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NIGERIA MILITARY STRATEGY AND AFRO-CENTERED POLICY: A REFLECTION OF WEST AFRICA

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Abstract

This paper examines the degree to which military spending, both on monetary and human terms have affected the development of Nigeria. The main aim of the paper dwells on balancing the two inevitable edges confronting national development, i.e., aspiring leadership position through Afro-centered policy of Nigeria and the need to ameliorate the sufferings of Nigerian citizens, on one hand. On the other hand, the paper attempts to improve Nigeria military strategy during peacekeeping so as to reduce human cost of it. The descriptive approach was adopted in discussing the dynamics of challenges confronting Nigeria in her quest for leadership position in Africa through spending on military peacekeeping operations in West Africa. It was discovered that while Nigeria appears beautiful for military and financial support to African States, with Liberia and Sierra Leone as clear examples, nationals at home are plunged into regrettable suffering of diverse form. The paper attempts to balance up the Afro-centered policy and domestic needs by proffering useful recommendations.

Keywords: Military, Strategy, Afro-centered, Policy and Expenditure.

Introduction

Peace-Keeping is a deliberate effort to maintain durable peace in a nation or between nations that experience war. In the world today, war appears more as the inevitable destiny of nations. Many historic efforts made to prevent wars worldwide, till today, have remained illusory. This is why Lt. General Albrecht Von Boguslawski asserted that, "*War was the law of nature, while perpetual peace advocated by the philosophers of the eighteenth century, was a dream, and not even a beautiful one*". It is against this backdrop that economically and militarily viable nations must try to ensure that they intervene in weaker nations during conflict or war time. Nigeria as a big brother in Africa has taken African burden upon itself in its "Africa as the centre-piece" of her foreign policy. Some of the peace initiatives that Nigeria has been involved include: Congo (ONUC) 1960-1964, Battalion Operations: New Guinea (UNSF) 1962-1963, Military observers: Tanzania (Bilateral agreement) 1964, Battalion Operations: India-Pakistan (UNIPOM) 1965-1966, Military observers: Lebanon (UNIFIL) 1978-1983, Battalion Operations and Staff officers; Chad (HARMONY I, Bilateral agreement) 1981-82, Battalion Operations and staff officers: Chad (HARMONY II, OAU) 1982-83, Brigade Operations: Iran-Iraq (UNIIMOG) 1988-91, Military Observers; Liberia (ECOMOG) 1990-Division Operations; Iraq-Kuwait (UNIKOM) 1991, Military Observers: Angola (UNAVEM II) 1991-92, Military observers: Sierra-Leone (NATAG) 1991, Training Team: Angola (UNAVEM III) 1992-95, Detachment: Namibia (UNTAG) 1989-90, Military Observers; Western Sahara (MINURSO) 1991, Military Observers: (Cambodia (UNTAG) 1992-93, Military Observers; Somalia (UNOSOM) 1992-94, Battalion Operations and Staff officers, former Republic of Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) 1992, Battalion Operations and Staff officers: Mozambique

(ONUMOZ) 1992, Military Observers: Rwanda (UNAMIR) 1993, Battalion Operation; Gambia (NATAG) 1993, Training Team; Aouzo Strip (UNASOG) 1994, Military observers; Liberia-ECOMOG; Sierra Leone-UNMIL; and Dafur peace initiative.

In monetary terms, the contributions of Nigeria to regional peace missions in Liberia and Sierra-Leone are in excess of US \$10 Billion, and that is not factoring in the human price that was expended in order to attain, maintain and ensure such peace. Nigeria also on its own volition has expended more than \$90 million through the OAU peace keeping force that was deployed to Chad in the early 1980s. In the 1990s Nigeria through ECOWAS launched ECOMOG and also bore most of the cost attendant to such endeavour and in turn had made the ECOMOG experience an ideal model and benchmark for UN in the way that it views the role of regional peace keepers, and the need to partner with such regional groups that have a lot at stake in keeping the peace in troubled regions. Other areas of success will include the Nigerian role through the Leadership of President Olusegun Obasanjo in reversing the military Coup d'etat that took place in Sao Tome, and also the ability and Leadership that was exercised by Nigeria in convincing former Liberia President, Charles Taylor to accept exile in Nigeria thereby paving the way for peaceful elections in Liberia and a successful return of that country to a democratic regime (Ibegbu, 2010)

While pursuing African concerns, West African neighbours have always received first attention before other African nations. This study is strictly on Nigeria's peacekeeping operations in Liberia and Sierra-Leone from 1990 to 2005. The first Liberian crisis in 1990 in which Nigerian soldiers died *in mass*, Sierra-Leone (1991) and latter Liberia again in 2002: All these interventions claimed a lot of money from the nation's treasury and the lives of precious Nigerian soldiers. It is imperative that Nigeria's Afro-Centredness policy is reappraised so that succeeding generations will find out if such policy that has claimed lives and much finance by military should be sustained or jettisoned.

The necessity that propelled this work at this time is anchored on the premise that many Nigerians are of the opinion that "Africa as the centre-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy is a useless policy, to them it had not encouraged any significant development at home. More allusion was made to the nation's extravagancy by the citizens during the Liberian and Sierra-Leone crises and the extent to Nigeria's intervention.

The question at this point is should the nation continue on this policy option?, If yes, what benefit can she derive?. This study will present a good balance sheet for a better national decision in relation to the military dimension of "Africa as the centre-piece" of Nigeria's foreign policy.

Conceptual Framework

The paper adopted empirical theory of political analysis. This theory was propounded by Aulus Cornelius Celsus. It measures the application of science in the study of the development and deployment of military force for the purposes of war or deterrence (Alastair, 1979). War is taken as real and has to be planned for in advance. Information and Intelligence services are vital for relating means to ends desired for understanding the intentions of adversaries.

Empirical theory of strategic studies is considerably the conceptual and quantitative. Both the development and deployment of military force in battle derived from strategic offensive and defensive concepts such as damage: limitations, countervailing strategy, austere cantonment, counterforce, decapitation, dense pack, deterrence, dentology, discriminatory weapons, especially, the newest generation of aircraft (strike)bombers, computers modeling of ICBMs and SLBMs that can attain sufficient accuracy for military planners to choose only enemy targets they wish to destroy (collateral damage), and Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) (Jonathan, 1985). It is, indeed, this theoretical underpinning that has summarized the true behaviour the Nigerian military should adopt in peacekeeping or wartime. The manner of adherence to its assumptions or principles would, to a reasonable degree determine the success or failure of military apparatuses.

The Need for Defense Policy

As Ekoko & Vogt (1985) have asserted, the very problem is the near total absence of an institutional specialized framework for the articulation, formulation and coordination of national strategic and tactical doctrines. This view does not, however, play down on the need for Nigerian defence policy. Instead, it exposes the seriousness of the lapse in the development and use of the Nigerian military force to attain the aims, goals and objectives of national strategy. The problem of national defence is serious because it touches on the credibility of Nigeria to deter an aggression or prevail in battle to protect irreducible and variable national interests. On this note, Kpuru-Aja (1999: 161) avers,

...an issue bordering on whether Nigeria has the instruments of national power to be responsive and not reactionary to external stimuli or threats. To have defence policy is to have a well articulated and formulated set of principles and laws governing the development and deployment of the military force and other elements of national power to attain the goals of national interest.

Defense policy narrows down the complexities involved in harnessing and coordinating elements of national power to meet the requirements of military engagements and by extension, political objectives of a nation. It promises the projection of defense force from a position of a clear political directive, and more from a position of strength and weakness.

Nigeria needs a well schemed defense policy for the following reasons, Nigeria:

- i- has a vast area of 923,769 square miles with well endowed natural, economic and human resources. Nigeria has no less than 33 strategic minerals, including oil and gas resources;
- ii- is the most populous country in the Black world and this population could foster military might;
- iii- is surrounded by weak and crisis-ridden neighbours that cannot defend themselves against external aggression, let alone, protecting other nations;
- iv- has within its neighbourhood, the French military presence in Francophone countries;
- v- has Africa as the centerpiece of its foreign policy which implies leadership aspiration in the continent; and
- vi- has the ambition to secure a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council.

A nation that has not developed its defense strategy to compete with other powers regionally and globally kept on pursuing a radical policy of peacekeeping. Kpuru-Aja (1999) speaking on the primacy of defense policy avers,

For Nigeria to attain each of the defence requirements, there is no room for wishful thinking.... defence policy is imperative, designed to ensure the utilization and coordination of military and non-military variables to create a general climate of national security. Defence is not strictly military, bullets and barrel of gun. Defence is not also the maintenance of high defence budget and expenditure unrelated to effective protection of porous borders in the air, at sea and on land.... defence is not just measured by numerical strength of the military force but qualitative force posture in both war and peace time.

Peacekeeping as a national policy is not bad ideology but a nation without a well formulated defense policy only ends up massacring their troops in times of aggression. This was the case of Nigeria whose soldiers were massacred in peacekeeping effort in Liberia and Sierra Leone. If there had been properly thought out scheme of military operations before such exercise, it would have fetched Nigeria more honour and glory, though Nigeria was thanked by the international community as well as in the region. One surmise that this encomium was not entirely for military prowess displayed by the Nigerian contingents in Liberia and

Sierra Leone but for the reasonable number of military personnel who died and those deformed forever. Ironically this advance guerrilla military strategy in Liberia and Sierra Leone farther proved that Nigeria's strength in warfare was still underway(Akpuru-Aja, 1999).

Another issue that falls under defense policy is that while peacekeeping is imperative, it should be known that the domestic environment should not be allowed to suffer negligence and denial of 'physiological needs'. The Nigerian peoples must live fine, experience political stability among others. A nation that was lumped into political crisis in 1993, could engage itself into maintenance of peace in another nation, where such prevailed.

As important as maintaining peace in war-thorn country so also it worth considering the cost of maintaining peace during wartime in another nation. Paradoxically, all these have not formed the foundation for peace keeping in West Africa up to the 21st century. Nigerian peoples suffer job lost, unemployment, hunger, poor health care, insufficient food production and supply, and poor infrastructural facilities. However, instead of considering these in formulating foreignpolicy, the nation engages in unplanned military expenditure which later affects the soldiers in peacekeeping operations. On this Aja(1999) asserts,

Most informative, defence in food sufficiency, political stability, economic prosperity, social harmony and environmental protection. This is the wholistic view of defence as an instrument of national protection ordering.

For the appraisal of Nigeria defence policy and for a well formulated policy there is the need to properly structure Nigerian political economy. Economy and military superiority are inseparable. This implies that Nigeria economy should assume a prominent place in Nigeria's international relations at this formative stage. Great nations of recorded history have sought economic diplomacy over radical military policy at the preliminary stage of their economic development. Since scholars maintain the view that buoyant economy fosters growth in every sphere of national life, economic relations with the developed economies of the world should occupy Nigeria's attention than endless military adventure(Ezeifedi, 2018). The heavy cost of peacekeeping operation on Nigeria further retard economic development. It is pertinent to assert that Nigerian peacekeeping exercise fetches good name in the world due to much spending incurable in intervening in other nations' crisis. But Nigerian image all over the world is at stake because of criminal enterprises nationals in the Diaspora perform(Ezeifedi,2017). Nigerian youths whose needs are not catered for in the nation often migrate to other nations where their evil engagements have tarnished the good name attributed to the nation given her active participation in African peace initiatives.

While Nigeria threw wealth around, poverty rate continues toincrease. Since 1990, the value of Naira had been in a sharp decline. Nigeria had been at the importing end, while exportation remains mainly on crude oil(Ezeifedi, 2018). It is more pathetic that foreign investments are at a low ebb and unemployment increased at geometrical progression. Social vices such as prostitution, kidnapping, arm rubbery etc increased.This situation had remained challenging to scholars, ie, what should be a way forward. A nation that is named “giant of Africa”, due to much military spending in regional affairs, is also known for having nationals whose sufferings as a result of poor health care, poor infrastructural facilities, low standard of living, poor educational standard attract the welfare of well meaning nations.

While other continents were struggling to end vestiges of poverty in such regions, Africa comfortably relaxed at the receiving end. Hunger and disease among other social variables have always forced people to react. The Liberian and Sierra Leonean crisis were precipitated by these social realities and its consequent loss of confidence on leadership of these countries by their followers. Other nations of the

world attack political crisis from the side of eliminating hunger and ushering in economic prosperity of their citizens. In nations where the standard of living of the people is guaranteed, the main cause of political crisis is eliminated. But in the case of Africa poverty is on the increase everyday. Instead of successive government to solve this problem, the leadership of these nations sought absolute comfort.

Most of the crisis that upsurge in Africa, at the root is the poverty of the people. It should be seen, however, that any attempt to eliminate or reduce political crisis in West Africa must tackle this from the root, i.e, poverty. Instead of waiting till when problem upsurge in any country, Nigerian government should intervene in the crisis of West African nations, first, by using a fewer number of Battalion and military hardware to ensure lower cost compared to antecedent. Secondly, the nation should ensure those hungry rebels and other citizens of such West African countries live fine. Thirdly, place under strict check, ruthless and profiteering leaders. Peacekeeping may only last a while when it is backed up by the economic survival of the warring factions. It is quite alarming that since 1991, Nigerian troops hardly kept absent in Liberia.

In this contemporary time, it is preferable to fight gallantly to ensure that West African nations are brought together in all spheres for the pursuit of economic prosperity as well as exchange political ideas than a nation bleeding itself dry for others. Today, the highest point of regional cooperation in the world is the connectedness of people for economic, political and social gains. Only when this sub-regional integration of West African people becomes more obvious can one say attention will be shifted from mustering troops for peacekeeping.

Nigeria's Military Operations

In planning peacekeeping, there is hardly an established method or scheme of doing this. A builder must calculate his cost before building, but Nigeria's peace initiative towards other crisis-ridden states is contrary to this. This is the reason Nigerian soldiers who went to war in both Liberia and Sierra Leone were not properly prepared since they were going to merge with other nations battalions. The following are difficulties that the Nigerian military as well as the nation have encountered in peacekeeping venture. These areas need to be restructured and integrated in defence policy (Aja, 1999).

Joint Operation Strategy

Operation strategy is the method of operation a nation's military is trained to apply in wartime or to use when maintaining peace in a crisis-ridden state. In the case of ECOMOG peace initiative in Liberia and Sierra Leone, it is expected that soldiers are retrained to cope with challenges, should peacekeeping turns to peace enforcement. Joint military strategy, according to KpuruAja(1999) should entail the following:

- i- Strategic planning: the security and defense value of the peacekeeping force depends considerably on the contents, qualities and clarities of strategic thinking and strategic planning. The inability of the ECOMOG force to evaluate their military strength before going into Liberia posed a bottleneck in the Monrovia landing. Nigeria military integrated with other West African military were expected to engage themselves in a strategic thinking before embarking on peacekeeping operation so as to gain strategic advantage in peacekeeping than blood-shed of soldiers who went for peacekeeping. Commenting on the importance of strategic thinking in peacekeeping, General President Eisenhower D. of the USA was reputed to have asserted: *'Inpreparing for battle, I have always found out that plans are useless, planning are indispensable'* (Akuru-Aja, 1999: 162).

ObasiIgwé (1989), lays credence to strategic thinking when he said:

Strategic planning in a broad sense deals with creation, maximization and utilization of national power, and intimes of war, their coordinated application to the assigned task of the army.

In fact, the failure of ECOMOG to engage in a serious strategic planning before engagements caused a heavy reliance on Nigeria contingents and the eventual much expenditure incurred by Nigeria.

ii- Strategic Evaluation: this is also known as strategic assessment. It is a continuum; demands periodic review to determine the strengths, opportunities, humiliating factors against the set goals and objectives. It is necessary to determine whether actions are guided by the tenets of strategic plan with a view to reviewing commitment.

This view on strategic evaluation needs critical consideration with regard to Nigerian role in ECOMOG effort in Sierra Leone:

For whatever venture or adventure, strategic evaluation is vital for not only in the useful direction of resources, but a veritable guide against the common temptation of taking things for granted, or taking the opponent for granted'. (Akpuru-Aja, 1999; 19-23)

Nigeria could not evaluate when the other states' military in ECOMOG began to stop showing commitments. This was why by the time they pull out of ECOMOG and went back to their states ECOMOG operation in Sierra Leone was sustained by Nigerian Battalions (NIBATTS). The result of this was much financial cost as well as Nigeria soldiers who became casualties of rebels' onslaught.

iii- Strategic Monitoring: In military operation, the first thing to do is to determine a winning strategy. Advance without knowing the battle condition of the attacking force or that of opponent, may be seeking victory, but in the end defeating oneself. Sun Tzu said, "the rules of the military are five: measurement, assessment, calculation, comparison and victory". Rebels took NIBATTS by surprise on several occasions due to underestimation of rebels' capabilities during peace enforcement.

iv- Strategic Struggle: For Li Quan, struggle is the pursuit of advantage (Harkary, 1988: 101). Struggle here covers advantage seeking in position, location, behaviour, fire power, tactics and general battle management. Apart from the military action involved, the object of struggle is usually over resources or assets on land, sea, air / space. Wang Xi asserts that struggle means struggle for advantage in every contest. Those who achieve the target advantage are victorious. One should determine whether to use light or heavy arms, and assess whether to approach indirectly or directly, by not allowing opponents to take advantage of one's toil.

In Liberian and Sierra Leonean crisis, the reasons many Nigerian Soldiers became victims are mainly two: failure to understand that peacekeeping endeavour was a struggle for advantage between the ECOMOG contingents and the rebels. This is why peacekeeping later changed to peace enforcement. When the Nigerian soldiers were taking off for these engagements, they failed to go with sufficient arms that could fetch them the desired advantage. For this reason, the struggle between the NIBATTS and Sierra Leonean rebels were fierce. Nigeria's side also failed to take cognizance of the fact that in a struggle for advantage, opponents can use any measure to trap their enemies. Women were used as bait by rebels, especially, in Sierra Leone to take Nigerian Soldiers hostage. Interview with soldiers at 34 artillery brigade, Obinze made it clear that Nigerian Soldiers made folly of themselves in Liberia and Sierra Leone. They took advantage of the helplessness of Liberian and Sierra Leonean women in wartime. For this reason, in Sierra Leone, 'bottom politics' gave rebels more advantage at the beginning of the crisis.

v- Strategic Reconnaissance: This is intelligence data driven. Without strategic and tactical intelligence, the conduct of war or composition as planned would run into stormy weather. To foster strategic intelligence, strategic reconnaissance is 'an aerial action of searching wide areas, usually by air, to gain information about the enemy movements, locations, force concentrations that should aid in making or finalizing strategic or large scale decisions'(Akpuru-Aja, 1999:18).

Before ECOMOG / NIBATTS landing in Freetown and its suburbs, the rebels had taken possession of strategic locations for smooth attacks. NIGCON did not spend quality time to spot out such danger zones. They delve into peacekeeping exercise that claimed the lives of soldiers. In two pathetic occasions, reinforcement were sent to aid smooth operations in Freetown, a night before the battalions resumed operations, rebels launched attacks which claimed the lives of many soldiers and rendered many deformed forever.

Since peacekeeping is inevitable, Nigeria military policy must take these measures into account when planning for peacekeeping in any country within West Africa. This is so because inter or intra war is inevitable.

Peacekeeping Budget and Expenditure

The cost of military peacekeeping in Nigeria had further retarded development in some areas where energy and finance should have been invested. The situation here is likely a father Christmas who does not have enough to eat in his own house. Critics have advocated that a nation that is not going through war should curtail military spending in order to take care of the economic situation at home. Against this backdrop, KpuruAja (1999), asserts:

...Nigeria has been witnessing high defense budget and expenditure. This is no case against adequate provision for defense needs. This Issue is disturbing against the lack of clarity on what is to be Defended, the bearing of defense expenses. Critics observe that it is against the philosophy of security and defense to spend more on gun than bread, particularly when a country's socio-political and psychological environment is relatively free from fear of external aggression.

It is disturbing to neglect other necessities and focus more on military spending in peacekeeping. To have a clearer understanding of what peacekeeping has cost Nigeria in cash not in life of soldiers, one will look at Budgetary Allocation to Defense 1993-1999, when Liberia and Sierra Leonean ECOMOG operations were hot.

Table I: Budgetary Allocation to Defense (1993-1999) in Billion Naira

S/No	Fiscal Year	Total Budgetary Allocation	Defense Allocation	Defense as percentage of total Budget
1	1993	68,789	5.551	5.82
2.	1994	69,500	7.005	2.87
3.	1995	98,201	9.032	8.87
4.	1996	124,039	15.500	10.9
5.	1997	181,383	17.445	7.68
6.	1998	260.0	23.08	9.8
7.	1999	269.0	25.9	11.3

Source: AjaAkpuru-Aja (1999), *Policy and Strategic Studies: Unchartered Waters of War and Peace in International Relations* Abakaliki, Willy Rose and Appleseed publishing co.

Nigeria political economy has not been particularly impressive since the attainment of independence in 1960. The contradictions are beyond the concern of this study. It is paramount to note that Nigeria over-relies on oil as the commanding height of its economy. Igwe (1989), opines that creative role is underdeveloped by successive Nigerian leadership. Against this, the nation has been witnessing high defense budget and expenditure. Worst still, the issue is disturbing against the lack of clarity on what is to be defended, the bearing of defense expenses.

Since 1960, similarly, Nigeria has the misfortune of successive governmental instabilities up to the outset of democracy. This situation has been worsened by the exceptional military rule. The politicization of every profession and indeed, all sectors in Nigeria readily works against what the country considers national interests and values. Oni (2002), notes that it is clear that the Nigerian military contingents in Liberian and Sierra Leonean crisis initially lacked clear political directive precisely, on how to engage force in a situation of violence.

The Nigerian economic condition should ensure balance between gun and bread. The people and their welfare should occupy strategic planning and national budgets. In the philosophy of defense, the people are indeed, the prime object of protection. If the people are not healthy and productive, how then would Nigeria create the economy upon which defense depends? The formulation of Nigeria's defense budget and planning shall be more achievable by integrating vital defense needs relative to the strength of the national economy. Babangida (1985), agrees that it is an emblem of poor strategic policy for a nation to allow corruption and external military commitments to reduce the capacity of the economy to absorb. So too, personnel salaries and emoluments of the military corps should be fitting and appropriate. The dynamics of development in many countries such as Russia, Germany, Poland and Malaysia reveals that boosting the level of home defense, manpower is to reduce both high defense budget and expenditure but also external military engagements. If defense budget and expenditure are too high, they become too wasteful and subversive of national power.

Determining Safe-Landing and Landing Time

Both in Liberian and Sierra Leonean peacekeeping exercise, the first set of casualties recorded was during landing.

We saw the beginning of the peacekeeping, though, it was not easy. We sailed through Popo bitch, in the ship called River Magidan. When we were entering Liberia, Charles Taylors' soldiers opened fire on us. We survived only with air cover from Nigeria contingent. But, we lacked enough arms and ammunitions for peace enforcement...We went for peacekeeping, but it became obvious that peace enforcement was imperative(Fubara, 2012)

According to Lt Abiodun of 34 Artillery Bregade, Obinze, ECOMOG dominated by Nigerian contingent never bordered determining safe landing points because they never prepared to enforce peace. It is important to determine where Nigerian soldiers would receive warmth reception. Had it been Yomie Johnson was hostile like Taylor's force, ECOMOG troops, Nigeria by extension would have been massacred during landing. This would have happened because of poor preparation.

The mistake for peacekeeping operation in Liberia was hasty mobilization. Since ECOMOG was a joint operation it would have been wise enough to retrain troops in a military strategy that would have reduced the difficulties posed by communication noise and barrier during operations. While troops waited for such training, signal came from Lagos ordering that troops be mobilized without delay to Liberia. Such

hasty mobilization would have claimed more lives if not for the air cover from Nigerian air force. In every military peacekeeping operation, there is always a better time to be determined before embarkation and engagement.

Military as a Profession

For Nigerian military to be fully recognized as another element in assessing international power capabilities, it should detach itself from partisan politics and focus on possible means of developing its professional arts. This is one way to secure a place in the UN Security council. However, the Nigerian military is highly politicized:

...the highly politicized and deprofessionalised military is a variable of both internal and external threat to Nigeria. One way out is for the military to embrace the pride of military professionalism, subordinate itself to the political realm and get consumed in the constitutional business and logic of defense as the military instrument of foreign policy...the determination of the military to remain in the barracks should not be revoked by irresponsible governance *on the part of the politicians* (Akpuru-Aja, 1999: 10).

There is the imperative to establish a *security community*. As professor Adisa(1985) notes, a security community is to serve the purpose of articulating, formulating and analyzing defense policy. It should comprise of a section of civilian strategists, defense intellectuals, military generals, diplomats and statesmen, captains of industry and media practitioners who are articulate and security conscious. With these professional attributes, the Nigerian military would be matched to a position of honour in the world.

Conclusion

The democratic regime in which Nigeria has come under should be able to bring about desirable change in the foreign policy of Nigeria. Going by the true definition of foreign policy, it should be able to bring about benefits to a nation implementing it. Nigeria as a developing nation has a lot to take care of internally. Any policy to be formulated should not place Nigeria into much spending. In fact, the most befitting policy that can address the economic and social lapses in the nation is economic diplomacy-wooing Direct Foreign Investment (DFI). However, since war is inevitable, Nigeria is expected to play leadership role in crisis-ridden countries in West Africa. In doing this, Military or defense policy should be restructured to take care of the following during peacekeeping operations:

- i- Planning a joint operation strategy such as ECOMOG that would not place Nigeria under much spending.
- ii- Budget and defence expenditure have to be moderate.
- iii- Determining safe-landing and landing time during arms hostility in a nation where peace is to be maintained;
- iv- Put the political economy of the nation into consideration, when planning peacekeeping initiative.

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**EFFECTS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION ON
RURAL DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF ASA LOCAL
GOVERNMENT, KWARA STATE**

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Abstract

This study examined the impact and challenges of local government administration on rural development in Asa Local Government. The study relied on both primary and secondary data. 237 questionnaires were administered while 218 were received and analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Science software. Basic need approach was adopted for this study. Finding from the study showed that Asa local government council has not adequately enthrone development as it has not ensure adequate water supply, road construction and other social

amenities in the local government. Failure of leadership at local level affects rural development and community development is not adequate as a result of corruption and diversion of projects by local government officials. The paper concluded that rural development is largely undermined and recommended that political appointees and workers in Asa must imbibe the culture of leadership by example anchored on selfless service with total commitment and sacrifice. Government and non-governmental programmes on development should be implemented and executed and there should be periodic monitoring of local government projects.

Key words: Programme, social amenities, leadership, project.

Introduction

The ideas behind the creation of local governments in Nigeria are that the people at the local level are assumed to have the fullest awareness of their needs. Every local jurisdiction has its unique economic, social and physical characteristics and its historical tradition which are better understood by its people. Thus, the Local Government Areas are created to provide the services which the Federal and State Governments cannot easily undertake to their remoteness from the local communities (Uhunmwangho and Epelle, 2008). Therefore, the only reasonable form of development is the one that comes from within, through the will and desires of the people.

The constitutional mandates of local government are to consider and make recommendations to a State Commission on Economic Planning or any similar body on: the economic development of the state, particularly as far as the areas of authority of the council and of the state are affected; and proposals made by the said commission or body. The government at the local level equally carries out the task of naming roads and streets and numbering of houses; provision of maintenance of public conveniences, sewage and refuse disposal; registration of all births, deaths and marriages; assessment of privately owned houses or tenements for the purpose of levying such rates as may be prescribed by the House of Assembly of a States amongst others (Fourth Schedule of 1999 Constitution). Local government areas are also saddled with the responsibility of licensing bicycles, trucks (other than mechanically propelled trucks), canoes, wheel barrows and carts; establishment, maintenance and regulation of slaughter houses, slaughter slabs, markets, motor parks and public conveniences; construction of maintenance of roads, streets, street lighting, drains and other public highways, parks, gardens, open spaces, or such public facilities as may be prescribed from time to time by the House of Assembly of a state (Amin,2018)

Rural development is equated with changes in social, economic and structural institution relationships and processes. It is not just economic growth, but fair sharing of the socio-economic benefits resulting from the growth. So, this view assumed increased production, increased job opportunities, rooting out fundamental causes of poverty, disease and ignorance, generation of new employment, equitable distribution of income between rural and urban areas, widespread improvement in health, nutrition, housing, creation of incentives and better prices, sharing in decision activities and fundamental education which should involve men, women and children (Olley, 2011). Therefore, rural development can be said to be a process by which series of changes take place within a given rural population with the aim of improving the living condition of the population of the rural community. It is a set of policies with two main goals: encourage production and the wellbeing of the rural majority and ensure adequate production that will enable the uplifting of the development of rural areas. Against this background, the paper will investigate on the **effects of local government administration on rural development in Asa local government area, Kwara state.**

Statement of the Problem

Despite the several developmental programs like National Directorate of Employment (NDE), Universal Basic Education (UBE), National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP), Local Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (LEEDS etc embarked upon by Federal Government of Nigeria in collaboration with state and local government facilitate development down to rural area yet, Asa local government is presumed to have provided less rural development in terms of provision of social amenities such as health care centre, quality education, poor road network, lack of drinkable or tap water. Many scholars have worked on local government administration and rural development such as (Okoli 2000, Ezeani 2006, Onuorah 2006, Olley 2011), However, studies on the effects of local government administration on rural development in Asa local government area, Kwara state is significant. This study therefore intends to fill the gap.

Research Questions

- i. What are the impacts of local government administration and rural development in Asa local government area?
- ii. What are the challenges confronting democratic governance in achieving rural development in Asa local government?

Objectives Of The Study

The objectives of this study are :

- i. Establish the nexus between local government administration and rural development in Asa local government area;
- ii. Identify challenges confronting local government administration in achieving rural development in Asa local government.

Conceptual Discourse

Local Government

Ezeani (2006) posits that “local government is generally seen as a veritable agent of development and grassroots participation in the democratic process”. Akpan in Effiom (2001) describes local government “as the breaking down of the country into smaller units or localities for the purpose of administration in which the inhabitants of the different units or localities concerned play a direct and full part through their elected representatives who exercise powers and undertake functions under the general authority of the state or National Government”. The National Guidelines for Reform of Local Government (1976) defines local government as: Government at (the) local level exercised through representative councils established by law to exercise specific powers within defined areas.

