine's desire for closer ties with the European Union and NATO were two of the issues that contributed to the war.

Macro-economic instability: Macroeconomic instability is the term used to describe changes or disturbances in a country's overall economic conditions on a larger scale. It can have a number of negative effects on an economy, such as decreased consumer confidence, decreased investment, decreased economic output, increased uncertainty, and social challenges such as poverty or income inequality, particularly when it is brought on by a war situation such as the war between Russia and Ukraine. The World Bank (2022) reported that the Russia-Ukraine war is having a serious negative economic impact on a number of European countries. Both countries are major exporters of oil and agricultural commodities, and the disruptions to these commodities' supplies have resulted in an increase in price. Additionally, both countries are the largest exporters of fertilizers, another essential agricultural input, and the price of these has sharply increased due to the war's aftermath. Siddiqui (2022) further stated that the war's effects will negatively impact crop yields and food grain output in the years to come.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) states that the sanctions placed on Russia will have a significant effect on the world economy, financial markets, and spillovers to other nations (Nweze, 2022). The economic ramifications are typically very serious due to the spike in energy and commodity prices, which includes wheat and other grains. Europe is currently experiencing an energy shortage as a result of the sanctions placed on Russia's energy supply. In other words, everyone loses in this war between Russia and Ukraine.

Geopolitics: Geopolitics is the study of how geography—including location, climate, resources, and terrain—affects international politics and the interactions between nations. It includes an analysis of the ways in which geography affects the political, economic, and strategic behavior of nations in the international arena. Geographical features such as borders,

natural resources, access to waterways, and close proximity to other nations are all considered relevant in shaping a nation's foreign policy, alliances, wars, and overall geopolitical strategies. This area of study examines how geographic factors affect military tactics, commercial ties, power dynamics, and territorial wars. Geopolitical theories frequently evaluate how nations divide power, the importance of particular areas or territories, and the ways in which geopolitical interests influence alliances, wars, and policies on the international scene. Understanding international interactions, security concerns, economic growth, and national security plans in the context of global geographic realities are all made possible by geopolitical analysis.

Turkey, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine view the Black Sea as a critical geostrategic location in the area. They can keep an eye on trade and military vessels by monitoring the Black Sea. Before the Crimean Peninsula was lost, Ukraine possessed the longest Black Sea coastline (Störk, 2015). Sevastopol is home to the Russian Black Sea Fleet, which is very important to Russia. Russia's presence in the region allows it to carry out tactical operations and preserve a military advantage. The diagram below illustrates the country's gas network.

Figure 1: This diagram shows the geostrategic location of Ukraine



Source: Störk (2015).
http://www.eegas.com/images/ukrmap.gif

In addition to having Black Soil, which makes it one of the world's most fertile farming regions, Ukraine is rich in minerals, oil, and gas. The Donetsk basin in eastern Ukraine has large coal reserves and mines. The diagram above shows that Ukraine is the land bridge that connects Russia to Central Europe. The struggle for domination and influence between Russia and the West led to the invasion, attack, and explosion in Ukraine. It also sent tensions spiraling out of control across the globe. This perspective holds that the expansion of "geopolitical," "geoeconomic," and "geoideational" tends to be the primary cause of conflicts.

Methodology

The documentary research method and time-series research design were used in this study to collect data in order to examine the political economy of the Russia-Ukraine war and European macroeconomic instability. The Russia-Ukraine war is an example of an event for which this design is relevant for tracking trends. Marxist political economy theory served as our theoretical framework's compass. The political economy of the Russia-Ukraine War and macroeconomic instability in Europe are studied using the theory as a suitable analytical framework. Written texts, visuals, and pictorial sources—whether in the public or private domain—must be carefully and methodically studied and analyzed in order to do documentary research (Bailey, 1994). Government publications, statements and proceedings, monographs, official statistics, institutional memos and reports, personal diaries, and other relevant sources can all be used as data sources in documentary research (Denscombe, 1998). The World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Human Rights Watch (HRW), United Nations Report, European Union publications, and other official publications and government documents served as the study's primary data sources. Additional sources include papers from conferences, credible journals, pieces from major newspapers, papers from non-governmental organizations, and more. The qualitative technique of analysis, which is descriptive, interactive, interpretive, and historical in character and approach, served as the foundation for the examination of the provided material (Ahmed, 2010). The effectiveness of qualitative descriptive analysis in identifying the latent and manifest components of the data—which are utilized to comprehend behavioral patterns or regularities in the subject of investigation—was the basis for its application (Mogalakwe, 2006).

Theoretical Framework

Our theoretical framework for this study is anchored on the Economic Incentive Theory of War, which is a variant of political economy theories of conflict and war. The economic incentive theory of war is typically a Marxian perspective of political economy theory of war, which was contributed to in recent times by such notable scholars as Schelling (1960); Gilpin (1981); Fearon, (1995); Levy, (1990); Collier, (2004) and others.

Like other Marxian political economy theories of conflict, which have the common tendency to accredit the prevalence of conflicts in society to socioeconomic inequalities, greed, and struggle for material resources, the Economic Incentive Theory of war examines how economic factors and incentives can impact the initiation and progression of wars. This particular theory posits that states may choose to engage in wars when they perceive potential economic advantages that surpass the costs and risks associated with armed conflict. It places emphasis on the significance of economic interests, benefits, and incentives as catalysts for war. The theory suggests that economic considerations, such as access to resources, trade relationships, and financial interests, can influence the likelihood of war and the behavior of actors involved in international conflicts.

Basic Assumptions of the Economic Incentive Theory of War

The economic incentive theory of war is based on several fundamental assumptions that underpin its framework. These assumptions provide the theoretical foundation for understanding the role of economic factors in shaping the dynamics of conflict and warfare. The following are some of the basic assumptions of the theory

1. **Calculations of Cost and Gains**: the economic incentive theory of war assumes that actors engage in a rational calculation of the potential gains and costs associated with war. They assess the economic benefits they expect to achieve through conflict and compare them to the costs, including financial expenses, loss of human life, infrastructure damage, and potential economic disruptions (Gilpin, 1981; Fearon, 1995).

2. **Rationality of Actors**: The theory posits that states and other pertinent actors are rational agents who strive to optimize their own self-interests. They engage in deliberate decision-making processes by conducting a thorough cost-benefit analysis, carefully evaluating the potential economic advantages in comparison to the associated costs and risks of engaging in warfare (Schelling, 1960; Levy, 1988; Powell, 1999; Bueno de Mesquita, 2003).

3. **Structural Constraints**: The Economic Incentive Theory of War also recognizes that structural factors, such as the international system, institutions, and power dynamics, shape and constrain actors' behavior. Economic incentives operate within these structural constraints, including existing alliances, international norms, and power imbalances (Keohane, 1984; Fearon, 1995).

4. **Imperfect Information**: The theory recognizes that decision-making is susceptible to the influence of incomplete information and uncertainties. Actors may possess restricted knowledge regarding the costs, benefits, and consequences of engaging in war. This asymmetry of information can significantly affect their assessments of economic incentives and introduce various risks and challenges into the decision-making procedures (Schelling, 1960; Fearon, 1995; Bueno de Mesquita, 2003)

5. **Material Interests**: another basic assumption of the Economic Incentive Theory of War is that the motivation for actors to partake in war is heavily influenced by economic interests, specifically the pursuit of material gains. These material interests encompass a wide range of factors such as securing access to valuable resources, exerting control over trade routes, expanding territorial boundaries, or establishing economic dominance (Levy, 1988; Copeland, 2000; Collier, 2004).

The Political Economy of Russia-Ukraine War

> *From the devastation of the Inca in Peru by Pizarro in his search for gold in the 1530s, to the 1960s when the Peruvian military bombed the Matses indigenous peoples in the Amazon on behalf of Mobil; from the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq in 1990 to the subsequent invasion of Iraq in 2003 by the United States to secure the oil fields of the Middle East to the benefit of companies like Chevron, the mineral extraction industry has always profited enormously from violent political upheaval (Maiese, 2004).*

The above emphatic quotation captured by Maiese (2004) is an exemplar of a recurring thrust in the social sciences that the likelihood of economic gains in wars drives groups of prospective benefactors to instigate conflicts. The famous anti-war slogan accredited to Socrates is: "All wars are fought for money"; and in a book review, George Orwell wrote that "[War] against a foreign country only happens when the moneyed classes think they are going to profit from it" (Orwell, 1937/1998:75). The implication of the above assertions is that economy and conflict are intimately linked and competition over access to resources and the possibility of economic earnings (by a small group of individuals) is a major motivating factor for the stimulation of wars and other forms of organized violence (Vernon, 2015) and results in the prolongation of conflicts (Collier, 2003).

The disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 did not result in the disappearance of economic relationship between Russia and independent states of the defunct Union in general and Ukraine in particular. Russia and Ukraine had always shared mutual, complementary economic ties. Thus, the Ukrainian economy at independence could not readily get rid of the Russian economy due to the internal contradictions of the economy of the Soviet Union (Chung-Te, 2014).

For instance, 80% of the manufacturing base in Ukraine was unable to independently produce finished goods due to the level of its integration with the Russian economy. In fact, Ukraine could only account for 15% of finished goods if it failed to integrate its economy with Russia and the other countries of the Commonwealth of the Independent States (Chung-Te, 2014). By implication, the Russian economy dominated the Soviet Union whereas Ukraine was merely a contributor. But there has been a shift in the status quo somewhat in the last decade.

The independence of Ukraine brought about significant changes over a period of more than ten years, resulting in a noticeable decline in bilateral economic relations due to the market's autonomous behavior. Diplomatic relations and political interventions have proven ineffective in influencing the economic ties between Russia and Ukraine. The import and export commodity structure between Russia and Ukraine is clearly evident today. Ukraine predominantly exports ferrous metallurgy products and machinery equipment to Russia, constituting approximately half of the total proportion. On the other hand, the primary imports consist of energy products. The bilateral trade of energy raw materials is increasingly becoming more prominent (Hong Xian, et al, 2014).

There exists a significant interdependence between Russia and Ukraine in terms of energy supply and transportation. Given the prevailing energy prices, Ukraine is unable to detach itself from its reliance on Russian energy supplies. More than 80% of the energy trading between European countries and Russia is conducted through Ukraine, resulting in enormous gains for Ukraine. Russia, on one hand, is actively seeking alternative routes to export energy directly to Europe bypassing Ukraine in the process. On the other hand, Ukraine is determined to address its dependence on Russian energy by finding solutions to diversify its energy sources. Unfortunately, Russia has control over the energy export transportation channel in the Caspian Sea, while Ukraine, lacking the capability to import gas without relying on Russia, is compelled to accept Gazprom as its supplier (Hong Xian, et al, 2014).

Beyond these general factors, there appears to be more specific political economy motivations for Russia to risk invading Ukraine. They include:

1). Control of the Sea of Azov: The Sea of Azov is a relatively small sea located in Eastern Europe, bounded by Ukraine to the northwest and Russia to the northeast. It is connected to the larger Black Sea by the narrow Strait of Kerch, which separates the Crimean Peninsula from the Taman Peninsula (Zivialov, et al, 2020). It has a surface area of about 39,000 square kilometers (15,000 square miles) and an average depth of 7

meters (23 feet), making it one of the shallowest seas in the world. Serving as a vital transportation route for trade, connecting the region to international shipping routes through the Kerch Strait and the Black Sea, the Sea of Azov holds significant economic importance to both Ukraine and Russia (Tomilova, et al., 2020). The sea supports fishing activities, particularly for species like herring, sprat, anchovy, and flounder. There is also the potential for untapped oil and natural gas reserves in the region (Zivialov, et al, 2020).

Russian occupation and subsequent annexation of Crimea because of its proximity to the sea and increased control it will have epitomizes the importance of the sea to Russia. Crimea is strategically located at the northern coast of the Sea of Azov, near the entrance to the Kerch Strait. Its proximity to the sea makes it a significant factor in the control and access to the Sea of Azov. The Kerch Strait, which connects the Sea of Azov to the Black Sea, lies between Crimea and the Russian mainland. Following the annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014, Russia gained control over both sides of the Kerch Strait. This control enables Russia to regulate and monitor maritime traffic passing through the strait, including vessels entering and exiting the Sea of Azov (Keypou & Hendla, 2019).

2). Control of Ukrainian Agriculture Base: Ukraine is known for its abundant agricultural resources, often referred to as the breadbasket of Europe, due to its possession of 30% of the world's black soil (Mykhailenko & Khilchenko, 2019). The invasion of Ukraine by Russia gives Russia the power to exert control over Ukraine's agricultural sector. If Russia were to gain control over Ukraine's economy, it would undoubtedly have an impact on Ukraine's agriculture. In such a scenario, Ukraine could potentially become a significant supply, processing, and marketing base for Russia.

3). Abundance of Natural Resources in Ukraine: South Ukraine possesses abundant natural resources, including vast reserves of natural gas and conventional oil, alongside the Black Sea, which stands as one of the few remaining unexplored frontiers (Braun, 2010; Grigas, 2017). Consequently, Ukraine boasts a substantial supply of natural gas and oil. The invasion and consequent occupation of Ukraine by Russia will open up new opportunities to Russia to tap into and control Ukraine's natural resources.

4). Military Advantage: The Ukrainian military sector has made significant advancements in its industries. However, the primary focus of its military research department lies within Russia, while Ukraine predominantly houses the factory responsible for the maintenance and repair of weapons and equipment. By effectively complementing each other's strengths and fostering cooperation between the two nations, the level of modernization in military industrial technology can be enhanced. Thus, Russia cannot afford to lose Ukraine to NATO alliance (Chung-Te, 2014).

5). Political Control: Russia's invasion and occupation of Ukraine will result in the control of Ukraine's politics. The Ukrainian governments will experience a loss of autonomy in their political decision-making processes, rendering them unable to achieve economic and political independence from Russia (Snyder, 2018). Consequently, this action consistently favors Russia, as it allows them to reap numerous benefits that serve as motivations for their continued invasion.

6). Industrial Standards: Countries require their components and machinery to function in harmony, akin to the seamless coordination between fire hoses and fire hydrants. This encompasses various aspects such as the synchronization between railroad axles and tracks, the appropriate voltage supplied from electrical outlets, the capacity of a product to withstand certain levels of stress, and the compatibility of threading on nuts and bolts. In the United States, the American National Standards Institute (ANSI) is responsible for establishing numerous standards. One such example is ANSI C84.1, which outlines the voltage standards. Additionally, ANSI B18.6.3 specifies the standards for metric machine screws (Ho, 2022).

The International Organization for Standardization (ISO) establishes regulations to guarantee the compatibility of products manufactured in one nation with those in another. In essence, international standards serve as instrumental mechanisms for facilitating the process of globalization. Following the invasion of the Crimean Peninsula by Russia in 2014, Ukraine made the decision to reject Russia's industrial standards and instead adopted those of Europe. However, in the event that Russia successfully annexes Ukraine, it would effectively incorporate an additional subjugated market into its

economic alliance, using the industrial standards (Ho, 2022).

Macro-Economic Consequences of the Russia-Ukraine War in Europe

The war between Russia and Ukraine have had a significant impact on the regional and global economy, ranging from macro-economic, trade and monetary devastation, to loss of production and labor capacity, resources and livelihoods. This is why Charap and Colton's book captured "Everyone Loses'. Charap and Colton (2017) argued that this war will bring nothing good to everyone involved rather than losses to all. The world economy system is interdependent, interconnected and inter-related and as such what happens in one country far away can possibly result to advance effects in another country. For Edward Cornish (1995), decisions made today will affect life for the next 30 to 40 years (in Sobowale, 2022). Thus, this war has wrought a number of implications on macro-economic stability in Europe. The repercussions are threatening the European economy, shaking financial markets and making life more perilous for everyone" (Wiseman, 2022). The war's impact on macroeconomic stability in Europe are numerous and life threatening.

Trade relations were in fact impacted by the war, particularly for the Ukraine and certain European nations that have close economic ties to both Russia and Ukraine (Haacker, 2023). Trade flows were impacted, especially for commodities like oil, metals, and agricultural items, which resulted in company uncertainty, possible financial losses, and food hunger. Significant oil and agricultural commodity exporters, Russia and Ukraine, have seen price increases as a result of supply disruptions. In addition, they are the biggest exporters of fertilizers, another essential component of agriculture. Due to supply shortages brought on by the war, prices have increased significantly. Siddiqui (2022) added that the war will have a negative impact on food grain output and crop yields in the upcoming years. In addition, Russia has placed a number of export prohibitions on a range of goods, including the export of wheat and other agricultural items, which might put the world's food supply in even greater danger. Thus, unprecedented hunger is a concern posed by the current conflict in Ukraine (Siddiqui, 2022).

According to Attinasi et al. (2022), there is some variation in the amount that different nations and areas are exposed to imports from Russia and Ukraine based on nominal customs trade data on worldwide imports of agri-food goods (fertilizers, soybean, maize, and wheat). The world's second-largest wheat producer, India, has lately announced an embargo on wheat exports, which might worsen the already precarious state of the world food supply caused by the conflict. According to an empirical estimate, Russian imports were lowered by 15% in March 2022 as a result of the first wave of sanctions, with sanctioned goods suffering the most. An analysis conducted across a subset of product classes indicates that Russia faced large relative obstacles in obtaining items necessary for manufacturing military equipment, including machinery, vehicles, and mechanical appliances.

According to Bodnár and Schuler (2022), when workers are unavailable for production, crops cannot be planted or harvested in areas directly affected by the conflict, and transportation infrastructure is being damaged, Ukraine's ability to produce goods will also be adversely impacted in the long run. Second, rising insurance prices have made it more expensive to transport food items from Russia. The unpredictability of Russia's natural gas and oil supplies has further increased the pressure on input prices for the EU's food processing and agriculture industries. Until August 2022, Russia has prohibited the export of fertilizers, of which it is the world's largest exporter. Future crop yields may be impacted by the decreased supply as a result of these limits on the international fertilizer trade, which will also lead to further price hikes internationally and in the euro area.

According to Arce, Koester, and Nickel (2023), the conflict increased consumer prices, particularly for food and energy, and significantly contributed to the inflationary pressures that were already present in the euro area during the post-pandemic recovery. Although energy inflation was by far the biggest cause of inflation in 2022, food inflation has recently made the biggest contributor. January 2023 saw a 14.1% increase in food prices over the same month the prior year. Given how energy-intensive food production is, the high rates of food inflation are partially a reflection of the delayed and indirect consequences of rising energy prices, to which the conflict has been a major contributor. Inflation rates for food products that were heavily dependent on imports from Russia and Ukraine before to the war, like oilseeds and

wheat (which are used to make flour, bread, and pasta) were significantly higher than average. For instance, in January 2023, consumers in the euro area paid nearly 47% more for sunflower oil and other edible oils than they did the previous year. High inflation, which is mostly driven by the price of food and energy, is still having a major detrimental effect on all facets of our economy as well as people's daily lives. This is especially true for low-income households, where a sizable portion of consumption is made up of food and energy (Charalampakis, Fagandini, Henkel, and Osbat, 2022). Due to the euro area's substantial reliance on energy imports, the increase in energy import costs causes a significant and inevitable decline in real income due to a worsening of our terms of trade.

The war caused a severe shock to the world economy, particularly to the food and energy markets, which led to supply constraints and historically high prices. The European countries have been more susceptible to the economic fallout from Russia's invasion of Ukraine than other economic regions (Arce, Koester, and Pierluigi, 2022). This is mostly due to the fact that the countries of Europe heavily rely on energy imports, which are responsible for more than half of the energy in the euro area and have had negative effects. In addition, prior to the conflict, Russia was a significant energy provider to the European Union (Adolfsen, Kuik, Lis, and Schuler, 2022). Prior to the commencement of Russia's invasion, food and fertilizer imports into the euro area were heavily influenced by both Russia and Ukraine (Bodnár and Schuler, 2022). In general, the extremely open economy of the euro area leaves it subject to disruptions in global value chains and marketplaces.

According to Adolfsen, Kuik, Lis, and Schuler (2022), there was an indication that the prices of gas, coal, and oil increased by around 40%, 130%, and 180%, respectively, in the first two weeks following the invasion. However, the Russian energy industry—particularly the coal, gas, and oil sectors—was the focus of economic sanctions imposed by the European Union. According to Emter, Fidora, Pastoris, and Schmitz (2022), the euro area has historically had a current account deficit with Russia because of the country's prominence as a significant exporter of energy products and other commodities. For the first time since 2014, the bilateral current account balance showed an annual deficit over 0.3% of the GDP of the euro area in the first quarter of 2022. In the second quarter of 2022, the deficit escalated further to 0.5% of GDP, making it the largest bilateral deficit in the history of the euro area with Russia and the second greatest bilateral deficit in the euro area that quarter, only surpassed by the deficit with China (which reached 1% of GDP). According to Ongena, Pestova, and Mamonov's (2022) assessment, there is little doubt that the conflict and the sanctions will cause a severe recession both in the Russian economy and globally.

Political Economy of Russia-Ukraine War and the challenges for United Nations Response

Since its founding, the United Nations (UN) has faced several difficulties due to the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. In light of this, the conflict has brought people together and divided the world along ideological lines, especially along the Western and Left allies. Additionally, it has shown how many countries have claimed to be neutral in the conflict but, in reality, the war and the decisions made by its participants have an impact on every country on the planet. The actual state of affairs is that the UN either hasn't done anything to stop the war or is hesitant to put an end to it. The fact that there are still no real answers to the conflict between Russia and Ukraine has revealed how fractured and weak the organization seemed to be. Thus, impasse among its permanent members has hampered the UN Security Council, which is in charge of upholding global peace and security. As permanent members, China and Russia have exercised their veto power to thwart resolutions that condemn Russia's activities in Ukraine. The Security Council's capacity to operate effectively has been hampered by this.

The impasse in the Security Council, geopolitical tensions between super-powers, and the changing face of modern warfare provide difficult barriers to a peaceful conclusion through UN-led measures. The United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Russian Federation, and the People's Republic of China comprise the UN Security Council, and these countries are split along geopolitical, "geoeconomic," and "geoideational" lines. China and Russia are now closer as a result of the conflict in Ukraine. This explains why China has a tendency to purposefully hesitate to denounce Russia's invasion or annexation of Ukrainian territory. In addition, China has abstained from voting in the UN on the conflict in Ukraine and instead advocated for the use of diplomacy and discussion to find a peaceful solution.

According to Júnior and Branco's (2022) study, Russia is isolated solely from the West, but the situation appears quite different when considering other power axes inside the international system. For the most part, the West has used a complicated combination of economic penalties on Russia, deterrence, diplomatic measures, and support for Ukraine to end the conflict between the two countries. Therefore, the notion of Russia's isolation seemed to have supported and reinforced the BRICS alliance, which was formed primarily with the intention of opposing American hegemony and taking control of the world economy. Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa are together referred to as BRICS. In addition, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and other nations have joined the BRICS alliance. After more investigation, it was discovered that the BRICS nations had offered both divergent and some convergent responses to the Ukrainian crisis.

This makes it evident that the Russian Federation is not completely cut off from the rest of the international community. The BRICS countries have chosen to keep their commercial and strategic ties with Moscow despite strong efforts by western countries to undermine Russia's economy and stifle its military endeavors. They do this because they see opportunities both now and in the future after this conflict ends, which is referred to in this analysis as pro-Russian neutrality. We contend that these nations seek to preserve their independence and global standing as alternative centers of power by refusing to stand with the existing Western bloc against Russia and by setting themselves apart from the Western powers (Júnior and Branco, 2022).

With 141 votes in favor, 5 abstentions, and 35 votes against, the United Nations resolution that was approved by the General Assembly on March 2, 2022, sought the immediate withdrawal of Russian troops from Ukrainian territory in response to the Russian government's actions (United Nations 2022d). Furthermore, the annexation of parts of Ukraine by Russia was denounced by the General Assembly on October 12, 2022, with 143 votes in favor, 5 against, and 35 abstentions (United Nations 2022f). This indicates that the voting trend for both resolutions was quite similar, and BRICS members have shown a stronger propensity to back Russia in international institutions despite their efforts to maintain a neutral stance since the start of the war. These nations have not only adopted language from the Russian administration but have also refrained from voting on resolutions intended to denounce Russia's conduct in Ukraine (Júnior and Branco, 2022). When examining the BRICS countries' votes within the UN system regarding the Ukrainian conflict, we observe a pattern that differs from that of the western powers, who have fortified their alliances against this new Russian threat, and which seems to foreshadow a significant obstacle to UN responses to the conflict in Ukraine. Table 1 also provides an overview of the BRICS' stance on Russia in the context of the Ukrainian war and the geopolitical and economic challenges surrounding these partnerships.

Table 1: Showing Geopolitical and Economic Dimensions of the Relationships between the BRICS and Russia

Countries	Geopolitical dimension	Economic dimensions	Posture
Brazil	Alignment with the USA, search for integration with the OECD, and partnership with NATO, low geopolitical relevance	Commercial partner of lesser importance despite its strategic nature	Condemnation of Russia with reservations
India	Hegemonic dispute with the USA, strategic partnership	Major commercial partner and largest holder of Russian reserves	Posture of neutrality (pro-Russia)

China	"Strategic multi-alignment", longtime strategic partnership	Important importer of energy and arms	Posture of neutrality (pro-Russia)
South Africa	Historic relationship with the ANC, regional importance	Few commercial relationships despite relevant financial relationship	Posture of neutrality (pro-Russia)

Source: Compiled by researchers with data from Júnior and Branco (2022)

Brazil appears to be more conservative based on the information provided above, although it has resisted Russia's removal from the 47 nations that make up the Human Rights Council. Thus, it's clear that China, India, and South Africa have shown more support for Russia in international organizations.

Since the start of the conflict, the BRICS have adopted a pragmatist stance that has included refraining from outright denouncing Russia and voting withhold in a number of international assemblies. The nation's geopolitical and economic interests appear to justify this posture. India is Russia's longstanding strategic partner in the geopolitical arena, and Russia has been significant in this regard at different points in India's history. India's economy is largely reliant on Russian energy supplies, particularly coal and petroleum. India is Russia's top customer for arms sales, which is another noteworthy aspect of the two nations' arms trade (Statista 2022). The economic ties between Russia and the other coalition members are outlined in the table below, which also shows the commercial balance for each connection and significant imports and exports with Russia across the board for the BRICS.

Table 2: showing the economic and Commerce activities between Russia and the other BRICS

Countries	Russian exports	Russian imports	Commercial balance
Brazil	Potassic fertilizers (US$813M) Nitrogenous fertilizers (US$640M) Mixed mineral or chemical fertilizers (US$434M)	Soybeans (US$354M) Frozen bovine meat (US$214M) Aluminum oxide (US$128M)	
	Total: US$2.98B / RNK 32	**Total: US$1.73B / RNK 28**	**Total: +US$1.25B**
India	Crude petroleum (US$1.11B) Coal briquettes (US$647M) Diamonds (US$591M)	Packaged medicaments (US$505M) Broadcasting equipment (US$465M) Tea (US$107M)	
	Total: US$6.76B / RNK 15	**Total: US$3.15B / RNK 18**	**Total: +US$3.61B**
China	Crude petroleum (US$33.7B) Refined petroleum (US$3.34B) Sawn wood (US$2.52B)	Broadcasting equipment (US$4.1B) Computers (US$2.13B) Vehicle parts (US$1B)	
	Total: US$58.1B / RNK 1	**Total: US$47.1B / RNK 1**	**Total: +US$11B**
South Africa	Copper wire (US$157M) Wheat (US$92,9M) Mixed mineral or chemical fertilizers (US$51.8M)	Inorganic salts (US$111M) Manganese ore (US$102M) Citrus (US$92,9M)	
	Total: US$494M / RNK 72	**Total: US$648M / RNK 50**	**Total: -US$154M**

Sources: Júnior and Branco (2022) and Observatory of Economic Complexity (2022).

The aforementioned table illustrates the significant influence that China has on Russian trade, to the point that this massive Asian nation is both Russia's top importer and exporter. The trade of industrialized goods between China and Russia, as well as the export of energy resources from Russia to China, characterize this relationship. India plays a strategic role in Russian business, even though it is not one of the country's top exporters or importers. India is an exporter of vital goods like medications and a major importer of weapons and energy resources (Bloomberg Lénia, 2022). Brazil is less significant to Russia economically, as seen by its lower rankings when compared to Russia's principal trading partners. But given that Brazil's primary export industry is agriculture and that it depends heavily on Russian fertilizers, this alliance is crucial for the country (BBC 2022a). On the other hand, South Africa's small economy means that it is of limited importance to Russian trade, even if it sells various minerals and citrus fruits to Russia and imports food, fertilizer, and minerals from that country.

In terms of geopolitics, we can draw attention to the discontent with both the military might of the United States and the military actions of Western countries that have resulted in the overthrow of numerous regimes worldwide, most notably that of Muammar al-Gaddafi in Libya (Korolev, 2016). As previously stated, both of these nations have attempted to obstruct future NATO involvement, particularly in Syria, by acting convergently in the UN Security Council under comparable circumstances. Given these nations' aligning stances on global issues of international security, Russia has emerged as a natural ally in the context of China's rise to prominence as a worldwide power and the escalating tensions between it and the US (Wenzhao and Shengwei 2020). From an economic perspective, this relationship is strategically important for both countries since China buys a large amount of Russian energy resources, and Russia is growing increasingly dependent on China, particularly since the western sanctions have tightened. Given the interventions made by Western nations on the African continent, particularly with reference to the Libyan situation, South Africa and other developing nations view Russia as a global alternative to the West and a kind of counterbalance to American hegemony (Geldenhuys 2015).

Conversely, the United States, the United Kingdom, and France are constituents of the North Atlantic Organization (NATO), which functions as a third party in the conflict in Ukraine. The idea goes that if Ukraine stop fighting there will be no Ukraine and if Russia stop fighting there will be no war. They have therefore decided to provide Ukraine cutting-edge missiles, satellite imagery, battle tanks, air defenses, and other armaments in order to show their solidarity and continuous support for Ukraine until the conflict is over. As evidenced by the fact that NATO continued to grow after the Soviet Union fell, the US believed that the Cold War had never truly ended. Russia remained viewed by the US as a danger to US global strategic objectives. There are three main components to US policy in Eastern Europe, including Ukraine. First and foremost, NATO enlargement entails Ukraine's membership in the US-led military alliance. Second, Europe wants Ukraine to become reliant on European markets and commerce by integrating it into the EU's economic structures. Thirdly, the US seeks to advance Ukrainian democracy. To overthrow the sovereign regime in Ukraine, for example, the United States of America provided backing to the "Orange Revolution" (Siddiqui, 2022).

Russia and NATO had disagreements on Georgia's and Ukraine's admittance to NATO even before to the start of the conflict. Russia has maintained an opposing stance, stating that admitting Ukraine would inevitably result in NATO expanding to its borders and that she cannot allow a visible threat of multiple militarily powerful European nations to arrive at her doorstep (Russia 2021; Savranskaya and Blanton 2018). According to Plokhy (2023), Russia's historical ties to Ukraine serve as the primary justification for Putin's invasion of that country, which he claimed is an aggression against NATO's enlargement strategy. Shvangiradze (2022) claims that Putin's foreign policy in Russia has centered on keeping NATO from expanding and reinstating Russia as a major powerhouse. The battle brought to light the rivalry between Russia and the West on NATO expansion and Russia's dominance in Eurasia, as well as the revival of great-power politics. While the United States has started a number of steps to restore a "holding line" against Russia in Eastern Europe, Russia is concentrated on post-Soviet integration in Eurasia (Trenin, 2014).

In an effort to impair Russia's economy, the US intends to extend the conflict. The United States just committed US$55 billion to providing Ukraine with military aid. It boosts the weapons industry's profits while supplying food for the Pentagon. Profits are prioritized over human lives by the military-industrial complex, which has powerful lobbying groups inside the US government. For these big businesses to sell their weapons, conflicts and wars are necessary. Growing hostility toward Russia is useful for advancing such a policy (Siddiqui, 2022). Warfare with Russia offers enormous financial rewards. The defense sector is committed to siphoning off more money from the US economy and piling up absurd profits. Furthermore, the increased demand for weapons will be very beneficial to foreign producers of weapons, like Raytheon Technologies, General Dynamics, Northrop Grumman, BAE Systems, Lockheed Martin, and Boeing (Siddiqui, 2022).

Academics noted that Russia and the West were engaged in a larger geopolitical rivalry that included the war. This viewpoint tends to minimize Ukraine's significance to that of a battlefield in a rivalry between Russia and the West and instead concentrates on interactions between the West and its institutions (NATO and the EU) and Russia on the one hand. This appears to be the main reason behind the conflict. According to Charap and Colton (2017), Russia's defense of its historic area of influence and the West's institutions spreading eastward collided to create the conflict. Tensions erupted worldwide as a result of Russia and the West's competition over critical regions, which resulted in the invasion, attack, and explosion in Ukraine. This opinion holds that the expansion of "geopolitical," "geoeconomic," and "geoideational" factors tends to obstruct UN wartime responses. Because of the continuous nature of the conflict and the lack of agreement within the Security Council, the UN is unable to send a conventional peacekeeping force to Ukraine.

Summary

This paper discussed the political economy of the Russian-Ukraine war and macro-economic instability in Europe. We argued that beyond the quest for geo-political domination, Russia’s invasion of Ukraine has other underlying political economy motivations. We discussed how Russia’s invasion of Ukraine has had a far-reaching consequence, not just in Europe but across the globe. Using the Economic Incentive Theory of War, which is a variant of Marxian political economy theory of conflict, we were able to show that economic considerations can be a strong propellant to initiate and prolong wars.

Conclusion

The Europe macro-economic stability has been greatly affected by the ongoing war between Russia and Ukraine. This conflict has resulted in a range of economic consequences for different global economic players, especially nations that have implemented financial sanctions against Russia, including the United States, Canada, United Kingdom, and the European Union (Mbah & Wasum, 2022). The resultant sanctions and disruptions stemming from this crisis have already impacted the European stock market, leading to increased price levels and potentially triggering a ripple effect on the overall European economy and the performance of corporations (Ahmed et al., 2022).

The war has not only affected trade relations and foreign direct investment flows from Europe into Asia and Africa but has also disrupted global supply chains, caused shocks on commodity prices, and increased energy costs (Benson, 2023). The impact of the war on the national economy of Russia has been studied, highlighting the broader implications on the world economy (Semenenko, 2023). Additionally, the export disruptions of grain commodities due to the war have been evaluated, emphasizing the macroeconomic impact of trade policies (Rose et al., 2023).

The economic consequences of the Russia-Ukraine conflict extend beyond Europe, impacting global economies substantially. The war has affected political tensions across Europe and has led to a transformation in the architecture of the world economy (Li et al., 2022). Furthermore, the conflict has dampened opportunities for international entrepreneurship due to declining stability in international institutions (Cumming, 2022).

The war's effects on oil markets in European countries have been analyzed, revealing Russia's heavy dependence on revenue from exporting gas to Ukraine and the EU, leading to competitive threats and ultimately contributing to the root causes of the conflict (Guo et al.,

2022). The economic consequences and implications of the war have been reviewed, discussing potential implications on local and global economies (Khudaykulova et al., 2022).

In conclusion, the Russia-Ukraine war has not only created macro-economic instability in Europe but has also had far-reaching implications for global economies, trade relations, energy markets, and international entrepreneurship. The conflict has disrupted supply chains, raised commodity prices, and increased energy costs, impacting various economic actors worldwide. The war has forced a reevaluation of international relations, economic structures, and the stability of financial markets, highlighting the interconnectedness of geopolitical tensions and economic stability on a global scale.

It is unclear whether the war will come to an end any time soon. However, what is clear is that at any point in time in the future when the war does come to an end, it would be very unlikely that affected Europe would dramatically recover from the damages inflicted by the war with a speed of light.