Rural Development

Maboguje (1980) opines that rural development is concerned with the improvement of the living rural standards of the low-income people living in the rural area on a self-sustaining basis through transforming the socio-spatial structures of their productive activities. It implies a broad based reorganization and mobilization of the rural masses and resources, so as to enhance the capacity of the rural populace to cope effectively with the daily tasks of their lives and with the changes consequent upon this. The Asbridge Conference on Social Development emphasizes that rural development should be designed to promote better living for all in the whole community with the active participation and initiative of the community. According to Mishra and Sharma (1979), rural development is not merely development of rural areas but also the development of quality of life of the rural masses into self-reliant and self-sustaining modern communities, so that each component of rural lives changes in a desired direction. Chambers (1983) mentions that the target group in rural development should include poor man, women and children, poorest of the poor amongst the small-scale farmers, tenants and the landless labourers. He has critically analyzed and stated that the poorest should be first put in order to narrow down the gap between the rich

and the poor. Singh (1986) pointed out that development is not only an increase in income and infrastructure facilities but it also brings about changes in the attitude of the people. Development is not only implementing government package programmes but it means to develop and to obtain a desirable change of the rural people.

Literature Review

Nwaka (1999) argues that government imposition of rural development programme on the communities have been cog in the wheel of rural development. As he put it, government have often set community development; priorities without the participation of the target or relevant communities. He suggests that since government, communities are the engines of growth; government should play down its excessive control in betting out development goals and priorities for local communities. Okoli, (2000) contends that the British colonialists in Nigeria hatched community development ideology in order to under develop the people through his negative manipulation strategy. He regrets that his strategy has continued to be employed by indigenous rulers in the post-colonial state. He further contends that this strategy predicated upon the colonial policy of economic exploitation of the local area in an instrument used to sustain the self-interest of the ruling classes while the rural communities suffer under poor, hash and stagnated conditions.

Aborisade (1988) highlights the various development programmes designed by successive governments in Nigeria, which aimed at developing the rural communities. He gives an example of River Basin and Rural Development Authorities established in 1975 to promote rural development. He laments that in practice the scheme bloated bureaucracies feeding on mega million naira contracts for irrigation and other agricultural projects while the rural areas for which they are meant seemed to have recorded deeper in debilitating poverty. Nnoli (1980) sees self-help, as a strategy for rural development as a form of exploitation because, according to him, for the rural people it is viewed as the task resort to their survival due to government neglect. According to him, the community development process arises from the crying need of the rural population for social welfare services, unwillingness of the rural class to provide these amenities, the exploitation of the ruling class of the competition among communities for those social artefacts which are deemed to reflect social progress, and the exploitation by the ruling class at the tendency by Nigerians to invest more time, energy and resources and those tasks approved by their communities than those sanctioned by the national collectively via-the-state.

Methodology

This research is a descriptive study designed to investigate the effects of local government administration on rural development in Asa Local Government Area, Kwara State. Both primary and secondary data were used. The population of this study is drawn from Asa local government area. The Simple random method is used for this study for avoidance of bias and ensures equal representation in response to questionnaire administered. The sample size for this study is 237 but 218 were retrieved. The first section captures bio-data information of the respondents while the second section captures information based on the concept of this research, using a 5-point Likert scale with "1= Strongly Disagree and 5=Strongly Agree". The data gathered would be analyzed using the Statistical Package of Social Sciences (SPSS) for easy analysis.

Theoretical Framework

The study adopts the Basic Needs Approach propounded by Paul Streeten in 1981. The approach assumes that the rural population requires certain basic human facilities which are essentially social in character. Accordingly, it proposes that development plan should be directed specifically at the provision of essential amenities so as to benefit the poor in areas such as power supply, health facilities, sanitary conditions, access road, nutrition education, housing, water supply (Paul,2007). As a concept, this approach seeks to relate development to the socio-cultural and economic realities of the rural populace. It seeks to identify practical socio-economic and cultural constraints to the welfare and development of the rural people and

formulating/executing plans to eliminate these constraints. It is a more contemporary approach to rural development as manifested in government's preference for it through the establishment of ADPS, RBRDAS, DFRI. Through these various programmes, government has applied the principles embedded in this approach in its determination or efforts in realizing reasonable development in rural areas on a continuing basis.

Local Government Administration And Rural Development

The local government, being the government nearest to the rural populace, is one of the best institutions for generating motivation and encouraging mobilization for self-help, as well as inducing the much needed wider participation of the local population in the decision-making process at the local level (Raji and Amin, 2017). It is estimated that rural local governments account for about 80 percent of the entire Nigeria population, and it is plausible to argue as pundits do, that the so-called third world is a rural world where any meaningful discussion of rural development really means not only talking of overall national development, but also because it is in the rural areas that the problem of inequitable distribution of resources or a marked lack of purchasing power and of grinding poverty in which the wretched members of society stagnate and stare one in the face with brutal clarity (Jide, 2010).

To guarantee the satisfaction of basic social needs, therefore, local responsibility and co-operation must be encouraged and that can best be developed through the participation of the local citizenry, not only in the affairs of their local government, but also in their own community affairs (World Bank, 1975). It is important to observe that the existence of the third tier system of government in Nigeria should at least, halt the deteriorating living conditions in the rural areas of this country. An effective local government will be better disposed than the state or federal governments not only to stem the grim reality of the "rising tide of rural poverty", but also better placed to evoke the spirit of "local co-operation", thereby being more able to galvanize and mobilize the support of local citizenry in participating in all the programmes that may affect them (Jide, 2010).

Challenges of Rural Development

Some of the rural development programmes are designed to be genuine without a clearly defined source of funding eg cases of the Housing for ALL, Health for ALL, Universal Basic Education (UBE) and so on. They are often initiated before sourcing for funds from philanthropists and international donors which may never come. The armed conflicts ranging from ethnic, religious and communal issues which do not provide enabling environment for the implementation of sustainable development programmes in such areas. For instance, a situation where foreigners and government workers in some coastal rural areas are target of kidnappers demanding ransom is obviously not conducive for development work. Also, corruption poses a very big threat to rural development. There is lack of integrity, accountability and transparency on the part of people who are supposed to implement development projects in the rural areas. Adedire (2014) as cited in Nwakoby (2007) laments that public funds made for rural projects are starved away in bank vaults in Europe and America while an overwhelming proportion of the population live in abject poverty.

Equally, lack of political-will and commitment, policy instability and insufficient involvement of the intended beneficiaries of the programmes, hence according to Chiloikwu (2006), most of them died with the government that initiated them. For example, development programmes like Operation Feed the Nation, Green Revolution, Free and Compulsory Primary Education, Low cost Housing Schemes which impact positively on the rural dwellers could not be sustained. Umebali and Akubailo (2006) list such challenges like: Vicious cycle of poverty, poor infrastructure, high population density, high level of illiteracy, low social interaction and local politics and rural - urban migration. Rural dwellers have been considered as the thermometer through which one determines the impact of rural development. Adedire (2014) as cited in Obot (1989) justifies that the development policies geared towards the improvement of

the rural dwellers remained almost a house - hold word without corresponding success especially at the implementation states.

Furthermore, the inadequacy of skilled workers to implement various developmental programmes can be solved by investing in human beings, Adedire (2014) as cited in Obada (2002) believes that the most permanent and deepest way to ensure ideal development in the rural areas is to invest in human beings which policies like National Directorate of Employment (NDE), Universal Basic Education (UBE), National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP), Local Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (LEEDS) etc are meant to do. Also, a viable system of development at local government level must provide political leadership and guidance to plan and execute various programmes and policies. But this must be done without curbing local initiative and participation. Indeed, Bureaucrats and Technocrats are needed to assist and advise the local people. If these officials are to appear as masters of the people it will be difficult to change their mentality and attitude. The only way to integrate themselves with the local people is to appear as genuine servants of the people and to place themselves under the political authority of the locally recognized leaders. Also, the concern for corruption in Nigeria society must be removed in the conduct of local government.

Above all, provision of education, health and other social services must be the priority of the local government authorities to create new man with attitude prepared to challenge oppression and exploitation. The problem of lack of due consultation and non-involvement of local dwellers by the local government before embarking on developmental programmes can be eliminated if the local government can run an open administration that will encourage the local communities to express their opinions on issues that affect them, thereby allowing local government to implement programmes that are demanded by the people. Thus, this will prevent misplacement of priorities and wastage of resources (Adedire, 2014).

Data Presentation and Analysis

Table 1: Demographic Data of Respondents

Sex	Frequency	Percent (%)
Male	144	66.1
Female	74	33.9
Total	218	100
Marital Status	Frequency	Percent (%)
Single	54	24.8
Married	164	75.2
Total	218	100
Age	Frequency	Percent (%)
18-30	56	25.7
31-40	102	46.8
41 and above	60	27.5
Total	218	100
Occupation	Frequency	Percent (%)
Civil Servant	164	75.2
Farmer	9	4.1
Artisan	28	12.8
Others	17	7.8
Total	218	100

Length of Service	Frequency	Percent (%)
Below 5years	56	25.7
Between 5 and 10years	58	26.6
10years and above	104	47.7
Total	218	100
Qualification	Frequency	Percent (%)
Primary/S.S.C.E/Equivalent	40	18.3
NCE/ND/DIPLOMA	71	32.6
BA/BSC/HND	96	44.0
MBA/MSC/PHD	11	5.0
Total	218	100

Source: Researcher's Field Survey 2018

The above table presents the respondents' profile. These include sex, marital status, and age, and occupation, length of service, qualification and staff category. A total of 218 of respondents completed the questionnaire. The respondents consisted of 144 (66.1%) male and female 74 (33.9%) responses to the survey. That shows that the majority of the respondents were male. The majority of the respondents are married. The distributions of respondents' age are categorized into three. Respondents from 31-40 years old are the majority, 102 (46.8%). The majority of the respondents are civil servants, 162 (75.2) and 10years and above 104 (47.7%) are the majority and the majority of the respondents are BA/BSc/HND holders, 96 (44.0%).

Table 2: Impact of Local Government Administration on Rural Development in Asa Local Government

Items	Opinion	Percent	Mean	Standard Deviation	Remark
Asa local government ensures the availability of tap water to Asa populace.					
Strongly Disagree	73	33.5			
Disagree	74	33.9			
Undecided	21	9.6	2.2706	1.23883	Disagree
Agree	39	17.9			
Strongly Agree	11	5.0			
Total	218	100			

Asa local government provides borehole and well water for rural dwellers.					
Strongly Disagree	53	24.3			
Disagree	38	17.4	2.8991	1.38421	Agree
Undecided	28	12.8			
Agree	76	34.9			
Strongly Agree	23	10.6			
Total	218	100			
Grading and construction of roads is executed on yearly or quarterly basis by Asa local government council.					
Strongly Disagree	60	27.5			
Disagree	91	41.7	2.2844	1.13667	Disagree
Undecided	15	6.9			
Agree	49	22.5			
Strongly Agree	3	1.4			
Total	218	100			
Poor basic amenities have led to loss of lives.					
Strongly Disagree	7	3.2			
Disagree	14	6.4	3.9954	.99537	Agree
Undecided	24	11.0			
Agree	101	46.3			
Strongly Agree	72	33.0			
Total	218	100			
Asa local government has built hospital					
Strongly Disagree					
Disagree	87	39.9			
Undecided	58	26.6	2.2523	1.32527	Strongly Disagree
Agree	18	8.3			
Strongly Agree	41	18.8			
Total	14	6.4			
	218	100			
Asa local government builds modern market.					
Strongly Disagree	62	28.4			
Disagree	66	30.3	2.5321		
Undecided	18	8.3			
Agree	56	25.7		1.33419	Disagree
Strongly Agree	16	7.3			
Total	218	100.0			
Asa is ahead of other local governments in Kwara State in the provision of basic social amenities.					
Strongly Disagree	92	42.2			
Disagree	67	30.7	2.1239	1.28740	Strongly Disagree
Undecided	15	6.9			
Agree	28	12.8			
Strongly Agree	16	7.3			
Total	218	100			

Source: Researcher's Field Survey 2018

Table 3: Challenges of Local Government Administration and Rural Development in Asa

Items	Opinion	Percent	Mean	Standard Deviation	Remark
Failure of leadership at local level negatively affects rural development in Asa.					
Strongly Disagree	16	7.3	3.6009	1.20345	Agree
Disagree	31	14.2			
Undecided	29	13.3			
Agree	90	41.3			
Strongly Agree	52	23.9			
Total	218	100.0			
Rural development is not adequate in Asa as a result of corruption.					
Strongly Disagree			3.4128	1.32130	Agree
Disagree	31	14.2			
Undecided	29	13.3			
Agree	18	8.3			
Strongly Agree	99	45.4			
Total	41	18.8			
	218	100.0			
There is lack of commitment and dishonest on the part of government officials.					
Strongly Disagree	16	7.3	3.5275	1.19587	Agree
Disagree	37	17.0			
Undecided	24	11.0			
Agree	98	45.0			
Strongly Agree	43	19.7			
Total	218	100			
Embezzlement and diversion of projects by politicians affect rural development.					
Strongly Disagree	29	13.3	3.3578	1.31998	Agree
Disagree	37	17.0			
Undecided	19	8.7			
Agree	93	42.7			
Strongly Agree	40	18.3			
Total	218	100			
Local government election under the control of State Government as provided by the Constitution hinder development at grassroots.					
Strongly Disagree	15	6.9	3.6514	1.19041	Agree
Disagree	29	13.3			
Undecided	28	12.8			
Agree	91	41.7			
Strongly Agree	55	25.2			
Total	218	100			
Misuse of state power over State Joint Account affects Asa local government to discharge its responsibilities as regard to provision of basic amenities.					
Strongly Disagree	14	6.4	4.1789	1.07768	Strongly Agree
Disagree	6	2.8			
Undecided	8	3.7			
Agree	89	40.8			
Strongly Agree	101	46.3			
Total	218	100			

Source: Researcher's Field Survey 2018

Table 4: Correlations

		AV_IMPACT2	AV_CHALLENGES2
AV_IMPACT2	Pearson Correlation	1	.188**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.005
	N	218	218
AV_CHALLENGES2	Pearson Correlation	.188**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.005	
	N	218	218

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The table was used to know the correlation coefficient among the variables being used in the course of this study. Based on the results from the table above, it is being observed that challenges of rural development in Asa Local Government has the highest value .188 which is greater than the P-value of 0.05.

Table 5: Model Summary^b

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
1	.188 ^a	.035	.031	5.62244	1.222

The above table shows that R .188^a, R Square is -.035 Adjusted R Square .031 and Durbin Watson is 1.222.

Table 6: ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	250.242	1	250.242	7.916	.005 ^b
	Residual	6828.144	216	31.612		
	Total	7078.385	217			

a. Dependent Variable: AV_IMPACT

b. Predictors: (Constant), AV_CHALLENGES

The above table shows that significant value of regression is .005^b and the sum of square of regression is 250.242

Table 7: Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	Constant)	1.943	.224		8.672	.000
	AV_CHALLENGES2	.170	.060	.188	2.814	.005

a. Dependent Variable: AV_IMPACT2

The table shows that the difference between local government administration and rural development in Asa is .170 while significant level of AV_CHALLENGES2 is .005. Therefore, the hypothesis is rejected

Discussion Of Findings

The study reveals that majority disagreed that Asa local government council ensures tap water available to populace. The majority of the respondents agreed that administration of Asa local government council supports availability of borehole and well water. From the findings, majority of the respondents disagreed that grading and construction of roads is executed quarterly or yearly basis by the council. The study revealed that the majority of the respondent agreed that poor basic amenities have led to loss of lives while the majority strongly disagreed that Asa local government builds hospitals. It is also discovered that majority of the respondents disagreed that Asa local government has facilitated modern market while the majority strongly disagreed that Asa local government establishes standard schools and maintenance of old schools. Also, majority of the respondent strongly disagree that Asa is ahead of other local governments in Kwara State in the provision of basic social amenities.

In the vein, the study reveals that majority of the respondent agreed that failure of leadership at local level negatively affects rural development in Asa. The majority of the respondents agreed that community or rural development is not adequate in Asa as a result of corruption.. The majority of the respondents also agreed that there is lack of commitment and dishonesty on the part of local government officials. The majority of the respondents agreed that embezzlement and diversion of projects by local government officials hinder development in Asa. The majority of the respondents agreed that local government election under the control of State Government as provided by the Constitution hinder development at grassroot .The majority of the respondents agreed that misuse of state power over State Joint Account affects Asa local government to discharge its responsibilities as regard to provision of basic amenities. .

Conclusion

This study examined the impact of local government on rural development as challenges of rural development in Asa local government of Kwara State. The study revealed that Asa local government is confronted with several problems which include corruption on the part of local government officials, failure of leadership. It has become obvious that corruption is the major issue in the developmental study of the local government councils in Asa Local Government of Kwara State, Nigeria. **The paper concluded that rural development is largely undermined in Asa local government.**

Asa local government should be more people-centred in approach, such that necessary collaboration or partnership with communities in its domain can facilitate the process of rural development. Both government and non-governmental programmes on development should be implement and executed in Asa. There should be periodic monitoring of projects. Local governments should strive to raise and maintain revenue that would enable her deliver projects and services that guarantee quality living to the grassroots. Local government should not be under the financial control of State government. People should be enlightened and empowered. There should be a serious drive towards poverty reduction and inequality through people-oriented policies and programmes which would address the basic necessities of life. The political appointees and workers in Asa must imbibe the culture of leadership by example anchored on selfless service to the people with total commitment and sacrifice. Control measure should be put in place to check possible frauds and embezzlement. Political consideration in the allocation of contracts should be discouraged in Asa local government.

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ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND NIGERIA'S MEDIATORY ROLES IN THE ETHIOPIA/SOMALI BOUNDARY DISPUTE, 1960-1977

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Abstract

Following the departure of most of the colonizing powers from Africa, the African continent became engulfed with socio-political cleavages from the 1960s and for the rest of the 20th century. One of the energy sapping problems that permeated the newly independent African states was the escalation of border clashes. The issue of boundary disputes became a teething problem in Africa and which the defunct Organization of African unity had to contend with. Nigeria, as a leading power in Africa, was committed to the continent's project aimed at creating peaceful environment, harmonious relations, and advancement for the Africans played leading roles in conflict resolution. One of the border conflicts that plunged Africa into anarchy was the Ethiopia/Somali boundary disputes that bedeviled the Horn of Africa. This paper examines the depressing position of the Somali nation that was emasculated by daring scrambling powers and the reaction of the Somali elements which resulted in bloody tragedy. The study similarly highlights Nigeria's mediatory roles between the two countries.

Keywords: Artificial boundary creation, Ethiopia/Somali boundary disputes, Organization of African Unity, mediatory roles

Introduction

The African continent underwent the creation of artificial boundaries officially endorsed during the Berlin West African Conference of 1884-85 chaired by Otto von Bismarck, the then German Chancellor. Artificial boundaries are being conceptualized by geographers as all boundaries other than those made up of natural features such as oceans, seas, rivers, swamps, forest, deserts and mountains while boundaries or frontiers marked by such features are the ones classified as "natural". Asiwaju (1990) in his own contribution presents the definition of artificial boundaries with the advantages of a cross-cultural applicability which emphasizes the exclusivist or divisive functions as assigned by man. He therefore regards all boundaries to be man created; or artificial "if the purpose and ultimate function is to divide and separate lands and people within definable eco-systemic entities."

The argument here is that natural boundary features could be ignored in the process of dividing a homogenous ethnic group into different states or countries newly created by man. Hence, most ethnic

groups that had been living together as nations who recognized themselves as belonging to the same ethnic stocks and whose habitats were defined by natural features like sea, mountains, valleys and so on later found themselves in different countries brought into being by Western European colonizing powers Asiwaju (1990). It is against this backdrop that he (Asiwaju 1990), a renowned Nigerian boundary scholar writes:

...it was at Berlin that the theoretical foundations were laid for the subsequent balkanization of the Blackman's continent. The conference was certainly not the beginning or the end of European imperial rivalry for territories in Africa, but the rules and regulations that were drawn up by the delegates rationalized the previous activities of the contracting powers and dictated the pattern of subsequent development. For example, it was the rule about effective occupation that resulted in colonial territories with a demand for definitive boundaries and visible administrations.

The Europeans deliberately and arbitrarily delimited and demarcated Africa into states in such a way that would enable them achieve their selfish ends associated with colonialism namely exploitation of the resources in the colonial territories. Their intention was to throw a wedge between members of the same ethnic group by dividing them into at least two or more artificially created states of their own (Ogbogbo, 2002). By so doing, it would be difficult for the members of the single or same nation to rise against their new white rulers. The arbitrariness with which the African continent was divided during the age of New Imperialism is substantiated by a statement credited to a Briton, Lord Salisbury, who participated in the drawing of the Southern section of the Nigeria-Cameroun border who says as cited by Asiwaju (1990)

In those days we just took a blue pencil and a ruler, and we put it down at old Calabar, and drew that blue line to Yola... I recollect thinking when I was sitting having an audience with the Emir (of Yola) surrounded by his tribe, that it was a very good thing that he did not know that I, with a blue pencil, had drawn a line through his territory.

This revelation or pronouncement reflects the fact that the colonizers were conscious of the damage they were doing against the Africans. Their efforts ultimately changed the nationality of the African peoples who became Zimbabweans, Nigerians, Ethiopians, Zambians, Algerians, Cameroonians, Tanzanians, Moroccans, Tunisians, Gambians, Angolans etc.

It is apposite to state that the colonial powers may have succeeded in creating and imposing arbitrarily statist orientation on the Africans but that did not kill the nationalist spirit and sensibilities of those people who had themselves and their kith and kin been divided into different states or countries. This is because members of the same stock, though being divided into separate countries still regarded themselves as brothers and sisters and struggled to maintain familial contact between and among themselves. The colonial powers failed to kill or destroy the kindred spirit and natural identity of the Africans in spite of latter's forcible separation. The pre-colonial contacts that existed among African people were brought into being and maintained through long-distance trade, myth of origin, the ideological kingship and the oral histories of migrations and conquests were instrumental in creating for the ruling classes tradition that served to cement a national identity and to help galvanize political loyalty and support among their people. Consequently, " the natural fact was so real for some of these societies that, even after their disintegration as a result of external conquest and colonial rule, serious attempts were to be made to revive them in the post-colonial period"(Nzongola-Ntalaja 1987).

This reality within the African context validates and justifies the position of Por Cesar Supulveda, (1984) a former Director of Matias Romeo Institute of Diplomacy, Ministry of External Relations of Mexico, while reflecting on the U.S- Mexico border avers that:

...just as territorial boundaries cannot sharply divide nature, water or the atmosphere, nor impede the flight paths of birds and insects, they equally cannot segregate the human spirit... talents cannot be territorially confined, because it surpasses all physical barriers that people may wish to impose upon it.(Asiwaju,1990).

One of the African countries to later taste the bitter pills of the European imperial activities and subsequent artificial boundary creation was Somali. Territorially speaking, the Somali inhabit roughly 400,000 sq. miles in the Horn of Africa. 260,000 sq. miles comprise the Somali Republic and the rest extends to the neighboring countries of Kenya in the south-west, Ethiopia in north-west, and the Republic of Jibuti (Djibouti) in the north-east. To the east and north, the Somali Republic is bounded by the Indian Ocean and Gulf of Aden. The Somali population (as at 1984), estimated variously 4million and 6million, occupies continuously, though sparsely, this sizable chunk of territory (Samatar,1984). The demographic distribution reveals that about 3.5million Somali elements live in the Somali Republic, 2million in Ethiopia Ogadeen (Ogaden) and 246,000 in the Northern Province of Kenya while about 150,000 inhabit the Republic of Jibuti (Samatar,1984). Somali people became victims of not only the imperial powers of both Britain and France but also of Ethiopia and Kenya, a development that snowballed into bloody fights between Ethiopia and Somali republics in the post-colonial period, which forms the basis of this study.

Ethiopian/Somali Boundary Face-off and OAU- Nigeria's Intervention

A major perennial and damaging colonial legacy bequeathed to African states at independence is the issue of boundary disputes. The various western European colonizing powers - Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Spain and Portugal – who appropriated the African continent amongst themselves, created arbitrary boundaries which divided people of the same ethnic group into two or more nation states. In doing this, the interest of the ethnic groups so divided these newly created and independent states was hardly taken into consideration (Amate, 1986). For instance, as Ogbogbo (2002) avers, across Nigeria – Cameroon frontiers, there were over eleven different ethnic groups that were partitioned who now reside in present Nigeria and Cameroon. Prominent among them are the Shuwa Arabs, Jibu, Chamba, Gude, Matakam, Wakura, Ekoi, Efik, Ododopo, Koelle and Lama. Furthermore, the Arabs, Berbers and Tuaregs were partitioned into different countries in West Africa while in Kenya and Tanzania, there are the Maasai who were divided by the international boundary of both countries (Ogbogbo 2002). In addition, the Ketu, a sub-group of the Yoruba stock were balkanized into both Nigeria and Benin Republic. Consequently, right from the early 1960's many boundary conflicts escalated into open military confrontations. Such disputes included Morocco – Somalia; Ghana – Upper Volta (Burkina Faso); Burkina Faso-Mali; Niger-Benin; Uganda – Tanzania; Ghana – Equatorial Guinea; and Morocco – Algeria boundary disputes. Indeed, the founding fathers of the nascent OAU might have been conscious of continental disasters that were likely to arise should any attempts be made to readjust the inherited boundaries by the new African states. This realization must have motivated them to insert in the OAU charter that the colonial boundaries should be accepted as the international boundaries of the newly independent African states (Amate,1986).

The first to break out of these boundary crises was the one between Algeria and Morocco which erupted in October 1963. The OAU was therefore confronted with the responsibility of settling this and subsequent ones even when the organization was yet to set up its Commission on Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration which was later saddled with the task of resolving disputes peacefully among member states (Agbi 1986). In spite of the problems that each of the states was facing, African leaders rose to the occasion to settle the conflicts. In fact, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, in his usual characteristic manner and radical posture, called for the establishment of a Union Government that would incorporate all African states under one continental government. His belief was that by so doing there would be no need for conflict resolution as all the states would have been formed into a single state. Most of the leaders were conscious of the precarious situation in which Africa found itself as far as the boundary disputes were

concerned in relation to the unity of African states. While contributing to the resolution of the Algeria – Morocco face – off in November 1963, the Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie remarked that the Algerian – Morocco crisis was:

A threat to the unity and oneness which we seek...And a test of our strength, courage and resolve to maintain the principles of the O.A.U. Failure could deal a crippling blow to the objective which we have marked for ourselves. (Agbi 1986).

Nigeria played significant roles in conflict resolution pertaining to boundary disagreement. Having chosen Africa as the focal point of her foreign policies, it did everything humanly possible and used her resources – human, financial and diplomatic – towards boundary dispute resolution, even while its gruesome civil war was still raging. In the 1970's, particularly during the Mohammed/Obasanjo administration (1975-79), Nigeria's African policy became revolutionized. Since all the disputes cannot be examined, it has become imperative to look at one of them as a case study. It is through this that Nigeria's efforts at resolving boundary crises in consonance with the OAU doctrine of pacific settlement would be appreciated. It is on this note that the Ethiopian – Somali boundary dispute is examined.

The Ethiopia-Somalia crisis was the most violent and protracted regarding the boundary disputes that characterized the continent. As it has been pointed out, 'perhaps the most intractable and frustrating mediatory effort in which Nigeria was involved was the Ethiopia-Somalia dispute'(Garba 1991). The genesis of the problem is traceable to the imposition of colonial rule during which the Somali were divided into five different territories. These were British Somaliland, French Somaliland and Italian Somaliland. The remaining two territories became parts of Kenya and Ethiopia. In his analysis, Agbi (1986) has noted that the Somali occupy about $\frac{1}{3}$ of Djibouti (French Somaliland), $\frac{1}{5}$ of Ethiopia and $\frac{1}{5}$ of Kenya. The rest lived, until their independence and unification in 1960, under the Italian and British colonial administrations (Agbi 1986). This development, in the Horn of Africa, has been described as a 'time-bomb' that was bound to explode after the departure of its initiators

The bone of contention between Ethiopia and Somali was the Ogaden region which was inhabited by Somali-speaking people in the pre-colonial days. The Ethiopian Emperor Menelik II had demonstrated his interest in sharing the 'booty' with France, Britain and Italy between 1889 and 1891 when the colonizing powers came to divide Somaliland among themselves. He moved his troops to colonize the western part of Somalia which was not yet claimed or occupied by the European powers. In 1936, Italy defeated Ethiopia and as a result placed the Ethiopian Ogaden under the same administration as the Somali in what used to be called Italian Somaliland. With the help of British troops, Ethiopia was freed from Italian imperial clutches in 1941 but the British maintained the *status quo* until 14 September, 1948, when the area was again placed under Ethiopian rule after much pressure from Emperor Haile Selassie (Amate 1986).

Given the imperial tendencies displayed by Ethiopia, the Somali government maintained that Ethiopia was a colonial power, and like other colonial powers had been resisting the demand of the Somali people for independence. This ultimately led to the outbreak of the Ethiopian-Somali crisis as the Somali government referred to Article III (6) of the OAU Charter which supports 'the total emancipation of the African territories which were still dependent'.

In response, the Ethiopian authorities argued that there was no Somali nation before 1960 and that historically, the Ogaden region was an integral part of Ethiopia. According to them, the Somali currently living in the region were nomads who displaced the original dwellers in the course of grazing their animals. Hence, they claimed that in accordance with Article III (3) of the OAU Charter, the Somali government would have to show 'respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity' of Ethiopia and of Kenya against which the Somali government was also laying claim.(Erinosho 2010)

The divergent view of Ethiopia was annoying to the Somali government under Abdulla Osman who was committed to the creation of what Agbi (1986) describes as 'Greater Somalia' by uniting all Somali territories among which were the Ogaden region and Northern Frontier District (NFS) which was part of Kenya. The Somali abhorred the creation of the NFS as part of Kenya by the British and therefore decided to break off diplomatic relations with Britain on 18 March, 1963. In addition, there were reports of skirmishes between Ethiopia and Somalia in 1961 and 1964. There was a clear readiness of the Somali to employ force, if necessary, to realize the emergence of a Greater Somalia (Agbi 1986).

The situation was exacerbated when Kenya became independent in December 1963 and signed an Agreement of Cooperation and Mutual Defence Assistance with Ethiopia. This move was regarded by Somalia to be against her. As a result, the minor clashes between Ethiopia and Somalia degenerated into full-blown war in February, 1964.

The aggressive posture of Somalia prompted the Imperial Government of Ethiopia to send a letter to the Acting Secretary General of the OAU on 8 February 1964, 'requesting him to call an extra-ordinary session of the Council of Ministers to consider the aggression committed by the Republic of Somalia against Ethiopia'. In the same manner, Somalia implored the Acting Secretary General of the OAU to include the Somali-Ethiopia crisis on the agenda of the extra-ordinary meeting of the Foreign Ministers billed to hold at Dar-es-Salaam on February 12, 1964 (Agbi 1986). In fact, it was President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania who had summoned the February meeting in order to find solutions to the internal insurrections which had undermined his government in 1964. However, majority of the ministers placed higher premium on the Somali-Ethiopia dispute than the Tanzanian problems.