Recommendations

Addressing the political economy of the Russia-Ukraine war and macro-economic instability in Europe requires a multidimensional approach that involves collaborative and decisive efforts and commitments from regional and global actors. The attainment of diplomatic and political resolutions is imperative in order to address the conflict and reinstate tranquility, thereby establishing a solid groundwork for economic recuperation and stability. Also, it is recommended that Ukraine maintain neutral status and not join military alliances perceived as threats by Russia while implementing the Minsk agreements. Furthermore, strategic investments and economic assistance can play a crucial role in reconstructing infrastructure, fostering economic expansion, and mitigating the detrimental impacts of the conflict on susceptible communities.

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CORRELATION BETWEEN METACOGNITIVE FACTORS AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT IN MATHEMATICS AMONG SECONDARY SCHOOLS STUDENTS IN ORON LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF AKWA IBOM STATE, NIGERIA

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KEYWORDS
Meta cognitive factors, Self-assessment, Self resilience, Mathematics achievement

ABSTRACT
This study adopted correlational design to examine correlation between metacognitive factors and academic achievement in mathematics among secondary school students in Oron Local Government, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria. Two research questions were posed and two hypotheses formulated to guide the study. Proportionate sampling technique was used to select a sample of 300 SS2 students for the study. Two instruments titled questionnaire Metacognitive Factors (MCF)" and Mathematics Achievement Test (MAT) were developed by the researcher and validated by experts and used for data collection. The average reliability of the instrument was determined and the coefficient using Alpha Cronbach Method and Kuder-Richardson formula (21) was found to be 0.84 and 0.87 for meta cognitive factors and Mathematics achievement respectively. The hypotheses were tested using Pearson Product Moment Correlation for hypotheses for two hypotheses. All hypotheses were tested at -05 level of significance. Findings indicated that both self – assessment and self-resilience were significant relate to academic achievement in mathematics. It was concluded that achievement of students in mathematics depend on their meta cognitive factors in terms of self-assessment and self-resilience. It was recommended amongst others that educators should implement strategies that build students' confidence in their mathematical abilities which should include providing self-

assessment, self-resilience, setting achievable goals, and celebrating small successes.

Introduction

Mathematics is a subject that requires not only procedural knowledge but also the ability to reflect on and regulate one's learning processes. Metacognitive skills enable students to plan, monitor, and evaluate their understanding and problem-solving strategies. Students who employ metacognitive strategies tend to perform better academically as they are more equipped to tackle complex mathematical problems (Ibok, Meremikwu, & Umoh, 2020).. The growing emphasis on personalized learning and self-regulated learning has intensified the investigation into the correlation between metacognitive skills and students' mathematics achievement. Metacognition refers to the awareness and understanding of one's own thought processes. It involves two key components: metacognitive knowledge (what individuals know about their own cognition and learning processes) and metacognitive regulation (the processes used to monitor and control one's learning and thinking strategies). It plays a crucial role in effective learning and problem-solving (Schraw, 2021; Ibok Thomas, & Nyong, 2019). Students who exhibit strong metacognitive skills demonstrate greater success in mathematical problem-solving and overall performance (Zhou et al., 2018; Tsai & Lin, 2021). Kramarski and Michalsky (2019) found that students who actively engage in metacognitive strategies—such as self-questioning and self-monitoring—show improved conceptual understanding and problem-solving abilities in mathematics.. Metacognitive skills involve higher-order thinking processes that enable learners to plan, monitor, and evaluate their understanding and performance in mathematical tasks. Despite the increasing recognition of metacognition's importance, there remains a need for comprehensive studies that elucidate how these skills directly influence students' mathematical outcomes. Recent literature suggests that students who engage in metacognitive processes are more adept at deploying effective problem-solving strategies and achieving higher academic performance in mathematics (Veenman et al., 2020; Akin,& Özdemir, 2020). However, the mechanisms through which metacognitive awareness contributes to learning outcomes in mathematics are not fully understood. For instance, while some studies highlight the role of explicit metacognitive training in improving mathematics performance (Cross & Boggess, 2019; Sari & Çalişkan, 2022), there is also evidence indicating that students may not automatically apply metacognitive strategies without appropriate guidance (Baker et al., 2021).

Many students exhibit limited metacognitive awareness, which hampers their ability to effectively monitor and regulate their learning processes in mathematics. Research indicates that students often fail to employ metacognitive strategies that could enhance their problem-solving abilities, leading to lower academic achievement (Veenman et al., 2020). This lack of awareness may result in ineffective study habits and a failure to recognize when they do not understand mathematical concepts. The effectiveness of instructional methods in promoting metacognitive skills has been questioned. Many traditional teaching approaches do not explicitly teach metacognitive strategies, resulting in students lacking the necessary skills to apply these strategies in mathematics (Kramarski & Michalsky, 2020 ; Ibok, Ogbebe, Alu, Joseph, Udobong, Collins, 2024).). This gap in instruction may contribute to the persistent challenges students face in achieving mathematical proficiency.

As mathematics is characterized by problem-solving and critical thinking, fostering metacognitive awareness is importance for enhancing students' achievement and promoting deeper understanding of mathematical concepts. Recent studies underscore the positive correlation between metacognitive skills and mathematics achievement. Students who demonstrate higher metacognitive awareness tend to exhibit more effective problem-solving strategies and better self-regulation in their learning processes (Zhou et al., 2018; Kramarski & Michalsky, 2019). For instance, research by Odom et al. (2021) indicates that explicit instruction in metacognitive strategies significantly enhances students' performance in mathematics. Such insights suggest that metacognitive training

could be an effective instructional strategy to improve students' mathematical abilities. Moreover, the contextual factors, such as teaching methods and classroom environments, significantly influence students' metacognitive development. Various instructional approaches, including collaborative learning and problem-based learning, have been shown to promote metacognitive skills and positively impact mathematics achievement (Baloglu, 2021; Van der Stel et al., 2020). The integration of metacognitive strategies into mathematics curricula has implications for educators seeking to improve student outcomes, especially in a subject where many learners continue to struggle (Sari & Çalişkan, 2022). In this study, Self-assessment and self-resilience are considered as metacognitive factors because they significantly contribute to effective learning, personal growth, and academic achievement.

Self-assessment is increasingly acknowledged as a pivotal component in educational settings, enabling students to evaluate their own learning processes and outcomes effectively. In the context of mathematics education, self-assessment can enhance students' metacognitive skills, promote self-regulated learning, and ultimately lead to improved academic performance. it involves students reflecting on their understanding, identifying gaps in their knowledge, and monitoring their progress (McMillan & Hearn, 2020). This reflective practice has been shown to foster a sense of ownership over the learning process, which is particularly beneficial in subjects like mathematics that require critical thinking and problem-solving skills. A study by Rojas-Drummond et al. (2020) found that when students engaged in self-assessment during mathematics instruction, their achievement levels significantly increased. The authors argued that self-assessment promotes deeper engagement with the material, facilitating better retention and application of mathematical concepts. Research conducted by Ali et al. (2021) found a positive effects of self-assessment on students' metacognition. Their findings indicated that students who regularly practiced self-assessment showed improvements in their mathematical problem-solving abilities and overall performance. A study conducted by Wang and Kuo (2023) examined the relationship between self-assessment feedback and student achievement in mathematics and found that structured self-assessment practices, combined with teacher feedback, led to significant improvements in students' diagnostic skills and problem-solving performance. Effective self-assessment not only aids in self-awareness but also enhances the quality of learning outcomes. The integration of peer assessment alongside self-assessment was explored by Odom and Phelps (2018). This study found that when students engage in both self-assessment and peer feedback, their mathematical achievement improves due to enhanced motivation and a deeper understanding of evaluative criteria. The combined approach encourages collaboration and critical thinking, providing a more comprehensive understanding of the material. Yang and Tsai (2021) found that self-assessment is a critical aspect of self-regulated learning in mathematics. Their research indicated that students who consistently employed self-assessment techniques demonstrated greater self-efficacy and motivation in mathematics, which correlated with higher academic performance. Despite the positive implications of self-assessment on mathematics achievement, challenges remain. Some studies indicate that students may struggle with accurately assessing their own knowledge or skills, which can lead to ineffective self-evaluation strategies (Nicol & Macfarlane-Dick, 2017). However, for self-assessment to be effective, it must be integrated thoughtfully into the curriculum, supported by clear guidelines and feedback mechanisms.

Another metacognitive factors considered in this study is self resilience. Self-resilience, often defined as an individual's ability to adapt and bounce back from adversity, plays a crucial role in students' academic experiences, particularly in challenging subjects like mathematics. Resilience influences not only students' motivation and engagement but also their capacity to overcome obstacles and persist in the face of difficulties in learning. Self-resilience refers to an individual's ability to adapt to adversity, overcome challenges, and recover from setbacks. It encompasses mental, emotional, and behavioral processes that help individuals cope with stress and maintain their well-being amid difficult circumstances. Resilience can enhance academic performance by promoting a positive attitude and perseverance in learning. Self-resilience is characterized by traits such as perseverance, optimism, and the ability to cope with stress and failure (Masten, 2019). In educational contexts, resilient students are better equipped to handle the challenges they encounter in their academic pursuits. This is particularly relevant in

mathematics, where students frequently face frustration and anxiety due to the nature of the content and the problem-solving processes involved.

A study conducted by Akosah-Troy and Bayaga (2018) found that students with higher levels of self-resilience exhibited better academic performance in mathematics. Their research suggested that resilient students are more likely to employ effective coping strategies when faced with challenging mathematical problems, leading to improved assessment results. Research conducted by Morfidi et al. (2022) explored the relationship between self-resilience and mathematics anxiety among high school students and found that resilient students reported lower levels of mathematics anxiety, which in turn positively impacted their mathematics achievement. Studies conducted by Aldhafiri (2023) found that self-resilience enhances students' engagement in adaptive learning strategies in mathematics. Resilient students were more inclined to seek help, collaborate with peers, and utilize resources effectively, resulting in higher mathematics performance. The ability to employ such strategies indicates that resilience fosters a proactive approach to learning. An intervention study conducted by Kalra and Lee (2021) demonstrated that targeted resilience-building programs significantly improved students' mathematics achievement. Students who participated in activities aimed at enhancing resilience, such as stress management and goal-setting, reported greater confidence in their mathematical abilities and higher performance in assessments. The work of Hwang et al. (2022) examined self-resilience as a mediator between students' motivation and their academic outcomes in mathematics and found that resilience mediated the relationship between intrinsic motivation and mathematics achievement, suggesting that motivated students who also exhibit high resilience are more likely to achieve better results. Fostering resilience in students can lead to improved academic performance, particularly in subjects perceived as difficult, such as mathematics.

Statement of Problem

Mathematics achievement is a critical component of academic success and is often influenced by various cognitive and non-cognitive factors. One such factor that has garnered attention in educational research is metacognition, which refers to the awareness and regulation of one's own thought processes. Mathematics achievement among students has been a persistent challenge in educational systems worldwide, often reflecting not only the complexity of mathematical concepts but also students' cognitive and metacognitive skills. Metacognitive factors play a critical role in how effectively students engage with mathematical tasks and ultimately achieve success in the subject. Many students struggle with mathematics due to lack self-assessment and self resilience, low self-regulation leading to decreased motivation and poor academic achievement. Some of teaching approaches do not clearly teach metacognitive approaches, resulting in students lacking the necessary skills to apply these strategies in mathematics which make Most of them often find mathematics abstract and unengaging, which lead to disinterest and lower performance. Metacognitive skills not only help students understand mathematical concepts but also enable them to approach problems more systematically. Moreover, as mathematics serves as a foundational skill necessary for various fields, understanding its correlation with metacognitive skills could lead to improved instructional strategies and potentially address the persistent achievement gaps observed among different student Despite the clear benefits of metacognitive factors in mathematics achievement, challenges such as a lack of teacher training in metacognitive strategies, student misconceptions about their abilities, and insufficient curricular integration persist. These challenges can hinder the effectiveness of metacognitive interventions in enhancing mathematical understanding and performance. It is against these notable and identified problems that the research intended to examine the correlation the correlation between Metacognitive factors and academic achievement in mathematics among secondary school students in Oron Local Government, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to examine the correlation between Metacognitive factors and academic achievement in mathematics among secondary school students in Oron Local Government, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria. Specifically, the study seeks to examine;

i. the relationship between self-assessment and academic achievement in mathematics among secondary school students

ii. the relationship between self-resilience and academic achievement in mathematics among secondary school students

Research Questions

The following research questions were posed

i. How does self-assessment relate with academic achievement in mathematics among secondary school students?

ii. How does self-resilience relate with academic achievement in mathematics among secondary school students?

Research Hypotheses

The following null hypotheses were formulated to guide the study.

H_{o1}: There is no significant relationship between self-assessment and academic achievement in mathematics among secondary school students in Oron Local Government, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria

H_{o2}: There is no significant relationship between self-resilience and academic achievement in mathematics among secondary school students in Oron Local Government, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria

Research Methodology

The study was carry out in Oron Local Government Area of Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria. The research design used for this study was the correlational survey design. The researchers used this design to established the relationship between metacognitive factors (in terms of self assessment and self-resilience) and academic achievement of students in Mathematics . The population for the study consisted of all the 879 (478 females and 401 males) SS2 students in 4 approved public secondary schools in Oron Local Government Area of Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria. Proportionate sampling technique was used for this study in order to give all the schools and students of all the f0ur (4) secondary schools an equal chance of being selected for the study. Proportionate was used to ensure that 34.1 % of the entire students in each the four schools were selected for the study. To select the schools for the study, the researcher using all the four(4) schools in the study areas From the each of the schools, the researchers adopted the hat and draw method of sampling where "Yes" and "No" were written on pieces of papers, folded, shaken together and put in the brasket, then each of the students was asked to choose without replacement. Those who picked the paper balls with "Yes" tags were used for the study. . A sample of 300 (163 females and 137 males) SS2 students were selected representing 34.1% of the entire population of SS2 students in the study area. The instruments used for data collection were the questionnaire titled “Meta cognitive and Mathematics achievement test. The questionnaire was made of 14 items, with 7 items to measure each sub-level in terms of self-assessment and self resilience .. The questionnaire was based on four point scale of strongly agreed, agreed, disagreed and strongly disagreed. Mathematics Achievement Test was made up of 50 items constructed by the researchers with help of two experts in Mathematics education. The items were constructed based on SS 2 Mathematics syllabus with four options A, B, C, D. A correct answer attracts one mark while incorrect answer attracts zero (0)mark. The instrument was face-validated by two experts in Measurement and Evaluation and two Mathematics Educators, all from the University of Calabar. Corrections were pointed out by the experts and adjusted by the researchers and the document was considered valid. The average reliability of the questionnaire using Alpha Cronbach Method give .0.84 while the reliability estimate of the students’ Mathematics achievement test was established through Kuder Richardson formula K-R20 which gives .87. Since the reliability index is above 0.50, the estimates were considered high enough for the study. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) computer programme was used to analyze the data collected. The hypotheses were tested using Person Product Moment Correlation coefficient for two hypotheses . All hypotheses were tested at -05 level of significance.

Presentation of Results

The result of the analysis is presented in Tables 1 and 2. The hypotheses were tested at .05 significant level.

Ho_1: There is no significant relationship between self-assessment and academic achievement in mathematics among secondary school students in Oron Local Government, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria. The independent variable in this hypothesis is self –assessment while the dependent variable is academic achievement in mathematics. In testing this hypothesis, mean, standard deviation of self-assessment and academic achievement in mathematics were computed, compared and correlate using Pearson Product Moment Correction . The results are presented on Table 1.

Table 1: Person Product Moment Correlation of the relationship between self-assessment and academic achievement in mathematics of secondary school students (N= 300)

Variables	N	Mean	SD	r-value	t-value	p-value
Self-assessment	300	18.723	3.232	.743	19.164	.000
Mathematics achievement	300	32.877	5.231			

*Significant at the .05 level, df =298

The result presented on Table 1 shows the high positive significant relationship between self-assessment and academic achievement in mathematics of secondary school students in Oron Local Government, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria. (r=.743; t=19.164; p=.000). With this result, the null hypothesis was rejected while the alternative was retained at the 0.05 level of significance. The positive r-value indicated that the more high self-assessment , the better the better academic achievement in mathematics tend to be . On the other hand, low self assessment lead to the poorer academic achievement in mathematics.

Ho_2: There is no significant relationship between self-resilience and academic achievement in mathematics among secondary school students in Oron Local Government, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria. The independent variable in this hypothesis is self resilience while the dependent variable is academic achievement in mathematics. In testing this hypothesis, mean, standard deviation of self-resilience and academic achievement in mathematics were computed, compared and correlate using Pearson Product Moment Correction . The results are presented on Table 2.

Table 2: Person Product Moment Correlation of the relationship between self-resilience and academic achievement in mathematics of secondary school students (N= 300)

Variables	N	Mean	SD	r-value	t-value	p-value
Self-resilience	300	17.989	3.437			
				.811	22.930	.000
Mathematics achievement	300	32.877	5.231			

*Significant at the .05 level, df =298

The result presented on Table 1 shows the high positive significant relationship between self-resilience and academic achievement in mathematics of secondary school students in Oron Local Government, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria. (r=.811; t=23.930; p=.000). With this result, the null hypothesis was rejected while the alternative was retained at the 0.05 level of significance. The positive r-value indicated that the more high self-resilience , the better the better academic achievement in mathematics tend to be . On the other hand, low self resilience lead to the poorer academic achievement in mathematics.

Discussion of finding

The result of the first hypothesis revealed that there is a significant relationship between self-assessment and academic achievement in mathematics among secondary school students in Oron Local Government, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria. In the context of mathematics education, self-assessment can enhance students' metacognitive skills, promote self-regulated learning, and ultimately lead to improved academic performance (McMillan & Hearn, 2020). The finding agreed with a study conducted by Rojas-Drummond et al. (2020) who found that when students engaged in self-assessment during mathematics instruction, their achievement levels significantly increased.. The finding align with a research conducted by Ali et al. (2021) who found a positive effects of self-assessment on students' metacognition.. The finding is in line with a study conducted by Wang and Kuo (2023) who found that structured self-assessment practices, combined with teacher feedback, led to significant improvements in students' diagnostic skills and problem-solving performance. The finding agreed with Odom and Phelps (2018) who stated that when students engage in both self-assessment and peer feedback, their mathematical achievement improves due to enhanced motivation and a deeper understanding of evaluative criteria. The finding agreed with Yang and Tsai (2021) who found that self-assessment is a critical aspect of self-regulated learning in mathematics.

The result of the second hypothesis revealed that there is a significant relationship between self-resilience and academic achievement in mathematics among secondary school students in Oron Local Government, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria The finding agreed with a study conducted by Akosah-Troy and Bayaga (2018) who found that students with higher levels of self-resilience exhibited better academic performance in mathematics. The finding agreed with . a research conducted by Morfidi et al. (2022) who found that resilient students reported lower levels of mathematics anxiety, which in turn positively impacted their mathematics achievement. In agreement to this finding, Aldhafiri (2023) found that self-resilience enhances students' engagement in adaptive learning strategies in mathematics. Also the finding is in consonance with a studies conducted by Kalra and Lee (2021) who found in their studies that students who participated in activities aimed at enhancing resilience, such as stress management and goal-setting, reported greater confidence in their mathematical abilities and higher performance in assessments. The finding agreed with a work of Hwang et al. (2022) who found that resilience in students can lead to improved academic performance, particularly in subjects perceived as difficult, such as mathematics.

Conclusion

The findings of the study indicated that both self –assessment and self-resilience were significant relate to academic achievement in mathematics Metacognitive skills enable students to be aware of their cognitive processes, enhance their ability to self-regulate, and improve their problem-solving strategies. When students engage in self-assessment, they

reflect on their knowledge and skills. This reflection not only fosters deeper learning but also helps them to identify areas for improvement, ultimately leading to better performance in mathematics. Moreover, self-resilience acts as a vital psychological asset that allows students to cope with the challenges and pressures commonly associated with learning mathematics, such as anxiety and frustration. Resilient students are more likely to view difficulties as opportunities for growth and to employ adaptive coping strategies. Together, these elements create a supportive framework that encourages motivation, persistence, and higher academic achievement in mathematics.

Recommendations

Based on the finding of the study, the following recommendation were made;

i. Educators should implement strategies that build students' confidence in their mathematical abilities which should include providing self-assessment, self-resilience, setting achievable goals, and celebrating small successes.

ii. Educators should explicitly teach metacognitive strategies, such as self-assessment and reflection techniques, as part of the mathematics curriculum. This could involve structured reflection on problem-solving processes and encouraging students to monitor their own understanding during lessons.

iii. Schools should integrate regular self-assessment opportunities into mathematics classes. This includes using rubrics and checklists for students to evaluate their own work, thereby promoting self-awareness and accountability in their learning process.

iv. Academic institutions can implement programs focused on building resilience among students. These programs can include stress management workshops, growth mindset training, and activities that promote positive coping strategies in the face of mathematical challenges.

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ENRICHING CLASSROOMS WITH TECHNOLOGY: EFFECTIVENESS OF ICT INTEGRATION IN TEACHING AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE IN SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN BENUE STATE

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KEYWORDS
Teaching and Technology, Technology integration, ICT and ICT integration

ABSTRACT

Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) have become part of individual lives in the 21st century. ICT is often employed to improve the quality of instructional delivery to help in equipping the students with relevant skills and knowledge. This paper stressed on the integration of ICT tools in teaching Agricultural Science in Senior Secondary Schools in Benue State. The paper dealt with the impact of ICT tools in teaching Agricultural Science. Examined the usage level of ICT tools by learners, determined the effect of ICT integration on student's attitude/interest and challenges of integrating ICT in Agricultural Science classes. Descriptive survey research design was adopted for the study with the population of 6250 and a sample size of 120 respondents. The instrument for data collection was a questionnaire validated by three experts; data was collected by the researcher and analyzed using mean and standard deviation while chi square was used to test the null hypotheses at .05 level of confidence. Findings revealed amongst others that ICT devises if used in Agricultural Science instruction in teaching learning process, will boost learner's performances, makes learning more interesting and enhances student's retention abilities. Teachers attest that, teacher's incompetency of ICT use, lack of teachers' self-confidence, traditional appraisal of ICT and lack of ICT mainstreaming into schools' policy were some of the constraints faced. Therefore, for effective integration of ICT in teaching Agricultural Science in secondary schools, it was recommended that teachers of Agricultural Science should be trained periodically; sufficient ICT facilities should be provided; there should be constant power supply; internet services should be enhanced, among others.

Introduction

Einstein famously said that his pencil was more intelligent than he was - meaning, that he could achieve far more using his pencil "technology" as an aid to thinking than he could unaided. Don Knezek, the CEO of the International Society for Technology in Education, compares education without technology to the medical profession without technology. "If in 1970 you had knee surgery, you got a huge scar," he says. "Now, if you have knee surgery you have two little dots." This is the wealth of teaching with technology.

Teaching itself is the process of attending to people's needs, experiences and feelings, and intervening so that they learn particular things and go beyond the given (Akitande, 2014). Teaching could be defined as engagement with learners to enable their understanding and application of knowledge and concepts to addressing day to day challenges. In the context of this study teaching Agricultural Sciences with technology means; the making, modification, usage, and knowledge of tools, machines, techniques, crafts, systems, methods of organization, in order to transmit knowledge to learners via ICT tools, solve problem, improve on preexisting solution to a problem, achieve a goal or perform a specific function for learners. It can also refer to the collection of such tools, machinery, modifications, arrangements and procedures for effective teaching pedagogy. In this 21st century, the term "technology" is an important issue in many fields including education. This is because technology has become the knowledge transfer highway in most countries.

Technology integration nowadays has gone through innovations and transformed our societies that has totally changed the way people think, work and live (Grabe, 2007). As part of this, schools and other educational institutions which are supposed to prepare students to live in "a knowledge society" need to consider ICT integration in their curriculum (Amla, 2021).

Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is basically an umbrella term that encompasses all communication technologies such as internet, wireless networks, cell phones, satellite communications, digital television computer and network hardware and software; as well as the equipment and services associated with these technologies, such as videoconferencing, e-mail and blogs etc. that provide access to information. It is an extensional term for information technology (IT) that stresses the role of unified communication and integration of telecommunications and computers, as well as necessary enterprise software, storage and audiovisual system, that enable users to access, store, transmit and manipulate information.

ICT integration is defined by Ghavifekr (2014) as a strategy of integrating information and technology into all facets of education and training, including the administrative function and e-business model required to support learning. According to Lim (2003), Hew and Brush (2007), ICT integration is defined in terms of teachers applying technology to develop learners' thinking skills.

Technology integration is the utilization of technology tools in general content areas in education in order to permit learners to use computer and technology skills to leaning and problem-solving. (Dockstader, 1999). Technology integration is defined as the application of technology to improve the educational environment. Technology integration in the classroom can support classroom instruction through creating opportunities for learners to complete assignments on computer rather than the normal pencil and paper.

Ejiofor, Onu, Bassey, Okechukwu and Nwoke, (2021) in their research work "Integration of ICT Tools in Agricultural Education Curriculum for Quality Instructional Delivery" stated

ICT tools that can be integrated in agricultural curriculum to include

- **E-learning:** E-learning otherwise known as electronic learning can be effectively used for instructional delivery both for distance and close learning. According to Shyamal (2006), the link between distance learning and telecommunications is becoming even stronger, yielding new solutions to old problems, innovative educational resources and new teaching/learning practices. E-learning as learning via electronic media enables the students to learn beyond the walls of the traditional classroom. The benefits of e-learning are that it enables the students to learn any

time, any place, independent learning, and group collaboration among others.

- **Social media:** social media are tools that allow for communal (social) interaction and easy creation of content by users (Ibezim, 2017). Social media are digital technologies that are based on user participation and sharing. Social media can be used for instructional delivery. Some examples of social media that can be used in agriculture instructional deliveries are Facebook, blog, Google Plus among others. The ways social media can be used by teacher for instructional delivery according to Ibezim are:

  i. Post course notices and course related news items in blogs.

  ii. Organize seminars and in class discussion through their blogs.

  iii. Provide records of their own research activity as reference material for students.

  iv. Give opinions on published research in a field of study as a continually updated reading list for the students.

  v. Provide discussions of some related topics linking to topical stories that illustrate real-world implications.

- Computer Assisted Instruction (CAI): CAI makes use of computer directly as a medium of instruction and information delivery system. Egbuna and Opone (2005) maintained that CAI is an instructional design whereby computer system delivers instruction directly to learners by allowing them to interact or relate with designed lessons that have been programmed into the system. Ornstein and Hevine in Egbuna and Opone (2005) highlighted three levels of CAI as:

  i. Practice and Drill Level: This is the simplest and lowest level. It assumes that a concept or skill in agriculture has previously been taught to the learners. This level is then used to perfect and reinforce previously learned concepts, skills or procedures thereby enhancing mastery. This can be an effective tool for teaching practical related courses in Agricultural Science.

  ii. Tutorial Level: At this level, computer essentially acts as the teacher or instructor thereby taking the place of agricultural teacher or instructor. The tutorial level takes over the responsibility for real teaching. Every interaction is between the computer and the learner. The computer present new concepts and principles and once the learner exhibits clear understanding, he immediately goes over to the next activity.

- **Dialogue Level:** This is the highest level and it involves a sophisticated interaction between the learners and the computer. The agricultural learners actually talk to the computer and engage in real dialogue with the computer. The learner can interact or communicate with the machine by giving response and asking new questions.

- **Use of Computer Software/Applications:** Certain computer software have been developed which can be integrated in agricultural curriculum for quality instructional delivery. The functions of the software depend on the type. Some examples of such computer software include: Microsoft Power-point, spreadsheet package (Excel), assessment tools (e.g. flubaroo, Kahoot etc.) Analysis software (e.g. SPSS) among others. For instance, power point can be used for easy presentation of lesson; spreadsheet package- to assist learners in calculations; flubaroo can be used for online assessment of students while SPSS is used for easy analysis of research data.

- **Internet:** Internet is a network that connects millions of computers all over the world through the use of international telecommunications system (Egbuna and Opone 2005). Internet provides most of information or data requested. Ikekeonwu (2003) opines that internet provides world-wide access to resources and information. Internet can serve as a useful tool for teaching and learning. Teachers can update their knowledge and lessons via internet services. Also, students can carry out

their assignments, read ahead of the teachers, up-date their knowledge through the use of internet.

Integration and mastery of these ICT tools and concepts in agricultural curriculum helps teachers to easily access information from internet even in their bedrooms, teach with ease, assess and grade students' performance without much stress as this is also beneficial to students in areas of independent learning, easy access to information, carryout assignments, projects with little stress among others. According to Shyama (2006), ICT opens up opportunities for learning because it enables learners to access, extend, transform and share ideas and information in multi-modal communication styles, and format. Knowing the important roles of ICT in teaching and learning, there is need for proper integration of ICT tools in agricultural curriculum for quality instructional delivery.

For effective integration of ICT in Instructional process, it can be inferred that the factors as teachers' attitude, ICT competence, computer self-efficacy, professional development, teaching experience, education level, technical support, accessibility, leadership support, pressure to use technology, government policy regarding ICT education and technological characteristics positively affect teachers' and administrators' use of ICT in teaching.

ICT in form of multimedia technology affords teachers and students a lot of opportunities for effective teaching-learning outcomes. E-learning is an example of the use of these ICT-supported teaching and learning technique/tool whose use in educational institutions is gaining momentum with the passage of time (Omwenga, 2012). This device, if use in practical agriculture, teaching learning process is expected to boost the learners' performance at public examinations.

Statement of the Problem

Computers and instructional technologies have become ubiquitous in schools. At the same time, national and global reports have criticized the inadequacy of teacher preparation with respect to technology use. While society in general has embraced 21st century technology innovations for daily living, a gap remains in the understanding of appropriate uses for technology in the learning environment by teachers and lerners. . It is the influence of these ICT gadgets on the effectiveness in teaching and learning that has attracted the attention of ICT crusaders, scholars and the researcher to examine wealth of classrooms with ICT integration in teaching Agricultural Science in Secondary Schools in Benue State.

Objectives of the study.

The main purpose of this study is to investigate the effectiveness of ICT integration in teaching Agricultural Science in Senior Secondary Schools in Benue State. But to aid the completion of this study, the researcher seeks to achieve the followings specific objectives;

1. To ascertain the impact of ICT integration in teaching Agricultural Science to Senior Secondary Schools Students in Benue State.
2. To find out the level of ICT usage by students, taught Agricultural Science in Senior Secondary Schools in Benue State.
3. To determine the effect of ICT integration on student attitude and interests toward Agricultural Science in Senior Secondary School in Benue State
4. To find out the constraints faced by teachers in adopting and integrating ICT in teaching Agricultural Science to Senior Secondary School in Benue State.

Research Questions

The following research questions were asked

1. What is the impact of ICT integration in teaching Agricultural Science to Senior Secondary School Students in Benue State?
2. What is the usage level of ICT tools by Agricultural Science Students in Benue State?
3. What is the effect of ICT integration on students' attitude and interests in Agricultural Science in Senior Secondary School in Benue State?
4. What are the constraints faced by teachers in adopting and integrating ICT

in teaching Agricultural Science to Senior Secondary School in Benue State.

Research Hypothesis

The following research hypothesis were tested at 0.05 levels of significance

1. ICT integration has no significant impact on students taught Agricultural Science in Senior Secondary School in Benue State

2. Students' usage of ICT, has no effect on their interests and attitudes towards Agricultural Science in Senior Secondary School in Benue State?

Methodology

This chapter deals with the following: Research design, Area of study, Population, Sample and Sampling techniques, instruments, validation of instruments, reliability of instrument, method of data collection and analysis.

Research Design

The Research design adopted for this study was the descriptive survey research design. It is defined as scientific research that describes about event, phenomena or fact systematically dealing with certain area or population. It is also defined as a research method that describes the characteristics of the population or phenomenon studied. The design is appropriate for this study because it was effective in collecting data from a large number of respondents from all the sampled schools and because no variable of the study was manipulated but studied as they exist.

Area of study

The study was carried out in Makurdi local government area of Benue state. The local government was created in 1976, with 11 council wards these are Ankpa-wadata, Modern market, Fiidi, Bar, Market clarck, Agan, Wailomayo, Central Mission, North Bank one and two and Mbalaah. The local government has three universities which include Joseph Sarwuan Tarkaa University, Makurd, Benue State University, Makurdi, National Open University and 88 governments approved secondary schools with qualified teachers capable of adopting and integrating ICT tools in a class room.

Population of Study

The population of the study was 6250 senior secondary school student and 20 agricultural science teachers in Makurdi LGA, Benue state. The reason for selecting teachers was because they would first adopt and accept the technology before effectively integrating it in the class room. The choice of senior secondary school student was based on the fact that at this level, the students were expected to be well integrated into formal level of thinking. senior secondary schools' student is better placed than any other level to make meaningful impact on the study, also it is believed that students at this level are in better position to be trained for national examination such as West African Examination Council (WAEC), National Examinations Council (NECO) and Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB), which employ the use of computers for writing.

Sample and Sampling Techniques

The study sampled 100 senior secondary school students, though all 20 Agricultural Science Teachers were used, making a total sample size of 120 respondents. The students were selected using purposive sampling technique and the sampled schools were selected randomly using simple random sampling technique.

Instruments of the Study

The instrument used for data collection was a questionnaire titled: Effectiveness of ICT Integration in Teaching Agricultural Science (EIITAS). The respondents were asked to respond to the items on four points rating scale of Strongly Agree (SA) 4, Agree (A) 3, Disagree (D) 2 and Strongly Disagree (SD) 1. Research questions 1, 2, and 3 were responded to by the sampled students while research question 4 was attended to by the teachers respectively.

Validation of Instrument

The instrument was validated by three experts. They were requested to check for the appropriateness of the items, structures of the question and good reflection of the content and

objective of the research. Their suggestions were useful in modifying the instrument. All the items in the instruments were designed to cover the hypothesis considered for the study.

Reliability of the Instrument

The validated instrument was trial tested to ascertain the reliability of the instrument using Cronbach's Alpha method. The instrument which has 30 items was administered to 16 students from schools that were not part of the sampled area. The data obtained was analyzed using SPSS 20 which yielded an alpha coefficient of 0.75.

Method of Data Collection

The questionnaire was administered by hand to the respondents by the researcher. The researcher afterwards took possession of the questionnaire after completion by respondent for recording and analysis.

Method of Data Analysis

Data was analyzed using mean, standard deviation and chi-square. The mean of 2.50 representing the average value of the four-scale rating was bench mark for decision making to answer the research question. Chi-square was adopted for this study, because the study seeks to elicit responses from the respondent's using frequency or nominal data.

Data Presentation, Analysis, Interpretation and Discussion of Findings

This chapter deals with the presentation, analysis, interpretation and discussion of findings from the data obtained. The data used for this study was obtained by administering questionnaire to senior secondary school students and Agricultural Science Teachers. The results obtained from the data collected and analyzed were presented in tables and the findings discussed.

Data Presentation, Analysis and Interpretation

120 copies of questionnaires were administered to the respondents. The data collected were analyzed based on four research questions and two hypotheses.

Research Question 1

What is the impact of ICT integration in Teaching Agricultural Science to Senior Secondary School Students in Benue State?