On 13 February, 1964 both the Ethiopian and the Somali delegates were called upon to present their respective cases. Ethiopia's Foreign Minister, Ketema Kifru lay historical claims to the disputed area while Somalia's Foreign Minister, Abdullahi Issa Mohammud sought an immediate cease-fire from the Foreign Ministers' Summit. Furthermore, he wanted the ministers to appoint observers to supervise the effective maintenance of the truce, and wanted the O.A.U. to check Ethiopia's imperialistic policies towards Somalia.

The Council of Ministers ruled that the two warring states should enter into peaceful negotiation of their dispute. The resolution also called upon 'all African states with diplomatic or consular missions in Ethiopia and Somalia to do their best to assist in the implementation of the ceasefire'. They were also to refrain from using damaging propaganda. The Ethiopian-Somali crisis was to be discussed during the second ordinary session of the Council of Ministers scheduled to meet in Lagos on February 24, 1964, with a view to arriving at a peaceful and lasting solution (Amate, 1986). The second ordinary session of the Council of Ministers in Lagos was a total failure as the two states were not ready to shift ground. In fact, the Somalia Foreign Minister called on the Council to denounce the defence pact between Ethiopia and Kenya as, according to him, bilateral and regional military pacts were a threat to the concept of African unity. He accused both Ethiopia and Kenya of having foreign military bases in their territories which contradicted the spirit of the OAU Charter (Amate, 1986).

The Council of Ministers tried to use every peaceful means to resolve the dispute. Hence, despite the hostile attitude of both disputants, an eleven-nation sub-committee was set up on the advice of the leader of the Sierra Leone delegation. Members of the sub-committee were: Morocco, Benin, Tunisia, Cameroon, Liberia, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Sierra Leone, Mauritania and Sudan. They were charged to draft two resolutions – one for the consideration of Ethiopia-Somalia dispute, and the other for the Somalia-Kenya. The two draft resolutions which the sub-committee came up with were similar. They both reaffirmed the resolutions that the council arrived at in Dar-es-Salaam. The three countries were advised to avoid what could worsen the situation and enter into direct negotiations as soon as possible. In

consequence, the government of Sudan used its good offices and met with the Foreign Ministers of Ethiopia and Somalia in Khartoum in March 1964 to commence negotiations. The two countries agreed not to use hostile propaganda any more against each other, 'and to set up a joint commission to supervise the withdrawal of troops from their common border and to follow up the discussion of outstanding problems relating to the border issue' (Amate, 1986).

The Assembly of Heads of Governments did not receive any progress report on the Somali-Ethiopia dispute, and so, there was neither discussion nor passage of any resolution on it. However, occasional armed clashes and the use of hostile propaganda continued until 1973 when the situation again developed into a full scale war. The efforts of an eight-nation sub-committee comprising Nigeria (Chairman), Cameroon, Liberia, Lesotho, Mauritania, Senegal, Sudan and Tanzania, during the tenth ordinary session of the Assembly were frustrated by the Somali dissidents in the Ogaden. The sub-committee had previously met the representatives of the two warring states in Algiers in September 1973, and again in Mogadiscio (Mogadishu) in June 1974 during the eleventh ordinary session of the Assembly. These meetings helped a lot in reducing tension between the two disputing states before the members of the Western Somali Liberation Front, fighting for the independence of their territory began to feature again in the crisis (Garba 1991).

By 1977, the war had assumed an alarming dimension with the involvement of aerial bombing. Before then, the Nigerian-led Good Offices Committee Chaired by Alhaji Umaru Shinkafi, Nigeria's Commissioner for Internal Affairs between 5 and 8 August, 1977 at Libreville, Gabon, was stifled by the Somali delegation who walked out of the meeting. The Somali behaved in such manner because the Committee objected to Dr. Abdurahman I. Barre's suggestion that the Western Somalia Liberation Front be allowed to take part in the negotiations affecting their destiny. The walk-out was also precipitated by the committee's strict adherence to 'the principles and objectives of the OAU Charter which respects the sovereignty and territorial integrity of member states' (Agbi, 1986).

The war escalated in 1978 with the active participation of Cuban and Russian forces which supported Ethiopia. In March, Somalia lost Jijiga to Ethiopia and this made it obvious that Somalia would sue for peace by withdrawing her forces from the Ogaden region. Instead, she demanded that all foreign troops must be withdrawn from the Horn of Africa, and 'the recognition by interested parties of the right to self-determination for the people of Western Somalia (Ogaden)' (Agbi 1986).

Barre became distressed as the situation was more serious than ever as a result of foreign intervention. He alleged that Soviet soldiers had got involved in the actual fighting under the command of one General Barisov, who was formerly a Soviet military advisor in Somalia (Garba 1991).

An Appraisal of Nigeria's Intervention on Ethiopia/Somali Boundary Dispute

Nigeria's interest in peaceful resolution of conflicts was further strengthened under the Federal Military Government headed by the retired General Olusegun Obasanjo. Three other attempts made by Nigeria between February and April were unsuccessful. According to General Joseph Garba, Nigeria's External Affairs Minister and the convener of the meetings:

Unfortunately, my hopes of convening a meeting of the (Good Offices) Commission did not materialize...As propaganda war between the two countries heightened, both began to insist on all kinds of pre-conditions. Ethiopia demanded that Somalia must withdraw her forces and renounce all claims to Ogaden, stop supporting the insurgents and renounce all belligerent intentions before she would attend any meeting. Somalia on her part demanded that the Soviet and Cuban forces must be withdrawn from Ogaden before she would attend any meeting (Garba 1991).

The effort of the British High Commissioner, Mervyn Brown, who sought to broker peace between the warring states also failed. He had met with the Director of Africa Department of the Commonwealth on 10 March, 1978, who informed him that the Somali Foreign Minister had on 9 March summoned Western Ambassadors and informed them of the Somali Government decision to withdraw Somali units from Ogaden. The Ethiopian Government was not prepared to accept any intervention from the Western powers on behalf of Somalia. Thus, the war continued.

As part of Nigeria's commitment to the maintenance of peace and security on the African continent, General J. Garba confided in Cyrus Vance - the American Secretary of State, – that he was ready to take the matter to the Security Council or to the Non-Aligned Movement which might turn out to be an embarrassment not only to Ethiopia, but also to Africa (Garba 1991). The then Nigerian Head of State, Olusegun Obasanjo, did a lot to localize the war by going to Washington in 1977 where he sought and obtained assurances from the US President, Jimmy Carter, to refrain from any involvement in the conflict. After that, he sent a special envoy to Moscow to seek a similar assurance from President Lenoid Brezhnev of the Soviet Union (Amate, 1986). Thus, the Ethiopia-Somalia dispute defied every attempt made by the OAU in general and Nigeria in particular towards resolving it peacefully. Yet, the committee continued with its mediation efforts in order to find a just and lasting solution to the conflict. In other words, all the efforts of the OAU member-states particularly by Nigeria were frustrated by the hard line posture of the disputing parties, thus leaving the Somali at cross roads as at 1977, the terminal year of this study. The bitter experience of the Somalia is summed up by Dr 'Abdirashiid 'Ali Shermaarke, the late President of the Somali Republic thus:

Our misfortune do not stem from the unproductiveness of the soil, nor from a lack of mineral wealth. These limitations on our material well-being were accepted and compensated for by our forefathers from whom we inherited, among other things, a spiritual and cultural prosperity of inestimable value: the teaching of Islam on the one hand and lyric poetry on the other... No! Our misfortune is that our neighbouring countries, with whom, like the rest of Africa, we seek to promote constructive and harmonious relations, are not our neighbors. Our neighbours are our Somali kinsmen whose citizenship has been falsified by indiscriminate boundary “arrangement”. They have to move across artificial frontiers to their pasture lands. They occupy the same terrain and pursue the same pastoral economy as ourselves. We speak the same language. We share the same creed, the same culture and the same traditions. How can we regard our brothers as foreigners?(Samatar, 1986)

While assessing Nigeria's contribution in conflict resolution, Garba (1991) has this to say:

I think Nigeria, for all the reasons of size and influence, was right on such a role, and will be right to take it on in future... whatever the jealousies caused by Nigeria's potential leadership, our mediatory efforts were often sought and never rebuffed.

Conclusion

This study navigated the Ethiopia/Somali boundary dispute which was one of the unhappy colonial legacies bequeathed to Africans. The issue of boundary conflicts which erupted as soon as many states became politically independent took centre stage in the international relations of sovereign African nations which established the defunct Organization of African Unity (OAU). The continental body founding fathers and their successors did their best to ensure that Africa was peaceful. Nigeria, using the OAU platform played prominent roles to mediate in the Ethiopia/Somali border face-off as demonstrated by this study.

The acerbity expressed in the above assertion reflects the bitterness and acrimony being engendered by the indiscriminate, criminal but deliberate and willful arbitrary demarcation of African countries by centrifugal forces represented by the imperial powers of Europe. Thus, the Europeans created bad blood among Africans thereby putting the victims at cross-roads and perpetual hostility.

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EFFECTS OF IMMUNIZATION ON THE CITIZEN AND A STUDY OF MAGAMA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF NIGER STATE, NIGERIA

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Abstract

Reduction of morbidity and mortality rate among children is the main reason behind health prevention policy. The success of immunization programme depend on the utilization the preventive services. This research examine the efficiency of immunization programme in Magama Local Government Area, The data were collected through in-depth and interview to supplement quantitative data (questionnaire). The policy Option on Health Intervention Theory and its modification was used as a theoretical guide while purposive, stratified and systematic sampling procedure were applied in the study The study revealed positive awareness about immunization and utilization of immunization services'(1) .in magama local government area however .There is high degree of fear and suspicion about immunization. (2) The beneficiaries confirmed that vaccination helps a child to grow well. Logistics, unqualified staff, poor monitoring are the major problems confronting immunization services in the Local Government Area. The study recommends re-modification of the programme to integrate other common diseases in immunization service, eradication of fear and suspicion through mass media, community dialogue and campaign. State should integrate special committees on immunization. There should be uniforms for vaccinators as an identity. State and Local Governments of Nigeria should give much surveillance, re-intensify mass mobilization, and effective monitoring and evaluation and also make provision for effective transport, physicians and logistics to sustain the success of the immunization services.

Introduction

Immunization remains one of the most important public health interventions and a cost effective strategy to reduce both morbidity and mortality associated with infectious diseases (Odunsanyan et.al 2008). Immunization against childhood preventable diseases in Nigeria is a National Health Scheme under the National Immunization Programme [NIP]. The major childhood preventable diseases are Polio, Measles, Whooping Cough, Cebrospinal Meningitis (CSM), Hepatitis B, Yellow Fever etc. While pregnant women are immunized to prevent neonatal tetanus among children, the overall objective of the service was to

reduce morbidity and mortality rates among children. Prevention against infectious diseases has become one of the scientifically accepted methods of controlling the spread of diseases. Many countries in the world have adopted immunization services to achieve these goals in health care delivery. Nigerian Government inherited curative measures from her former British colonial masters. The emphasis then was mainly transplanting western model of health care delivery, profession, creation of hospitals, training of doctors as opposed to provision of basic health facilities and personnel in the rural centres (Jegade 2002). At a International conference jointly organized by United Nations Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and World Health Organization (WHO) in 1978 at Alma Ata, Nations were encouraged to work towards eradicating and preventing communicable diseases rather than Curative Health Management (Umar 2006).

Chinese and Indians, before (200 BC), were the first to experiment vaccination through the process of “Virolation.” Virolation simply means injection of the virus taken from a pustule or scab of a small pox eviction into superficial layer of skin, on the upper arm. The idea came from the Turks. The Turks had a habit of deliberately inoculating themselves with fluids taken from mild case of small pox. Montagu inoculated her own children using this method (Lombard et.al, 2007). In 1796, Edward, a British Physician tested the possibility of using cowpox vaccine to immunize human against smallpox epidemic for the first time. Others, who tested this method before Edward, includes Benjamin (1770), Jensen Germany (1772), Randall, England 1774 and Platt Germany in 1791. Edward Jenner in 1796 was the first to use the word “Vaccination” and provided proof of perfect and security of violated cowpox (Lucy and Judd 2006). The emergences of Germ Theory of Human Disease in the late nineteenth century as human vaccines were developed after 80 years of Jenner seminal studies. The work of Louis Pasteur, a microbiologist, influenced Jenner's to develop the concept of vaccine to vaccine (Lombard *et al.*, 2007).

immunization is considered essential in African countries. In 1996 when Polio disease was rampant, about 75,000 African children were paralysed. In 2003 WHO and UNICEF set up Global Immunization Vision and Strategy (GIVS) in response to challenges in global immunization in order to reduce morbidity and mortality rate among countries to at least two thirds by 2015. The Task Force on immunization in Africa (TFI) was expected to speed vaccination cover age (Atai 2010).

In August, 1987, the Federal Government of Nigeria launched Primary Health Care (PHC) “which advocates practical, scientifically sound and acceptable methods made universally to individuals and families in the community through their full participation at the cost that the community can afford to maintain at every stage of their development in the spirit of self reliance and determination”(Umar 2006:21). The Primary Health Care (PHC) became the cornerstone in the health policy of preventing and controlling infectious diseases especially in rural areas. The plan was to cover the entire Nigerian population with provision of health care personnel, collection and monitoring of health data and provision of drugs in the rural areas. In the revised National Health Policy 2004, PHC became a major concern of health development with main objective of prevention and control of infectious diseases and out break of epidemic and diseases (WHO 2003). The Expanded Programme on Immunization (EPI) was introduced in 1974-1979. In 2007, the National Immunization Programme (NIP) blue print was fully implemented with routine immunization. Since the commencement of the Programme, there have been a lot of controversies, fear, suspicion and resistance towards Immunization especially in the Northern part of Nigeria. In the rural areas, the level of awareness of immunization programme is very low. The poor attitude and negative perception about the nature and the safety of the programme may have adversely affected its successful implementation in Nigeria. It is against this background that this research seeks to examine the attitude of people towards immunization programme as well as factors affecting its utilization, in Magama Local Government Area Niger State

Methodology

The Research adopted questionnaire and interview techniques. The population of the study comprise of women with children under five years old. The total female population in the local Government Area is (88, 96) and 25% of this population is 22,240 between 15 to 45 years. Questionnaires were used to collect the data from mother and children. Similarities an in- depth interview was conducted on member with children E P I manager for local government immunization focal officer, immunization team supervisor, vaccinators, independent observer.

The data collected through questionnaires were coded and subjected to the statistical package of social science (SPSS) which summarized the demographic and factors responsible for utilization of immunization services and attitudes towards the immunization for testing the hypothesis, chi square value was used to ascertain the association between variables

The Expanded Programme on Immunization (EPI)

The Expanded Programme on Immunization (EPI) was initiated in 1979 to cover only five years during serious outbreak of infectious diseases including CSM, Yellow fever, Measles, Guinea worms and Cholera in the years between 1980 and 1986 when the epidemics claimed many lives. According to Ekerete (2011), in 1984, Nigeria re-launched two programmes to protect children from childhood infections and immunization was renamed National Immunization Programme on Immunization (NPI). The aim of the programmes was to immunize at least 80% of all pregnant women targeted to be vaccinated against tetanus. Among other diseases included for vaccination, were Measles, Poliomyelitis Whooping cough, Tuberculosis and Diphtheria.

The other programme was Oral Dehydration Therapy (ORT) designed to teach at least 50% of parents on how to prevent death from diarrhea in children aged 0-5 years with simple home-made salt-sugar solution and to rehydrate children. The Federal Government strategy was to educate, convince and motivate mothers, pregnant women and the community at large to utilize the service. According to Ekerete (2011), people are easily mobilized concerning immunization only during epidemic or diseases outbreak.

Since the inception of immunization programme, a lot of challenges had surrounded it. There is lack of proper health information which generated suspicion and fear. People's cultural values, faith and belief were not integrated into immunization programme. Amzat (2009) indicated that immunization was seen as a new innovation which came into conflict with religion and cultural norms of the society. Suspicion became very high in 2001 when Pfizer Pharmaceutical Company sampled 200 children in Kano for immunization vaccine trial as remedy for meningitis, which resulted in the death of 11 children and 100 children, who have been afflicted with permanent disabilities. (Saidu, 2001). There were also controversies during immunization catch up campaign in the northern part of Nigeria in 2003. Immunization was suspected to contain anti fertility pills. Kassem *et al.* (2008). Many people rejected the exercise, especially in the Northern part of the country.

Nigeria is still behind other world nations in immunization coverage (NDHS 2008). North Western part of Nigeria recorded only 6%. North-eastern part 8%, North-central part 26%, South-Western part 43%, South-Southern part 36%, while South-Eastern part recorded 43%. Nigeria has introduced measures to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) before 2015 by intensifying immunization campaign, routine immunization and immunization plus days.

The Agencies for immunization in the country include United State Agency for International Development (USAID), Community Participation Force in the Social Sector Project (COMPASS), European Union (EU) and United Kingdom Department for International Development (UK, DFID), (UNICEF 1991).

Factors Affecting the Utilization of Immunization Services

In {2008]Adesanya *et al.* Conducted a study on vaccination utilization and its determinant in a rural community. Survey method was adopted with interview and questionnaires technique. The findings were that maternal education has a strong association with awareness about immunization, vaccine dosage at the right age, identifying symptoms of preventive diseases, completion of vaccination. This study, when applied in remote rural areas that lack health facilities, basic infrastructures, and low level of illiteracy, may not produce a similar result. Adeyinka *et al.* (2009) used survey method to assess mother's awareness and attitude toward immunization. The research recorded positive attitude and reasons for underutilization of immunization services that include: long waiting on queues during routine immunization, ignorance of antenatal services, payment for immunization services when delivered at home and inefficient health workers. The researcher does not include socio-cultural factors like religion and cultural norms among other factors militating against vaccination up take. The study was conducted in a semi urban area therefore findings may not be applicable to rural or remote areas.

Atai (2010) researched on migration and child immunization, at community level in Nigeria. The likelihood of full immunization was higher for children of urban migrant mothers. Utilization of vaccines was also affected by migration, demographic and socio-economic characteristics, and adaptation to health care utilization as well as community characteristics, region of residence and proportion of mothers who had hospital delivery. This study could be applicable in rural areas especially where the characteristics of the population are pastoral nomadic, and areas with insufficient health facilities. The study also indicated the problem of missed children as a result of home delivery.

UNICEF (2006) survey identified factors affecting immunization among families in Nigeria. The key factors are beliefs in some forms of religion and reasons, ignorance and lack of credible source of health information. All the factors have influence on family decision on acceptance or resistance to immunization service. The survey suggested community dialogue with traditional leaders, community health workers and audience to settle questions and provide answers concerning the issue of immunization. This method was conducted, and it produced a desirable result in 2007.

The 2008 (NDHS) indicated low immunization coverage in Nigeria. The identified factors for under utilization of immunization services include lack of proper health information among the mothers in rural areas, fear of side effects and distance from immunization post. These factors are manifest in remote and semi urban areas in Nigeria especially the fear of side effect and ignorance.

Theoretical Frame work.

In 1998, Irwing in Umar (2006) developed a model called Health Interventions ,policy based on these assumptions.

It is unlikely (health) intervention does more good than harm in a setting

It is uncertain whether (health) intervention does more good than harm. "Good" is the possible benefit while "harm" means "unwanted negative consequence".

On the recipient of health intervention the model can be applied to preventive health medical in culture where immunization is seen as a new medical innovation. The components of (POHI) are:

Whether really the intention is good in a setting given the social, economic and cultural diversities. Whether it is not likely the intervention would be superior to the alternative intervention in use.

Or whether the intervention is applicable or is not cost-effective.

(POHI) health intervention would be discouraged when there is considerable level of harm, even though there is goodness in it. It is also likely that it is uncertain health intervention, does more good than harm.

Umar (2006) noted that wide uncontrolled application of new interventions of uncertain benefit is rarely

justified even though policy-makers, planners and providers may feel under pressure to make the intervention available implementation with out strong evidence. The efficacy of this model is that it critically examined usefulness viability of immunization, examined the intervention of unproven value resources effectively elsewhere. It has also addressed causal path ways between events, intention and final outcome. The main weakness of POHI is that it only took account of effective health care service without considering whether the use of vaccines is safe and will not do more good than harm. The POHI does not link HBM of the mother neglecting cultural perception and concentrate on general policy that affects the state and 'other institutions.

The policy option on Health intervention model has adequately explained how the Federal Government of Nigeria intervened in public Health to reduce morbidity and mortality rate among children. The policy is to suitable for Heterogeneity nature of Nigerian society base on the assumptions that intervention would provide disenable result Despite the Efficacy of this policy cultural factors, system of belief and safety of the vaccines are still the challenging issues to this programme.

The study area.

The study was conducted in Magama Local Government Area of Niger State in Nigeria. Magama LGA was created in 1991 along with the other 25 Local Government Areas in Niger State. It is located at the western part of the state, covering an area of approximately 4,107km² (1,585.7sqml) with total population of 181,65399, National Population Census (2006).

The major occupation of the people is farming, 80% of the population are peasants. The major ethnic groups in the Area are Kambari and Hausa, others are Fulani, Nupe, Gwari, Dakarkari, Igbo, Yoruba, Edo, Etsokiri and Ijaw. There are Muslims, Christians and African traditional believers living in the Local Government Area.

The Health Care Service in the L.G.A is provided by public and private individuals. The L.G.A has a total of Fifty-two Health Care centres with two General Hospitals located at Auna and Nasko. Each district has a Basic clinic and one health centre. There is one maternity clinic located at Salka. Other villages and remote areas obtained their services through P.H.C clinics. Majority of remote areas and hamlets are very close to P.H.C clinics.

The LGA has a total 180 Health Care personnel consisting of 23 Nurses, 27 Midwives, 60 Junior Community Health Extension Worker JCHEW, Senior Community Health Extension Worker SCHEW 40, Traditional birth attendants (TBA) and 30 voluntary health workers. People also seek for health service from traditional herbalist, shrines, and spiritual and faiths healers (Adenuga 2002).

Research Design

This research was designed in descriptive method for the purpose of interpretation and analysis of data to reflect the existing attitude, perception, belief, utilization and problems of immunization service in the study area. It was also designed to reveal some events or issues that have association with the frequencies of such occurrence. Data were obtained from both primary and secondary sources, Explanatory design was also used to identify why some events occur. The design adopted questionnaire and interview techniques.

Population of the Study

The population of the study comprises of women with children under the age of 5 years. According to 2006 population census, Magama Local Government area has a total 88,962 females. Based on National Health Demographic and World Development Report of 1994 estimation, 25% of the female population constituted the women of child bearing age, between 15 to 45 years, then, 22,240 constituted the population of the study.

Method of Collecting Data

Four hundred and forty five (445) questionnaires distributed, three hundred and ninety three (393) the response rate was 88.3 %. The respondent in the age group of 21 years were 57.8% and age group of 31 years and above were 21.9 % the marital status of the correspondent were 71.25% and 6.11% were widowed, while 22.64% were divorcee. The art artisans were 27.5% 47% of the house wives while 12% and 13.5% were civil servant and farmers. On level of education 12.5% have no education, those with Islamic education were 23.4%, respondent with the primary education were 33.1%, secondary education were 22.9 % those with the post secondary education were 8.1% on the age of immunized children, 41.0% immunized were children less than 1 years, 34.4% were children of 2-3 years old. While 24.7% were children of 4-5 years on house head occupation, 27.5% were artisan, 13.5% were unemployed hose head 16.0% were civil servant while 43.0% are into farming occupation.

Table 1
Respondents Demographic Information

Age	Frequency	Percentage
Less than 20 years	180	20.3
21 – 30 years	227	57.8
31 and above	86	21.9
Total	393	100.
Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
Married	280	71.25
Widowed	24	6.11
Divorced	89	22.64
Total	393	100.
Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Artisan	108	27.5
House wife/ unemployed	185	47.0
Civil servant	47	12.0
Farming	53	13.5
Total	393	100.
Level of Education	Frequency	Percentage
No education	49	12.5
Islamic Education	92	23.4
Primary Education	130	33.1
Secondary School Education	90	22.9
Post Secondary School Education	32	8.1
Total	393	100.
Ages of immunized children	Frequency	Percentage
Less than 1 year	161	41.0
2-3 years	135	34.4
4-5 years	97	24.7
Total	393	100.
Religious	Frequency	Percentage
Islam	237	60.3
Christianity	101	25.7
Traditional	55	14.0
Total	393	100.
House Head occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Artisan	108	27.5
Unemployed	53	13.5
Civil servant	63	16.0
Farming	169	43.0
Total	393	100.

Thematic Analysis – This process involved familiarising with the data through transcribing and reading and re- reading the responses after the interviews techniques. Systematic code was generated across the entire data collected. The themes were checked hundred generating clear the meanings which produced a clear report. The study arranged themes into the simple clear analysis of the results. The study conducted eighty interviews with the mothers with under five years children, local government immunization officer (L10) team supervisor of immunization services, communities leaders, immunization services independent observer, immunization focal officer. Team vaccinator, assistance team vaccinator (adhoc staff)

S/N	CODE	THEMES
1	MUF (01)	Mother with under five years child
2	L.1.0 (02)	Local government immunization officer
3	T S O (03)	Team supervisor of immunization services
4	C T L (04)	Immunization independent leader
5	I S I (05)	Communities independent observer
6	I F O (06)	Immunization focal officer
7	I T V (07)	Immunization team vaccinator
8	A T V (08)	Assistant team vaccinator (adhoc staff)

On the in depth-interview technique, the informant were selected during routine immunization day. Most mothers with children below the age of 5 years attend clinics for vaccination of their children. Therefore, the researcher selected the respondents with level of education in immunization centres. Mothers with no education were selected and interviewed at their respective homes through the permission of their spouses. The adhoc-staff or team vaccinators were interviewed at home; the team supervisors were interviewed in the clinics with some team vaccinators that were health personnel. The researcher experienced tape recorder failure on the first interview trip. The interview was rescheduled, the researcher introduced replay and writing responses at the same time.

The independent observer was interviewed after the completion of immunization exercise at home, after several missed schedule. The key informant on focal officer and team supervisors were drawn through the local government area list of immunization workers. The workers were interviewed in their respective clinics. The EPI manager was interviewed in Nasko the Local Government Headquarter after several postponements of schedules. The recorded interviews were later transcribed and written and subjected to the researcher analysis.

Method of Data Analysis

The data collected through questionnaire were coded and subjected to Statistics Package of Social Sciences (SPSS) which summarized the demographic and factors responsible for utilization of immunization services and attitudes toward the immunization. For testing the hypothesis, Chi-square Value was used to ascertain the association between variables. For instances, in establishing relationship between people's attitude and utilization of immunization services, the qualitative data from In-depth Interview and Key Informant Interview were used for clear understanding and critical analysis for validity result.

Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion Of Findings.

Out of four hundred and forty five (445) questionnaires distributed, three hundred and Ninety Three (393) questionnaires were successfully retrieved. The response rate was about 88.3%. The analysis of the data collected was based on the 393 questionnaire retrieved.

The respondents in the age group 21 – 30 constituted 57.8% while only 20.3% were less than 20 years and 21.9% were aged 30 years and above.

In terms of marital status of the respondents, 71.25% were married, 6.11% were widowed, while 22.64% were divorced.

27.5% of the respondents were artisans, 47% were unemployed/house wives, while 12% and 13.5% were civil servants and farmers, respectively. .

The educational level of the respondents indicated that respondents with no Education were 12.5%, those with Islamic Education were 23.4% while those with primary level of education were 33.1%. Respondents with secondary school education were 22.9% and those with post secondary education were only 8.1%. The results thus indicated that the greatest percentage of the respondents had acquired basic literacy.

The marriage type of the respondent's family that indicated monogamy were 43.3% while polygamy were 56.7%. Most of the respondents were from polygamous families. Polygamy has a significant relationship with culture and religion of the study area, because most of the people in the study area are Muslims.

The age of the last child of the respondents shows that mothers with child below one year child were 41.0%. Those with 2-3 years old children were 34.3% and mothers with 4-5 years were 24.7%. The immunization target population are children of these categories because they are prone to infectious diseases. 60.3% of the respondents were Muslims, 25.7% were Christians while 14.0% were adherents of traditional religion.

On the occupation of the respondents' spouse artisan were 27.5%, unemployed spouse were 13.5%, the civil servants were 16.0% and farmers among the spouse were 43.0%. The result indicated that most spouses of the respondents are Peasant farmers and farming is the major occupation in the study area.

Awareness about immunization services is very important particularly to Mothers should have relevant information concerning the completion dose of immunization. Majority of the respondents were aware of immunization, it was indicated that those that were aware constituted 97.2% while those not aware were 2.8%. The study has indicated that awareness about immunization is very high. Similarly in an In-dept Interview conducted with immunization focal officer in Ibeto Dispensary on 14 August 2011. The Male Focal officer, age 58 years revealed that: Immunization awareness is mostly created through Mass media, campaigns and traditional town crier. (Field work, 2017)

The respondents were asked about the participation of community leaders in immunization and 97.2% of the respondents indicated yes while 2.8% of the respondents indicated 'no'. Community leaders played significant roles in mobilization and aiding the service provider and the beneficiary. In Key Informant Interview with local government immunization officer, Male age 55years in the immunization office Nasko on 17 August 2017 stated that: We do involve the communities or traditional leaders to create awareness and also during house to house Immunization most of the cases of non compliances are resolved by these leaders without interference. (Field work, 2017..)

91.6% of the respondent indicated “Yes” they usually took their children for immunization while 8.4% of the respondents rejected immunization services. The In-depth Interview conducted in the study with eight mothers at different locations and at different routine immunization days, two respondents from Ibeto, female age 20 and 35 respectively interviewed on 14th August 2017. Also two respondents from Salka, female age 20 and 32 interviewed on 21st August 2017. Similarly one female respondent from Auna age 22 and one respondent from Nasko female age 31 interviewed on 28 August 2017 were all of the view that they immunize their children during house to house immunization and routine immunization is fast in the

completion of the immunization rounds. As one literate mother, age, 25 years among the respondents from Ibetto stated that: I always immunize my child during house to house immunization; I also complete their immunization rounds during routine immunization days. (Field work, 2017.)