Table 1: Data for this research question is presented in table below

S/n	Questions	N	SA	A	D	SD	X	SD	DEC
1	ICT integration in teaching Agricultural Science makes learning of Agricultural Science Interesting and improve students' performance	120	62	37	07	14	3.22	0.99	Agreed
2	ICT enhances students' retention abilities in Agricultural science classes	120	48	46	14	12	3.08	0.96	Agreed
3	ICT make students to be active during Agricultural Science class	120	41	45	16	18	2.90	1.04	Agreed
4	ICT integration in teaching motivates students to learn Agricultural Science	120	45	33	23	19	2.87	1.09	Agreed
5	ICT integration in teaching Agricultural Science makes it simple and understandable.	120	38	36	28	19	2.78	1.05	Agreed

6	ICT integration in teaching Agricultural Science improves teachers teaching skills.	120	33	35	29	24	2.63	1.13	Agreed
7	ICT integration in teaching Agricultural Science makes teaching of Agricultural Science meaningful	120	40	25	32	23	2.78	1.09	Agreed
8	ICT Integration in teaching Agricultural Science reinforces students' self-esteem in classroom	120	33	41	20	26	2.67	1.10	Agreed
9	ICT Integration in teaching Agricultural Science makes students learn quick	120	42	35	13	20	2.78	1.14	Agreed
10	It enhances group learning	120	40	25	32	23	2.78	1.09	Agreed

Foot note: N=sample size, SA= Strongly Agreed, A= Agreed, D = Strongly Disagreed, SD= Strongly Disagreed, $\bar{X}$ = Mean, SD= Standard Deviation

Result in table 1 revealed that teaching agricultural science using ICT tools makes learning of the subject more interesting and improves students' performances, enhances students' retention abilities, makes students to be active and motivated to learn, improves teachers teaching skill and makes teaching meaningful. Respondents also affirmed that teaching with ICT tools reinforces students' self-esteem in the class room, enhances group participation and enable students to understand abstractions better.

Research Question 2

What is the usage level of ICT tools by Agricultural Science Students in Benue State?

Data for research question 2 are presented in table 2

S/n	Questions	N	SA	A	D	SD	X	SD	DEC
1	With ICT, I learn at my own pace	120	20	15	15	70	2.13	1.21	Disagreed
2	I use internet to do my test and home work	120	18	20	14	68	2.14	1.18	Disagreed
3	ICT is linked to my specific needs as a student	120	15	22	9	74	1.71	1.32	Disagreed
4	I hardly feel the absence of a teacher in the class due to internet facilities	120	42	35	13	20	2.78	1.14	Disagreed
5	ICT have taken over the traditional teaching methods	120	21	17	30	52	2.05	1.14	Disagreed
6	Students undertake learning actively and receives feedback	120	30	26	22	42	2.36	1.20	Disagreed
7	It motivates students by bringing varieties of learning materials into the class	120	5	12	35	68	1.61	1.27	Disagreed

8	It allows students for creativity	120	15	17	29	59	1.90	1.09	Disagreed
9	It saves time and energy	120	14	9	34	63	1.78	1.16	Disagreed
10	It sustains student's interest in research.	120	01	08	45	62	1.46	1.32	Disagreed

Foot note: N=sample size, SA= Strongly Agreed, A= Agreed, D = Strongly Disagreed, SD= Strongly Disagreed, $\bar{X}$ = Mean, SD= Standard Deviation

Respondents' responses on research question 2 as reported in table 2 revealed that agricultural science students do not learn at their own pace using ICT tools, they lack internet facilities to do tests and homework, students feel teachers' absence in the class room due to insufficient internet facilities that would have taken over the traditional teaching methods as such, students undertake learning but don't receive feedback on time. Respondents also disagreed that students use ICT tools to access variety of learning materials, these impediments delineate student's self-creativity, and takes more time and energy.

Research Question 3

What is the effect of ICT integration on students' attitude and interests in Agricultural Science in Senior Secondary School in Makurdi Local Government area of Benue State?

Data for research question 3 are presented in table 3 below

Table3: effects of ICT on student's interests and attitudes in Agricultural Science

S/n	Questions	N	SA	A	D	SD	X	Stand.	
1	ICT integration in teaching agricultural science make students to pay careful attention during Agricultural science classes	120	57	29	14	20	3.08	0.99	Agreed
2	Students pay more attention during ICT integrated classes than traditional chalk and board method of teaching	120	64	28	16	12	3.20	0.88	Agreed
3	It makes students to develop interest in agricultural science classes	120	66	32	14	08	3.30	0.77	Agreed
4	It makes students to comprehend difficult agricultural concept easier.	120	61	32	19	08	3.21	0.88	Agreed
5	It makes students appreciates agricultural science	120	71	31	14	04	3.41	0.82	Agreed
6	It makes students to study more and compete for grades.	120	78	29	10	03	3.52	0.74	Agreed
7	It helps to re-shape students' attitude toward the subject	120	47	31	26	16	2.91	1.08	Agreed

8	It makes students to interact and be responsive in the class room	120	52	28	23	17	2.96	1.07	Agreed
9	It makes learning real	120	41	31	26	22	2.75	1.14	Agreed
10	It helps learners to move beyond knowledge and comprehension to application and analysis	120	46	30	26	21	2.79	1.12	Agreed

Foot note: N=sample size, SA= Strongly Agreed, A= Agreed, D = Strongly Disagreed, SD= Strongly Disagreed, $\bar{X}$ = Mean, SD= Standard Deviation

Data on research question 3 as presented in tables 3 revealed that ICT integration in teaching agricultural science makes students to pay careful attention than when traditional and chalk board methods were used; it develops students' interest and helps students to comprehend difficult agricultural concept easier, therefore helps students to develop good attitude towards the subject. It makes for students to interact and be responsive in the class room. Respondents also agreed that ICT integration in teaching agricultural sciences make learning real and make learners to move beyond knowledge base comprehension to application and analysis.

Research Question 4

What are the constraints faced by teachers in adopting and integrating ICT in Teaching Agricultural Science to Senior Secondary School Students in Benue State.

Data for research question 4 are presented in table 4 below

S/n	Questions	N	SA	A	D	SD	X	Stand.D	DEC
1	Poor accessibility to internet	120	42	35	13	20	2.78	1.14	Agreed
2	ICT facilities are very expensive	120	47	31	26	16	2.91	1.08	Agreed
3	Lack of teachers professional and pedagogical training in ICT	120	41	31	26	22	2.75	1.14	Agreed
4	Insufficient power supply	120	40	25	32	23	2.78	1.09	Agreed
5	School location	120	33	41	20	26	2.67	1.10	Agreed
6	Poor school management system make ICT integration difficult	120	48	46	14	12	3.08	0.96	Agreed
7	Teacher lack of self confidence	120	57	29	14	20	3.08	0.99	Agreed
8	Security	120	78	29	10	03	3.52	0.74	Agreed
9	Lack of proper maintenance of ICT facilities	120	66	32	14	08	3.30	0.77	Agreed
10	Government policies regarding ICT	120	64	28	16	12	3.20	0.88	Agreed
11	Absence of instructive programs and software	120	52	28	23	17	2.96	1.08	Agreed
12	Traditional appraisal of ICT	120	66	32	14	08	3.30	0.77	Agreed
13	Funding	120	64	28	16	12	3.20	0.88	Agreed

In order of risk, agricultural science teachers agreed that the following were constraints they face in adopting and integrating ICT in secondary schools; they include, security, lack of proper maintenance and traditional appraisal of ICT with mean scores of 3.52, and 3.30 respectively,

funding took center stage with mean scores of 3.20, poor school management system and teachers lack of self-confidence with mean scores of 3.08, absence of instructional software/programs and cost of facilities 2.96 and 2.91, poor internet accessibility and poor power supply with 2.78 other challenges were lack of teachers professional training and school location were the least problems faced by teachers in their quest to adopting and integrating ICT facilities in the class room with mean score of 2.75 and 2.67 respectively.

Research Hypothesis 1

ICT integration has no significant impact on the Teaching of Agricultural Science in Senior Secondary School in Makurdi Local Government area of Benue State

Table 5: chi-square analysis on the impact of ICT integration in Teaching Agricultural Science

Item	df	x^2	Sig(P-value)
Chi-square	8	40.00	0.00
No. of valid cases		120	

Survey, 2021

Table 5 show x2 calculated of 40.00 and df (degree of freedom) =8. Number of valid cases =120. The sig (p-value) = 0.00 which is less than 0.05 hence the null hypothesis was rejected. This means that, ICT integration has significant impact on the Teaching of Agricultural Science in Senior Secondary School in Makurdi Local government area of Benue State.

Research Hypothesis 2

ICT integration has no Significant effect on Agricultural Science Teachers and Students in Senior Secondary Schools in Makurdi Local Government area of Benue State

Table 6: chi-square analysis on agricultural science teachers and students.

Item	df	x^2	Sig(P-value)
Chi-square	8	28.84	0.00
No. of valid cases		120	

Survey, 2021

Table 6 shows X^2 calculated of 28.84, degree of freedom (df) =8. Number of valid cases = 120. Table 2 shows the sig (p-value) of 0.00 which is less than 0.05. Hence the null hypothesis was rejected. This implies that, ICT integration by Agricultural Science Teachers has significant effect on learners' interest and attitude in Senior Secondary Schools in Benue State.

Discussion of findings

The section deals with the discussion of data analyzed and findings.

The four research questions were answered based on the data obtained by the researcher by administering the questionnaires to both students and teachers.

The study revealed that teaching agricultural science using ICT tools makes learning of the subject more interesting and improves students performances, enhances students retention abilities, makes students to be active and motivated to learn, improves teachers teaching skill and makes teaching meaningful. Respondents also affirmed that teaching with ICT tools reinforces students' self-esteem in the class room, enhances group participation and enable students to understand abstractions better. This findings collaborates the findings of Omwenga, (2012), who stated that ICT devices if use in agricultural science instruction in the teaching learning process is expected to boost the learners' performance at public examinations. The study also conforms the findings of Slaouti and Barton (2008) who stated that Learners can undertake learning actively and receive desired feedback; which means that ICT can motivate students in their learning by brining variety into the lessons, and at the same time, sustaining teachers' own interest in teaching.

According to Egunjobi (2015), the benefits of ICT-facilities to teachers in agricultural science instruction were also numerous and they include: Allows for **Creativity**: The teacher has access to several methods he/she can use to pass instruction to his/her learners. He/she chooses the one he/she deems best to teach after weighting the entry point of the students. **Saves time**: In as much as the learners have access to the lesson even in the absent of the teacher, the teacher therefore have more time to concentrate on the all-important task of solving more difficulty topics. Ineffective learning activities are replaced: Both the teacher and learners have no reason for irrelevancies occasioned by the face-to-face and chalk-talk method. Hence there is ample time for quality and effective lesson.

The findings reported in table 2 revealed that agricultural science students do not learn at their own pace using ICT tools, they lack internet facilities to do tests and homework, students feel teachers absence in the class room due to insufficient internet facilities that would have taken over the traditional teaching methods as such, students undertake learning but don't receives feedback on time. Respondents also disagreed that students use ICT tools to access variety of learning materials, these impediments delineate student's self-creativity, and takes more time and energy. The findings of the present study agrees with Onu and Ezhim (2019) which examined the availability, functionality and utilization of ICT facilities for effective instructional delivery of Agricultural Science in Nigeria Secondary Schools. The authors submitted that most ICT facilities were not available, and the few available were not utilized because of non-functionality in most secondary schools in the study area. The study concluded that there was need for a refocus on ICT integration in the education system, which is a common trend in the present study.

Data on research question 3 as presented in tables 3 revealed that ICT integration in teaching agricultural science makes students to pay careful attention than when traditional and chalk board methods were used; it develops students interest and helps students to comprehend difficult agricultural concept easier, therefore helps students to develop good attitude towards the subject. It makes for students to interact and be responsive in the class room. Respondents also agreed that ICT integration in teaching agricultural sciences make learning real and make learners to move beyond knowledge base comprehension to application and analysis.

These findings supported the work of Dockstader (1999), who stated that through integrating technology, more depth into the content-area syllabus would be possible. In the information age, there is an urgent need to learn technology; Learners are motivated through technology that ultimately enhances academic engagement time. Working in more depth with the content, learners can move beyond knowledge and comprehension to application and analysis of information. Learners learn

where to find information in an information rich world. Learners develop computer literacy through using different computer skills as part of the learning process.

The research findings also collaborates Oliver, Osa, and Walker (2012), whose report showed that ICT integration helps learners become capable information technology users, information seekers, analyzers, evaluators, problem solvers, decision makers, creative users of technology tools, communicators and collaborators.

In order of risk, agricultural science teachers agreed that the following were constraints they face in adopting and integrating ICT in secondary schools; they include, security, lack of proper maintenance and traditional appraisal of ICT, funding, poor school management system and teachers lack of self-confidence, absence of instructional software/programs and cost of facilities, others included poor internet accessibility and poor power supply, lack of teachers professional training and school location were the least problems faced by teachers in their quest to adopting and integrating ICT facilities in the class room. These findings are in agreement with the work of Andoh (2012) who conducted a study to review literature regarding factor influencing integration of ICT and found three level factors: (a) Teacher-level (b)School-level and (c) System-level. **Teacher level** hindrances comprise teacher incompetency of ICT use, lack of teacher self-confidence, lack of teacher professional and pedagogical training, and lack of differentiated training programs. **School-level** hindrances include lack of specially designed infrastructure for ICT use, old or effective maintenance of equipment, absence of appropriate instructive programming and software, poor accessibility to ICT, poor project related understanding and lack of ICT mainstreaming into school's policy. **System-level** hindrances embrace unbending structure of conventional education system, traditional appraisal, obstructive curricula and limited organizational structure. Effects of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), the degree to which these hindrances influence people and organizations may help in deciding how to handle them.

The two hypotheses were tested and it was found that, ICT integration had significant impact on Teaching Agricultural Science in Senior Secondary School in Makurdi Local Government area of Benue State. This is in agreement with Onu and Ezhim (2019) who found that ICT integration had significant influence in teaching and learning of science. Again it was found that, there is significant relationship with student's interests and attitudes in Agricultural Science in Senior Secondary Schools in Makurdi Local Government area of Benue State. This is in agreement with Enoch (2021) study, who posits that, Adopting ICT integration in teaching will influence student's interests and attitudes toward learning.

Conclusion, Findings and Recommendations

This chapter deals with the following: summary of findings, conclusion, and recommendations. The study was carried out using Senior Secondary School Students within Makurdi Local Government Area of Benue state.

Summary of Findings

ICT integration impact the Teaching of Agricultural Science in Senior Secondary Schools within Makurdi Local Government area of Benue State (see table 1)

It was found that ICT devises if used in Agricultural Science instruction in teaching learning process, will boost learner's performances, makes learning more interesting and enhances student's retention abilities.

Findings revealed that ICT facilities were not available in schools and the few available were not utilized because of non-functionality, power and poor internet services amongst others.

Findings revealed that learner's interest and attitude toward Agricultural Sciences was enhanced whenever ICT tools were used in teaching because more depth into the content syllabus was achieved.

Two research hypotheses were tested at 0.05 level of significant and it was found that;

ICT integration had significant impact on student's interest and attitude toward Agricultural Science in Senior Secondary School in Benue State.

Conclusion

It was concluded in this study that the use of ICT tools impacts the teaching of Agricultural Science and boost students interest and attitudes towards agricultural sciences compared to conventional/ traditional teaching method therefore, for effective integration of ICT in Instructional process, it was inferred that the factors such as teachers' attitude, ICT competence, computer self-efficacy, professional development, teaching experience, education level and technical support should be assessed as a tool for performing meaningful projects to engage learners in critical thinking and problem solving.

Recommendations

To effectively integrate ICT tools in Teaching Agricultural Sciences for quality instructional delivery, the study recommends the following:

1. Curriculum planners and developers should integrate ICT tools into Agricultural Science curriculum. They can be included as part of instructional materials for quality teaching.

2. The school administration through the help of the government should provide sufficient computers and other ICT tools necessary for teaching and learning.

3. The school management should provide strong and constant internet services in the school. This will enable easy access to internet at any given time.

4. Agricultural Science Teachers and instructors should be constantly trained on the usage of new ICT tools which they can employ in instructional delivery.

5. There should be an establishment of an effective ICT unit and support structure which will act as a catalyst for the integration of ICT tools in the teaching learning process.

6. Schools should adopt online assessment tools in assessing students' performance. This will enable the students embrace ICT usage knowing that they will write online test.

7. Constant power supply is highly necessary for the integration of ICT in instructional delivery in schools.

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FEDERALISM, INSECURITY, AND THE PERSISTENT AGITATIONS AMONG ETHNIC GROUPS IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC: ANY WAY FORWARD?

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ABSTRACT
The paper examined rationales behind persistent agitations among ethnic groups in Nigerian federalism leading to various degrees of insecurity situations. Federalism have been largely accepted as the better form of government in a heterogeneous society such as Nigeria, however, the kind of federal system operating in Nigeria has created many problems because diverse ethnic and religious groups are unceremoniously brought together under one umbrella. The paper made used of qualitative approach and adopted group and frustration-aggression theories as its theoretical framework. Data were obtained through official publications, journals, textbooks, newspapers and reports. Findings revealed that the current pseudo-federal setup in Nigeria is indeed a major contributory factor to persistent ethnic agitations which have led to diverse insecurity cases in the fourth republic. Colonial policy and legacy further put Nigeria in a precarious position with ethnic groups suspecting one another, thus, making unity in diversity a herculean task. Also, the imperfections in the military bequeathed constitution which concentrated power on a particular tier of government and making resource control by the subordinating units difficult. The paper recommended among others a rejig of 1999 constitution to accommodate all ethnic groups and proper arrangement of political positions in the country. The need for dialoguing as a means of carrying ethnic groups (especially the minorities) along with a view of critically addressing issues that is germane to them. To ameliorate tensions that bring about agitations in Nigerian

federalism, equality and justice in power and resource allocation among ethnic groups must be prioritised.

Introduction

Globally, federalism has emerged as one of the most preferred forms of government based on its integrative capability to approximate the heterogeneous political life of multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic societies (Abiodun, Agunbiade, Aina, & Ajobiewe. 2019). With federalism, it is believed that different units or regions of a state cooperate to achieve common goals as in the case of United States of America in her pre-independence struggle. This is also applicable to most countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa prior to their political independence from colonial rule. Meanwhile, the heterogeneous nature of these countries has in no small measure affected the peaceful co-existence of ethnic groups brought together by colonialists. Evidence across the continent provide indications of the debilitating impact of the exploitation of these diversities by political elites and ethic entrepreneurs as clearly seen in Liberia, Somalia and Sudan (Nosiri, 2018; Abdulmalik & Isyhaku, 2021).