In a Key Informant Interview conducted on 17th August 2017 with the EPI manager male, age 35 in Nasko. The EPI manager stressed that:

Routine immunization has improved immunization coverage.
There is significance improvement in immunization coverage due to routine immunization. In a district last month we covered 13,460 children compare to 13,640 last exercises...
In the local government area alone we are able to covered 117,330 children in June 2017 compared to July 2017 with 119,427 children (Field work, 2017)

The perception of the respondents on the usefulness of immunization indicated that about 77.1% of the respondents perceived the usefulness of immunization and indicated “yes” while only 22.9% indicated “No”. Similarly based on In-depth Interview conducted with five respondent, age 20 and 32 years with mothers on 21st august 2011, in Auna and the one conducted in Auna with a literate mother age 22 interviewed 25th August 2017 and another interview with two mothers age 19 and 31 interview on 28th August 2017 at Nasko all agreed that immunization is very important in which one respondent from Salka clearly stressed that: Immunization is very important because it prevents children from infection (Field work, 2017.)

36.1% indicated the choice of Immunization service by the father while 19.9% indicated the choice of mother and 44.0% indicated both parents, it is very important for parents to unanimously decide to immunities their child. It may also influence the mother to complete the Immunization rounds. In In-depth Interview conducted during routine immunization day on 14th August 2017, two respondents age 20 and 35, Literate and non literate mothers testified that: It was the father who takes decision on immunization

While 3 literate mothers in which, one each from Salka, Nasko and Auna respectively testified that the spouses unanimously decided to accept immunization for their children.

Similarly in another interview conducted during routine immunization day in Auna on 25th August 2017 with a non literate mother aged 36 and the one conducted in Nasko on 28th August 2017 also a non literate aged 31 testified that: They immunized their children based on their own decision alone. (Field work, 2017.)

6.7% of the respondents prefer traditional preventive measures, 75.3% prefer immunization while 18.0% prefer both traditional and immunization measures. This has indicated that people in the study area prefer immunization than any other form of preventive measures.

78.4% of the respondents knew the recommended dose a child is supposed to have for a complete immunization while 21.6% shows ignorance about immunization complete dose.

69.2% receive immunization service in the hospital while 30.8% did not receive any immunization service when they gave birth at home. .

On necessity to complete immunization rounds, 72.5% of the respondents indicated “Yes” while 27.5% indicated “No”. This shows that awareness about the importance of immunization service is very high which indicated the utilization pattern in the Local Government Area. .

88.0% benefited from house to house Immunization, 1.3% of the respondents received their

Immunization through routine Immunization process while about 10.7% received their immunization at Fixed post Immunization. The result has indicated that a house to house immunization is the most successful method of immunization.

80.7% of the respondents fear the vaccines used in immunization service. While 19.3% indicated that the vaccine is free from harm. Fear and Suspicion have surrounded the Preventive Programme. There are controversies about Immunization vaccines. It was alleged to have contained anti fertility pills. People assume Immunization to have more harm than good. The introduction of Routine Immunization to speed up immunization coverage is perceived as neglecting other common diseases, in pursue of Polio and other childhood diseases. Similarly, in- depth Interview conducted on 14th August 2011 at the basic clinic Ibeto with immunization team supervisor female age 30 concerning fear and suspicion about immunization services, the team supervisor stressed that: People still express that the vaccine used in immunization contain anti fertility pills..... (Field work, 2017.)

In another in-depth Interview conducted on 14th August 2017, in Ibeto with team vaccinator, female 25years concerning routine immunization. The team vaccinators stressed that: People always complain when we visit their houses why polio, why frequent immunizations there are other diseases, you are disturbing us... (Field work, (2017).

Similarly in an In-depth interview, a team vaccinator male, aged 25 at basic clinic Salka on 21st August 2017 testified that: Some mothers expressed their fear as a result of high body temperature whenever their children were administered with the vaccine.....

Whenever the body of the child is hot we asked the mothers to give paracetamol tablets to cool the body temperature and DPT Vaccine which temporary prevent child from walking we resolve to give it to a child under 1 year....

In a Key Informant Interview conducted with EPI Manager male age 55 at Nasko on 17th August 2017 concerning the successes of immunization and the category of people involve. The EPI manager stated that: We integrated the traditional leaders, Imams and Pastors in our immunization team to resolve the issue of non compliance and promote awareness. (Field work, 2017.)

Community and Religious leaders played vital role in Immunization Services.

Many cases of noncompliance are resolved through the efforts of Traditional rulers, Imams and Pastors. These leaders helped the Service provider in promoting Immunization awareness.

4.2 Evaluation of the Hypotheses

In order to test the hypothesis, chi-square value of Pearson C was employed to show the relationship between the Immunization and attitude of people in the study. The researcher assumed that people of Magama Local Government Area are likely to have positive attitude towards immunization services. Religion may likely influence the decision to reject immunization.

Discussion of findings .

Child Immunization and utilization

Child immunization is receiving complete doze of immunization service, as one of the significant objectives of the study, the finding indicated that 91.6% of the respondents utilized immunization service against only 8.4% of the respondents rejected the exercise, similarly 72.5% of the respondents completed all the immunization rounds for their children, Only 27.5% respondents were unable to complete immunization rounds, for their children. The interviews conducted also revealed increase in the immunization coverage about 13,460 children in may were immunized within 4 weeks against 13,040

children of the in March 2011. In June 2011, about 117,330 children were immunized. In July 2011, also 119,427 children were immunized. These figures clearly indicated that the people in the Area of study had significant progress in Immunization coverage and utilized immunization services.

The Problems of Immunization Services

One of the objectives of the study is to investigate the problems of immunization service in Magama Local Government Area. The Key Informant interview and In-depth Interview conducted revealed some the problems and the researcher categorised them into the problem of the service provider and the problem of the beneficiary. As revealed by key immunization officers', the programme face the following problems logistics, transportation, lack of qualified and dedicated personnel as well as proper and adequate health information. Most of team vaccinators are ad- hoc-staff. This also indicated that, there is lack of qualified female health workers and enough female personal to resolve the problem of purdah in the area of the study.

Problems on the part of the beneficiaries include fear and suspicion; and non- compliance. The study revealed that 48.7% of the people in the Local Government Area fear immunization and suspicion of its side effects. Only 39.5% indicated immunization has no any side effect. On non-compliance 23.1% of respondents in the study area do not comply with the service providers because of religious reasons, 46.2% indicated the fear of side effect 17% indicated group influence while only 1.7% indicated other personal reasons. In Key Informant Interview conducted in the same study it was clearly stated by the EPI manager on 17 August 2011 at Nasko stated that “we always face the problem of non compliance from the Muslim dominated areas”. This as clearly shows how religion influences people decision about immunization.

In In-depth Interview conducted with an independent observer, age 40 during the routine immunization days at Ibeto on 14 August 2011, the respondent mentioned inter boundary migration between one Area to another created the problem of areas not cover with vaccines.

Level of Awareness about Immunization Programme

The level of awareness about immunization programme. There is high level of awareness about immunization programme in the Area of the study, with 85.8% acceptance, with intensive campaign and active mobilization. The participation, of community and religion leaders in the programme was 80% which resolved most of the non compliance cases.

The health believe model is a psychological model which tries to explain individual attitude or behaviour. The model tries to explain individual attitude at the rise of infection, prompt an individual to cultivate pro-health behaviour. Despite high degree of fear and suspicious of the vaccine, people choose to accept immunization in order to avoid the consequences of deformity and death the health intervention policy model tries to explain federal government intervention to control epidemic and scourge of diseases.

Recommendations

The Federal Government, State and Local Government should eradicate fear in the minds of mothers through education and enlightenment. Government should try to sustain the tempo by discouraging any counter information or misinformation by mischief makers, using the mass media, community dialogue and sanitization campaign.

Routine Immunization should be maintained to broaden Immunization coverage.

Federal Government should redesigned immunization programme to integrate people's beliefs and cultural value.

Federal Government of Nigeria should introduce the vaccines of other diseases in immunization services.

State Governments should motivate immunization programme with effective transportation, qualify manpower especially female health personnel, logistics with storage facilities.

Uniform for vaccinator will help to give them an identity as well as security and motivation. To avoid recent happening in some parts of the country immunization workers should be with security agents to guide against terrorist attack.

Limitation and guide for further studies

This work is only limited to Magama local government Area if the same method is used in a different environment the findings may not be the same.

The study need to be expand across the 3 senatorial zones in the state for a more findings.

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EFFECTS OF BANNING OF COMMERCIAL MOTORCYCLES ON SECURITY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF MINNA METROPOLIS

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Abstract

Serial killings of security officials particularly, police men persist in Niger State, North Central Nigeria, when the issue of Boko Haram and its associated violent activities were at their peak in the Nigeria, sometimes toward the end of year 2013, became an issues of great concern. This incident triggered a ban on the use of motorcycles as commercial means of transport in the state. As authorities in the state believed the perpetrators of those killings were using motor cycles to escape from crime scenes. But soon as the ban took effect in January, 2014, security and safety concerns raised earlier by the Niger State officials to rationalise the ban, immediately led to an increased in poverty, youth restiveness and crime rates. This paper examines these development challenges and their security implications. Consequently, in depth interviews were conducted with motorcycle (Kabu Kabu) operators, medical personnel and police officials and analysed with simple percentage and verbatim methods. The result shows that the purported victory the ban had given the Niger State authorities was short lived and turned pyrrhic, as it sparked- off resentments, discontent and restiveness among youths in the state capital. This paper therefore suggests a holistic youth empowerment policy which will engage the teeming unemployed youths in the state. Such effort will not only checkmate the growing youth discontent, it will also arrest upsurge of violent crimes that may go along with it.

Key Words: Security; Violent crime; Poverty; unemployment; youth restiveness and national development

Introduction

Nigeria is a populous country with over half of its estimated 170 million people less than 40 years old, (Williams, 2014). This signifies that the country has energetic population who by virtue of its age remains curious. This type of youth population is an asset to a country if properly managed and could also be of a great interest to policy makers. This result especially when inadequate provisions are made for managing

them. This second situation is in what Nigeria finds itself today. In Nigeria, youth unemployment has become one of the most serious socio-economic problems. Ajufo (2013), observed from the excerpts of statistics obtained from the National Manpower Board and Federal Bureau of Statistics in 2012 showed that Nigeria has a youth population of eighty (80) million representing 60 percent of its total population and sixty four (64) million of them are unemployed while one million six hundred thousand (1.6 million) are underemployed. Unemployment has therefore, become a major problem bedeviling the lives of Nigerian youth causing frustration, dejection and dependency on family members and friends, who also have their own problems to contend with.

However, it is not unemployment alone that challenged the youth in Nigeria, insecurity is another, especially the one brought about by the activities of Boko Haram. Onyebuchi and Chigozie (2013:4) defined insecurity as a reduced capacity and capability of the government to safeguard and protect the country, property and persons etc., against attacks by any deviant person or group. Insecurity occurs when the government is unable to protect its citizens and residents, cherished values and interest from threat. The authors further explain that 'a country also experiences insecurity when human rights, economic opportunities and the sanctity of human lives are constantly violated with little or no effort on the part of government to nip it in the bud. It can rightly said that Nigeria of today is insecure as there are reasonable evidence to show that violent extremist groups are now having field day in wanton and unprovoked destruction of lives and property' of innocent Nigerian citizenry .

In Niger State, Kolo, Gyong and Heillendendu (2014) in a study reported that neglect and maltreatment of youth facilitated poverty, social exclusion from the side of parents are other challenges being faced by youths in the State. The authors then averred that neglected youths created stressful and negative emotional situations in them particularly when social capital that will cushion the effects was lacking from the family and the community. This type of situation could stir violence in society. Scholars such as Murray (2011) have long noticed that human beings act violently that is they act with the intent to physically or mentally harm one another

Security is another important issue of discussion in this paper. Something experts believe is fundamental to human existence. According to Alemika (2011) security has several dimensions: There are several interrelated domains of security, physical, emotional, social, economic and political. However, physical security is protection from threat or act of violence by individuals, groups or the state is a precondition for human existence and orderly society.

This paper examines public perception on government ban on the use of motor cycles as means of transport in Niger State, its effects on the lives of commercial motor-cyclists and highlights certain social and developmental implications which followed. Against this background, the paper is divided into six sections. The first section is this introductory unit, which is followed by section two which presents the conceptual clarifications and theoretical framework, while the third section runs the overview of youth unemployment in Niger state and the rationale for the ban. The fourth is the methods adopted, just as fifth section presents the findings of the research. The sixth and final section presents the conclusion and recommendations which are tied to the findings of the study.

Conceptual clarification

Violence: The term violence means different things to different people, and therefore public health researchers defined violence as “threatened or actual use of physical force against a person or group that results or likely to result in injury or death” (Mercy et, al. 1993:8). Also Murray (2011) sees violence as an attempt by human beings to act with the intent to physically or mentally harm one another. However, Carmecheal (n.d) sees violence as that behaviour which is an uncontrolled response to some form of stimulation. According to her, violent behaviour is more likely to be a physical response to the perception that the 'self', ie. one's sense of identity, is threatened. Being violated either emotionally or physically

appears to result in a violent response. Violent behaviour can be seen as a mask which protects the 'self from pain and memories of traumatic experiences. The common denominator in all the definitions has to do with aggression, use of force or otherwise to inflict pain on individual or group.

Security

Like most concepts in social sciences, security definition is as diverse as scholars defining it. While some scholars see security as the safety and survival of the state and its citizens from harm or destruction or from dangerous threats. Others believe it to be a situation wherein a person or thing is not exposed to any form of danger or risk of physical or moral aggression, accident, theft or deterioration.

Lamorde,(2012:2) defines security as the ability to protect lives and property, as well as the capacity to provide food, reduction in the level of poverty, unemployment and risks of all kinds (such as infrastructural decay, accidents, flooding, air mishaps, diseases etc.) This is a very broad definition of security, some aspects of which are beyond the context of this paper.

As far as this paper is concern, the focus is not about national security or security from the international perspective, rather security from the narrower concept of human security which concentrates on physical inviolability of the individual.

Violent crime: Violent kind of crime can be defined as aggressive behaviour toward an individual with actual use of physical force that may result in some form of physical and emotional trauma that could be considered as violence against person. Among the category that are classified as violent crime are rape, child sexual abuse, non-accidental injury to children, wife battering, assault in custody, victims of war , civil unrest and ethnic violence (see Madeson,2000). However, it needs to be noted that violent crimes are variety of criminal offences that vary from country to country. For instance, Nelson, Bromley and Thomas (2001) included the following acts; murder, attempted murder, wounding and assault, rape and indecent assault and robbery. Igwe (2012) in a study of urban violence in Nigeria reports that are predominant in Nigeria are murders, kidnappings and robbery and armed robbery.that urban violence expresses itself in different ways in Nigeria. The type of violence

National Development

The dual concepts of national development can only be understood fully if the meaning of development is provided. Development can be viewed as complete positive change at the micro (individual) level and macro (societal) level. The changes often involved social, political and economic wellbeing. In that line Sen 1993 cited in Akpotor (2012:184) view development as:

improvement of people's living standard in income and consumption level of food, medical services, education etc. Through relevant economic growth processes, creation of conditions for the growth of people's self esteem through the establishment of social, political and economic systems and institutions which promotes human dignity and respect, increasing peoples freedom of choice by enlarging the range of the choice available.

Going by these criteria, it is quiet difficult to conclude on whether Nigeria is a developing nation or has even taken the part to development in the first instance. Karofi (2012: 355) is of the point that if a nation is to attain sustainable development then, individual and institutions in the society should not have the fear of crimes nor there should presence of insecurity for both the institutions and members within that society. We can, therefore, conclude that in the presences of poverty, unemployment, youth restiveness and rise in violent crimes, one can't talk of national development.

Overview of Youth Unemployment as precursor to violence and insecurity in Niger State

According to the 2006 census figure, Niger State has a population of 3,950,249 people (NPC,2006), and a projected population of 4,689,982 people at the close of year 2011(NPC,2012).By year the 2008, cumulatively, 55.9 percent of Niger State population was within age bracket 10 and 44 years, and two years later the figure went to 59.7,(NPC,2010:18).

On employment, out of 42,524 unemployed graduates that registered with the Niger State Office of the Head of Service, Human Resources Unit, only 8,534 were employed, representing only 20.07 percent of those who registered with the unit(HOS,2015). This figure represent only a small section of unemployed youths in the state, as only degree, higher national diploma holders and graduates from colleges of education, who were informed of the employment scheme, that were included. The dark and grey figures associated with official statistics need to be put into consideration also, to be able to understand and appreciate unemployment problem in Niger State.

Furthermore, it should also be noted at this point that Niger State is not an industrialised state. There are very few functional industries in the State. Aside from the Dana Pharmaceutical Company situated at Minna, the state capital, no industry in Niger State that can employ upward of 100 staff presently. The state is largely a civil service one with government as the greatest employer of labour.

Similarly, Nigerian youths are stressful due to the social environment they find themselves which is presented to them by the Nigeria society. For in instance, unemployment has become a major problem bedevilling the lives of Nigerian youth causing frustration, dejection and dependency on family members and friends, who also have their own problems to contend with (Ajufo,2013). Such an environment begets hopelessness, helplessness, frustration, abandonment and neglect. Nigeria social landscape facilitates traumatised conditions. These are staircases to aggression and violence. Borum, (2011) believes that the “social causes of shame leading to violence include low status, poverty and unemployment which lead to feelings of inequality and inferiority” p 83.

Urbanisation courtesy of increase in population and rural – urban drift in Niger State has worsened the situation of unemployment. Faced with this great challenge of employment, youths take solace in the commercial motor cycle riding as coping strategy. Today in Nigeria, motorcycles form one of the modern transportation systems, (Olabode, et, al. 2013).

Rationale for the Banning of commercial motorcycles

A spate of violence through serial killings of police officers sometimes at the close of year 2013 in Niger state occasioned a ban on the use of motorcycles as commercial transport in the state (NGSG, 2014). The use of motorcycles became the first target because the perpetrators of the killings of police men- who felled victims simply for being at their duty posts at the time- were said to have used motorbikes. Within a week, five police men lost their lives in this process of people coming on motor bike to open fire on unsuspecting police men on their duty posts. This period also coincided with the time when Boko Haram violent activities were high in Nigeria. The serial killings were immediately blamed on the militant group because the method of the killing was 'similar to those employed by the insurgents in the North East' Newsline (2014).

The second concern as expressed by the Niger State authorities through the commissioner of Health Dr Ibrahim Sule in 2014 was the issue of safety of both the operators and their passengers. Hardly, will a day pass without witnessing road crashes that involved motor cycle/okada operators, some of these accidents are fatal Newsline (2014). In fact, the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) in a report in 2012 indicates that Niger State recorded 1,537 cases of road crashes which claimed 771 lives (NBS,2012). Doctors decries high rate of accident victims in Minna General Hospital, (Radio Niger, 2013). Over 70 percent accident victims in Hospitals in Minna were operators of Kabu Kabu/Okada, (Newsline, 2013). All these concerns expressed from different quarters, might have informed the decision of the said ban.

On Thursday, 02 January, 2014, the ban on the use of motor cycle as commercial means of transport took effect through an executive Order issued by the then Governor Dr. Muazu Babangida Aliyu in a Government Gazette of 30th December, 2013. The Order was an extraction of the existing Road Traffic Law CAP. 118, Laws of Niger State 1989 and ironically not from a direct Bill for an Act sent to the State House of Assembly.

Furthermore, the second (2) clause of the Order stated that: “the use of motorcycles for any purpose whatsoever in Minna, Bosso, Chanchaga, Maitumbi, Kpakungu and Maikunkele is hereby prohibited”. The Order went on to explain the first blanket order in its clause three (3) in the following words:

“Notwithstanding the provision of clause (2) above, a rider of motorcycles in Minna, Bosso, Chanchaga, Maitumbi, Kpakungu and Maikunkele may be allowed to ride his motorcycle between 7.01 a. m. to (sic) 6.59 p.m. each day provided: (a) The Motorcycle is registered under the Vehicle Inspection Office/Department of the Niger State Ministry of Transport; (b) That the rider of the motorcycle shall not carry any person or a passenger”.

Defaulters of this Order, shall have their motorcycles forfeited to the government or go to jail for three months or a fine of N50,000 or both. For second time offender, the punishment are stiffer with a jail term of six months, a fine of N100,000 or both.

Theoretical framework

Strain Theory:

The strain theory was initiated by a French sociologist Emile Durkheim in his classic work *The Division of Labour in Society* (1894, 1984) where he explained how social conditions influenced normative regulation and deviance rates in society. Using the concept of anomie, which he referred to as, situations when society fails to provide the appropriate cultural regulatory codes – normative values and beliefs – which are necessary to regulate the cooperation of individuals in complex societies, Durkheim is often referred to as the proponent of strain theory. The theory was later expanded by American Sociologists Robert K. Merton and Robert Agnew.

This theory holds that individuals will turn to a life of crime or violence when they are strained, or when they are unable to achieve the goals of the society be it power, finance, or some other desirable goals. Often referred to as General Strain Theory (GST) is seen as a psychosocial concept that can explain individual-level offending. Slocum, (2014:2460) explain that:

The crux of this theory is that strain – resulting from exposure to noxious stimuli, the removal of positive stimuli, or blocked goals – elicits negative emotions including fear, depression, and most importantly, anger. Illicit coping mechanisms, including offending, substance abuse, and other problem behaviours, may be used in an effort to relieve these negative emotions.

Youths in Niger State see the ban as a blockage of their means of survival and accordingly react with violence and restiveness out of frustration. This is the guiding theory for this study.

Methodology

The study was conducted in the city of Minna, the Niger state capital where the Motor cycle ban Order covers. The interviews were conducted using accidental sampling procedure among three different set of people who in this paper were referred to as stakeholders. They include the Kabu Kabu (Okada) operators, medical personnel and security officials, particularly the police. The interview was conducted with 23 respondents. The study was an exploratory one designed to gain insight into a policy of government that has direct impact on the people and the reaction of them afterwards, rather than to test any specific hypotheses.

Some fifteen (15) Kabu/Okada operators were selected for interview through accidental simple sampling method. A ride was taken with some of them while some were selected based on their expressed interest to participate in the interview at designated areas across Minna. The four selected area doubles as areas where constant violent activities by youths are often recorded. It was from those affected areas that four each of police and health personnel interviewed were selected. The areas selected were Limawa, Chanchaga, Maitumbi and Kpakungu. Which are all parts of the Minna metropolis.

Implications of motorcycles ban at Minna

Rubin(1976) and Jonker and Pennink (2010) provided the guide for organizing our findings. The basics techniques included an examination of the information based on specific issues and themes. Verbatim quotations from the interview, the authors argued, provide the reader with a comprehension of how the respondents have defined their life situations. These data explore the impacts of the ban on the use of motorcycle for commercial purposes in Niger State.

Soon as the ban was melted down on the people of Minna and its environs, observers began to pick holes in the law which they described as too harsh and too far away from the social reality in the state. *"There is double standard with this law. Imagine a government that designed a policy document called vision 3:2020, the realisation of which hinges largely on provision of youth employment and empowerment, is coming out with this draconian law to further remove the safety nets people have improvised to reduce the effects of unemployment on them"*. Said a 32 year old respondent.

Another respondent says:

Government do anything she likes without thinking of the poor. Talba should know that we (Kabu Kabu/Okada) operators contributed to his coming as we voted for him. How can he come up with this policy that will starve us? A 25 year old respondent react to the ban with the following words: how would I cope? Through this Okada business I feed my family. With the ban that has not provides alternative, I don't know what to do. (interview 2019)

However, not all respondents were bitter with the ban. Some of them see it as a welcome policy that was long overdue. Their reasons catered on safety and health issues. One of the respondents, 27 year nurse reacted this way: *the ban is good. It has reduced drastically the number of accident victims we record in our hospitals.* Also said a 31 year old respondent who was concerned with the carefree attitude of Kabu Kabu/Okada operators on the road: *the reckless way these Kabu Kabu/Okada operators ride their motorbikes on the road call for concern and every right thinking person will welcome this ban. At least, we are free from witnessing wailing victims on our roads.*

On the compounding problem of unemployment, the consensus view was that the ban did not take cognizance of the reality on ground, the security and safety reasons notwithstanding. The government, they said, cannot claimed ignorance of the horde of youths that roam our streets daily without jobs. For instance, the Vision3:2020 which hopes to catapult Niger State to be among the three (3) most industrialised and developed states in Nigeria by the year 2020, recognised that; "youths account for about 60 percent of the state's population of about 4 million people. Even though, they constitute the strength, bedrock and the future of the state growing economy, however, there is mass unemployment among youth in the state,"(NGSG,2008:250). Even with the official acknowledgement of presence of mass unemployment, the Order failed to consider it as a factor necessary for peace and security of the state, as indicated by respondents.

Nothing can be as disturbing and inhuman than the Talba's motorcycle ban policy. The unemployed and the poor are not considered. Most of us don't have job that's why we do okada. To go to school requires money which I don't have. The little "Keke Talba" or tri- cycle provided for us (Kabu Kabu/Okada operators) as a means of alleviating our suffering as unemployed, has been taken over by politicians, some of them got up to 10 while, we (Kabu Kabu/Okada operators) ...have nothing, said a 23 years old respondent. (Interview 2019)

Another 31 year old respondent was philosophical in this regard.

If these politicians fail to think of the common man on the street, the one they see on daily basis. How do you expect them to design policies that will take care of those in the villages who they do not see always? Only God will save the poor from them.

One other salient by-product of the ban was the upsurge of crime in all its ramifications. Shortly after the ban on the use of Motorcycle took effect on Minna metropolis, tension began to heighten among the people, particularly the affected youths who see themselves as hopeless, rejected and frustrated. Theft of electronics, snatching of cell phones and hand bags, breaking into people's houses in the neighbourhoods, became common happenings. Motor bike theft, robbery and even murders began to take place in quick successions.

For instance on 17th November, 2014, at Limawa primary school within Minna metropolis, young men in their numbers, came within the hours of 9 and 10 to harass the teachers and the pupils in the school. Eight (8) persons were later arrested who claimed they were looking for a friend who offended them, (Newswire, 2014:3).

Again, at Maitumbi, another area of Minna metropolis on 11th November, 2014, a young man of about 23 was axed to death shortly after Friday prayer. His crime was that he belongs to the gang that snatched the perpetrator's girl friend (Radio, Niger, 2014).

The following week, precisely on 1st of December, 2014, two (2) other young men were killed by an irate youths from New market area on a reprisal mission at Maitumbi again. For close to two hours, irate youths took over the major street of Maitumbi, sacked the police at Flamingo junction and were armed with dangerous weapons. Road users were forced to divert (Radio, Niger, 2014).

Yet again, on 2nd December, 2014, a reprisal attack once again in Maitumbi claimed one life leaving some three wounded. At this point a 12 hour curfew was imposed, (Radio, Niger, 2014).

This informed one respondent's decision to observe that; *aside from the fact that the ban has affected the means of livelihood of most of these youths, which had created tension and frustration, the seizure and subsequent sale of the defaulter's motorbikes, triggered the restiveness of the youths.*

After the close of Governor Muazu's Administration in Niger State, at the venue of his handover of power to his successor, he was pelted with pebbles and sachet water, by angry youths who were shouting: "where are our motor cycles" (DailyTrust, 30/5/15)

Similarly, a respondent summarized the unfolding phenomenon in Niger State as uneasy calm. According to him what the youths often exhibit on the streets represent a signal of growing tension underground:

these youths are not alone in this case. I personally lost my motorcycle to this controversial law. I am also aware of several other civil servants in Minna who also had their motorbikes seized while they were either going to work, convey children to school or spouses to hospitals. A neighbour of mine, who felled victim, took the motorcycle on loan. He has not finish payment

for that machine.....how do you expect such a person to feel....
(interview 2019)

Furthermore, yet a 32 years respondent corroborated by saying that: *even security men were affected. There are many of them who forfeited their motorcycles for being unable to pay the charged 50,000 naira...you brought a law to secure the people and you are in away attacking security agents and education.. I don't just know where this will lead us to in this state. (Interview 2019)*

Discussions of the Findings

One major discovery of this paper is that youths in Niger State wearied initially with unemployment and mass poverty which were in themselves sources of frustration, became more frustrated with the ban on commercial motor cycle riding- their save haven. As attested to by one of them. A 25 year old respondent react to the ban with the following words: *how would I cope? Through this Okada business I feed my family. With the ban that has not provides alternative, I don't know what to do.* Yet another respondent lamented that *only God could intervene for the poor* which is another sign of frustration. The respondent further stressed with a question when he asked: *If these politicians fail to think of the common man on the street, the one they see on daily basis. How do you expect them to design policies that will take care of those in the villages who they do not see always? Only God will save the poor from them.* The finding is in-tuned with the view of Delisi and Piquiero (2011) who stressed that poverty begets frustration which eventually leads to crime. It is stated that conditions of poverty increases the likelihood that a person will commit crime, be apprehended and be the victim of crime (Delisi and Piquiero,2011).

The ban also brought with it issues of security as criminal violence in forms of youth restiveness and reprisal attacks were abound. For instance Radio Niger reported that after a young man was axed down for being a member of a gang that snatched the perpetrator's girl friend, reprisal attacks followed. Precisely on 1st of December, 2014, two (2) other young men were killed by an irate youths from New market area on a reprisal mission at Maitumbi again. For close to two hours, irate youths took over the major street of Maitumbi, sacked the police at Flamingo junction and were armed with dangerous weapons. Road users were forced to divert (Radio, Niger,2014). This is also in accord with some researchers who link search for honour and vengeance as language of the street. Violent behaviour can be seen as a mask which protects the 'self from pain and memories of traumatic experiences. The thinking is that violence often times occur over argument that has to do with social honour. Stephen,(1997) According to Borum (2011), people begin to climb the staircase to violence with a desire to alleviate adversity and improve their situation. Unsuccessful attempts, however, lead to frustration, producing feelings of aggression, which are displaced onto some perceived causal agent (who is then regarded as an enemy). With this ban in place, most youths see the government as their enemy, because it has stopped them from looking for their daily bread without providing alternatives .

Conclusion and Recommendations

The Ban on the use of motorcycle Order of December, 2013 in Minna, Niger State came to create more than the problems it was designed to solve. The mounting tension, rise in crime and spontaneous increase in poverty and unemployment among the people, became more apparent than the safety and security issues that rationalised the ban Order in the first place. These are all challenges of development. However, the temporary reprieve being enjoyed by the Okada operators in the State came to reduce growing tension and its attendant security implications if allowed to burst. The new administration seemed to have read the message when his predecessor was pelted by angry youths, before his very eyes.

One major drawback of this paper is an exploratory one which focuses on a single government policy- the ban on the use of motor cycle for commercial purpose in Minna metropolis. A more critical, possibly an explanatory research using longitudinal technique that could bring salient issues bothering on security, crime, youth restiveness as they hamper development in Niger state, could be more appropriate.

In view of the growing tension among the youths in the state, it can be suggested here that the ban Order be modify to allow motorcycle operators carry out their business alongside the tricycle (Keke NAPEP) operators that up till date inadequate.