Nigeria is a federal state with diverse ethnic conglomeration consisting of over 350 ethnic groupings (Italoye, 2019; Ezeobi, 2021), three (3) of which are known as majority groups consisting of larger percentage of the country's population. The Hausa/Fulani (with not less than 67 million people); the Yoruba (with not less than 40 million; and the Igbo (with not less than 32 million native speakers) (Yaqub, 2016; WorldAtlas, 2022) are arguably bigger in size individually than Benin Republic, Burkina Faso, Chad, Ghana, Guinea, Mozambique, Niger Republic, Rwanda, Sierra-Leone, South Sudan, Zambia, and Zimbabwe among others politically independent countries in the African continent. The centri-fugal forces which characterised the Nigeria's federalism have made it difficult for many ethnic groups to get a fair share in the federation. Thus, bringing about various agitations which can be dated back to the colonial days when federal system was introduced.

Different insecurity situations have been ravaging Nigeria since the return of democracy in 1999 across the six (6) geo-political zones as each ethnic groups struggle for recognitions in the country. Ethnic militia groups namely: the O'odua People Congress (OPC), Bakassi Boys, Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Movement for Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Egbesu boys, Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF), Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), Arewa People's Congress (APC), and Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) among others have engaged in nefarious activities capable of threatening the unity of country on several occasions. Thousands of lives have been lost to various crises emanated from the activities of these ethnic militias. Between January and July, 2022, over 7,222 lives were lost to different degrees of insecurity in Nigeria (Odeniyi, 2022).

Odukoya and Ashiru (2007) posited that a mere presence of a federal arrangement of governmental powers and political structures does not suggest that federalism has taken root. It must among other things, be able to guarantee and allow for the preservation of regional autonomy and the right to self-rule without foreclosing the possibilities of shared rule. Isumonah (2005) averred that the problem of federalism in Nigeria is motivated by the preponderance of hegemonic politics of the ethnic majority over the minority ethnic groups especially, the oil producing areas. Failure to properly manage diverse groups in a federation will lead to irreconcilable conflicts (Lafenwa, 2016) of different magnitude capable of truncating the unity of the country as witness since 1999 from the federating units leading to different agitations and acrimonious relationship among ethnic groups. Thus, the lack of proper handling of the Nigeria's federalism have led to different insecurity issues as a result of agitations for identification in the federation.

Several studies by Fashina (1998), Eteng (2004), Ekeh (2004), Oyedele (2004), Odukoya and Ashiru (2007), Ugoh (2011), Lemun and Erunke (2013), Ayoade (2015), Yaqub (2016), Ekpo and Abwaku (2017), Amah (2017), Bamgboye (2018), Nosiri (2018), Abiodun et al (2019), Emmanuel and Godwin (2020), Abdulmalik and Isyhaku (2021), Abiodun (2022) among others have concentrated on the workings of federalism from different perspectives with issues of agitations from regions and groups re-occurring. However,

rationale for the agitations which has in recent years in Nigeria took a new dimension of kidnapping, banditry, violence destruction of government properties and institutions, calls for restructuring and even ethnic crisis between and among different ethnic groups are yet to be unraveled in order to place a lasting possible solution to federalism crises in the country.

Owing from the foregoing, this paper attempts to interrogate factors making Nigerian federalism a breeding space for different ethnic militia groups, the implications on security of life and property and ways of finding common ground for federating units for the overall development of the country.

Conceptual Clarification

Understanding Concepts of Federalism, Ethnicity and Insecurity

Central to our discussion are federalism, ethnicity and insecurity which are seen to be the basis and consequence of continuous agitations among the numerous ethnic groups in Nigeria today. It is therefore germane to understand them.

The concept of federalism originated from a Latin word "foedus" which is interpreted as covenant, agreement or consensus. Federalism as a concept is traceable to the ancient twelve tribes of Israel and the league of Greek City States (Amah, 2017). As a political arrangement federalism has faced serious crises of conceptualisation. This is because there have been several varieties of political arrangement to which the term has been applied (Elazar, 1994). The term is also applicable in multi-ethnic States across the globe. This is mainly to prevent a single group- defined in racial, class or linguistic terms from dominating the other and monopolizing the consumption of public goods (Jinadu, 1979). What seems to be popularly accepted definition of Federalism was given by the man referred to as the father of federalism, K. C. Wheare.

Two levels of government are in existence in what Wheare, described in his Federal Principle as "general" and "regional" government. These two governments are autonomous, each has control over its sphere of power. In his seminar titled Federal Government, Wheare while explaining Federalism posited that "by the federal principle, I mean the method of dividing powers so that general and regional governments are each within a sphere, coordinate and independent"(Wheare 1963:10 cited in Abiodun et al, 2019). It's obvious here, that in a Federal state there exist different groups that works independently and at same time co-operatively for the benefits of all. Thus, Ewa (1976) averred that federalism involves cooperation, bargaining and conflict. This further reinforces the submission of Dainel Elazar on federalism. Stressing the centri-petal forces, Elazar acknowledged diversity among the component units and believe that their coming together must be on the basis of their willingness and voluntarism rather than imposition of the arrangement on the people. Elazar (1994) also mention the inevitability of strains groups' relation and therefore the need for compromise and reconciliation. Out of the different scholarly definitions of federalism, we in this study adopts the definition given by Adele Jinadu where he defined federalism as a form of governmental and institutional structure, deliberately designed by political architects to cope with the twin but difficult task of maintaining unity while also preserving diversity (Jinadu, 1983). This definition relates closely with the Nigerian situation in her operation of federal system where over four hundred (400) ethnic groups were made to an entity by the colonial power.

Stephen (1999) cited in Ashindrobe, (2019) identified three (3) types of federalism; first is the "coming together" federalism, which is the voluntary union of previously independent states with a common culture. Second is the "holding together" federalism, which is multi-ethnic federation is formed through a process of democratic bargaining. The third is the "putting together" federalism, which is established through a strong coercive effort by a non-democratic centralizing power to put together a multinational state. Nigeria's federal system fit into the third type as the union was brought together in the first place through force by the British colonial masters after the balkanization of Africa in 1885.

Any attempt to conceptualise insecurity should necessarily begin with the understanding the concept of security. Security in its traditional conception means absence of physical threats (Saliu, 1997 cited in Saliu & Omotola, 2006). In the words of Dunmoye (2021),

> *"The meaning of security is beyond Westphalia conceptualization in terms of external attack to encompass security of individuals and their*

property; respect for basic human needs – access to education, potable water, decent housing, healthy environment among others" (Dunmoye, 2021: 9).

Nwolise (2006) averred that for a nation to be really secured, it must have a strong military force; strong and buoyant economy; a contended and happy people; and a good government is ran by a patriotic and democratic leadership. Security has to do with freedom from danger or with threats to a nation's ability to protect and develop itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate interests and enhance the wellbeing of its people (Abdulmalik & Isyhaku (2021). Where these conditions for security are lacking in a state, peaceful co-existence becomes threatened. Thus, insecurity of lives and property which ought to be germane onus of the government, comes in when different ethnic groups struggling to be fairly treated in a federal arrangement. This struggle has been there since the inception of the entity called Nigeria in 1914. However, the level of insecurity in the fourth republic has becomes worrisome for a nation with diverse ethnic groups. Evidence that gives credence to the fact that security situation is nose-diving in Nigeria can be found in the 2010 survey report published by the Business Environment in Nigeria. It is argued that the 2017 survey rated national security in Nigeria at 02.69 per cent as against 49.49 per cent in 2010 report. This represents a significant fall in the security of the country. It is common knowledge that major causes of internal insecurity in Nigeria are: bad governance, corruption, poverty, inequality, mass unemployment, etc. (Alhassan & Akindapo, 2019). Statistics from the Nigeria Security Tracker (NST) shows that 41,659 people lost their lives in 2021 and in the first seven months of 2022, 7,222 lives were lost to different security issues across the federation which further shows the level insecurity in Nigeria (Gavin, 2022; Odeniyi, 2022).

Theoretical Framework

This paper adopted group and frustration-aggression theories. Group theory was proposed by Arthur Bentley (1908). The theory is based on the doctrine of pluralism. The basic assumption of the theory is that politics is mainly a competition among groups, where each interest group pursue its own policy preferences but where all interests are represented. Bentley's group theory explains the process of interaction among groups in the society and the importance of group in politics. However, it has been argued that groups could exist in a society and still work together as a team. Thus, it not in all cases that groups compete with themselves. The theory is relevant to the peculiar nature of Nigeria's federalism as the country is one of the most culturally diverse nations in the globe with more than 250 ethnic groups, some of which are larger than several sovereign states of modern Africa (Ojo, 2009). Thus, what separates potential groups from latent groups in a given society is their interest. Different ethnic groups in Nigeria have shown diverse forms of interest in their quest for attention and allocation in the national cake.

Frustration-Aggression theory was proposed by Dollard, Neal, Mower and Sears (1939). It attempts to give an explanation for the cause of conflictual relationship in a society. That is, it explains the outbreak of armed conflict, and act of aggression or terrorism as the function of neglect, deprivation and frustration. The theory cites aggression as the outcome of frustration, and that in a situation where the desires of an individual or group are denied either directly or by the indirect consequence of the way the society is structured, the feeling of disappointment may lead such a person or group of persons to express anger through violence (Leonard, 1969). A major criticism to the assumption of this theory is that, not all aggression should be shown with the use of violent attack capable of disrupting the peace of the society.

Nigeria is a country with many ethnic groups where inequality and marginalization among them have in most cases lead to frustration and different forms of agitation from these group. While political agitations are not in themselves uncommon, perennial occasions of ethnic group agitations for inclusion are different in consideration because they are signs of cracks in the fabric of a country and lessons from history point to how such could pose some challenges to the socio-economic growth of the country.

Historical antecedent of Federalism and ethnic agitations in Nigeria

The journey to Nigeria's federalism started with the Berlin Conference of 1884 to 1885 where African colonies were Balkanized. This division and realignment of different entities in the pre-colonial era were brought together within same territory. At the inception of formal

colonial rule in 1900, the British colonial masters after bringing together the Colony of Lagos and Southern protectorate in 1906 further amalgamates the Northern and Southern protectorate in 1914 to form the protectorate of Nigeria. Prior to 1900 different ethnic groups that culminated to form Nigeria were in small autonomous villages/communities in different geographical locations without any feelings of animosity (Ologbenla, 2017).

What seems to be the bedrock of agitations in the Nigerian Federal system was the division of the country into three unequal parts by Governor Bernard Bourdillon in 1939. He divided the Southern protectorate into two (West and east) leaving the north untouched. This was later legalized by Sir Arthur Richard's government in 1946 by transforming the three provinces hitherto created by Bourdillion into region with the northern region having more representations. The regions (North, West and East) were allowed to have their legislative council (though, more or less like a toothless bulldog) and a Central Legislative Council at the centre. Thus, the foundation of Nigerian Federalism was laid. The Macpherson constitution of 1951 gave further strengthened the foundation laid by Richard's constitution, the constitution appointed lieutenant Governors to head the three regions, granted some legislative powers to the legislative councils and a new executive councils was established at each region. The constitution though with some restrictions on the regional government on issues of legislation and implementation of programmes, gave a Quasi-Federal status to Nigeria. Full-fledge Federalism was however given to Nigeria with the provisions of the Sir Oliver Lyttleton's constitution of 1954 which removed the final shade of a unitary system of government from Nigeria (Abiodun et al, 2019).

Since Nigeria became a federal state in 1954, the struggle for ethnic development and dominance over the other started along regional divides. Precisely, the "minority groups-struggle" surfaced. This was one of the germane reasons for the creation of Sir Henry Willincks commission in 1957 before independence in 1960. Agitations among ethnic groups continued after independence and subsequent attainment of sovereignty in 1963. The result of this agitation as averred by Suberu (2001) and (Ozoigbo, 2008) manifested in the creation of Mid-western region in 1963 with its headquarters in Benin; twelve (12) states in 1967; nineteen (19) states in 1976; twenty-one (21) states in 1987; thirty (30) States in 1991 and thirty-six(36) States in 1996 mostly by the military juntas. This agitation also trickles down to local government creations from 1979 when uniformity in the structure and functions of the tier of government was made bringing total number of local government in the country today to 774.

The above notwithstanding, the quest for more inclusion in the federal arrangement still continues in Nigeria and recently taking more dangerous approach as threat to lives and property of Nigerians are seen on a daily basis from the six (6) geopolitical zones of the country. Different ethnic groups want to get identified at the centre. This is mainly so because of the military policy of 1966 under the leadership of Major General Aguiyi Ironsi, a policy which truncated true federalism that was bequeathed to us by the British colonial masters at independence. This made the central/federal government to be more powerful as more powers are concentrated at the centre. The Presidential constitutions of 1979 and 1999 further compounded bane of federalism on Nigeria, reasons for this is not far-fetched as the military juntas' fingerprints are all over the constitutions. For instance, the second schedule of the 1999 constitution gave more juicy items to the central government to legislate on. Thus, the incessant quest to be at the centre by these ethnic groups, and failure to achieve this has in no small measures cost the country different security breaches. In the first seven months of year 2022, not less than 7,222 individuals have been killed across Nigeria due different security issues (Odeniyi, 2022).

Salient Issues that lead to ethnic agitations in the Nigerian Federal system

There are a lot of issues that have led to group agitations in the Nigeria's federal system. Salient among which are the colonial policy, political representation, resource control, marginalization, state creation and minority protection. These issues have in no small measures contributed to the bane distrust among ethnic groups in the Nigerian federation, thus, breeding all forms of insecurity. We shall further discuss these issues below.

Colonial Policy and Legacy:

The entity Nigeria as earlier mentioned was not together until the 1884/1885 Berlin Conference, followed by the historical take-over in 1900 and the subsequent amalgamation of the northern and southern protectorates to form a single protectorate of Nigeria. it is germane to reiterate on the policy adopted by the British colonial master which from different scholarly positions successfully placed Nigeria on a lopsided political arrangement (see Asanebi, Theo-Iruo & Odoh, 2021; Okafor & Udalla, 2018; Isuomah, 2005; Osaghae, 2002). This forceful amalgamation and the subsequent policy of indirect rule adopted by the British colonisers widened the gap of disparity between the northern and southern ethnic groups. Okolo (2014) observed that what the British colonial masters started in term of federalism which culminated with the 1954 Lyttleton constitution only gave rise to true structure of federalism in Nigeria but failed to unite the people with their various ethnic colorations.

Hence, the colonial policies of indirect rule, divide and rule and the unequal division of the country further polarlise the people along both ethnic and socio-political line with chrisitain and western educationally disposed south while the north was shielded from possible contamination from the south (Osifeso, 2011; Kayode, 2015). This legacy of the colonial master has not in small measures affects negatively the inter-ethnic relationship majorly between the north and southern region of Nigeria from 1954 to date. For instance, the independence motion of 1953 that was truncated by northern parliamentarians mainly because of their numbers on the floor of the House of Representatives and the approval by the Britons to the conditions for remaining as part of Nigeria after the 1956 famous Kano riot. This gave more political and economic advantages to the northern region before and after political independence.

Political Representation:

This is another salient area where continuous agitations among ethnic groups in the Nigerian federal system have been a bane to the growth, development and security of the country. One of the germane principles of federalism as asserted by K. C. Wheare is equal opportunities by federating units in a federal state. This is also a merit of in representative democracy. However, the political arrangements of the Nigerian federalism have not only made political representation to be lopsided, it has cost a lot of acrimonious relationship between and among ethnic groups in the country, especially between the majority and minority ethnic groups leading to different forms of agitations when it comes to political appointments and election into political offices. For instance, the issues of zoning arrangement adopted by political parties have not in small measures affected the peaceful co-existence of ethnic groups when it comes to party politics as the number of available positions is lesser compared to the people jostling for same. Another crucial dimension of agitations for political representation is the incessant calls from the youths who are seen to have be marginalized in the political activities of the country. Thus, agitations for representations at the decision-making level of Nigeria have been a re-occurrence dilemma for Nigerian federalism.

Federal Character Principle:

One of the steps taking in the past by our leaders to nip the issue of agitations was the introduction of federal character principle where it was assumed that different groups in the Nigerian federation will have a "place and say" in the process of discussing and evaluating issues of the country. Section 14(3) of the 1999 Constitution (as amended) states as follows:

> *"The composition of the Government of the Federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few states or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that Government or in any of its agencies." (CFRN, 1999).*

Okeke (2019) explains that the federal character principle was originally created as means of containing the fear of the minority ethnic groups in order to ensure aleast a cooperative federal system and prevent the domination of few ethnic groups on others. This have been marred by poor implementation and or politicking on the part of politicians and even bureaucrats in the public sector (Abiodun, 2022). Representation of states, ethnic or any other

sectional group especially religious groups in the composition of federal bureaucracy has, thus, superseded recruitment on the basis of knowledge and technical qualification as determined through a competitive examination (Eme & Okeke, 2017). For instance, qualified candidates from micro-minority ethnic groups have been denied employment into the civil service mainly because of slots allocated to the group (which are often low) have been filled and groups with lesser qualified candidates but has larger population gets more slots even when those to be appointed are not qualified.

Similarly, President Muhammadu Buhari's appointments of Security Service Chiefs and other aides as shown in table 1, in recent time have raised dust from different quarters of the country as it largely focused on a particular section of the country (Ibeh, 2015; Fasan, 2020; Ayodele, 2021 & Ede, 2021), pitching majorly the North-South region against each other.

Table 1:

Heads of Security Agencies Appointed by President Buhari (2015-2023)

S/N	Names Officers	Office/Portfolio	State of Origin	Geopolitical Zone
1.	Leo Irabor	Chief of Defence Staff	Delta	South-South
2.	Farouk Yahaya	Chief of Army Staff	Kaduna	North-West
3.	Isiaka Amao	Chief of Air Staff	Osun	South-West
4.	Awwal Gambo	Chief of Naval Staff	Kano	North-West
5.	Usman Baba	Inspector-General of Police	Yobe	North-East
6.	Yusuf Bichi	Director-General, Department of State Security	Kano	North-West
7.	Ahmed Rufai	Director-General, National Intelligence Agency	Kastina	North-West
8.	John Mrabure	Acting Comptoller-General, Nigeria Correctional Service	Delta	South-South
9.	Muhammed Babandede	Comptroller-General (rtd), Nigeria Immigration Service	Jigawa	North-West
10.	Hameed Ali	Comptroller-General, Nigeria Custom Service	Bauchi	North-East
11.	Ahmed Audi	Commandant-General, Nigeria Secuirty and Civil Defence Corps	Nassarawa	North-Central
12.	Boboye Oyeyemi	Corps Marshal (rtd), Federal Road Safety Corps	Kwara	North-Central
13.	Liman Ibrahim	Controller-General, Federal Fire Service	Nigeri	North-Central
14.	Abdulrasheed Bawa	Chairman, Economic and Financial Crime Commision	Kebbi	North-West
15.	Bolaji Owasanoye	Chairman, Independent Corrupts Practices and other related Offences Commission	Ondo	South-West
16.	Buba Marwa	Chairman, National Drugs and Law Enforcement Agency	Adamawa	North-Central

17.	Babagana Monguno	National Secuirty Adviser	Borno	North-East

Source: Shehu, (2021); International Centre for Investigative Reporting (2022).

The lopsided appointments made by President Muhammadu Buhari have raised more agitations, especially from the Southern part of the country. An instance was in June 2020 when some Southern leaders dragged him before the Abuja Division of the Federal High Court over allegaed marginalization in appointments made by his administration since 2015 (Enumah, 2020).

Resource Control and Revenue Allocation:

Another germane issue that has caused continuous agitations among groups in the Nigerian federal system is the twin issues of resource control and revenue allocation. At the inception of federalism in Nigeria, the 1954 constitution provided for regional control of natural resources domicile in them. Then, the Northern region was known for groundnut and cotton, the eastern region for palm oil and the western region was famous in the production of cocoa, rubber, and other cash crops. The independent and republican constitutions of 1960 and 1963 respectively also upheld this provision until the 1966 when the military juntas who took over the administration of the country after the first coup d'etat of January 15, 1966 initiated the unification decree No. 34. This truncated the true federalism arrangement hitherto in place. The struggle for the control of the nation's resources according to Ikeji (2011) has been based on the regional "cleavages" and entangled with political conflict. Resource control has thus been associated with political considerations with the purpose of influencing wealth allocation from federation account.

Many principles have been unsatisfactorily adopted, and the hope of striking a balance and equilibrium among subordinate units in the country has been an exercise in futility. Some of these principles include derivation, fiscal autonomy, national interest, even development, equality of state, population, social development, landmass and absorptive capacity (Phillips, 1971; Mbanefoh & Egwaikhide, 2000; Ojo, 2004; Ugoh, 2011). Each of these principles has attracted many criticisms from the economists, political scientists, social analysts and the general public.

An unending debate as regards the principle to be used in sharing revenue has been very intense, bringing about different theoretical and political positions. As shown in table 2 below, different commissions and panels have been set-up by successive government before and after political independence in 1960 with their recommendations on the way forward, but, the hydra problems of group controlling their resources, issue of marginalization and fairness in sharing of revenue from federation's account still mitigates against peaceful co-existence in Nigeria.

Table 2:
Revenue allocation Commission/Committee in Nigeria

s/n	Commission/Comm.	Year	Recommendation
1.	Phillipson	1946	Derivation and even development
2.	Hicks-Phillipson	1951	Derivations, Fiscal Autonomy, need, and national interest
3.	Chicks Commission	1953	Derivation
4.	Raisman	1957	Need, balanced development, minimum responsibility. It also recommended 40%, 31% and 24% to the north, east and west respectively. While 5% to southern Cameroon.
5.	Binn	1964	Regional comparability. Also recommended 43%, 30% and 20% to the north, east and west respectively. While 8% to Mid-west.
6.	Dianna	1968	Derivation, Need, National minimum standards, and balanced development.

7.	Aboyade Technical Committee	1977	National minimum standards. 57% , 30% and 10% to federal, state and local government respectively. While 3% to a special fund.
8.	Okigbo	1980	Population 40%, National minimum standard 40%, Social development 15% and 5% to Internal revenue effort.
9.	Danjuma	1988	Equality 40%, Population 40%, Social development 15% and Internal revenue 5%.
10.	Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC)	1999	Latest recommendation: Federal 52.68%, State 26.72% and Local Government 20.60%

Source: Edet, (2021); Ugoh, (2011); Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC), (2021)

All the above developed and proffered solutions have not ameliorated the agitations from different quarters of the country. While the northerners were agitating for more allocation the southerners were calling for the total control of the resource (Adegbami, 2013; Jideofor, 2017). thus, the call for restructuring the country remains at the front burner of most ethnic groups today.

Implications on Security of Nigeria

The lopsided federal arrangement in Nigeria has made the issue of security of life and property to be a herculean task for the government. It is a known fact that the nation comprises of different nationalities. The unity in diversity which the framers of multi-ethnic federalism postulated has in many ways eluded the Nigerian version of Federalism (Ojo, 2017). In other climes such as Russian, Swiss federations where true federalism are in place, the subordinate units control their resources and pays royalties to the centre. However, in the case of Nigeria, ethnic rivalry has taken vintage position in virtually all spheres of the country. Political elites in most cases only speak for their ethnic groups. Greed becomes the order and what looks like the Hobbesian state of nature beclouded the country's survival.

The implications of the foregoing on Nigerian federalism are enormous. An average Nigerian today lives in fear of an eventuality, inter-ethnic rivalry at all levels and the different forms of socio-political violence ranging from mob actions, kidnapping, banditry, terrorism, separatists' movement to outright challenge of state security apparatus by armed ethnic group militias among other. For instance, the continuous attacks from the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) in the eastern part, Separatist movement in the West and of course, the Boko Haram and Islamic States of West African Provinces (ISWAP) has cost the country a lot of fortunes in the fourth republic.

Statements from Political gladiators and public personalities of different divides have not also help in any way as these statements in most cases instigate and aggravate tensions instead of reducing it. Hate speeches by gladiators capable of truncating peaceful co-existence in Nigeria are shown in table 3 below.

Table 3:
Selected Hate Speeches capable of Scuttling Security in Nigeria (2010-2021)

S/N	Date	Hate Speaker	Hate Speech
1.	2010	Alhaji Lawan Kaita (former Governor of the old Kaduna State)	The North would make the country ungovernable if President Goodluck Jonathan wins the 2011 polls… Anything short of a Northern President is tantamount to stealing our presidency.
2.	14th May, 2011	Major-General Muhammadu Buhari (rtd)	If what happened in 2011 (alleged election rigging) by the grace of God, the dog and the baboon would be soaked in blood.
3.	5th May, 2013	Alhaji Lai Mohammed (then National publicity Secretary of APC)	Jonathan administration is anchored on a transformation agenda. But the only transformation that we can see is the one from a democratically-elected President to and Emperor, a despot.
4.	10th November, 2013	Chief Bisi Akande (former interim National Chairman of APC)	He called President Goodluck Jonathan a kindergarten President. What the country needs is a thinking leader not a kindergarten President with no solution to the myriad of problems plaguing the nation.
5.	15th October, 2014	Chief Bisi Akande (former interim National Chairman of APC)	We are back in similar era of using the regime of impunity in Jonathan's Federal Government to impose unwanted individuals as leaders in each of the states of Yoruba land. Apart from marginalizing the Yoruba in all constitutional appointments of his government, Jonathan's trait has always been to persecute the Yoruba leaders who he perceived to have contrary views to his own.
6.	16th July, 2015	Comrade Ayodele Akele (General-Secretary of NCP)	Referring to President Buhari: He is an archaic and analogue President. He is slow. They care calling Jonathan a clueless President. He is more clueless than Jonathan.
7.	13th December, 2016	Mazi Nnamdi Kanu (leader of the proscribed Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB)	…….lost his temper while protesting the decision of the court to shield witnesses who would testify against him and called President Buhari a mad man.
8.	16th March, 2017	Ayodele Fayose (former governor of Ekiti state)	Described Ex-President Obasanjo as the father of corruption.
9.	6th June, 2017	Arewa Youths	From October 1, 2017, no Igbos should be seen in the North and Northerners in Southeast to leave the area.

10.	19th February, 2019	Uche Secondus (former National Chairman of PDP)	Nigerians are tired of President Buhari. And of a truth, over three years, killings and killings and now you have ordered that more people should be killed…….. Buhari, I'm addressing you, you know you are not God. All your actions in the last three years are against the people: hunger, killings, unemployment; you are not sensitive to it.
11.	4th September, 2019	Chief Femi Fani-Kayode (Former Minister of Aviation)	Alleged on his official Twitter page, that President Muhammadu Buhari was a curse to Nigeria.
12.	17th July, 2022	Senator Adamu Bulkachuwa	South East is home to criminals, rebels and deserve to be eliminated.

Source: Jason cited in Ezeibe, C. (2015); Chukwu, (2019); Uzoaru, (2022)

Hate speeches as mentioned above have cost the country of misfortunes as since the returned to democratic governance in 1999, ethnic groups in most instances have engaged in conflict as a result of statement coming from political gladiators. The herder-farmer clashes in North Central and South Western part of Nigeria mostly stated with different strings of hate speeches.

Way Forward

As it stands, the Nigerian experience of federalism reflects what Onyeoziri (1989) referred to as pseudo-federalism and politics of domination rather than politics of group equality. The ethnic groups that constitute Nigeria today are not benefitting evenly from the federal arrangement. This has been looked into earlier. This has cost the nation a lot as insecurity prevails over cooperate and peaceful co-existence. All hope is not lost as what seems to be "a dying horse of Nigerian federalism" can still be redeemed and be better placed like other advanced federalism such as United State, Australia and Switzerland.

The 1999 constitution which was an offshoot of 1979 constitution is a product of the military, there is need for a rejig of the constitution as some provisions in there are anti-democratic and capable of disintegrating a multi-ethnic society like Nigeria. Second Schedule, Part I and II under power sharing between the central government and other subordinate units have to be reviewed as more powers are given to the central government. This makes most state government in Nigeria not to be able to control and determine what happens to their resource. An instance is the Niger Delta region. This has over years caused serious insecurity issue in the zone and the country as whole with economic activities disrupted on several occasions. Accordingly, the government in power should consider the marginalized ethnic groups in power and resources allocation in the federating units, by given special consideration to bridge the existing gap among majority and minority ethnic groups.

As a result of the divide and rule policy as well as the improper political arrangement bequeathed to Nigeria at independence, issue of distrust have been prevalent among ethnic groups in the country. In the Nigeria of today, it is difficult if not impossible to get trust among ethnic groups. Though, this is not peculiar to the fourth republic alone, it can be solved with proper arrangement of the country, where each geopolitical zone and ethnic groups controls their resource and a fair representation of all at the centre. This will reduce suspicious relationship among the ethnic groups and of course reduce feeling of deprivation that can lead to agitation and tension from any section of the country.

The deliberate and sustained deprivation of some ethnic groups has impacted negatively on the national values in two germane areas. First, the emergence of an unproductive, thieving elite from the exploitation of the masses and looting of their resources has rendered the values of honesty and hard work as means of being rich and wealthy rather unattractive and seemingly

time-wasting venture. Instead, many Nigerians exploit every available opportunity for self-aggrandizement and enrichment. An instance among the youths is cybercrime/internet fraud otherwise referred to as Yahoo Yahoo, with some going extra miles to add "plus" to their fraudulent acts Second, the immense deprivation of some ethnic groups has produced a desperste situation for survival among them, thus, some have resorted to oil bunkering, kidnapping for ransom, violence attack of gladiators and government officials. The urgent need for re-orientation of the people by necessary government agencies to inculcate the right values for nation building remain germane to the survival and growth of Nigerian federalism. This can be obtain by putting adequate measure of sincerity in handling issues that affect each federating unti and the country as a whole.

The issue of political representation remains another critical factor that has generates recurrent agitations in Nigeria, in most cases, the dominant ethnic groups due to their population gets to political offices at the expense of the minorities, thus, the minorities are not represented in the decision-making process. Therefore, a constitutional amendment that will deliberately allow rotational distribution of political offices among ethnic groups at all levels of government will serve as a panacea to the inadequate or lack of representation at the decision-making level.

Machinery for continuous dialogue among ethnic groups in Nigeria should be put in place as this will limit grudges and feeling of marginalization by any group. Patriotic feelings come with continuous dialoguing in gathering such as the 2014 National conference as this will enable groups to table issue affecting them. Lack of adequate dialogue resulted in the disintegration of erstwhile Soviet Union; thus, every necessary step must be taken to avoid what befell Soviet Union in Nigeria. And resolution from the conference must be given political will by the conventional political office holders at the legislative and executive levels.

Conclusion

We have highlighted in this paper, a number of major issues which has over the years constitute challenges to the practice of federalism in Nigeria. These issues, though, existed before the fourth republic, the security implications on Nigerians are enormous now than other republics. Series of agitations from different ethnic groups across the nation have made us questioned the type of federalism in Nigeria. Federalism in its proper practice is predicated upon constitution, respect for the rule of law and harmonious living among federating units. We argued that the persistent agitations revolve around the style of federalism adopted in Nigeria since the military incursion in 1966 and the influence of the military in the 1979 and 1999 constitutions bequeathed to democratic government. We further called for a rewrite of Nigeria's constitution to accommodate all ethnic groups in the Nigeria project. The paper also calls for sincerity of purpose that will ameliorate suspicions among ethnic groups and reduce tensions as the greater the sense of equity, fairness and justice, the more likelihood of stability, harmonious co-existence, loyalty, unity and national integration in a multi-facet Nigerian federation.

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THE MENACE OF BANDITRY AND KIDNAPPING IN NIGERIA: AN ASSESSMENT OF SHEIKH GUMI'S MEDIATORY ROLE IN THE RELEASE OF GREENFIELD UNIVERSITY KIDNAPPED STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT
The increase in banditry and kidnapping in Nigeria has created significant security challenges in recent years, particularly with attacks on educational institutions where students are abducted for ransom. Military and non-military strategies have been employed to address these problems but have not yielded the desired result, highlighting the potential of a mediation strategy. Studies on the menace of banditry and kidnapping in Nigeria are largely focused on their causes and sustenance, typology and military solution with less attention on mediation as a solution strategy. This study, therefore, examines the mediatory strategy employed by Sheikh Ahmed Gumi during the kidnapping of Greenfield University students. Utilising a qualitative research design, including case study and ex post facto methodologies, the findings indicate that Sheikh Gumi's mediation efforts played a crucial role in securing the release of the abducted students. The study also reveals that Gumi's informal mediation approach demonstrated elements of established mediation techniques including co-mediation, shuttle, and evaluative mediation. Consequently, the findings suggest that mediation can serve as an effective alternative strategy to address this security issue in Nigeria, and it recommended that the government promote such methods to combat banditry and foster peace and security in the nation.

Introduction

Nigeria has long grappled with various security challenges including farmers-herders clashes, religious riots, inter-ethnic conflicts, border disputes, and ethno-religious tensions. Additionally, security issues such as ethnic militancy—exemplified by the Biafra separatist agitation in the South East zone, insurgency in the Northeast, and unrest in the Niger Delta have compounded Nigeria's security situation. The northwest zone of Nigeria has been experiencing an unprecedented surge in banditry and kidnapping with deliberate abduction of school children. This rise in kidnapping has further

deepened the security crisis in Nigeria. Kidnapping by armed bandits originated in north-western Nigeria including Zamfara, Sokoto, Kebbi, Kaduna and Niger States which are now bearing the brunt of this violence and have caused the loss of many lives. There are two prevalent types of kidnapping in Nigeria. There is kidnapping for ritual purposes and kidnapping for ransom. While the former has existed for a long time, the latter is a recent phenomenon in the country and is the area of concern of this study with particular emphasis on mediation as an alternative solution strategy.

Banditry is a violent criminal activity that involves the raiding of communities and settlements by armed marauders during which crimes such as kidnapping, cattle-rusting, robbery, extortion, murder and sexual abuses are committed. Generally, bandits are motivated by the desire for money. The prevalence of this security problem has attracted academic attention from different perspectives including causes and sustenance of banditry (CDD, 2022; Lawretta, 2021; Mohammed, 2015), classification of banditry (Okoli and Ugwu, 2019), and military solution strategies (Aina, Ojo and Oyewole, 2023). Factors exacerbating banditry include unemployment, widespread poverty and low literacy levels among the population, environmental degradation, land-use conflicts between farmers and herders, retaliatory ethnic violence, failures in the justice system, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, the breakdown of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, a large expanse of ungoverned spaces, etc. Banditry is classified according to "intent or motive, location, agency and autonomous, form and formation, and operational mode" (Okon, undated:21). However, concerning the strategies for addressing the menace, both kinetic and non-kinetic methods are used including military operations, state governments' dialogue and negotiation with bandits, community vigilante engagements, economic and social reforms and communication restrictions. Of all these strategies, it is the kinetic option that is still ongoing while the others were short-lived. However, the direct military intervention like the others has not been successful as evident in the continued escalation of banditry and kidnapping.

The ineffectiveness of the previous attempts at solving the banditry and kidnapping security problem inspires attention to examining the use of mediation as exemplified by Sheikh Ahmad Gumi. Mediation can be defined as a conflict management strategy wherein parties seek assistance from an external party to alter perceptions or behaviours without resorting to physical force or legal authority. Sheikh Ahmad Gumi, a former Army Captain and prominent Muslim cleric, has emerged as a key figure in addressing the kidnap-for-ransom crisis in northern Nigeria. He played a significant role in the release of 27 students abducted in March 2021 from the Federal College of Forestry Mechanisation in Afaka, Kaduna State.

While military solutions for banditry in Nigeria have garnered significant attention, the focus on mediation as a non-kinetic approach is under-studied. This paper highlights mediation as a means of combating banditry by analysing Sheikh Gumi's role in the abduction case involving students from Greenfield University, Kaduna. To explore this, the study seeks to address two key questions: What mediatory strategies did Sheikh Gumi employ in his interventions, and how effective were these strategies in securing the release of the abducted students? Addressing these questions will draw attention to the effectiveness of mediation as a conflict resolution strategy suited to tackling this protracted security problem.