A holistic youth empowerment programme should be instituted to engage this army of youths roaming our streets. The Graduate employment Scheme of the past administration in the state should be re-awakened for educated ones while vocational skill acquisition schemes for the non educated youths.

A sound moral education for children and thorough family reorientation is needed in our society that is growing in violent activities by the day.

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POLITICAL PARTIES AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS.

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Abstract

Political Parties is an alliance of likeminded people who work together to win elections and control of the government. Political Parties compete against one another for the ability to put their philosophies and policies into effect and for political power. Modern western democracies cannot exist without political parties. This paper examines political parties, which is a crucial aspect of Nigeria's Democratic Governance stating that there is a direct relationship between the conduct and character of a country's political parties and the degree of good Governance and democratic consolidation in the country. The paper argues that Democracy in Nigeria has not gained any significant achievement when compared with countries that are heading towards stable democracy. As a theoretical underpinning, the elite theory as postulated by Mosca and Pareto was adopted. The secondary sources of data collection were utilized which includes the use of such materials as textbooks, journals, newspapers and magazines. The paper found out that political parties often fail to perform their roles adequately or with sufficient credibility. Some are fundamentally weak and rely heavily on the personal appeal of their leaders. Political Leaders also engaged in all manner of election malpractices ranging from violence, thuggery, deployment of ethnic sentiments amongst others.

Keywords: Political Parties, Elections, Patron-Client relationship, Democracy.

Introduction

Robust systems of political parties are essential components of a democratic society. Political parties, with the transition to civil rule in 1999 signaling the commencement of the fourth republic had the mandate to produce the right calibre of people to govern (Momoh, 2013). Political parties are at the heart of examining the health of any form of democracy. Their roles and activities are critical in any assessment of democratic practice. The political party is a critical, formal, institutional, organizational and mobilization player in the political process particularly in relation to power, democracy, governance, government and economy (Ikelegbe, 2013:). Democracy, with its ideal of elective representation, freedom of choice of leaders, rule of law, freedom of expression, accountability among others, has become the acceptable system of government all over the world. It is a form of government in which the supreme power of a political community rests on popular sovereignty. (Osabiya, 2015) One of the complex and critical institutions of democracy is the political party (ies) (Omotola, 2009).

Political parties are traditionally the most significant intermediary organisation in democratic societies. Political parties, as “makers” of democracy, have been so romanticized that scholars claim that neither democracy nor democratic societies are thinkable without them (Omotola, 2009). In other words, the existence of vibrant political parties is a sine qua non for democratic consolidation in any polity (Dode, 2010). Well-functioning political parties are essential for the success of electoral democracy and overall political development of Nigeria (Adetula and Adeyi, 2013).

Anchoring on the platforms offered by political parties, citizens make demands on the state, support specific policy, positions, and participate in public policy making and implementation. Political parties therefore provide the vital linkage between citizen and the state, governors and the governed, and elites and the masses (Lawson, 1980). The character and tendencies exhibited by political parties has implications for democratic sustenance in the country (Pogson, 2013). The nature, behaviour and performance of political parties and the nature of party relations with other parties, groups, and even the state have consequences for the nature of governance, integration, stability and security. The performance of political parties in terms of articulation, aggregation, representation and organization are critical to political accountability, communication, democratic consolidation and political stability (Ikelegbe, 2013).

This paper is divided into five sections the first is the just concluded introduction followed by the conceptual discourse on political parties, democracy and elections. The third the theoretical framework, the fourth is on the functions of political parties while the fifth is on the challenges of political parties in Nigeria democracy and lastly is the conclusion and recommendation. This paper argues that the problem with democracy and elections are the effects of the character and functions its political parties and the character of the political elites.

Conceptual Discourse

Political Parties

Political party/parties have been defined in many different ways by scholars. However, no matter the perspective from which it is defined, all political parties have basic characteristics and functions, which they perform. (Rodee, 1983) and (Grazia, 1960) observed that political parties, have a rather distinct habitat, a peculiar mode of operation, and special characteristics of structure and function. Other scholars have come to see political parties as promoting the vital interest of a nation. Momoh (2013) famously defines political party as a body of men united, for promoting by their joint endeavours, the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they all agreed.

Others have conceptualized parties as coalition of group and interest aimed at controlling state power for their own interest (Olagunju, 1992 and Leon, 1967). A political party can be define as a group of people or an organized group of people who seek to control the government in order to put their ideology or programme into practice .

(Joseph, 1979) in his own contribution sees political party as a formal organization whose self-conscious primary purpose is to place and maintain in public office persons who will control alone or in coalition the machinery of government. In this regard, they are also characterized as a coalition of group interests representing a segment of the social community. However, such a group shall be regarded as a party so long as it participates in electoral competition. In other words, a political party cannot exist in isolation of a political system. They both act as lubricants and ingredients of ideal democratic system.

There are arguments that the character of party politics in Nigeria is such that the political party in power at the centre stifles opposition parties. In the long-drawn controversy, (Ayila, 2006) argued that party politics in Nigeria's democratic practice since 1960 shows that any political party in control of the apparatus of state, principally gained and sustained by control of the economy, plants moles and disruptive elements in opposition parties to create instability and render them ineffective to compete for power. The reaction of (Ogunmefun, 2007) to these arguments is that, it is the responsibility of opposition parties to develop their parties and make them viable to compete for power. He further observes that 'the opposition parties are weak, ineffective and poorly organized to challenge for political power'.

Democratic Governance

According to Oyovbaire (1987), democracy as a system of government seeks to realize a generally recognized common good through a collective initiation and discussion of policy questions concerning public affairs and which delegates authority to agents to implement the broad decisions made by the people through majority vote. Thus, in contemporary times, democracy has been referred to as the expression of popular will of the political community through elected representatives. The contemporary democracy, according to Raphael (1976), rests on representative government.

Democratic governance, by extension, refers to a democratic mode of exercising powers and performing functions by established institutions to achieve developmental goals (Lafenwa, 2009). More appropriately, democratic governance can be understood in terms of the elements it constitutes. It is in line with the constitutive elements of democratic governance that the National League of Cities (2008) in (Lafenwa, 2009) defines the concept as 'the art of governing a community in participatory, deliberative, and collaborative ways'.

(Jega, 2006) correctly listed the constitutive elements of democratic governance to include the following;

- i) Representation: People having the freedom to choose their representative through periodic free and fair election.
- ii) Participation: People being involved in the processes of policy formulation and policy implementation and in the general management of public affairs.
- iii) Responsive and Accountable Governance: Delivery of service to the people and communities in a manner that creates utilitarian value i.e. policies of government bringing greatest happiness to the greater number of people.
- iv) Egalitarian Society: Equality before the law, rule of rule, constitutional regime, fairness, economic and social justice.
- v) Transparency and Accountability in both public conduct and in the management of commonwealth (public resources).

The attainment or elusiveness of these elements in a political system is, simply, a measure of its democratic stature.

Election

Elections are very central to the practice of democracy all over the world. Elections have offered a way through which the people freely decide who their leaders should be. It is believed that all democracies hold elections, but at the same time, not all elections are democratic. Undemocratic elections are those elections in which there may be only one person or a list of candidates for elective posts with no alternatives. Such elections may offer several candidates for each office, but ensure through intimidation or rigging that only

the government approved candidate is chosen. Other elections may offer genuine choices but only within the incumbent party. These are not democratic elections (Kirkpatrick, 1984).

(Collier and Vicente, 2007) opined that, in many of the newly democratic low – income countries the only aspect of democracy that has been introduced is elections. But significantly, within these societies, there are neither 'checks nor balances' upon the use of power, nor effective rules for the conduct of the election. This is why according to them, records of elections in Africa and other low – income democracies are not encouraging, a more concise definition of election was given by (Kirkpatrick et al), who define democratic elections as being not merely symbolic, but competitive, periodic, inclusive, definitive election in which the chief decision – makers in government are selected by citizens who enjoy broad freedom to criticism and to present alternatives. It has thus been argued that without significant democratic process falls short of its goals (Powell, 1992). The essence of election is that it offers preference to the electorates who can decide between alternations. Although, in Africa, likely reason for the failure of most elections to discipline governments into improved performance is that the participants rely upon illegitimate strategies to victo (Collier, and Vicente, 2007)

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework adopted in this study is the Elite theory, which was propounded by Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) and Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941), the choice of Elite theory is rooted on the fact that public policy reflects the values and preferences of the Elite rather than the demand of the masses, The qualities are necessary for its ascension to full social and political power, those who get on top always serve as the best, they are known as the ELITE, the Elite consist of those successful persons who rise to the top in every occupation and stratum of the society who come from the same class that elite is the wealthy who believes that the elite in the society consist of two classes of individuals, a higher stratum, the elite which is divided in to a governing elite and non governing elite.

Relating this theory to political parties and democratic elections in Nigeria, political activities and electoral process in Nigeria are largely influenced by the activities of GODFATHERS; godfathers often influenced party activities such as who get positions, appointment and party ticket. The primary election of most political parties in Nigeria was characterized by godfatherism especially in the All Progressive Congress (APC). in Nigeria today one can hardly get party ticket without recourse to the influence of godfatherism, the god fathers determined who get what, when and how within the political party and this act promote defections and intra party crisis. ne could understand that the elite (godfathers) in our democratic state select candidate and manipulate the voters through propaganda and resources, hence public policy do not necessary reflect public interest. Elite theory also situates governance of the state in the hand of the elite (godfathers and their godson) as the mechanism for majority control and accountability do not prevent elite supremacy.

The choice and relevance of this theory in this study justify by the fact that godfathers themselves are elite. godfathers are influential people in the society especially in political parties, with their wealth, the push themselves in to the political realm of government, they formulates policies that reflect their personal aggrandizement and idiosyncrasy to the detriment of the poor masses in the society, these elite are few but wield enormous power, influence, allocate value rules and work assiduously to sustain the status-quo which is their common interest. The implication is that polices of government are conservative and marginal rather that bold with high change potentials.

Functions of Political Parties

Political parties perform certain functions in any political system. Some of these functions mentioned here contribute to the achievement of a democratically stable polity. Political parties are equally expected to serve as instruments of political education, interest aggregation, political socialization and political recruitment. Parties are institutions that help organize, move or affect agenda of government and so on.

The functions of political parties specifically include; educating, articulating, a political party can stand a good chance of displacing and thereby, taking power from a political party currently in the saddle.

In the course of preparing to capture state power and exercise authority in the future, the party must devote its attention to recruiting and training people to occupy political positions in the state. They thus, articulate alternative policies, while serving as legal opposition to the party in power by performing these functions, it is expected that parties will reduce the incidents of antinational building factors like ethnic chauvinism, bigotry and other communal and cultural intolerance, particularly in ethnically and culturally diverse countries.

Merkel (1977) summarized the basic functions of political parties as follows;

- a. Recruitment and selection of leadership personnel for government offices.
- b. Generation of programmes and policies for government.
- c. Coordination and control of governmental organs.
- d. Social integration through satisfaction and reconciliation of groups demand or the provision common belief system or ideology.
- e. Social integration of individuals by mobilization of support and by socialization.

Political parties according to the political bureau (1987) can be seen as both the expression and management of conflict within a political system. Political parties therefore, are to be seen not only as products of their environment but also as instrument or institutions organized to affect the environment.

Viewed this way political parties function as:

- i. Agent of political participation
- ii. Aggregation of demands. Individuals and groups normally express in discreet terms the functions they want the government to perform for themselves or others. Thus some people may demand roads and bridges; some may demand free education and health services, while others may demand subsidized houses or adequate agricultural facilities or logistics. The parties normally collect and articulate these demands or interest upon which both ideas and programmes are evolved.
- iii. Through the instrumentality of the political parties, political attitude and behavior of members could be mobilized more effectively towards the ends and goals of government. It is through political parties that political ideas are transmitted within the realms of political structures
- iv. One other major function of political party is in the area of legitimacy of authority. Political parties are more flexible instruments for winning popular support. Equally, in countries where parties exist, it is easier to deal with leadership succession than in countries without political parties.
- v. Sectional religious and ethnic loyalties are arrested through truly national political parties. Put differently, political parties help in the achievement of national integration.
- vi. Other specific roles of political parties include: spreading general understanding of the national philosophy and national objectives, drawing up canvassing strategies for attaining national objective, sustaining the fraternity of the people examining entirely government politics and their implementation in the light of national philosophy and national objectives and inculcating national pride, self reliance in members, representatives and in the public generally (see Nigeria's political bureau report, 1987 p. 125). It is therefore an instrument of generating national consciousness in any dramatic and civilized nations of the world.

The Challenges of Political Parties in Nigerian Democracy

I) Absence of Internal Democracy within the Political Parties: Most political parties do not practice internal democracy because their leaders hardly emerge democratically, hence the rising culture of political violence and assassinations especially in some sections of the country. Internal (party) democracy could be defined as a democratic process which involves accountability and transparency in all party affairs most especially in selecting party leaders, flag bearer, executive and other party officials in a political party (Ukaeje, 2011). Internal democracy thus connotes political parties giving full expression and unfettered access to their members to participate in the decision making process. It also means running affairs transparently, in accordance with agreed rules, and in a manner that is fair and just. (Kari and Uchenna, 2001).

Among the most elementary yet significant aspect of political development in a democracy are the concentration of party congresses and the conduct of transparent and successful party primaries to elect leaders and candidates (i.e flag - bearer) respectively. Since 1999, the trend has been that party primaries among virtually all political parties in Nigeria are usually pre – determined with party “God – fathers” having the final say in the selection of both party leaders and candidates (Simbine, 2013). There is lack of internal democracy and poor governance systems in the political parties as indicated by non inclusive system of participation and decision making, lack of opportunities from broad input, absence of well define structures, rules and processes, denial of individuals and group rights, and weak mechanism for redressing grievances (Ikelegbe, 2014). Obviously, political Godfathers are always unwilling to allow internal party democracy, a circumstance that leads to frequent conflicts and constrains the development of parties as popular organizations. Expectedly, this leads to internal party crisis and frequent decamping of aggrieved politicians to other political parties where their aspiration can be accommodated (Simbine, 2013). Party leaderships have lacked popular bases, legitimacy, and insensitivity, they have not only been ridden with internal crisis but also turned out to be vehicles of corruption in material and ethical terms in the country; turning politics into a vocation not designed for the public interest but for primitive accumulation and the collection of rents (Jinadu, 2013). Unlike what existed in the first and second republics, virtually all the political parties since the fourth republic concerned lack internal democracy, absence of which...breeds monetization of politics and the tendency of political vagrancy, institutionalized bitterness and violence in the attempt to gain and retain political power at all cost(Simbine, 2013).

ii) Lack of Institutionalization and Personalization of political parties (intra party crisis): Parties in Nigeria have not been able to attain the expected degree of institutionalization especially in the areas of material cohesion and discipline, this deficiency has also contributed to the decline of their conflict management capacities at both intra and inters – party relations levels. The level of crisis at both levels of party relation is worrisome. It is such that none of the parties has been able to hold together without severe conflict that most times threaten their very heart (Simbine, 2013). Party and party system institutionalization is measured by the internal and external activities of parties. Internal refers to all those factors that are only internal to party organization, such as internal democracy and external refers to the relationship of parties with their external environment (Kura, 2011).

The internal characteristic and power configurations of the political parties have manifested in huge organization weaknesses and internal conflicts. The parties have particularly been plagued by suspensions and expulsions of the party members, cross carpeting particularly prior to elections and deep divisions and factions that have manifested sometimes in violent clashes (Ikelegbe, 2013). Intra – party violent conflicts have been particularly heightened during election periods because of the imposition of favored and fusions consensus candidates, and the swapping of nominated candidates by party chieftains. The absence of equalitarian platforms and the subversion of the will of ordinary party members and delegates in party primaries, have grieved several party leaders and members and underlined numerous detections and cross carpeting (Ikelegbe, 2013). More empirically, whether parties in a particular polity are able to effectively perform these functions is a matter of the degree of party and party system institution (Kura, 2008).

Un– institutionalized parties will always find it difficult to develop deep roots in the society in which they exist and operate. This factor has led to a low rate of party identification among voters, which also leads to high electoral volatility (Simbine, 2013). When parties generally lack strong institutionalization, they show case a low level of organization and become even more available to be hijacked by a few party leaders who dictate to the majority. According to (Omotola, 2009), the frequent changes being experience in the leadership of the PDP is a pointer to serious and unmanageable disagreements and crisis of leadership and legitimacy and a fault line in institution. For example between May 1999 and 2012, the

PDP changed its national chairperson more than Ten (10) Has been led by Solomon Lar, Barnabas Gemade, Audu Ogbe, Ahmadu Ali, Vincent Ogbulafor, Okwesidieze Alwodo, Halima Muhammed Bello, Bamanga Tukur, Adamu Muazu and so on. An obvious fact is that none of these changes was succession orderly, open, free, independent and reflective of the actual wishes of the majority of the party faithful. Rather, each (with the exception of the pioneer chair) was predicated upon the endorsement, whims and caprices of a given section of the party elite led often times by the (incumbent) president (Adejumobi, 2002).

iii) Activities of GodFathers

Godfatherism has become a dominant feature of the party system in Nigeria today. Ayoade states that godfather is ... a benign political accretion of the position of either political notables' or dreaded political rascals who are recalcitrant to the deterrence of the legal regime" (Ayoade, 2008). Godfatherism has been described as "an ideology which is constructed on the belief of that certain individual posses considerable means to unilaterally determine who get party ticket to run for an election and who win in an electoral contest" (Ogaundiya, 2009). To Ayoade (2008), Godfatherism is not philanthropy; it is often marked by devious and undemocratic acts such as violence, bribery and corruption all for the sake of perpetuating the wishes of the Godfather. There is a symbolic relationship between the Godfather and the Godson (patron-client relationship). The Godfather" invests" reciprocate by reimbursing the Godson in kind and keeping absolute loyalty to the Godfather in all respects, including decision making whilst in public office. The key goal of all Godfathers is to rule by proxy or rule through protégés (Ojo and Lawal, 2013).

Godfather politics typically ensures that results are declared even when there is no evidence that voting actually took place. It typically plays electoral politics with or without respect for the established rules of conduct governing the process, and does not display any sense of moral restraint in its appreciation of what constitutes appropriate behaviour in a democratic political order. It is not surprising therefore that constitution elections results, whether at the intra – party level or at the level of general elections are always disputed by those who are declared losers. In fact, all six presidential elections since 1999 have been the subject of judicial intervention (Abutudu, 2013).

The hijack of political parties by Godfathers has virtually choked up the party system as channel for the aggregation of local or constituency interest. The preferences expressed by the party typically turn out to be personal interests of the Godfather. The sustainability of the control of the political inched by the Godfather cannot be left to the uncertainty of being subjected to the preferences of the voter in a free and fair election. The desperation has typically led to the explicit crude criminalization of the electoral process (Abutudu, 2013). Therefore, because Godfathers have significant influence on the internal workings of political parties, they are in deliberately involved in the stability or otherwise of these parties because they are the modulators and epicentre of political in fighting and struggle for power and perquisites of office, they are one causative factor in understanding political Nomadism (Momoh, 2013).

iv) political violence: Perhaps the most damming record of political parties on clean politics is the persistence of violence in our political system (Ibeanu 2013). Apart from election conducted by the colonial government and the military, others particularly the 1964, 1983, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015 and 2019 all were played by violence and crises. Since the inception of the fourth republic have being played with irregularities and violence (Nweke 2005). These elections were plagued by incidents of violence that included theft and snatching of election materials, killings, arson, abductions, assault, intimidation, destruction of properties and election materials, and chaos; more specifically incidents of electoral violence have included assault of electoral officials and voters, hijack and seizure of diction materials, attacks on security officials and violent clashes between rural things and sympathizers of political parties (Nweke 2005).

The major parties in Nigeria are to varying degrees involved in their formation, mobilizations, primaries and general elections. Some parties have loyal armed groups that are fairly known in some states and communities that are deployed to protect their interests (Ikelegbe, 2013). During the fourth Republic, the breeding and use of things has assumed a new dimension in the contemporary scenarios, it has assumed a multiple – layered dimension because both opposition and the ruling parties now breed things; Also, within the parties, leading figures and aspirants now maintain hordes of people mostly male who perform sundry act such as errands guards and harassment of political opponents (Abdul – Jelil, 2009). Individual things, cult groups and armed guards hire out their service to party leaders, who arm and pay them for specific violent roles during primaries and elections. One of the violent methods engaged by these chieftains is assassinations. Politically motivated assassinations have been a major feature of the struggles for power and resources within and between political parties. Other forms of violence are violent attack on the properties, campaign and party offices and supporters of opponents (Ikelegbe, 2013).

Conclusion

From the discussion above, we have seen that the role of the political parties in Nigerian elections were anti democratic both in character and in functions: offence on emerging democratic country like Nigeria needs strong and sustainable political parties with the capacity to represent citizens and provide policy choices that demonstrate their ability to govern for the public good. Since the ushering in of the fourth Republic in Nigeria, we have witness an increasing disconnect between the Nigerian citizen and their elected leaders, which is also shown in the declined of political activism, and a growing sophistication of anti – democratic forces. The reasons are that the roles and functions which political parties are suppose to play are relegated to the background. The citizens are robbed of their rights as active participants' in parties and democratic elections.

Today in Nigeria, the deficiencies in party system development are so widespread that they have become a central concern for the democratization process to the extent that the political parties are increasingly seen as a threat to democracy. The acknowledgement of such impediments to Nigerians democratic development has resulted in growing attention to the question of how, more coherent and representative parties and party systems can be sustained in fragile environment.

The above challenges have therefore necessitated the introduction of ambitious reforms in Nigeria aimed at changing the way parties are form, organize and behave. These party regulations attempt to shape the development of democratic competition but sometimes struggle to allow reasonable free party formation and competition, including parties, which take into cognizance the mass of the citizens.

Recommendations

In the light of the findings of this work, the following recommendations are made:

- i. Political parties should be set up based on ideology and across sentiments, (political parties should have wide spread of membership, tribe, and religion among others.
- ii. All political parties must be fair to it members that is every party member must be carried along, irrespective of tribe, geopolitical zones.
- iii. All the political parties need to be re – organized on the principle of inclusiveness rather than exclusion, party officials needs to be re-trained to carry out their functions effectively.
- iv. Government should provide a ground for political education, such as awareness and enlightenment of people on elections tips.
- v. Critical need needs to be paid to the political parties as institutions that play diverse but central roles in democratic consolidation.
- vi. The parties need to be re – engineered from mere institutions for acquiring political power to effective institution that are capable of structuring, mediating and reconciling social interest and conflicts. This means that issues of organizational capacity, effective leadership, internal democracy,

- discipline institutionalization and personalization geological platforms of mobilization and linkage to society and the masses have to be tackled.
- vii. All political parties should practice internal democracy to make them strong, effective and efficient through consistent observance of principles of transparency, accountability, consultation and consensus building in policies and decision-making.

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NIGERIA'S DEFENCE, FOREIGN POLICIES AND HEGEMONIC ROLES IN WEST AFRICA

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Abstract

This paper examined the Nigeria's defence role, foreign policies and hegemonic roles in west African crisis Using ECOWAS and ECOMOG as a regional body for West African defence .West African Countries had long being struggling to reassert their independence and pave way for accelerated economic growth, putting the deprivations of the colonial era behind through the promotion of cooperation and integration in the continent, mobilization of self –reliance policies and sustaining development strategies in order to cope with the problem of insecurity ,which arises from different crises, that is affecting West African State. This paper attempted an evaluation of Nigeria's Defence, Foreign policies and hegemonic roles in West Africa. Territorial Defence has been an outstanding challenges of West African States before and after the formation of the ECOWAS and ECOMOG as a regional body for the West African defence.

Key words: Nigeria's Defence Policy, Nigeria's Foreign Policy Hegemony

Introduction

Globally, the defense policy of any country remains an embodiment of its security priorities, which includes an assessment of its strategic environment ,threat analysis, the resources and allocation for the maximum realization of its national interests .However ,the realization of any sound defense policy must involve a critical evaluation of national resources ,economic and industrial capacity, strength and Weaknesses and technological attainment and the general level of injustice and equity.

In the light of the above, Aligwara(2009:73-74),submits that, any serious national defense policy must be hinged on the fact that the indigenous economic structure offers a foundation for the organizational and technological progress of the military, as the major instrument of national defense in particular and other vital sectors of national development like agriculture and social empowerment in general.

According to Nigeria's Defence policy(2006:25),Nigeria as a nation, shall sustain a sufficient defence capability and express her intentions according to the prevailing circumstances so as to ensure that

potential aggressors are kept in no doubt of the willingness to use the Armed Forces and all weapons available. The policy document further affirms that, force modernization and development would be given priority in order to acquire basic deterrence capabilities. From the above fact, it is obvious that, deterrence and force projection are the main elements and principles which underpin national defence policy of Nigeria.

Eze(2011:123) posits, "Nigeria's policy is yet to properly articulate how the country will attain the independent capability for deterrence and its employment as a principle of national defence". It is unwise to assume that the existing military infrastructure provides sufficient deterrence against potential aggressors, in the absence of a strong and self-propelled indigenous technological and industrial base. In addition, Eze(2011:123) opined that, Nigeria is ranked among countries with the lowest national defence capability in the world, for reasons that are not far-fetched, the basic ingredients which make countries independent are absent. Countries with well-built defence capabilities have a well-built economic, industrial and technological base to support the defence infrastructure like the armed forces and arms industries. There is no gain saying the fact that, Nigeria operates a weak and royalty-oriented economy that is characterized by the absence of strong and self-supporting industrial and technological capacity.

Mbachu(2011:16) argues that, the impact of technology on modern warfare is very profound. The advent of sophisticated high-tech electronics, improvement in fire power and ranges of weaponry had transformed the nature and scope of warfare in an unprecedented manner. Therefore, Research and Development (R&D) continues to show the way for future enterprise, be it military or non-military issues.

The importance of mediation as a Peace building tool in any society today cannot be overemphasized. Since gaining independence in the 1960s, Nigeria has played a major role in peace advocacy and conflict resolution and has sought to manage its inter-state relations under the framework of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and other bilateral arrangements with its immediate neighbors. The role of Nigeria in the resolution of conflicts has been vigorous. The ECOWAS mechanism for conflict prevention, the Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Programme for Coordination and Assistance for Security and Development (PCASED, 2002), the Protocol Relating to Mutual Assistance of Defence (1981), and the Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance (2001) are all mechanisms for the resolution of both domestic and regional conflicts. Some of these protocols have led to the establishment of specialized institutions such as the Mediation and Security Council, Defence and Security Commission, ECOMOG, the Council of Elders, and the office of Political Affairs, Defence and Security (PADS) (Nuhu, 2014).

Literature Review

The main terms in this work are Nigeria's Defence policy, Nigeria's Foreign policy and Hegemony.

Nigeria's defence policy:

Ogunedo (2011:29) clarified that Defence policy is accepted as the foundation upon which a nation's security is built. Adding "it is a plan of action adopted or pursued by a government to protect a country against potential enemies, harm or danger. It also includes all strategies adopted for the preservation of a nation's sovereignty and her continued economic and socio-political values and development". The primary foundation of a nation's defence policy is derived from the concepts and policies of national security. In line with Nigeria's constitution, the internal security is maintained by the Police, Intelligence and para-military agencies while the military exclusively secures her territorial veracity and boundaries. Yet, when the internal security becomes too volatile the military is engaged; response to internal and external threats faced by a country is determined by the choices between the military and non-military options available, hence there is an interwoven relationship between security and defence. Additionally, national security policy is the direct feeder of the national defence policy of a country. The Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS) in the U.S rightly observed that "At the heart of a Defence White Paper is the government's concept of national security" (Nwolise, 2011: 404, 419).

In order to trace previous attempt at having a defence policy, Vogt (1990: 96,100, 101,105 &106) dissected the history of Nigeria defence policy and asserted that the country operated for many years without a clear and codified defence policy owing to the evolution of the Armed forces. Nigeria at independence did not envisage any serious external threat and was against the formation of an African high command, signed a military pact with Britain from 1962 to 1964. The military was essentially involved in a peacekeeping mission in Congo and internal security operations in the 1960s before the outbreak of coup d'états and the civil war. He explained that the Nigerian civil war expanded the size and shape of the forces yet it lacked the conception of role it was expected to play. "The post-civil war era has witnessed several reorganizations and modernization plans for the various arms of the armed forces based on different doctrines." He added that there was no framework of a national defence policy. However, the Chadian crises of the early 1980s brought about a reassessment of Nigeria's threat perception coupled with the involvement of France and Libya in the conflict. There were other security problems which the lack of coherent response could not address, such as the Maitatsine crises in Kano, Yola, Kaduna and Bauchi between 1980 and 1984, the 1986 University of Jos student's unrest and Nigeria's membership of the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) in 1986 among others.

Nigeria's Foreign policy:

According to Legg and Morrison (1971) "foreign policy is a set of explicit objectives with regard to the world beyond the borders of a given social unit and a set of strategies and tactics designed to achieve those objectives". This understanding subscribes to the designation of plans and clear cut strategies for actualization of those plans. It is idealist because it fails to take cognizance of the contingencies in the international system in terms of the unpredictability of behaviors of international actors.

Another- definition of foreign policy emerged from the obvious shortcoming of the above view. This view was well articulated by Vital (1968). To him, "foreign policy implies rather a field of related but distinct actions and issues in which there neither is nor can be foreign policy". According to his thesis, the realities of states" behavior entail decisions and policies being formulated in a disjointed fashion, largely in response to immediate pressures and events, in a number of separate structures and issue areas. Thus, Frankel's (1964 and 1975) conception of foreign policy "as a dynamic process of interaction between the changing domestic demands and the changing external circumstances" is apt in the light of occurrences in contemporary global political order.

Theoretical Framework For This Study

The Concentric Circles Model Theory was adopted as a theoretical frame work of Analysis for this study .Concentric circles theory has come to stay in socio-economic analysis .The theory was first proposed by a sociologist, Ernest Burgess in 1925. One of the notable benefit of this theory at it's inception was that, the theory was the first to explain the urban structures arose naturally, without planning subsequent developments have made the theory applicable in diverse areas of study. Various attempts have been made to apply this concentric circles theory to foreign policy making and analysis. Ibrahim.A.Gambari(1989), asserts that, " a country's foreign policy revolves around it's national interests. Nigeria is not and cannot be an exception to this. While Africa remains the centre piece of our foreign policy. We cannot operate within a series of concentric circles which now effectively guides our behavior on the African and World scene. The inner most of the circles of national interests involves Nigeria's security territorial integrity and political independence and that of the neighbors of Nigeria".