Statement of Problem

The rise in banditry and kidnapping has created a serious security challenge contributing to the fragile security state of Nigeria. However, despite the option of a military solution to address it, the menace persists leading to loss of combatants' lives, civilian casualties, property destruction and the refugee problem. This makes the need to adopt a non-military approach more compelling to address the menace. In light of this, a soft approach with the use of mediation has been made popular by Sheikh Gumi as manifested in the case of abducted students of Greenfield University, Kaduna. Mediation as a non-kinetic strategy has not received sufficient attention in scholarship, unlike other non-kinetic strategies such as Government negotiation and dialogue with bandits, communication disruptions, etc.

Literature review

Nature, typology and causes of banditry

Banditry refers to criminal activities that range from armed pilfering to village or market invasion with the use of force. Sometimes threats can be employed to create the desired

effect of actual force to cause havoc. It is instructive to note that bandits are aggressors with exclusive criminal and economic intents (McGregor 2014; Okoli and Ugwu, 2019). This is established by the fact that the criminal activities of the bandits who are a heterogeneous collection of militants include cattle rustling, kidnapping for ransom, community or village raids, and armed robbery (Okoli and Okpaleke, 2014b; CDD, 2022). However, the CDD (2022) report on banditry in the northwest region of the country establishes that while the bandits terrorising the region are mainly Fulani, they also include Hausa, Kanuri, and Tuareg. The report is supported by Okon (undated) who considers the 'political dimension of banditry' to mean that 'most of the bandits are Fulani nomads'. The tag is influenced by their nomadic lifestyle which makes them not to have a clearly delineated homeland. There is also a religious colouration of banditry because of it appear synonymous with terrorism and bear semblance of neo-jihadism (SBMI, 2015; Omilusi, 2016). This echoes the narration that bandits may subtly be Islamizing northern Nigeria with the Middle Belt as the focal area.

A broad attempt at understanding the typology of banditry includes: social, political, or economic which is derived based on intent; urban or rural (location); maritime, coastal or mainland (geo-location); stationary or roving (*modus operandi);* mercenary or autonomous (level of autonomy) and petty or organised (level of organisation) (Okoli and Ugwu, 2019). To a very large extent, the typology applicable to Nigeria is rural banditry. This is because the bandits that wreak havoc in the northwest of the country operate largely in the countryside and remote border areas. They transverse the length and breadth of forests in Zamfara, Kebbi, Niger, Kaduna, Katsina States, and the neighbouring Niger Republic.

The cause and sustaining factors that fuels banditry, among other, include absence of good governance (Olaniyan and Yahaya, 2016), corrupt practices leading to massive poverty and weakening of the security agencies' capacity (Adegbami and Uche, 2016; Adegoke, 2021), large track of ungoverned spaces (Onwuzuruigbo, 2021), massive unemployment (Lawretta 2021; Mohammed, 2015), accessibility to small arms and light weapons (Akinyetun, 2022). Lastly, Okoli and Atelhe (2014) opine that banditry insecurity takes origin from ethno-communal violence compounded by fissures within identity conflicts. This point of view is anchored by a cross-cutting narrative hinged on the socio-economic and socio-ecological dynamics of this criminal occurrence. What seems to sustain and accentuate banditry and kidnapping is the Nigerian state leaderships' lack of governing will (Shettima and Tar, 2008) which in itself is a cause for its occurrence. Although, this is arguable given the fact it is the primary responsibility of the state to secure its citizens. However, going by the continuous spike in insecurity in the country, it does appear that the government is not demonstrating enough political will to combact it.

Significance of Mediation in Dispute Resolution

The importance of mediation is affirmed when conflicts are successfully resolved by involving third-party actors (Wallensteen, 2012). Its significance is also seen when it helps to reduce tension between conflict actors. Furthermore, the essence of mediation can be determined through its role in post-conflict peacebuilding activities to help solidify peace agreements. Notwithstanding the important place of mediation in dispute resolution, Ramsbotham et al., (2011) aver that it does not always successfully settle disputes. This shows that mediation has its shortcomings with Bercovitch & Gartner (2008) being favourably dispose to direct negotiation by conflict parties. According to them, this could be more effective than otherwise. However, the scholars fail to understand that it can sometimes be difficult for feuding parties to discuss peace terms without a third-party mediating. This oversight is buttressed with the realisation that often negotiation for peace comes into play when other attempts have failed or the parties do not see the reason for them to reach any terms. By and large, mediation can be an effective strategy in managing conflict if the parties in the conflict are willing for peaceful settlement of dispute.

Methodology

Research Design

This study employs a purely qualitative approach, utilizing case study and ex post facto research designs. It focuses on a detailed examination of Sheikh Gumi's mediatory role in the release of the abducted students from Greenfield University in Kaduna State. The research is based on a desk review of secondary

sources, including newspapers, reports, academic literature, online journals, workshop papers, and publications from non-governmental organizations. Specifically, daily newspaper articles concerning Sheikh Gumi's mediation efforts over three years (2019, 2020, and 2021) were systematically reviewed.

This data collection method was deemed appropriate due to the sensitive and security-related nature of the issue, which made direct access to the key individuals for confirmation difficult. While acknowledging that newspaper reports may carry some bias, the absence of any rebuttal provides a measure of credibility to the information. However, the inability to interview the affected parties, including Sheikh Gumi himself, is a limitation of this study.

Data analysis was conducted thematically using content analysis. To ensure accuracy and avoid alterations in context or meaning, the data was reviewed multiple times throughout the analysis process.

Ethical Consideration

Babbie and Mouton (2006) state that, while doing research, even desk research, the researcher needs to be aware of what is considered acceptable and what is not. With this in mind, the researchers acted in line with the best ethical considerations required of desk review standards.

Data Analysis and Discussion of Findings

Thematic analysis

1.1 Emergent Themes

	Themes	Newspaper Excerpts
1	Gumi's amnesty position	Reacting to the murdered students from Greenfield University abduction, murder, the Islamic cleric, Sheik Ahmad Gumi, on Friday said the incident had underscored his position that bandits were now at war with the nation. He said the only way forward was for the government to take his advice and grant amnesty to the bandits for them to lay down their arms. Punch-24 April, 2021
2	Mediation is with a 'contact person' outside the abductors' circle	"Yes, really. When we tried to trace them and put some sense into them, the contact who is also a nomadic Fulani, they threatened him. They said if he insists on them they were going to catch him and he will have to pay a ransom before he gets out." Vanguard May 4, 2021
3	Information of non-Fulani leadership of the abductors' group	"And the leader is from Jalingo. He is from Adamawa. He is not the local Fulani we have here. So this means that the North-eastern

		element is coming into this area and we have to move fast. We don't have that luxury of time." Vanguard- May 4, 2021
4	Gumi's pro-negotiation stance with terrorists	Gumi urged the government to negotiate with the abductors to avoid further loss of students' lives, stressing that no amount of money was worth the lives of the students. He said the government could eventually track and recover the ransom paid. International Centre for Investigative Reporting-May 5, 2021 He said, "The money they are asking for is too much; if I give you that money, you cannot run away with it. Nobody can run. So, why not give them the money, they release the boys and then we pursue them and get our money back and do what is necessary; it is simple logic. So, bring the money from the Central Bank. How can they move that money? We should not be stupid. Punch- 5 May 2021
5	Gumi's perception of government's seriousness towards negotiations	Speaking on the issue of bandits reneging on the terms of past negotiations, Gumi said that the bandits had no trust in the seriousness or sincerity of the government. "They told us no government is serious and I can tell you, yes, no government is serious. Because after negotiating with them, leaving their weapons or given out some of their weapons, the reaction of the government is aloof. They leave them alone with nothing, no programme of rehabilitation, no programme to see into their welfare, nothing. And so, they definitely have to go back there," he said International Centre for Investigative Reporting-May 5, 2021

6	Gumi's knowledge of abductees' whereabouts	The Cleric noted that he had provided security agencies with the information he had on the whereabouts of the Greenfield students, and that their location was no more a secret. "Everybody knows where they are. The security operatives and parents know where they are. But the lives of the students are in danger. We don't want to see 19 corpses of our students," he said. International Centre for Investigative Reporting-May 5, 2021
7	Positive outcomes of Gumi's interventions	"The talk with the Greenfield University students' abductors is also going on because we are. You know they threatened to kill all of them after a particular deadline, but after talking to them, they are now lowering their bar…so, we are thankful they have stopped killing. And we are still negotiating with them." Vanguard- May 8, 2021
8	Linkages between Boko-Haram and bandits in Greenfield abduction	"The Greenfield abduction is unique because for the first time we saw a cooperation between some bandits and Boko Haram elements which confirm that Boko Haram are encroaching into the field, which is a bad situation," Mr Gumi said. "But the Greenfield abduction is proving difficult because of the linkage between the bandits and Boko Haram" Mr Gumi said. Premium Times-May 16, 2021
9	Gumi's self-appointed mediation activities is not backed by government	Gumi's media aide, Malam Salisu Hassan, told Sahara Reporters in an interview on Thursday that the cleric halted his plans because the State Government was not interested in negotiations. "No, it is not that Sheikh is busy. The problem is that since the government is not interested in reconciling with those people, so Sheikh just tried to have some other way so that he can achieve his goals." Hassan said. Sahara Reporters-April 22, 2021

Table 1: Newspaper reports on Gumi's mediatory activities.
Authors'compilation.

Discussion of Findings

While Gumi has been a person of interest in the narratives of banditry, kidnapping and Boko Haram negotiations in Nigeria, the thematic analysis of this study is based on his interventions as reported in the pages of the dailies as regards the Greenfield University abductions which occurred in Kaduna State, Nigeria in April of 2021. Significant themes obtained from the analyses are highlighted and discussed in the following paragraphs.

i. Gumi's Amnesty Position

In the wake of the Greenfield University abductions, Sheik Gumi advocated amnesty for kidnappers and bandits in Northern Nigeria. "The Federal government should give them blanket amnesty, then if somebody continues, then we will deal with them," Sheik Gumi said. Granting amnesty for outlaws in Nigeria is not a new phenomenon as witnessed with the Niger Delta militants in 2007 by the federal government of late Umaru Yar'Adua. The amnesty policy pardoned the militants and gave them a new orientation about peaceful coexistence and prepared them to become members of civil society.

ii. Mediation with a 'Contact Person' outside the Abductors' Circle

In conflict negotiations, no party is forced to participate in a negotiation. The parties are free to accept or reject the outcome of negotiations and can withdraw at any point during the process. Parties may participate directly in the negotiations or may choose to be represented by someone else. In this Greenfield case, the abductors were not in direct contact with Gumi but through a representative of the group who was not part of them. This tallies with mediation concept which allows a mediator to have direct access to either party directly or through a representative. Gumi was able to maintain contact with the abductors through a nomadic Fulani man who at a point was threatened by the abductors if their messages and responses obtained were not in tandem with their expectations.

iii. Non-Fulani Leadership of Greenfield Abductors

The Fulani have often been alleged to be at the forefront of banditry and kidnapping incidents in Nigeria. However, in this instance, it was established that the leader of the Greenfield University abductors was of non-Fulani descent from Jalingo, Taraba State. This could be a deliberate ploy to exonerate the Fulani tribe from this particular incident. Either way, as observed from Gumi's mediatory interventions, not all of the atrocities of kidnapping and banditry are led by the Fulani tribe. For instance, the Greenfield abductions were perpetrated by northeastern elements with linkages to Boko Haram. According to Gumi, 'the Greenfield abduction is proving difficult because of the linkage between the bandits and Boko Haram' (Premium Times-May 16, 2021). This finding corresponds with CDD's (2022) report and Okon's opinion but negates the general view that the Fulani tribe are the only perpetrators of banditry and kidnapping in Nigeria.

iv. Gumi's Pro-Negotiation Stance with Terrorists

While the Nigerian Government opposed negotiating with terrorists, Gumi's mediatory approach was geared towards reaching a mutually acceptable ransom payment. This was highlighted when he appealed to the Nigerian government to give in to the demands of the terrorists, as this was the only possible solution to saving the students' lives. Gumi was of the opinion that not negotiating with the terrorists and paying the ransom demanded was an unwise stance by the Government, stressing that no amount of money was worth the lives of the students. In his words:

> *Why not give them the money, they release the boys and then we pursue them and get our money back and do what is necessary; it is simple logic. So, bring the money from the Central Bank. How can they move that money? We should not be stupid.*
> *(Punch- 5 May 2021).*

Elements of bias can be deduced from Gumi's utterances above. Whereas the mediation principle avers that an arbitrator must perform his or her duties impartially, without bias or prejudice by words or conduct. But his position above greatly undermined his impartiality and questioned his genuine intentions as a self-appointed mediator.

v. Gumi's Knowledge of the Abductees' Whereabouts

One of the issues that limit the activities of security agencies in rescuing kidnapped victims in Nigeria is their claim of not knowing the location of the kidnappers' den. On the contrary, Gumi's mediation talks with the Greenfield abductors showed that the whereabouts of the abductees and their kidnappers was public knowledge which should have made their freedom by the Nigerian security agents easy. In his words, 'everybody knows where they are'

(International Centre for Investigative Reporting-May 5, 2021.

vi. Outcomes of Gumi's Mediation

While Gumi's mediation tactics may not be acceptable amongst many stakeholders, nonetheless, his efforts yielded positive results in securing the release of the students. For instance, parents of victims appealed to Gumi to help secure the release of their children and wards more so when the Kaduna State government refused to negotiate with the kidnappers. Moreover, these same parents came back to show gratitude to Gumi after their release. This suggests that while Gumi's efforts may not be too popular, his efforts yielded positive outcomes in securing the release of the kidnapped victims.

Analysis of Gumi's Mediation Style

Gumi's mediation strategies are quite informal because they are not based on a designed structure. He is also a self-imposed mediator in the negotiations between the government and the Greenfield abductors. Moreover, there is no information on Gumi's knowledge, skills, abilities and certifications in the art of mediation, arbitration and negotiation. While Gumi's mediation style is informal, there are elements of established mediation styles embedded his approach. Some of these mediation styles are highlighted.

i. Co-mediation

Co-mediation is a process in which two mediators try to help the parties resolve their differences. One mediator works with each party, thereby eliminating any concerns about fairness or objectivity sometimes associated with traditional mediation. The use of co-mediation can be observed in Gumi's mediation approach during the Greenfield abductions when he disclosed that his contact with the abductors was through a representative who was not part of the group but acted on their behalf. While not much evidence on the exact role of the abductors' representative is known, some statements suggest that the abductors passed and received messages from their representatives via interactions with Gumi.

ii. Shuttle mediation

Shuttle mediation is a technique in which one mediator works with both disputants. Sometimes the disputants will have meetings with the mediator at different times. Within the context of the Greenfield abductions, Gumi's role in shuttle mediation is highlighted in his to and from movement between the abductors and the government to deliver and receive messages from each party. Though Gumi's mediatory role is not in an official capacity, the government and the abductors were able to reach out to each other through his interventions.

iii. Evaluative Mediation

Evaluative mediation is the style of mediation where the mediator exerts control over the mediation process by being the most vocal about the position of the parties and their offers. An evaluative mediator will offer opinions on the strengths and weaknesses of the parties and usually is in control of how and when the parties interact. This style tends to work well if there are uneven power dynamics in the mediation and allows the mediator to drive the conversation to focus on important issues and what the parties need. In line with the tenets of evaluative mediation, some of its basic elements can be observed in Gumi's style of mediation. Firstly, Gumi was the most vocal entity during the Greenfield abductions. It was through Gumi that the position of the abductors (in terms of demands and ransoms) was known by the government and the public at large.

> *They are demanding for money…so, why not give them the money, then they release the boys … it is simple logic (Punch- 5 May 2021).*

Gumi was also very vocal in describing the position of the government towards the negotiation process. For instance, in one of his numerous media interviews, Gumi describes the government as being unserious and unwilling to negotiate with the abductors. Another notable feature that fosters the use of evaluative mediation is the imbalance in power between both parties. In the case of the Greenfield abductions, a clear power imbalance existed between the abductors and the government. While the government has the advantage of more ammunition to stage an attack and overpower the abductors, the hostages in the abductors' custody are an ace which gave the

abductors their measure of power in the process. Thus evaluative mediation style used by Gumi is appropriate within this context of power imbalances. Gumi as an evaluative mediator points out the strengths and weaknesses of both parties in several of his media interviews when he noted that he had provided security agencies with the information he had on the whereabouts of the Greenfield students.

In evaluative mediation, the mediator also presents recommendations for settlement. This can be informal suggestions after the initial evaluation or it can be formal suggestions in written formats which are presented to the parties as an opening option. This can encourage the parties to consider a settlement based on the strengths of their case. This is exhibited in Gumi's mediation style as he initially proffered an amnesty solution for the crisis. Reacting to the murdered students from Greenfield University abduction, Gumi said that the incident had underscored his position that bandits were now at war with the nation. He said the only way forward was for the government to take his advice and grant amnesty to the bandits for them to lay down their arms.

Conclusion

This study examined the mediatory strategy used by Sheikh Gumi in his interventions in the release of Greenfield University abducted students. This study has found and concluded that Gumi's mediation style is informal but it demonstrated some characteristics of established mediation styles including co-mediation, shuttle mediation, and evaluative mediation. Also, this study confirmed that Gumi's mediatory role in the release of the abducted students by the bandits was effective because it resulted in saving the lives of the students and the trauma that the incident brought on every stakeholder. Therefore, the findings suggest that there are other ways of addressing this security problem in Nigeria. The study has contributed to knowledge in the area of security challenges caused by banditry and kidnapping by confirming that mediation principles can be effectively applied to solve the problem of banditry and kidnapping in Nigeria. Conclusively, mediation as a non-kinetic or soft-power strategy should be encouraged and promoted in managing the security crisis in Nigeria.

Recommendations

- The government should encourage non-governmental interventions to assist or support in reducing the insecurity problem as exemplified by Gumi's mediatory intervention.
- Further studies should examine the role of autonomous persons or agencies in addressing security challenges using primary data where possible.
- The government should address the root cause of the banditry and kidnapping in the country which is mass poverty through multifaceted strategies including the creation of employment opportunities for the citizens.

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