Hassan Saliu(2011), has aptly put it in real focus, the place of this theory in the analysis of Nigerian Foreign Policy; "There has been an increased interest in adopting the concentric circles model theory in analyzing Nigerian foreign policy, since the time of Ibrahim Gambari as external affairs minister of Nigeria between 1984 and 1985. He has often argued that more will be gained if scholars and policy makers develop the layered approach to the study of Nigerian foreign policy .By this, it means that Nigeria's interest in global affairs should be located in the physical Nigeria and her immediate neighbors in west

Africa, larger Africa, then the rest of the World and international organizations. This, Ibrahim Gambari and others who believe in the thesis of concentric circles argued, is the best way for Nigeria to go in protecting her interests”.

The adoption of the concentric circle model for the nation's foreign policy in the mid-1980s tried to prioritize foreign policy objectives but still putting emphasis on West Africa (MFA, 2011). However, under President Obasanjo, since 1999, Nigeria shifted from concentricism to globalism following the argument by Lamido Sanusi, Minister of Foreign Affairs (1999-2003) that Nigeria stands to benefit from globalism as thrust of its foreign policy. Another foreign minister, Ambassador Adeniji argued that the Concentric Circle Model should be constructive and beneficial, and be predicated on a tripod of complementary strategies: articulation of Nigeria's interests within a given concentric circle, articulation of appropriate techniques for promoting and defining such interests within that concentric circle and evolving techniques that will make the Nigerian people the first beneficiaries of such a foreign policy (Akinterinwa; 2004:454).

Hegemony: It is “ἡγεμονία *hēgemonía*,” in the Greek language, meaning leadership and rule, it is an indirect form of government, and of imperial dominance in which the *hegemony* (leader state) rules geopolitically subordinate states by the implied means of power, the threat of force, rather than by direct military force (Hassig, 1994). In Ancient Greece (8th century BCE – 6th century CE), *hegemony* denoted the politico-military dominance of a city-state over other city-states (Chernow & Vallasi, 1994).

In the 19th century, hegemony denoted the geopolitical and the cultural predominance of one country upon others; from which derived *hegemonism*, the Great Power politics meant to establish European hegemony upon continental Asia and Africa (Bullock & Trombley, 1999). In the 20th century, Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) developed the philosophy and the sociology of geopolitical hegemony into the theory of cultural hegemony, whereby one social class can manipulate the system of values and mores of a society, in order to create and establish a ruling class *Weltanschauung*, a worldview that justifies the *status quo* of bourgeois domination of the other social classes of the society (Chernow & Vallasi, 1994; Upton, Kretzschmar & Konopka, 2001).

In the praxis of hegemony, imperial dominance is established by means of cultural imperialism, whereby the leader state (hegemony) dictates the internal politics and the societal character of the subordinate states that constitute the hegemonic sphere of influence, either by an internal, sponsored government or by an external, installed government. The imposition of the hegemony's way of life an imperial *lingua franca* and bureaucracies (social, economic, educational, governing) transforms the concrete imperialism of direct military domination into the abstract power of the *status quo*, indirect imperial domination (Hassig, 1994). Under hegemony, rebellion (social, political, economic, armed) is eliminated either by co-optation of the rebels or by suppression (police and military), without direct intervention by the hegemony; examples are the latter-stage Spanish and British Empires, the 19th and 20th century Reichs of unified Germany (1871–1945), and by the end of the twentieth century, the United States (Kissinger, 1994; Schoultz, 1999).

Nigeria's Hegemonic role in West Africa

By the mid-1980s, Nigeria's foreign minister and former academic, Dr Bolaji Akinyemi, even launched a much publicized bid to achieve what he termed as a 'middle power' status in world affairs. On the grounds of Nigeria's newly acquired oil wealth and influence, he and other Nigerian policy makers started calling for a Monroe doctrine that would spare West Africa from external (then mostly French) military interventions and promote, as an alternative, the concept of Pan Africana, namely the idea of conflict resolution among Africans and through African solutions (Mazrui, 1967). It was Biafra's secession attempt (1967-70) that initially prompted Nigeria to launch regional initiatives designed to counter French and Ivorian support of the rebels, circumvent international sanctions on arms deliveries and more generally,

counter the effects of international mobilization in favor of Biafra's independence. Once the war was over, Nigeria's diplomatic initiatives towards the establishment of the 15-member Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) played a decisive role. Nigeria's diplomatic activism was then largely stimulated by geo-political considerations, namely the perceived need to increase Nigeria's standing and influence among the Francophone West African states. Gowon (1966-1975) multiplied bilateral diplomatic contacts, in the context of which the Federal Government took financial stakes in joint industrial projects. He also established solid credentials as a regional leader when, after reversing Nigeria's initial hostility to the opening of negotiations towards the future EU-ACP Lomé Convention, he took the lead in the negotiations (Bach, 1983: 605-623).

Nigeria was comforted by its oil resources and a favorable international environment; she was able to extract key trade and aid concessions from the Europeans. Within a few weeks after the signing of the Lomé Convention, the charter establishing ECOWAS was also signed in Lagos amidst much enthusiasm. This momentum was quickly lost when, following Gowon's overthrow in July 1975, Muritala Mohammed's abrasive regional and continental diplomacy revived Francophone fears of the Nigerian 'bully'. Nigerian expectations that ECOWAS would offer a conduit for the expression of its influence were frustrated by consensus-driven decision making processes, repeated delays in the implementation of decisions, and the Francophone member-states' behavior as a bloc, cemented by their common belonging to the *Communauté des Etats d'Afrique de l'Ouest* (Fawole, 2003; Gambari, 1978).

During the second republic (1979-1983) Nigeria had to take external loans in order to alleviate the effects of declining resources, the cost of Nigeria's hegemonic ambitions was reassessed. Lagos had 'gained little that was tangible ... failed to institutionalise the capabilities that would have allowed Nigeria to take advantage of the inroads made between 1973 and 1983' (Myers, 1991: 337). Frustration grew among Nigerian policy-makers for what ECOWAS had come to stand for, that is an organization substantively funded by Nigeria but with little operational capacity and disappointing returns. This climaxed when, in January 1983, a government expulsion order compelled between one and two million immigrants, most of them West Africans, to leave Nigeria amidst chaos and confusion. By April 1984 another sign of Nigerian exasperation was prompted by flourishing cross-border trafficking with Francophone neighboring economies. Nigeria's land boundaries were sealed by the army for a period which would last sixteen months. During 1985, another expulsion order also meant that another wave of about 700,000 'illegal aliens' had to look for safety in 'home' countries where some of them had never lived (Bach, 2007: 305-306).

The establishment of ECOWAS, once viewed as an opportunity to build up Nigeria's hard structural power through trade and investment, has become an illustration of the limited reach of state-sponsored projects. A flurry of new economic and commercial agreements were concluded with West African states in the seventies but their impact on official trade flows has been of little significance and federal government participation in joint ventures with Benin Republic (the sugar plant at Savé and the cement factory at Onigbolo), Niger (supply of energy from Kainji dam, uranium project of Afasto-East), Guinea (shares in the capital of the Mifergui Nimba iron ore project) were never underscored by private cross border investments. Over three decades after the establishment of ECOWAS, Nigeria's hub and spokes interactions essentially proceed from the dynamics of so called informal cross border trade and networks. Regional infrastructures, despite noted improvement, are highly inadequate and poorly maintained. It is yet too early to surmise what will be the spillover effects of the 620 miles long offshore pipeline that is being built so as to supply Togo, Benin and Ghana with Nigerian natural gas. The scale and cost of the West African Gas Pipeline (WAGP) certainly operate as an unprecedented incentive towards the harmonisation of regulations and energy policy orientations among the states concerned (Bach, 2007: 305-306).

The initial decision of ECOWAS to intervene in Liberia (1990-1997) occurred in a post-cold war world where US unwillingness to intervene and restore order in Monrovia created what Nigeria and some West African leaders saw as a window of opportunity for experimenting Pax Africana on an ad hoc basis. At the instigation of the Nigerian president, Ibrahim Babangida (1985-1993), ECOWAS heads of States resolved in May 1990 to form a Standing Mediation Committee (SMC). Babangida's influence also played a key role in August 1990, as the SMC agreed to form an ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) for the purpose of ordering a cease-fire in Liberia, establishing an interim government and holding general elections within a year. The motivation of Nigerian president Ibrahim Babangida was a mixture of personal inclination – Samuel Doe considered him as his mentor – with broader geo-strategic concern at the significant backing that Charles Taylor had been receiving from Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso and Libya (Gershoni, 1993: 21-43; Ellis 1999: 162).

The roles of the Nigeria's defence in Liberia, as parts of its foreign policy created temporary solution to the conflict after seven years of unrest in Liberia as a result of ECOWAS intervention in 1990. Nigeria's diplomatic, financial and military involvement shaped processes and outcomes in a decisive fashion. Within a few weeks of the dispatch of ECOMOG forces, their failure to prevent the gruesome execution of Doe by rebels enabled Nigeria to impose durably its lead on the conduct of operations: the Ghanaian field commander was replaced by a Nigerian and, from September onwards, he and his successors were all Nigerian appointees who took their orders directly from the Nigerian Ministry of Defense (Prkic, 2000: 262). Nigeria also kept providing the bulk of troops (75% of the 11,000 ECOMOG troops by 1993) and funded an estimated 90% of the cost of operations. ECOMOG operations were formally accountable to ECOWAS but the Secretariat and the Authority had in effect no controlling hand over engagement (Adebajo 2002: 48).

Meanwhile, such domination did not mean, however, that Nigeria had the military capacity to impose its own solution. Nigerian troops, although they had initially been able to expel Charles Taylor and his NPFL (National Patriotic Front of Liberia) forces from Monrovia in 1990, were unable to re-establish control over an estimated 85% of the Liberian territory. Peace-keeping operations suffered from severe financial and logistical handicaps and, despite some ECOMOG success, the rebellion could not be crushed. The ECOMOG was not seen as impartial by the parties involved in the conflict. Francophone ECOWAS-member states were also wary of what they saw as an attempt by Nigeria to promote a *Pan Nigeriana*, a situation that contributed to the revival of the Francophone-Anglophone divide. Since conference diplomacy also failed to create sustainable political solutions, the option of a strictly sub-regional treatment of the conflict had to be reconsidered (Mortimer 1996).

It was equally observed that, in Liberia, Nigerian involvement was decisive since the bulk of ECOMOG II was formed by Nigerian troops and all force commanders were Nigerian. Once more, Abuja's military and financial contribution was low compared to other states' to the extent that it could 'brush aside ... continued diplomatic efforts to resolve the crisis and pursued a military solution instead' (Berman & Sams, 2003: 46). In February 1998, this was manifested through Nigeria's decision to take advantage of its control over ECOMOG and expel militarily RUF forces from Freetown, thus enabling the reinstatement of President Ahmad Kabbah on 10 March. Internationally, the decisive contribution of the Abacha regime to the restoration of democracy in Sierra Leone was, however, obscured by the Nigerian military junta's domestic agendas. Abacha's promotion of democracy in Sierra Leone deflected international pressure at a time when the country was suspended from Commonwealth meetings decertified by the US on account of drug trafficking and confronted with (weakly enforced) international sanctions. More tersely, military involvement in Sierra Leone also meant that 'Abacha and his generals could continue to divert millions of dollars ... while billing them as ECOMOG expenses' (Adebajo, 2002: 92).

Danjuma (1990) had suggested that the commitment of the developed nations to African states will continue to dwindle, thus freeing the developing states to take decisions concerning their security. It was also argued that external powers have no compelling strategic reasons to display much of an interest in West Africa in the post-cold war era to warrant their intervention (Oche, 2011: 183). However, in recent years, events in the area, including the domestic security problems of many West African states, threats posed by the super powers and transnational organized crime groups to Western interests and the need for the Western powers to protect their economic interests in the Sahel/Sahara region and in the Gulf of Guinea, the expanding environment for the Global War on Terror (GWOT), the many oil and gas discoveries, the established solid mineral wealth of the region and of course the market they represent, have attracted greater attention from the Western powers.

The U.S., the EU, especially France, have great interests in the security situation and security policy of West African states. French interests have deep roots in the colonial and neo-colonial relationship with several West African states. There is extensive French military, economic and political presence across the sub-region in a manner that actually pose an obstacle to Nigeria's effective leadership role in the sub-regional security policy. The U.S., the UK, and the EU as a whole, have great stakes in the economy of the sub-region and are also concerned about the growing influence of terrorist groups, including AQIM, that have increasingly targeted citizens of western countries particularly France. Others include the emerging powers China and India whose interests revolve around natural resources and markets. They remain focused on gaining access to the mineral resources of the sub-region and on investment possibilities. Libya under the late Col. Muammar Ghadaffi has also shown a very high interest in the political affairs of the sub-region, having been identified as a factor in the Charles Taylor insurgency and the Fodey Sankoh uprising in Sierra Leone. Algeria has also had to extend its security influence deep into the Sahara to contain the activities of Al Qaeda elements in the sub-region (Alli, 2012:78).

Generally, all these powers are trying to gain control over the natural resources in the region from Mauritania to the Gulf of Guinea and far into the Sahara and with the discovery of oil in Northern Mali, and in Niger, the scramble for influence in the area by extra-African interests is likely to increase further, thus complicating the security situation in the region and undermining the role and influence of sub-regional powers like Nigeria. According to Lohmann (2011: 12), international actors take such high interest in the security situation of the sub-region because of the worldwide linkage of drugs, arms and human trafficking, and the fact that the events in the central Sahara are affecting Europe and the U.S.

Furthermore because of the search for natural resources such as gas, oil, uranium etc., organized criminal activities pose great threats to the prospects of economic development in the sub-region and are direct threats to the dream of a Trans-Sahara oil and gas pipeline to Europe thus requiring greater involvement of the powers in the management of the security of the sub-region West African states under threat of domestic security problems, TOC and terrorism are themselves becoming more open to broad security cooperation with the U.S. and its allies and are increasingly receiving U.S. assistance in line with the growing interest of the US in the sub-region stretching from the Gulf of Guinea to Mauritania. When the U.S. launched the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) as a kind of security assistance project for African states it was coldly received (Yoroms, 2010).

Nigeria's leadership is also a clear statement about the capability of African states to resolve African problems. In this regard, Nigeria's role is so fundamental, because it both determines the direction of security policy and provides the backbone for its implementation. The successful interventions of ECOWAS in Liberia and Sierra Leone under Nigerian leadership have shown that, given the necessary political support, African states could successfully manage their security challenges. The general direction of Nigerian involvement is now informed by a broadly defined foreign policy objective, built on a specific

perception of its national role, documented in its National Defence Policy, and informed by conventional perspectives about security threats (Alli, 2012: 84-85).

Decline in Nigeria's Defence and Foreign policies and Hegemonic role in West Africa

The performance of ECOMOG in Liberia was not particularly impressive. It had exacerbated tensions among member-states, while prolonging the crisis and contributing to its regionalization. The event, nonetheless, earned the Nigerian military dictatorship valuable international kudos. Indeed, throughout the second Clinton administration, US concern with curbing the spread of conflicts in Africa was mitigated by wariness that this should translate into entangling commitments. This meant backing regional 'anchor' states who, like Nigeria, were 'willing to take losses and sustain deployments'. In spite of the growing opprobrium that surrounded the Nigerian military dictatorship, Washington officials working with West Africa had 'scrambled to circumvent the legal restrictions, on bilateral military relations with Nigeria, as soon as they were enacted. Although there was no precedent for providing aid directly to a regional organization, procedures had also been quickly put in place to provide assistance to ECOMOG. Between 1996-1997, as international sanctions against Nigeria's Abacha dictatorship (1993-1998) climaxed, the US government also worked through contractors to send trucks, radios and helicopters to the Nigerian troops in Liberia' (Leatherwood, 2001: 24, 20-21).

The ECOMOG intervention in Sierra Leone offered another testing ground for Nigeria's projection of military force. One of the side effects of the war in Liberia was its spill over into Sierra Leone. After the president of Sierra Leone had endorsed the Nigerian stance over the formation of ECOMOG, Nigerian troops and Air Force had started using Freetown as a staging post to operate in Liberia, a situation that prompted Taylor to support Foday Sankoh whose Revolutionary United Front (RUF) invaded Sierra Leone from Liberia in March 1991. ECOMOG forces were still based in Sierra Leone when the civilian government of President Kabbah was overthrown by a military coup supported by the RUF on 25 May 1997. Kabbah's subsequent request for Nigerian assistance was promptly endorsed by Nigeria's General Abacha who then chaired ECOWAS. On 27 June, the Council of Ministers decided to engage in diplomatic consultations with the military junta while adding that the possible use of force should not be excluded were these to fail. No tangible results had been achieved when, on 29 August, the Authority agreed to the establishment of ECOMOG II, a force that was mandated to assist in creating a 'conducive atmosphere' towards the 'early re-instatement of the legitimate government of Sierra Leone', including the supervision of ceasefire, monitoring of violations and enforcement of the economic and military sanctions that were simultaneously decided by the Authority (Bach, 2007: 308).

Notwithstanding what Nigeria may have put in place, there are institutional weaknesses within ECOWAS including inadequate resources and lack of administrative and military capability which militate against and indeed undermine Nigeria's leadership role. While it appears that the military components are being progressively addressed, the non-military components have not been properly articulated in a manner that is responsive to the emerging security challenges at home and in the sub-region and application of socio-economic and political engineering to address defence and security matters since the use of militarism to address security matters is no longer appropriate for the kind of security challenges being faced domestically and in the sub-region as a whole. Meanwhile, Nigeria's role in sub-regional security is highly personalized, driven by the President rather than a well-articulated strategic vision. This is a phenomenon which started under the Babangida military regime and its policy on the Liberian conflict. This tendency has continued under the democratically elected regime of President Obasanjo, who put his personal stamp on foreign policy as well as on defence and security policy. Presidents Yar'Adua and Jonathan have also largely defined the content of Nigeria's security policy in the sub-region according to their image (Alli, 2012: 23).

At the same time, as noted by Sanda, since Nigeria still has no single focused and comprehensive security policy, every security agency has its own security policy that drives its operations. With this comes a lack of effective coordination among the different security and government agencies and the ensuing inter-agency rivalry. However, Nigeria's leadership role in the sub-regional security policy could be seen through its peace-keeping and peace-support, peace building and mediation activities; and through efforts aimed at curbing cross-border criminal activities, piracy; consolidation of democratic rule and support for economic development, and importantly, through the strategic security training it offers to the armed forces of many member states of ECOWAS (Alli, 2012: 23-24). In the wake of the Somali crisis (1993) and the genocide in Rwanda (1994) and the reluctance of the powerful members of the United Nations Security Council's (UNSC) to approve new UN missions for Africa, the African regional and sub-regional organisations were forced to develop their own security mechanism (Adebajo;2004: 3). This step was also informed by the need for greater cooperation, political will and commitment among the fifteen, largely weak West African states with very ineffective national security capabilities.

The AU security architecture is informed by the new security threats and provides for collective approach to the security challenges of the continent, accepting the sovereign equality of all members and a prominent position for Regional Economic Communities (RECs), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), South African Development Community (SADC), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS). The AU framework, which was set up in 2002, has a Peace and Security Council (PSC), a permanent body on peace and security with the responsibility for managing collective security and working in cooperation with RECs. The AU Commission also has a Peace and Security Directorate. There are provisions for an African Standby Force made up of multinational brigades drawn from the RECs – ECOBRIG for West Africa, SADCBRIG for Southern Africa, EASBRIG for East Africa and a North African brigade and a Central Africa Brigade. Another brigade, the 6th is being planned for the AU Headquarters with a capacity for between 15000 and 20000 troops (Alli, 2012: 30).

Articles 16 of the AU's Peace and Security Council (PSC) protocol for example provides that regional mechanism shall be part of the security architecture of the Union, which has the primary responsibility to promote peace security and stability in Africa. There is also the Panel of the Wise, officially launched in 2007, the Early Warning System with its Situation Room and a Special Fund for security. In addition, ECOWAS has many experts, put together under the West African network for democratic governance, a regional network of institutions and experts working on security policy and advising the ECOWAS Commission (Alli, 2012: 30).

There is also a West African Network for Peace providing strategic insight into the various security challenges facing the community. The African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) is another important measure in the efforts to promote security on the continent generally. It is designed to have several levels and was meant to help strengthen African capacity for crisis prevention, conflict transformation, and consolidation of peace. In 2010, new security threats such as organised crime, piracy and drug trafficking were added to the issues covered by the APSA framework. The international community has resources and capabilities which over the years have been of great help to African conflict management and the promotion of peace and security. The EU for example is using the Cotonou Agreement and an array of other instruments to support the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). Nigeria serves as headquarters to the ECOWAS brigade, which was mandated by APSA, whereas the Nigerian Army 130th battalion in Calabar is the standby force for ECOWAS. In March 2011, the EU High Representative presented a draft EU Strategy for security and development in the Sahel with the main objective of coordinating and linking security and development, a very important yet inadequately appreciated dimension in the emerging security challenges in Africa generally, considering that most of the

conflicts and emerging security challenges have their origin in the poor socio-economic condition of the people and the poor democratic culture and lack of good governance (Alli, 2012: 31).

1.5 Conclusion and Recommendation

In Nigeria today, peace building has increasingly assumed a priority position in good governance policymaking. The need to mainstream peace building in development has arisen owing to the realization that conflict disorders in the country continue to jeopardize efforts to combat poverty. The dominant role in the mediation of the crises between Liberia and Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso and Mali, and Togo and Ghana are some of the clearest indications of this peace building role; the biggest effort to date is probably the case of the conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon over the Bakassi Peninsula. Here and elsewhere in West Africa, local peace building initiatives are playing an increasingly important role in resolving conflict.

There is no doubt that Nigeria plays a critical role in the making of sub-regional security policy and in its implementation: any time Nigeria does not participate or support a particular security policy initiative, this policy is bound to fail. This is due to the considerable leverage Nigeria brings to the table in terms of military capabilities, strategic clarity and focus, material resources, as well as enormous political and diplomatic clout. Nigeria's leadership is also a clear statement about the capability of African states to resolve African problems. In this regard, Nigeria's role is so fundamental, because it both determines the direction of security policy and provides the backbone for its implementation. The successful interventions of ECOWAS in Liberia and Sierra Leone under Nigerian leadership have shown that, given the necessary political support, African states could successfully manage their security challenges.

The general direction of Nigerian involvement is now informed by a broadly defined foreign policy objective, built on a specific perception of its national role, documented in its National Defence Policy, and informed by conventional perspectives about security threats. Based on this, national defence architecture has been put in place, again informed by the philosophy and doctrine in line with conventional thinking, developed largely by the military establishment. The lack of Good Governance has been recognized as a major source of security challenges that ECOWAS states are being confronted with. Accordingly, while conventional security measures should continue to be improved upon, new frameworks ought to be developed to address the changing character of security challenges, particularly to human security. The civilian political leadership should also be more engaged strategically and meaningfully in the defence and security issues, while more serious efforts should be made towards improving inter-agency co-operation and co-ordination for success in a world increasingly challenged by insecurity.

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PAY-AS-YOU-POLLUTE WASTE MANAGEMENT TAX: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

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Abstract

The density of the waste composition with its ever-increasing pattern of generation globally is a threat to the natural environment and the well-being of the people. Its impact however, in developing countries is more pathetic, as most developed nations were able to turned their solid waste management challenges to their advantage. Efficient solid waste management is highly costly; as such putting in place in adequate infrastructures and well trained personnel to guarantee the achievement of efficient waste management requires an effective and sustainable source of funding. Studies has shown that most advanced nations have achieved this by introducing a waste management tax meant to both generate required fund for efficient management of solid waste in their metropolitans and also to reduce or even stop were possible the increasing generation of solid waste. This paper adopts secondary data to discuss the success of Pay-As-You-Pollute waste management tax in different countries across the globe and recommend its introduction by nations wishing to achieve not only efficient management of their solid waste but also, to guarantee it sustainability.

Keywords: Solid waste management, Tax, Cleaning of environment, Pay as You Pollute.

Introduction

It is a common believe that balancing the relationship between natures and other beings, particularly human beings is very paramount to a harmonious co-existence on earth, and for a sustainable development of both in this world. However, with advancement in civilisation, man continued indulging in activities that both, directly and indirectly, affect the natural environment negatively, resulting in so many environmental problems; such as solid or domestic waste (DW) accumulation, air pollution and water pollution (Sasikumar & Krishna, 2009). Since early 1990s, the issue of waste management has already become a disturbing factor in urban cities worldwide because of the increasing rate of waste generation coupled with massive production and consumption, resulting from growing economy of most nations (Kim, 2004). The global population increase brought with it an increasing demand for essentials of life (food, drink, shelter, and clothing) resulting in the rise of daily solid waste (SW) generation by households (Subramoniam & Suresh, 2015).

Globally, solid waste generation with its attendant consequence to people's health and the environment is overwhelming, posing severe challenge for governments and institutions (Periathamby, Hamid & Khidzir, 2009). The increasing population of the world has brought with it incredible SW generation. Earlier, in the year 2000 records show that 318 million SW tonnes were generated globally, with an estimated 6% annual increase. Based on this, it was forecasted that by 2008 global SW generation would amount to 518 million tonnes and 585 million tonnes by 2010 (Periathamby, Hamid, & Khidzir, 2009). However, available information in 2015, revealed that 1.3 billion metric tons of municipal solid waste (MSW) is globally generated annually. This figure is estimated to increase to about 2.2 billion tons by 2025 (Kawai & Tasaki, 2016).

Albeit, it is contended that official statistics in respect of global solid waste generation is unavailable resulting from inadequate data collection (Periathamby, Hamid, & Khidzir, 2009). Such information however, in respect of advance countries is more easily obtain, owing to their entrenched guidelines and efficient waste management program (Lau, 2004). In fact, while, the developing nations characterized by weak enforcement, absent of technology, and ineffective policy implementation are still battling with the efforts of packing away the solid waste (SW) for proper hygiene disposals, most developed nations have since turned their domestic waste challenges to their advantage (Periathamby, Hamid, & Khidzir, 2009). Thus, the density of the waste composition with its ever-increasing pattern of generation in developing countries is a threat to the natural environment and the well-being of the people (Periathamby, Hamid, & Khidzir, 2009). Therefore, efficient solid waste management is necessary to guarantee a hygiene environment which is critical for the health and well-being of both rural dwellers and urban residents (World Bank, 2013).

However, waste management is costly and consumed a high portion of the limited resources available to the government to execute its capital projects and provision of infrastructures. This accounts for neglects of proper waste management or lack of it at all, in most developing countries, particularly at the local municipal/government areas, with its far-reaching effects on the environment and the citizens (Zainu & Songip, 2017; Welivita, Wattage & Gunawardena, 2015) and also (Maskey & Singh, 2017). As far back, to 1999, global cost records of solid waste management (SWM) is \$205.4 billion per annum which is expected to rise up to about \$375.5 billion in 2025. The cost upsurge is predicted to be very high in both lower income and lower-middle income countries, as it is going to be five times and four times respectively more than it is currently (Hoornweg & Thomas, 1999).

Methodology

This paper adopts secondary data to explore the contributions pay-as-you-pollute waste management tax vis-a-vis its prospects and challenges across the globe. The paper used journal articles, text books, newspapers, magazine among others to review key variables like environmental waste management, solid waste, Pay as you pollute, environmental tax among others.

Conceptual Discourse

Environmental waste management

According to a US based waste management company, environmental waste management refers to consuming less, emitting less and above all complying with all rules and regulations put in place to protect the environment. These encompass all efforts geared towards progressive usage, protection and preservation of the environment (Rick, 2017). As serious concern over environmental problems gather momentum, interest on environmental tax is on the raise. A good number of economists believed that levies on polluters can serve as an effective tool for government to achieve environmental sustainability objective (Bovenberg and De Mooji, 1994). Some are even of the opinion that environmental taxes can bring many benefits than environment free of pollution. They realized from their study that government can actually generate more revenue from taxes on polluters than can be gotten from normal routine taxes. And that government can use the revenues from polluter's taxes to even write-off some distortionary taxes.

In line with the above, the increasing volume of construction waste disposal, which is also a class of MSW, has prompted many economies across the globe to come up with various systems of charging construction waste disposal. Such as, “construction waste disposal charging schemes” which is based on the “polluter pays principle” as a means of putting in place efficient and sustainable management of construction waste (Lu, et al., 2015).

According Rick (2017), there are six practical components of the waste management system refers to as the fundamentals of the waste management system, namely:

1. Waste generation refers to the act of identifying materials as usable and thrown away or collected together for an orderly disposal.
2. Onsite handling, storage, and processing: This has to do with placing of waste bins right at waste generation point to simplify collection.
3. Waste collection: A critical aspect of waste management, involving a wide range of starting with the placement of waste collection bins, a collection of waste from the bins, transferring to locations where trash is accumulated, and collection vehicles emptied.
4. Waste transfer and transport: Refers to the transferring/transportation of waste in large waste transport vehicles from local collection centres to the regional waste disposal sites
5. Waste Processing and Recovery: This refers to the series of activities which involve the employment of techniques and the utilization of facilities and equipment, to recover materials from the waste stream into a useable form that could be used to improve other serviceable components of waste management.

Disposal: Disposal is final phase in the sequence of activities involved in waste management disposal, it deals with the efficient discarding of waste materials to either landfills or for use in various waste treatment facilities, such as waste-to-energy facilities, etc (Rick, 2017).

Solid Waste Management

Solid waste is the urban and community waste products or items that are discarded by the public (Rick, 2017). The public SW is known as trash or garbage in the in the United States and as refuse or rubbish in Britain. Garbage is mostly referred to food waste and sometimes both the food waste and other SW are collected separately in different waste disposal tanks or cans and they could also be collected together. In addition, SW is the collection of waste products from both human and animal activities that are considered unwanted products (Rick, 2017).

This waste can emanate from either residential activity, industrial workplaces or even commercially generated, and can be managed in different ways. Waste can either be classified on a material basis, which may include plastic, paper, glass, metal, and organic waste. SW could also be classified based on how harmful is the waste product. This comprises waste such as radioactive, flammable, infectious, toxic, or non-toxic. Waste is sometimes categories based on where they are generated; like construction and demolition waste institutional, commercial or SW. Irrespective of the origin, content or how hazardous, SW must be thoroughly managed in line with the best environmental practices. And since SWM is crucial to environmental hygiene, it should, therefore, to be integrated into environmental planning (Rick, 2017). Rick, (2017) defined SW administration as the profession that is concerned with the regulation of waste generation, collection, preservation, disposing of SW materials to be processed in order to efficiently and effectively dispose it to ensured sound public health, sustainable environmental conservation, and economic development. The scope of SWM may include planning, administration, finance, engineering and legal functions.

The practice of SWM can vary between industrial producers and residential, between municipal and countryside, and between technologically advanced nations and the developing countries. Basically, in practice, the management of non-hazardous waste in the local government areas is the primary responsibility of the municipal council, while hazardous waste material management is usually the corporate social responsibility of the generator. The system of SWM practices for each category will also

be determined, in conformity with the prevailing law of a country, or state, or declaration of any international law to which a country is a signatory (Rick, 2017)

The principal purpose of managing SW products is to reduce and total elimination of harmful effects of unwanted materials on the health and environment of its inhabitants, in line with the best practice of sustainable economic development and well-being of humanity (Rick, 2017).

Waste Management Tax

Environmental taxes, sometimes also called eco taxes, green taxes, pollution taxes at different situations, refers to various statutory charges on both private individuals and corporate entities by government; to facilitate the cleaning of the environment. Environmental taxes are normally put in place to checkmate activities that corrupt or pollute the environment. Thus, different classes of environmental tax exist, depending on government intention of usage. For instance, it can serve as a penalising tool against those discharging hazardous substance in the environment, or maybe rewarding tool to support and encourage those that embraces practices that are friendly to the environment (“Environmental Technology” April 2, 2015)

Therefore, environmental taxes are designed on account of the environment, to either make available incentives to lessen or cut dawn certain secretions from human activities to protect the environment or to place high levied on hazardous products that are harmful to the environment (“USLEGAL”, n.d). Environmental tax can also be defined as a tax which has a physical unit tax base (or its proxy) that has proven specific negative effect on the environment (OECD, 2005).

Furthermore, for a tax to be classified as environmental tax, it must have the following characteristics:

- (1) The tax should be clearly linked to the environmental objectives of government.
- (2) The prima objective of the tax, should be the encouragement of positive change of environmental behaviour.
- (3) The tax should be structure in manner that vividly express government environmental goals. It should for example, the higher the gravity or level of polluting behaviour, the greater the tax levied (Gov.UK, 2012).

Classification of environmental taxes

Basically, environmental taxes can be broadly group into three main categories (“Environmental Technology”, 2015) namely:

- (1) Industrial pollution taxes: - These aimed at making corporate entities and industrial companies to be responsible for polluting the environment with harmful discharges emanating from their activities. For which, they do not suffered, but the local inhabitant of the environment surrounding their area of operation suffered instead.
- (2) Individual revenue-based taxes: - These are directed at private individuals, as against corporate entities and industrial companies. Aimed at cutting dawn activities that causes damage to the environment. These can be in a form of increased gasoline tax, or maybe vehicle taxation or even congestion charges. Though taxes in these class may not actually be popular, particularly for a short-term measures. But the United Kingdom was able to reduce up to 20% of the secretions of “CO2” by commuters to its atmosphere, after the introduction of “London congestion charge” which result in reduction of 30% of the roads traffic.
- (3) Incentivized taxation: - Taxes in this category operate in an opposite direction to the two mentioned above and, are applicable in all spheres, be it solid or industrial. These taxes, rather than punishing environmental polluters, particularly in cases of hazardous substances, they are applied instead to reward organisations and industries that designed their operations, adopting practices that assist in the sustainability of the environment. This serve as an incentive to encourage environmental best practices (“Environmental Technology” 2015).

Incorporating Tax into Waste Management

Ultimately, imposing tax on waste generators is to raise fund for government to be able to put in place, and sustain efficient waste management. When households bear financial burden of the waste they generates, they will be force to minimise the volume of their waste generation. In line with this, economists have suggested several tax and subsidy schemes; in order to internalize disposal costs. According to the economist (Kinnaman & Thomas 2001), applying tax policy to waste management is necessary to assist in achieving efficiency in waste management. Hence, different WMT systems were formulated, such as households waste disposals tax; for which polluters are taxed on each unit of garbage. “at rate tg” and can be subsidized base on recycling volume to encourage recycling effort “at rate Shr” (Kinnaman & Thomas 2001).

Waste taxes and waste charges are severally used interchangeably by different countries at different times, based on their needs. Both are applied to either generate fund for government (at state, local or municipal levels) to finance its waste management operations or to make households or any waste generators to bear the financial burden of managing waste they generated, thereby, making them to be responsive to waste generation by reducing the volume of their waste generation or allowing households some cut-off from their due tax (i.e. tax exemption) as incentives to encourage them to actively participate more in the recycling activities. All aim at reducing waste generation at source and to achieve sustainable efficient waste management (Kinnaman, 2000).

Concept of Pay As You Pollute (PAYP) or Pay As You Throw (PAYT)

Folz and Giles (2002), defines PAYP as a mutable rate or pricing per unit charges, in which customers are charged on the basis of amount or volume of solid waste they disposed. PAYT systems, is also defined as variable rates programs or user pay, by asking households to pay more if they put out more garbage for collection (Skumatz & Freeman, 2006). PAYT or PAYP, also refers to as, trash metering, variable rate pricing, or user-pay pricing. It is a method of waste management services which entails pricing MSW per unit of disposal (Batllell & Hanf, 2008).

PAYP system employed for SW disposal and collection services at the local level is originally used for charging of local utilities, such as electricity, gas, water, and sanitary sewer services, for which the customers pay for whatever they use. This technique, in 20 years back, was limited to few hundred cities. But as at today, the PAYP program has been adopted by 4,032 communities in 43 states US, the total of these communities amounted to 10% of the U.S. population (Skumatz & Freeman, 2006).

Rationales for PAYP Principle, for Waste Management System

There are two most common traditional system of financing the management of MSW:

- (1) Flat-rate system or municipal taxes: - In this system every polluter in respective of the weight or volume of waste generated have to pay equal tax rate. Thus, the flat-rate principle does not encourage source waste reduction, because it doesn't provides incentives for waste reduction.
- (2) PAYP which operates on the basis of polluter pays system for which every polluter is taxed in accordance to the weight or volume of waste generated. And as such PAYP system, in itself encourages source waste reduction (Batllell & Hanf, 2008; Kelleher, Dixie & Robins 2005; Bilitewski, 2008).

Further justification for the appropriateness and the advantages for the use of PAYP system in the management of MSW can be summarized into three sub-headings: economically, socially, and efficiency and effectiveness coded as ESEE.

Economic

Economically, PAYP system of financing MSW brings with it tremendous benefits to all stakeholders in the generation and management of MSW. To start with, PAYP system removed cost of managing waste

from property tax bills, making the financing of residential waste management independent, and self-proficient. Thus, the financing of waste management services is handled in same way as the services of utilities. Like water and electricity, in which consumers are charged on per unit consumption.

Moreover, once polluters knows that payment of high or low WMT to the government, is the function of how much waste they generates, they become more careful and prudent in generating waste (Kelleher, Dixie & Robins 2005; Bilitewski, 2008). This normally grossly reduces the volume of waste government and its agencies have to deal with. In terms of the waste size or weight that have to be collected, transported and disposed of, effectively in an hygiene manner, to protect both the citizens (which also includes the polluters) and the environment from any danger that may emanate from poor and un-hygiene disposal. It also provides for government not only a readily available finance to the immediate management of the present waste generated, but also an assured source of income to guaranty sustainable efficient waste management (Kelleher, Dixie & Robins 2005; Bilitewski, 2008).

In addition, PAYP system of financing MSW also provides employment opportunities to citizens, as it encourages both waste separation and recycling activities. Hence, both government and Individuals will set up centers for collection of specific recyclable items and even processing factories for the recycling of collected materials, which definitely would provide employment opportunities in the economy. This resulted in recycling outputs increasing the volume of material recovery, which drastically reduces pollutions both of landfills and incinerators. Above all, the PAYP system, to a large extend inspire producers to develop products that are not only proficiently designed, but which life cycles are environmentally friendly (Batllell & Hanf, 2008; Kelleher, Dixie & Robins 2005).

Social

Socially, PAYP brings sense of belonging and fairness to the poor citizens as every household pays pro rata to waste generated. Hence, families with low-income generating less waste (since they consume less) pay lower. Therefore, the costs of waste management services are evenly distributed, which assist in promoting unity in the community (Batllell & Hanf, 2008; Kelleher, Dixie & Robins 2005).

Efficiency and Effectiveness

Waste charging can sometimes bring about illegal dumping and diversion of waste, which can affect PAYP negatively. However, the experienced of most communities that adopted the system of pay-as-you-pollute, such as Massachusetts Municipalities, Washington City, Michigan, California New York, cities of America (Batllell & Hanf, 2008; Kelleher, Dixie & Robins 2005) Also, South Korea and Japan in Asia, have no record of fly-tipping (illegal dumping), not even of burning waste in an open space. But rather observed a more drastic reduction of trash; than the increased recycling activities (Batllell & Hanf, 2008; Kelleher, Dixie & Robins 2005).

Pay-as-You-Pollute (PAYP) Waste Management Tax in Global

The discourse on the need for polluters to bear the burden of their pollution by paying for the damages they caused to the environment, can be traced to as far back to 1920. When an economist by name Arthur C. Pigou, in his write ups contended that, there is the need to have a pollution tax system which will be based on PAYP; in his words he said “a pollution tax should be set such that an increment of pollution would incur a tax that is equal to the costs that the pollution imposes on others” (Bernow, Costanza, Daly, DeGennaro, Erlandson, Ferris & Norland, 1998). The cost he said, should include health cost, property cost and the environmental cost. He believes that making polluters to bear the burden of their pollutions, on both social and economic costs their activities placed on the society, will serve as correct incentive for them to minimize their pollutions or where possible stop the act. And that most times, comparing the system of using tax to control pollution with other policies of controlling pollution, this system seems to be more cost-effective (Bernow, et al.,1998).

By way of keying into the above call, for governments across the globe to look into the option of pushing the burden of cleaning the environment on the polluters, as early as 1932, the America city of Francisco did introduce a kind of PAYP system. By 1970s, Washington City, Michigan, New York and California cities of America have all put in operation the PAYP/PAYT waste management system. As at 2000, up to 20% of U.S, amounting to 6,000 communities, with additional 200 in Canada had in operation user fees waste management system of PAYP (Kerr, Rust & Sandhei, 2015). Furthermore, in 1997 US government introduced a new legislation to replace old tax system connected to SWM to raise more revenues, in order to ensure availability of more fund to guaranty sustainability of the SWM system. Thus, the new SWMT replaces two existing taxes connected to SWM namely:

1. The Select Committee on Recycling and the Environment (SCORE) sales tax on garbage collection services, which paid for waste reduction and recycling programs.
2. The Solid Waste Generator Assessment, which paid for cleaning up old landfill sites that are environmental hazards.”

Positively, the new tax system raises more funds to continue financing of the existing programs been sponsored with income generated from the formal system and still, have more to transfer to the “Environmental Fund” to support sponsored programs. Such as “Capital Assistance Program (CAP)”, solid waste landfill cleaning activities and also to provide funds to local municipalities to support their “landfill abatement” project, to facilitate efficiency in SWM (Kerr, Rust & Sandhei, 2015)

Table Show the minimum tax rates provided by the new SWMT legislation.

Table : *Solid Waste Management Tax (WMT) rates*

Waste type	Fee
MMSW – residential	9.75% of service fee
MMSW – commercial	17% of service fee
MMSW – self haul	17% of tip fee
Non-MMSW (industrial, demolition, medical)	\$0.60 per cubic yard of container

Source: 2015 Solid Waste Policy Report.

Another good example from the European nations of SWMT system in operation is the German waste management tax (GWMT) where government put in place deposit system regulations that imposes tax on waste disposal (Zainu & Songip, 2017). From early 1990s, Japan adopted a centrally organized and control WMS of dealing with waste within the environment that generated it, which solve the problem faced then, with the local community of “Not in My Backyard” opposing the sitting of landfill close to their homes. Thus, making the communities indirectly responsible for waste generated by them. While government is still saddle with the financial obligation of financing waste management operations using public financing systems (Okuda & Thomson, 2007)

However, as waste management cost (WMC) continue to rise and landfills become more and more scarce, couple with closing dawn of incinerators with low sophisticated features to efficiently handle “high dioxin emissions” this system become inadequate to sufficiently handle the generated waste. Again Japan introduces another technique to tackle the MSW management which has to do with the Regionalization of municipal solid waste management operations (MSWMO), so as to allow for easy access to and sharing the use of modern advanced facilities put in place across metropolises for efficient (MSW) management (Okuda & Thomson, 2007).

Again, the introduction of regionalized used of MSW facilities could not solve the problem, the increasingly WMC continue to posed serious challenge to Japan central government. Hence, the “user fees” principle of waste management was introduced into the MSWM in Japan, similar to the system mostly used for MSWM financing by the US. As far back as 2003, many Metropolis, mostly small rural towns and even some big cities in Japan have introduced up to 42% “service fees” in respect of household SW management, while commercial SW management “service fees” was at 70%. Also, different “charge fees” for “special waste” management was brought on board, which includes “bulky waste. Prepaid garbage bags or stickers” Thus, the practice of placing management fees for garbage collection from Japanese households is similar to the system in used in the United States, and is based on the principle of PAYP, WMT systems (Okuda & Thomson, 2007).

In South Korea, the outcries and oppositions against the sitting and construction of new waste treatment plants, such as incinerators, landfill, etc., has necessitated the idea of a comprehensive method of managing waste problems, than just limiting it to the provisions of waste treatment facilities. This led to the introduction of Volume-based Garbage Collection Fee (VGCF) and “the Extended Producer Responsibility systems (EPR)” in Seoul. Both are used for management of Metropolitan SW. The Volume-Based Waste Collection System is actually same as, pay-as-you-pollutes systems, which also aim at encouraging the South Koreans reduce their waste generation. Since, by this system in operation, each waste generator is tax for the management of his/her waste, based on the volume of waste generated or discharged. While The Extended Producer Responsibility system (EPR) requires the recycling of some percentage of manufacturers and importers' waste products. (Lau, 2004)

Similar to the Japanese waste management operation, payment of special fees also applied in the South Korean waste management system, as “households or dischargers” pay special fees, such as, payment for “designated plastic bag” for collection of waste. But additional features of South Korean waste management system, is the provision of free collection of five (5) categories of “recyclable products” when separated according to lay down instructions. The categories includes; packaging material, fluorescent lamps, electronic devices, lubricating oil and tires. While On the other hand, generally waste puts in other bags different from the labeled bags will not be collected (Lau, 2004). On the average, Seoul generated 15,397 tons daily average of waste in 1994. Most of these generated wastes were Land filled, with only 3,159 tons (20.5%) recycled. However, the introduction of VGCF system in 1995, has cut down the volume of SW generated to an average of 14,102 (8.4 %,) tons daily. Out of this, 4,137 tons (30.9%) of generated waste were recycled. Thus, only 9,965 tons were land filled and incinerated. Hence the volume of treated wastes was reduced by 18.6%, while the recycled wastes increased by 31 % (Lau, 2004). Also, in Malaysia at a time during the Concession Agreement for privatization of SWM; Kualiti Alam Sdn. Bhd., the operators of hazardous waste treatment plant, charges those generating the waste on the principle of PAYP (Lau, 2004)

Conclusion

Fundamental phenomena associated with development and industrialization is waste generation. Consequently, putting in place a reliable source of funding or method or an operating system that guarantees efficient sustainable SWM is a serious task to most governments across the globe. However, the PAYP waste management tax system, has been instrumental in curbing down waste generation at source in many countries, and also providing an assured system of generating fund to achieve sustainable efficient management of solid waste. This study recommend for landfill approach of solid waste management currently in used by many countries need to be replace by more hygienic and economically viable system. Nations facing serious threat of very poor solid waste management system that is fundamentally dangerous the well-being of both the environment and the inhabitant need to urgently embrace the PAYP waste management tax system to effectively succeed in efficiently managing their solid waste.

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GOOD GOVERNANCE AND SUSTENANCE OF DEMOCRATIC ORDER IN NIGERIA \$ FOURTH REPUBLIC

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Abstract

The Nigeria's return to democratic rule in 1999 amongst other things was expected to provide a veritable opportunity for Nigeria to be in the league of states that practice the only game in town and hoping to enjoy good governance and improved socio-economic wellbeing status. Hence ,the new democratic order was welcomed with enthusiasm believing that it will put an end to constraints to development and ensure the guarantee of citizens inalienable rights .The questions therefore are ,what are the challenges to good governance and a democratic order in Nigeria ? What should be done to ensure the actualization of good governance and sustain democracy in the country thereby keeping military rule in perpetual abeyance ? These questions form the nucleus of what this paper intends to distill. It is opined that good governance and democratic order are two sides of a coin and court each other in order to attain a prosperous, tranquil and enduring socio-political order. It was observed that internal security challenges, amongst other factors are responsible for myriad of problems confronting the nation .Accountability , probity and observance of the rule of law are recommended and should be held sacrosanct so that the ideals of good governance and democracy can be actualized .The paper relies heavily on secondary sources and adopted content analysis method.

Keywords: Democracy, Good Governance, Democratic Order

Introduction

Democracy as a form of government has been able to garner appreciable support from the people because of the twin believes that, it is the only form of governance that can guarantee self-preservation and actualization of general needs. A state under democratic rule protects and safeguards individual inalienable rights and ensure the realization of collective aspiration with the belief that democracy will translate to tranquility, justice, equity, fair play, and above all, an improve socio-economic well-being for the citizenry. One can say that democratic governance provides a habitable ground for good governance to strive. Fukuyama was quoted to have stated that democracy can be adjudged as the best form of government. According to Omotoso (2016)democracy 's adjudged the best form of government because of its defining attributes, particularly for guaranteeing individual freedom in the political system and for allowing popular participation in governance " p . 1)In the words of (Linz and Stepan, 1996, p. 15), it is "the only game in town". The enthusiasm of the people as regards the enormous values derivable from this system of government has been coined to 'dividends of democracy' (in the Nigerian parlance). The idea of dividends of democracy goes with freedom of association, of religion, conscience, rule of law, accountability and probity, employment opportunities, protection of lives and property, and above all, an improved standard of living. One would not be surprised with someone who felt the state has faltered to say that democracy is meaningless if the people cannot enjoy its ideals ' .

Governance experience in Nigeria has shown that coups and counter coups made it possible for the military to rule the country for a longer period than their civilian counterparts. The military as a body had ruled for more than 29 years out of the 58 years of Nigeria's independence, as at 1st October, 2018. The Interim National Government (ING) of Chief Ernest Shonekan was in control from 27th of August 1993 to 17th November, 1993. While the period has been described as 'the Praetorian Trap' by Leo Dare (Ojo, 2006: 359).

Based on Nwabueze's categorization, governance in Nigeria can be viewed from five different phases, viz:

- i. Era of colonial autocracy and absolutism, that is, period of formal colonialism till October 1, 1960, when the country gained flag independence ;
 - ii . emergence of constitutional democracy (1960 - 1966) ;
 - iii . the return of military autocracy and absolutism (1966 - 1979) ;
 - iv . restoration of constitutional democracy (1979-83) and
 - v . the second coming of military autocracy absolutism (1983 - 1989)
- (Ojo, 2006: 3-4).

The current (4th) republic (1999 to date) being the longest in the history of the country's democratic experience has defied the country's past record of disruptive military interventionism and chronic civilian instability. Several happenings arising from the fourth Republic have nurtured and inspired optimism about Nigeria's democratic promise (Suberu, 2016, p. xvii) . This is because the past failed attempt at democratizations constitute an important stock of experimental political capital that has helped to inoculate the current dispensation against some of the mistakes of the past, including peoples misconceived perception as regards the corrective capacities of military rule (p. xvii) . Additionally ,the relative longevity of the current dispensation had facilitated institutional growth and development of some key agencies of the state ,the legislature ,the judiciary and national electoral commission (p. xvii) . This experience has been succinctly summarized thus:

The national assembly resounding defeat of the proposed third term for some elected officials, the Supreme Court's judicious adjudication of several sensitive inter-governmental (resource control, state creation and anti-corruption acts) and electoral conflicts, national electoral commission's successful umpiring of the historic 2015 presidential elections, are emblematic of the democratic institutional development and resilience (Suberu, 2016: xvii).

On the negative side are the persistent challenges surrounding the unresolved national question which successive governments have been unable to provide an acceptable mechanism that will ensure resolving , attaining and sustaining a stable polity .Due to this, various governments the country has had in the past were unable to create an equitable accommodation ,inclusion and integration of the diverse elements that make up the Nigerian state (Suberu, 2016, p. xviii) .Some of these threatening issues are ,the Boko haram insurgency (p. xviii) ,in some of the states in the northern part ,indigene-settler imbroglio in Plateau state, Farmers-herdsmen crises in Benue state and some other states, secessionist agitation in the south east, ethnic revivalist and resource control movements in the Niger delta (p. xviii) .Similarly ,the expectation of the people in terms of what is derivable from democracy and what they are enjoying under a democratic government is disappointing. So, democracy is needless if the elected and appointed public officials failed to fulfill their campaign promises and deliver the dividends of democracy (p. xviii-xix) .Omoso (2016) concluded that "despite the 'stability' in the system, the nation and its people are labouring under severe strains and stresses to adequately and efficiently enjoy the benefit derivable from democratic governance " (p. 1-2) .Against this background, it is not out place to state that the current democratic political development in Nigeria "remains a work in progress, with major unfinished, onerous and contentious

tasks in the realms of state and nation building, the development of the rule of law and the institutionalization of truly accountable transparent and representative governance "Suberu, 2016, p. xix) . It is this conclusion that brought about the questions :what are the challenges to good governance and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. ii. What are required to ensure good governance and sustenance of democratic order so as to ensure perpetual abeyance to military rule in the country? This paper intends to address these two pertinent questions.

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The introduction is followed by conceptual clarification of how good governance and democratic order were conceived. The third section deals with some of the challenges while options for consideration and recommendations occupy the fourth and the fifth sections.

Conceptual Clarity

Good Governance

Good governance, as a concept is problematic and does not agree to a one- way description .In other words ,it is prone to multifaceted definitions .The fundamental role of the state in human existence makes governance an important aspect given the need to improve the standard of living of the citizens. It is

this essentiality that raised the notion of how governance should be organized and hence the notion of what is meant by good governance. The United Kingdom Department for International Development (DfID), according to CommGAP (2007) defines good governance as "...not just about government. It is also about political parties, parliament, the judiciary, the media, and civil society. It is about how citizens, leaders and public institutions relate to each other in order to make change happen". It went further to state that, Good governance requires three things. These are (a) State capability, which has to do with the extent to which leaders and government are able to get things done; (b) Responsiveness concerns with whether public policies and institutions respond to the needs of citizens and uphold their rights; and (c) Accountability which focuses on the ability of citizens, civil society and the private sector to scrutinize public institutions and governments and hold them to account. This also takes into account, the opportunity afforded the citizens to change leaders by democratic means (CommGAP, 2007).

This tripartite formula by the DfID can be discerned from the supply side of governance as the mandate of the state is that of getting things done and responsiveness to the needs of the inhabitants of her territory. The other side is in relation to accountability. This implies the right, but also the obligation on the part of citizens, groups, civil society and private firms to remain vigilant, engaged and demand better service, provision and delivery from their leaders" (CommGAP, 2007). This is termed the demand side of governance.

In a similar vein, the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) opined that good governance entails eight (8) major characteristics: people's participation in governance, adherence to the rule of law, transparency in decision making, responsiveness to all stakeholders, consensus oriented tailoring along mediation of the different interests, equity and inclusiveness, effectiveness and efficiency and accountability (UNESCAP, n.d).

Though, this paper agrees with the definition and the eight characteristics above, it is expedient to state the precinct which formed the basis for this conclusion. Good governance is looked at from the angle of leadership strict adherence to the law and consideration of people's needs for the purpose of serving the greatest number of the people. A constitution is good as long as it is welcomed by the people. This conclusion is based on the following reasons. A benevolent dictator is not welcomed under a democratic setting. In addition, the caveat about democracy is that the law of the state must be adhered to. So any leadership in a democratic setting is obliged to observe the law as dictated by the constitution. We cannot talk about accountable leadership in the absence of a democratic arrangement. Election is expected to serve as a means of ensuring that there exist good leadership. The justification for this is that election at regular intervals is to be used for measurement of performance. Though, this may not be true in Nigeria, because of some past experiences. Finally, building a strong leadership succession requires a democratic order with a strong and resilient institutions that can withstand the stress and surmount pressure that may be threatening the system.

In a nutshell, good governance is seeing from a normative perspective as it is expected that those at the helm of affairs are to steer the ship of the state in accordance with the defined rules and procedures with a view to serve the interest of the vast majority of the people (Mohammed, 2011, p. 202).

Democratic Order

Democracy has become the most fashionable form of governance in all societies of the world today. The discussion is not about which political system is appropriate but rather when will a society become democratized or fully democratic. The democratization project has become a must task every society should strive to attain believing that it is the most recognized moral and legitimate way through which a society can be administered (Ogundiya, 2010, p. 204). In a similar vein, scholars and international financial institutions have established an intrinsic linkage between democracy and good governance (Ogundiya, 2010, p. 204).

Democratic order is viewed as the same as democratic rule/governance. Hence, the paper opined that all institutions, groups, organization, bodies and individuals recognized by law must act within the dictates of the law and as such the constitution must be used to check their excesses. For instance, the fundamental human rights which recognize the existence of individuals also placed some limits on those rights. Leveraging on this, the paper observes that a political system with a dictum of democratic order should be a system where and only where the law is abided with and the law is also applied to deal with any perceived infraction (contravention). So, democratic order is taken from the purview of "... the capacity of the polity to nurture and sustain democratic values" (Ojo, 2008) in such a way that democratic ideals become the norms, customs and traditional way of life of the people (both government officials and citizens).

In view of the above, it is expected that the principles of a democratic order, in the minimum, should include:

- (i) Pluralism and multipartyism including free and fair competitive politics... and relatively autonomous civil society.
- (ii) Popular participation in the political process... provided those elected remain accountable and can be voted out if they no longer enjoy the people's support.
- (iii) Rule of law, respect for human rights and equality of access to all citizens and groups to the state power and resources (which does not, however exclude policies designed to enhance the access of members of disadvantaged and marginalized groups); and
- (iv) Constitutionalism or respect for the "rules of the game" which includes civil control of the military and the efficacy of representative, judicial and oversight institutions (Osaghae, 1999, p. 7).

Theoretical Framework

It has become a tradition in the social science research to carry out investigation under the auspices of a particular framework. This is so because theoretical framework helps to "narrow the range of facts to be studied" (Abejunde, 2010, p. 17). Importance is also relevant since "social science research is theory based and its operation are guided by relevant principles of human behavior" (Abejunde, 2010, p. 17). In view of the above, this paper is anchored on the Systems analysis thought. The Systems analysis revolves around the interconnectivity in behavior and history among a group of people in a given society. A system, according to Rapoport (1996) must satisfy the following conditions:

- i. One can identify a set of identifiable elements.
- ii. Among at least some of the elements, one can specify identifiable relations.
- iii. Certain relations imply others.
- iv. A certain complex of relations at a given time implies a certain complex (or one of several possible complexes) at a later time. (as cited in Fisher, 2010, p. 71)

The "social systems, including economics and politics" (Fisher, 2010, p. 71) satisfied these conditions. Thus, a social system is usually composed of "a class of entities (individuals, families, institutions) with relations among them (communication channels, influence, obligations)" (Fisher, 2010, p. 71). Within the scope of this work, the Nigerian society belongs to both the social and political systems. Hence, the relationships that exist between the ruler and the ruled is expected to produce an outcome which determines whether there is stability or strains in the system. More so, the state, within the ambit of the social contract school of thought, is expected to provide certain essential services that will make life meaningful to the people. On the other hand, the subjects/citizens are thereafter obliged to comply and obey rules governing the state. The latter, in Easton's analysis belongs to the 'Demands and Support' (inputs side) while the former falls into the 'Decisions' (outputs) side. Therein lies the argument as to whether the Nigerian state satisfied the basic needs of the people in terms of safety and security, employment opportunities and an improved

living status amongst others. Thus, the task of building a virile society or ensuring sustainable development in the society requires harmonious relationships between the ruler and the ruled between and among the structures put in place for the maintenance and sustenance of the system. This implies that there should be a synergy between and among all the stakeholders in the quest to building a virile, prosperous and an enduring country.

Challenges to Good Governance and Democratic Order

The ideals of good governance can be synopsis into the essence for the establishment of the state as the state is duty bound to improve the socio-economic and political wellbeing of the people. The above is relatively comparable with the ideals of democracy because apart from ensuring free ventilation of opinions, democracy is also expected to usher in a better living condition. In Nigerian parlance, dividends of democracy for the citizenry. But experiences since the inception of this current republic have been a mix of accolades and tribulations. Though, the people have relatively enjoyed (when compared with the military regime) some level of freedoms; freedom of association and assembly, expression and enforcement of their fundamental rights, the same cannot be said in relation to peoples standard of living. The question is, what could be responsible for this unwholesome situation?

The Economy

One can rightly conclude that efficient and proper management of the economy is an essential ingredient for a stable political environment. This thus requires an efficient and responsive leadership. Simply put, the quality of leadership determines the state of the economy. In addition, the economy determines other variables that make life meaningful for citizens of any country. More so, the economy is the major determinant of the Human Development Index (HDI) of any state. Going by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) criteria for measuring whether a country is developed, developing or underdeveloped are based on the income level, the literacy level and life expectancy rate. In other words, the income, education and the health status are the three major indices used to determine the Human Capital Development (HCD) of any state. Most Nigerians live below poverty level (earn less than \$2 (US) dollars per day). Added to this are the deteriorating health facilities, infrastructural deficit which when combined with other factors make life miserable for most of the populace. People have reasoned that the resultant effects are petty theft, armed robbery, kidnapping, unemployment, poverty, squalor and all sorts of other social vices.

A recent report by the Brookings Institution showed that as at May, 2018, about 87 million Nigerians were living in extreme poverty (Punch, 2018). This made Nigeria, the country with the highest number of people living in extreme poverty. The African Development Bank had in February, 2018 stated that 152 million Nigerians, representing almost 80 per cent of the country's estimated 193.3 million people, earned less than \$ 2 per day. Prior to this, the National Bureau of Statistics, had in 2004, put the nation's poverty rate at 54.4 per cent. It rose to 69 per cent in 2010 (Punch, 2018). In addition, the increase in the rate of unemployed Nigerians has been attributed to the country's fragile economy by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS). Its (NBS) report has it that:

The labour force for population increased from 83.9 million in Q2 2017 to 85.1 million in Q3 2017. The total number of people in fulltime employment (at least 40 hours a week) declined from 52.7 million in Q2 2017 to 51.1 million in Q3 2017. (Channelstv)

In relative terms, this unpalatable status of the Nigerian economy presents a gloomy picture and unfavourable democratic prospect for the country. What useful purpose would democracy serve if people do not have a decent living accommodation, qualitative health service delivery, potable water, motorable roads, stable electricity supply, and the required meals per day. This assumption is given credence by Larry Diamond (1995), who was quoted by Ojo (2006a, p. 11) posits that:

... many new democracies in Latin America ,Eastern Europe , Asia and Africa will probably break down in the long run unless they can reduce their appalling levels of poverty ,inequality and social injustice ,and through market oriented reforms lay the basis for sustainable growth

Similar fear was also expressed by Przeworski, who noted that:

The durability of the new democracies will depend, however , not only on their institutional structure and the ideology of the major political forces ,but also to a large extent on their economic performance .Profound economic reforms must be undertaken if there is to be any hope that the deterioration in living conditions experienced by many nascent democratic countries will ever cease. (s cited by Abiola and Olaopa ,2 0 0 6 , p 28-29).

Civil Society

The civil society is expected, in an ideal setting, to be a body for safeguarding, protecting and promoting certain specific interest group either as a way of calling for action, social justice, discourage marginalization, discrimination, annihilation etc. Atword (n.d) identified seven (7) roles of civil society to include (i) checking corruption and abuse of power (whistle blowing). (ii) Stimulating and leading debates on prevailing issue. (iii) Free flow of information through mass media. (iv) Collaboration in diagnosis of social problem and feedback. (v) Design and implementation of programmes, distinctive in style, symbolic in intent and complementary intent objective. (vi) Monitoring of government project and programme. (vii) Strategic alliance with the legislature to ensure constituency feedback and information sharing.

But experiences on some occasions in this current democratic dispensation have shown that some of these societies (groups) by their activities have shown destructive roles. A perusal of their activities show that many at times ,they project ,promote and defend sectional or primordial interest rather than national interest .It is either the Afenifere castigating the Northern Elders Forum ,or the Northern Youths Forum cascading MASSOB or IPOB of wanting to make the state ungovernable for a northerner who is the country's President. Sometimes, the Niger-Delta Force or Ijaw Youths Congress accused the other parts of marginalizing the Niger delta area. Similarly ,the role of the "unnamed or unidentified "civil society groups in the crisis in Benue ,Taraba ,Kaduna ,Plateau and other skirmish cases in Ekiti ,Ondo ,Enugu , Anambra state ,cannot be underplayed .It may not be incorrect to conclude that these unwholesome activities, apart from causing dislocation of priorities and distort the economy, could also provide a veritable ground for civil unrest, long-life acrimony and above all disintegration. This opinion has been corroborated by some writers .According to Lawal (2003), "ethnicity and religious identity have plagued all efforts at national cohesion and maintenance of political stability "p .133)Whereas Oshewolo (2 0 1 6) , concludes that these unwholesome activities "have produced a number of fatal consequences "p ,2 9 1) . Abegunde (2 0 1 6) description is that "the effects of which have been felt in every facet of the society ... It has also led to "destruction of lives and property as expression of political grievances ... "p .3 5 5)

Security

Linked to the above is the perilous situation of Nigeria's security status. Without gainsaying, the security of any nation would be under threat when the economy is not properly managed. On the other hand, the insecurity of any country is a big threat to the economy of that society. This can be so if we believe, that unemployment, underdevelopment and high rate of poverty are some of the consequences of

a poor or weak economy. In the class of security challenge are the activities of the civil society group (be it ethnic, religious) who for some selfish reasons leverage on their privileged positions to unleash terror in the name of promoting their group(s) interests. We should not forget in a hurry, the threat by a group of youth organization in the North calling on Igbos living in the north to go back to their states when IPOB (a body propagating and promoting Igbos interest) promised to declare a Biafran state by 1st October ,2 0 1 6 . All these threats ,actions and counter threats are inimical to peaceful and stable social coexistence . Ethno Religious violence which has become a recurring feature in the country coupled with the fear of marginalization by the minorities communal clashes political assassination and election related violence are sources of tension and security breaches in the country .One may not far from the truth to say that insecurity is demeaning to socio economic well being political social and psychological development of individual and groups and, that of corporate existence of a state. This opinion is corroborated by Iregbenu and Uzonwanne(2015, p. 1 7 3)

Some of the consequences of these are loss of lives ,wanton destruction of private and public properties, loss of revenue, paralysis of economic activities (Usman and Mathew, 2014, p. 11-13), perpetual incapacitation of many, increase in the number of orphans, psychological trauma, life time acrimony between and among groups, and paralysis of social activities. All these combined hampers good governance and democratic order. This paper does not intend to give the reasons for these ugly incidences but focused on their negative consequences to good governance and sustenance of democratic order in Nigeria. Some of these security challenges are: Boko-Haram insurgency in the north east, kidnapping, Farmers-Herdsman crises in Benue, Tiv-Jukun crises in Taraba, Indigene-Settler conflicts in Plateau, armed robbery, religious crisis, inter and intra-tribal crisis ,secessionist agitations ,banditry in Kebbi , skirmishes of breach of peace in some parts of Kaduna state among others .All these have therefore transformed into political violence given the dimensions it has taken .

Political violence, according to Hibbs (1 9 7 3), is expected to satisfy three conditions ; (i) it should be anti system (ii) it should be politically significant by being actual and not a mere threat to the status quo and (iii) it should involve mass political action concerning rebellion ,revolution ,internal war ,terrorism et cetera (Azeez ,2 0 0 4: 62). In a plain, clear and concise description, insecurity impedes governance and democratic order.

Political Parties

Political parties are composed of people who shared similar ideology and have the same intent to apply the manifestoes of their respective political organizations to improve the lots of the people when eventually elected into power. In Nigeria for instance, parties are seen in the political arena "each time the military restored democracy " (Fashagba and Oye , 2 0 1 4. 4 9)for this reason ,no one can talk about good governance during democratic rule in Nigeria without reference to the roles played by political parties . Indeed ,under estimating the roles of political parties will be at "the peril of the state, especially in a nascent democracy like Nigeria " (Fashagba and Oye , 2 0 1 4. 5 0) Experience had shown that the relaxation of the conditions for party registration, led to the formation of mushroom political parties. Presently, there are more than 70 registered political parties in Nigeria. It was observed that parties were been formed for no other reason than being able to access the subventions given to parties by INEC (Fashagba and Oye 2014, p. 58). Simply put, Party formation provides the 'undue' formal access to public funds. Consequently, this situation brought about non-competitive political parties and invariably negates the cardinal principle upon which democratic ideals is built ;opportunity for choice of candidate for the electorates ,vibrant opposition (which can help to check ruling party 's excesses) among others.

A political party ideology is expected to provide direction for them (the parties)and serve as the mirror for measuring the performance of any party who had the mandate of the electorates and could also provide an alternative for the citizens in the choice of part(y)ties or candidates .The idea of campaign promises

around providing good roads ,potable water ,stable electricity ,provision of employments and what is usually termed “dividends of democracy ”is unacceptable .Membership of a political party becomes a necessity as a means to getting patronage .Hence ,cross earpeting has continued to be a solace for any aggrieved politician .Internal democracy is lacking in all the major political parties or in a state or area where a particular political party is popular. Thence, imposition of candidates, manipulation of party primaries, selection of candidates and other undemocratic methods are applied to select parties 'flag bearers for any election .The case of Imo ,Zamfara and Rivers state governorship flag bearers of the All Progressive Congress is still unsettled (even after INEC deadline for the submission of names of party s candidates for the 2 0 1 5 general elections). Thanks to the Supreme Court who finally ruled on Rivers case. While that of Zamfara is presently at Supreme Court with just few days to 29th May, handover date. Added to this was the erosion of internal democracy, which does not only portend danger to democratic order but also hinders the attainment of good governance .Political parties ,out of desperation ,try to rig elections and cause mayhem .All these are inimical to good governance and democratic ideals .In the words of Williams (2 0 0 7) , “the politics of spoils undermined state resources and intensify the competition for state offices and resources ”.The opposition parties also failed to provide what could be described as credible alternatives, except the vibrant opposition given to the PDP by the APC after its formation prior to the 2015 general elections (Omotoso ,2 0 1 5).

The character and form, the parties portray since 1999 has been described by Omotoso (2016, p. 3) , thus :

. the formation of political parties has not been based on any known political ideology. Apart from this, political parties are lacking in principle. They are nothing more than just instruments of transferring power from the military to civilians, because the political parties lack the necessary ingredients for nurturing and sustaining democracy.

Corruption

Corruption related issues have become a recurring decimal in the Nigerian state since independence. It was one of the reasons for the First Military coup and other subsequent coups in the country. So, it was not a new factor in the country's 4th democratic experience. One may not be far from the truth to say that politicians see politics as an investment and not a call to service. The vision of successive administrations in Nigeria since 1999 has consistently been to take the country to the 'Promised Land'. That is, bring about quantum development in the country. But the realization of these lofty idea and intention has continued to be a mirage .The inhibition is nothing other than ,corruption .As it has been noted by Ibiloye (2 0 1 4) , corruption ,has appeared “at the centre of our failed attempt in development and our emerging status as a failing state ”(p .1 8).Zin Elaine (1997)has captured succinctly the negative effects of corruption with specific reference to Africa:

Corruption has led to bad roads, and decaying infrastructures, inadequate medical services, poor schools, falling education standards, and the disappearance of foreign aid and foreign loans and of entire projects without trace (or they are delayed completion, leading to higher costs). Corruption has meant ... national assets are round down and ruined ,production capacity in industry ,agriculture ,and services has been reduced ,and repair of buildings ,equipment ,vehicle and physical and social infrastructure have been paid for repeatedly but never performed . Corruption disturbs the economy through the waste and misallocation of resources. (s quoted by Tella ,2 0 0 7, p.417).

The endemic nature and vulnerabilities of corruption in Nigeria, has been described as a weapon of mass destruction by Olatunji, Fagbamila and Lawal (2014, p. 195-196). The consequential effects of corruption on the country are multifaceted. It includes, "high level of poverty, high profile of youth violence, general insecurity, loss of lives and properties, social unrest, social mistrust and general underdevelopment" (Olatunji, et al., 2014, p. 196). It is a menace to governance, ills to democracy, oils public mistrust to public managers or responsible for decline of trust in public managers by the citizens, responsible for lack of or insufficiency in the provision of basic activities and above all, responsible for low integrity profile of Nigerians among Nigerians.

This aptly describes the form and consequences of corruption in Nigeria. No nation with an endemic corruption would boast of any meaningful development. This has been the case with Nigeria. It is not incorrect to conclude that corruption has been responsible for dashed hope, militating against good governance (though, the Leadership and some privileged few benefits) and negates democratic virtues. Put differently, corruption threatens the essence of state existence and negates the ideals of democracy. There are series of examples of corruption allegation against many State governors, members of the National Assembly (Fashagba 2011, p. 16 and Ibiloye, 2014, p. 191-192), public officials at the National Assembly and Judiciary (Olatunji, Fagbamila and Lawal, 2014, p. 199-200), Federal Agencies, Ministries, Departments and Agencies (Hassan and Lamidi, 2014, p. 246-247). For details on the effects of corruption (see Olatunji, Fagbamila and Lawal, 2014 p 202-205).

Executive and legislative Relations

The role of the legislature, the executive and the judiciary either as an institution for the promotion of good leadership and the sustenance of democratic order cannot be over emphasized. They symbolize the state and hence become the vehicle for the realization of state objectives in terms of provision of basic necessities for a prosperous living and guarantee of security and protection of private, corporate and public properties. Simply put, these formal structures of the state, "are believed to be the most important components for the functioning of the state machinery" (Fashagba and Oye, 2014, p. 49). They are therefore not expected to work at cross-purpose in the interest of the state (Jude and Ika, 2013, p. 35).

According to Aiyede (2005, p. 75) legislative executive bickering in Nigeria's fourth republic has exhibited three forms of conflict namely i. struggle for prestige and influence ii. opposing perception of powers and roles in relation to Separation of powers and iii. disagreement over issue of policy and the need to enforce each arm's preference. It started during president Obasanjo's regime and continued under president Buhari. Some of the issues that generated animosity were; furniture and accommodation allowance for the members of the National Assembly, Constituency Projects, the NDDC and ICPC acts (Aiyede, 2005, p. 76-80; Bassey, 2014, p. 36) passage of electoral act 2008, drapping of PTF under Obasanjo, removal of subsidy in 2011, recall of the suspended Director General of the Security and Exchange Commission (Oni, 2014). Some other issues were impeachment of house leaders, impeachment notice against the president, delay in the passage of budget, accusation of the executive by the legislature in respect of interference in legislative process and leadership selection, demand for gratification before ministerial nominees are cleared and budgetary bill is passed and so on. It is the same bad story from 2015 to date, as the Executive and legislature are usually on each other's throat with accusations and counter-accusations.

The constant bickering between the executive and legislature is counter-productive to the social, political and economic well-being of the state. This sentiment is shared by Jude and Ika (2013, p. 30) who aver that the quest for good governance in Nigeria has been hindered by the unending conflicts between the legislature and executive who were constantly battling for supremacy and control of the policy making and implementation process. (see, p. 38-39, for more on the negative impact of unhealthy rivalry between the

executive and the legislature). Slow down governance reform and heated the polity (Aiyede, 2005, p. 65) . It can sometimes degenerate into personality and ego wars given the fragile and plural social configuration of the Nigerian state and as such , "the consequences for the stability of system could be incalculable "and " . fatal to the process of democratic consolidation " (Bassey ,2014, p. 7) .

Isumonah (2002, p. 1) in his summation of the executive legislature conflict concludes that : Democratic consolidation can only occur in a context where political institutions , especially those that embody the democratic process are functional and interact in way that reinforces confidence in the government and the process which the offices of these government institutions are filled (as cited by Fashagba, 2011, p. 7) .

The Way Forward

This section deals with some of the essential factors which would help to ensure and promote good governance and sustain Nigeria's democratic governance so as to keep military rule in perpetual abeyance.

Security of Lives and Property

Without mincing words, security matters should not be politicized otherwise the entire fabric of the Nigerian society would be jeopardized. The consequences of insecurity are no respecter of religion, ethnic, ideological or political inclination. Governments that cannot guarantee safety, protect lives and property, is a failed government and such government, in any democratic order, is by implication calling for authoritarian government. A secured environment promotes harmonious social, political, economic, individual and corporate interaction. The existence of a friendly, profitable and prosperous relationship is a stepping stone towards the realization of other essential goals of the state. This is what Nigeria needs in this critical moment of her existence. Manipulation of diversity for sectional or personal interests should be jettisoned. The issue of marginalization requires adequate attention as this will help to address some security challenges confronting the country. Some of which are minority agitations, ethnic, religious and communal crises.

Alabi (2014, p. 85) sums it up, that economic marginalization of minorities by the dominant ethnic groups is tantamount to internal imperialism and calls for increased access in the political space for these (minorities) groups.

Provision of Basic Infrastructures

Provision of infrastructural facilities such as potable water, constant electricity supply, good road network, accessible, affordable and efficient health care delivery and other essential services are synonymous with good governance and equally serve as antidote to mass revolt or uprising. Majority of Nigerians live below poverty line, the supply of electricity epileptic, dilapidated state of infrastructure, increased crime rate, there is high rate illiteracy and epidemic of diseases amongst others make life generally tough for the masses (Aderonmu and Aliu, 2011, p. 104).

Without mincing words, no responsible government will rest on her oars when these basic necessities of life are lacking or inadequate. People would say, 'No be democracy we go chop 'People needed and wanted to enjoy the dividends of democracy .Though ,the rehabilitation and construction of roads are ongoing , construction of light railways lines is also ongoing, increase of electricity megawatts and other efforts are commendable, they are always at a slow pace. Expansion of the country's economy will go in a long way to increase the revenue potentials of the state in terms of the capacities to increase the provision of basic amenities which are in short supply. Government needs to gear up in this direction

Rule of law

The observance of the rule of law should be sacrosanct in any democratic system. For this, no attempt, for whatsoever reason, be made to subvert, subjugate, eliminate or circumvent adherence to constitutional stipulations. The rule of law is anchored on three principles, namely ;impartiality ,equality

and the supremacy of the law .The supremacy of the law should be applied to settle the constant bickering between the legislature and the executive since the law is no respecter of any individual or institution .It is opined that ,a corrupt government would always justify every attempt at breaching the law .The leadership (the legislative and the executive members) should be reminded at all times that what oils and guarantees their stay in office is the constitution and must always strive to defend it. In other words, it is the constitution that makes the existence of the legislative and the executive arms attractive and safeguarded . It serves the state no good for the executive to choose which court ruling or judgment should be obeyed .It is nothing other than arbitrary selection which in the long run results in loss of trust and confidence in governance. Consequently, people would resolve to adapt to self defence .

Guarantee and Safeguard of Human Rights

The fundamental human right can be treated as the same as democracy, because, without it, the idea or notion of franchise is defeated, freedom of speech (Ojo, 2004, p. 98) and association which ensures the assemblage of people of like minds into a political party becomes a thought ,freedom of movement and ability to develop one's potential (material wise)can be jeopardized most especially when the government sees certain actions or movements as inimical to its ideological preference. In view of the above, a good leadership, with a visionary idea of good governance and democratic values will always guide against infringement on peoples 'inalienable rights. No two ways to it. Peoples 'rights must be recognized , guaranteed ,protected and promoted at all times .It is recommended that any limitation to be placed on peoples 'rights should be in accordance with what the law provides .Doing this ,gives the impression of good governance and admittance of the need to guarantee continued democratic order.

Talking along the time of rule of law is that politicians should follow the rules in election matters. Doing this will help to check-mate pre-election, election and post-election conflicts (crises) .Thence ,all contestants either for party primaries and (or) general elections should be aware that complying with electoral laws serve us all (including the electorate)an inestimable good .

Accountability and Probity

Accountability, transparency and probity are intrinsically linked and in so doing they define good leaders and also constitute indispensable ingredients for democratic sustenance cum good governance. The passage of the Freedom of Information (FOI) and Due Process Bills is a right step towards achieving accountability, transparency and probity but it has not yielded appreciable successes. The efforts of Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP), is commended as it has consistently calling for probes and investigations of some public officials. As it has been right asserted by Omotoso (2016,) , "accountable leadership is a sine qua-non of good governance, because democracy and good governance succeed and thrive in societies where the political leaders (elected or appointed) are accountable to the people in their actions and inactions " (p . 7)The situation in Nigeria depicts an aberration from the essential requirement of good leadership and democratic ethos as the current crop of Nigerian leaders is inaccessible. Consequently, accountability has become a ruse and transparency a mirage as the supposedly servants of the people, are now the masters (Omotoso, 2016, p. 7)) Since governance is about exercise of power over the people, those who have been entrusted with the mandate are expected to be fair, just and prudent in the management of the country's economic and social resources towards achieving national development (Tella, 2004, p. 213). What is evident is that the Nigerian political leadership is being "mired in the pursuit of selfish and personal goals at the expense of broader national interest " (Ogbeidi ,2013,) .

It is expedient to conclude that public officials ,selected and appointed must be answerable to the people for the exercise of the state power and resources. The presentation of the annual budget to the legislature by the executives can be taken as a measure towards transparency, probity and openness. More so, investigation into public expenditure, as oversight function, should be replicated at the state level .In

summary, a good government should be accountable, transparent, open, be ready to observe the rule of law (Tella, 2004, p. 218) and be responsive to peoples needs.

Corruption

Corruption is an enigma which must be fought from all angles. We need to remind ourselves about what is most crucial now in our attempt to bring this cankerworm to a tolerable proportion. What we need now is not fighting corruption but preventing/minimizing corruption. There is a need to improve on the preventive and detective mechanisms. This will help to reduce the rate of corruption rather than wasting money and time on corruption cases which sometimes exonerate culprits after a long judicial process. If the statement credited to an official of the EFCC that the investigation of corruption cases take time is anything to go by, it then means, our efforts at fighting corruption would amount to waiting to see the camel passing through the eye of a needle. Added to the investigation time are the lengthy period of judicial process before conviction is secured, EFCC amendments and re-amendments of charges while the case has been instigated in Court (tantamount to waste of time, resources and a needless exercise). People will lose faith in those who govern them and democracy as a whole, if this continued unabated.

Finally, a responsible government will make all efforts, if not possibly eliminate corruption completely, but minimize its occurrence so as to ensure it delivers on the promises made by its party to the electorates. Hassan and Lamidi (2014) summarize it thus, "for sustainable development to be attained. ... it is imperative that corruption be curtailed in the polity" (p. 239) it is in Nigeria now, any government that is able to fight corruption or reduce its incidences will be doing good to Nigeria by way of good governance, improve the living condition of the people and increase support for democratic rule in the country. The country needs this now, now, now and not later.

Political parties

The roles of political parties are irreplaceable and indispensable. They, through their interest articulation and aggregation roles (Gunther and Diamond, 2001, p. 3) narrow down opinions, views, values, choice and options and without which there would be chaos of ideas and choices. In a similar vein, they make available to people, alternatives in a concrete and identifiable manner. Despite lacking in ideology, political parties are still relevant in Nigeria's quest for good leadership and sustainable democracy. They are to be (though aware) reminded that adherence to rule even in internal party affairs is a necessity that must not be toiled with. The way and manner political parties conduct their activities can make or mar good governance and democratic order. Without being economical with the use of words, their existence cum recognition was borne out of the conviction about their invaluable roles towards achieving societal goals. This must be their watchword and must not derail from this noble cause at all times because in any democratic political society, the visibility of parties provides a lot of opportunities for awareness, sensitization and platform for electorates and provides the training ground for future leaders.

Additionally, political parties are expected to serve as agent of stabilization and accountability. This simply means that, they provide the platform for peaceful change of government and are expected to provide a level playing ground for their members so as to entrench internal democracy. Abiding by this will ensure sustainable democracy on one hand and provide a viable and effective opposition by ensuring that the government in power is accountable to the electorate as this provides a veritable ground for them to serve as an alternative to the electorates in subsequent elections but also thrive to guarantee the success of the party in subsequent elections having taking into cognizance the consequence of bad governance. As the 2015 general elections proved to all and sundry that incumbency may not be a factor for electoral success whereas the performance of the party would serve as the major determinant of a party's election success. As a suggestion to the parties, they should always ensure that good leadership should be their watch word and should be ready to jettison imposition of any incumbent on their members and the electorates with a view to avert election calamity/unfavorable election result. This conclusion is based on

the fact that an elected official who failed to give purposive leadership is a liability whose candidature will work negatively against the party. When this is done, bringing about good leadership cum good governance and sustaining a democratic order would be assured.

Civil Society Organizations/Groups

The proliferation of these bodies made it impossible for them to expose corruption and check abuse of power. It has also paved way for some people to use these bodies for selfish and profit making reasons. Even, election related groups are only visible when election is about to hold and go into extinction after submitting their election observation reports. So, it was impossible to make government, accountable, responsible and robust in policy formulation and execution.

Civil Society groups are, apart from protecting, propagating and promoting specific interests, could equally serve as an agent for purposeful, efficient, and accountable leadership with a view to guaranteeing and sustaining democratic order. The possibility of attaining these roles requires that these groups should:

1. Eschew bitterness and reject all forms of primordial or pecuniary interests which are inimical to national interest. That is, general interest or what promotes good leadership, accountability, and probity should be accorded priority. This is imperative because of the need to guard against being used for divisive purposes by elements or forces of destruction.
2. Be aware that their activities directly or indirectly impact positively or negatively on Nigerian peoples' political culture.
3. Not see their membership of these groups as an avenue for enrichment, undue privileges or settling scores.
4. See their activities as a national service. Members of SERAP are to be commended for their role in this regard.

The role of CSO during the Occupy Nigeria protests in January 2012 is commendable. Their efforts led to the reduction of the increase in the pump price of petrol in the country. That attempt can be situated within the context of checking arbitrariness on the part of the government. The role of SERAP at checking arbitrariness and abuse of office is commendable. It has consistently called for investigation of some public officials.

Conclusion

This paper opines that what Nigeria needs to sustain her current (4th republic) democratic order is, building a firm and enduring institutions (executive, judicial, legislative, political parties, civil societies, including the media). But the clear signal to derailment is an attempt at building the country around an individual or a clique. How do we build an enduring institution? First and foremost, is strict adherence to the dictates of the letter of the 1999 constitution (as amended). The recommendation of this paper is that there should be synergy in the workings among all the stakeholders (both formal and informal structures of the state including the citizens) in the task of building a virile and prosperous Nigeria. This is because the task of building a nation-state and ensuring sustainable development is onerous and requires collaboration, accommodation, understanding and commitment to the set ideals.

Finally, the paper cannot be said to have exhausted all the variables or factors that can guarantee good governance and democratic sustenance. Although, some of the factors discussed can be said to be vital in the realization of these noble ideals. Some of the factors discussed are: guaranteed security of lives and property, provision of basic infrastructures, adherence to the rule of law, guarantee and safeguard of citizens' fundamental rights and roles of Civil Society Organizations. It is opined that this is a modest contribution to the debates on the strategies to ensuring an improved and a prosperous wellbeing for Nigerians. This cannot stop further discussion on the way forward and can allow an elaborate discussion of one factor and see the extent to which it can ensure the realization of sustainable development and make military rule an aberration in Nigeria.

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FARMERS/HERDERS CLASHES AND THE CHALLENGES OF MANAGING INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS (IDPS) IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

For quite some time now, particularly since the return of democracy in 1999, Nigeria has been confronted with a lot of socio-political challenges such as ethno-religious crises, militancy in the Niger Delta, Boko Haram insurgency in the North Eastern part of the country, leadership crises, corruption, just to mention a few. These problems have largely threatened the country's corporate existence and impeded her development drive, a part from posing very serious humanitarian crisis for the leadership of the country to contend with. One area that has assumed alarming dimension in recent time and has appeared to be escalating geometrically across the divides of Nigeria is the issue of farmers/Herders clashes. These groups which were hitherto living in harmony have suddenly turned to enemies, thereby causing insecurity of lives and property which has in turn resulted to a quantum of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) for government to cater for in the wake of recent economic downturn and other competing needs. It is against this backdrop that the paper examines the impact of farmers/Herders Clashes on the management of Internally Displaced Persons in Nigeria, with a view to x-raying the root causes, socio-economic and political impact on the Nigerian economy and state as well as the health, infrastructural, educational and other challenges confronting the effective and efficient management of IDPs in Nigeria. The paper is thus divided into introduction, conceptual framework, foundations of farmer/Herder Clashes in Nigeria, socio-economic and political impacts, the challenges of IDPs' management in Nigeria, Conclusion and Recommendations.

Keywords: Farmers, herders, clashes, managing, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

Introduction

Over the years, there has been growing number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Nigeria arising from ethno-religions or communal clashes, boundary disputes, natural disaster like flood, terrorism such as the Boko Haram insurgency in the north-east, and in the recent time farmers/Herders Clashes that have engulfed almost all parts of the country. This thus, makes people fled t heir homes for safety, particularly women and children (Ogunmorayo, 2015). The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) reports

that out Of the world's 33.3 million internally displaced persons (IDPS), 1,538, 982 are in Nigeria. This number keeps increasing because of continuous conflicts and violence in the polity, particularly between the farmers of various ethnic groups and Fulani pastoralists of northern Nigeria.

Since 1999 there have been reported cases of farmers / Herders Clashes in different parts of the country particularly the north east, north — central, south — east, and south — west geopolitical zones that have large population of crop farmers co-existing with the herders who are usually Fulani pastoralists from northern Nigeria and neighboring countries of Niger, Mali and Chad. Pertinent among these cases are the Agatu, Guma, Tarka, Gwer-west, Makurdi, Buiuku and Ukum Local government areas in Benue State; Bursari, Dmaturu, Fume, Gaidarn, Gujba, Jakusko, and Yunusari in Yobe State among others. There have been Media reports alleging Fulani herdsmen attacking farmers in communities in Nasarawa, Kaduna, Delta, Enugu, Rivers, Ekiti, Taraba and Niger States (Okeke, 2014; Nigerian Newsword, July 16, 2016; The Daily Post June 10, 2013; The Vanguard August 7th, 2013).

The frequency of these farmers /herders Clashes has generated a lot of - fears among Scholars, practitioners and well-meaning individuals as it has “unavoidably led-to the increase in the number of displaced persons in Nigeria” (Rotimi, 2015 p.1). Apart from these crises disrupting the means of livelihood of many displaced persons, a dozen of them suffer humanitarian crises because of the poor conditions under which most of the IDPs live in. Suffice it to say that, most IQPs in Nigeria are housed in overcrowded camps, mainly School facilities and empty government buildings with few basic amenities such as ater, electricity, health care services, and education that do no commiserate with the population at the camps, thereby making life quite unbearable for the IDPs (Odumorayo, 2015; Eweka and Olusegun, 2016).

Several studies on farmer/herders conflicts in Nigeria have tended to focus attention on eco-violence, political ecology, climate change, fresh water scarcity, the need for grazing reserves, causes and implications for national - development, amon others (Odoh and Chigozie, 2012; Audu, 2013; Okeke, 2014; Okoli and Ateihe, 2014; Luka and Erunke, 2014), with very little attention paid to the challenges posed by these crises in the management of IDPs. It is in view of this, that the study fingers out the impact of famers/Herders Clashes on the management of internally Displaced persons (IDP.S) in Nigeria for investigation.

Conceptual Framework

Concepts have varied meanings depending on the context within which they are used. Consequently, the key concepts in this paper are explicitly defined in the context with which they are used.

Farmers

Agriculture generally is the art of cultivation of crops and rearing of animals. So farming is all about growing crop and raising animals with a view to meeting the national needs of the people and enhancing food security. Therefore, farming is that activity that involves the growing of plants, trees, seeds, tuber crops, vines, barley and fruits as well as the rearing of animals like cattle, sheep, fish, birds among others (Hornby, 2015, Audu, 2013). Farmers are thus, those who own or manage a farm. In other words, they are people who undertake farming activities as a means of livelihood or to complement other sources of income available to them. These farm activities could be on a large scale, medium scale or subsistence level, depending on one's ability to employ the productive forces.

Basically there are two forms of farmers; crop farmers and animal farmers. These are the people that engage in the cultivation of crops, and rearing of animals respectively. However, farmers in this paper could be taken to mean crop farmers who cultivate different forms of crops in the various geo-political zones of Nigeria, depending on what crops their soil supports and the annual rainfall available.

Herders

Herders are the pastoralist. They are nomads who give up their time and energy to the rearing of animal like cattle and sheep as a means of livelihood. Herders are also farmers in their own way but animal farmers.

Odoh and Chigozie, 2012 p.113 have quoted Saidu, one of the pastoralists from Wase district of Plateau State as underscoring the importance herders attach to their herds when he says thus;

Our herd is our life because to every nomad life is worthless without the cattle. What do you expect from us when our source of existence is threatened? The encroachment of grazing fields and routes by farmers is a call to war..

The herders in Nigeria who are predominately from the northern part of the country are majorly of the Fulani origin who migrated eastwards from the Gambia River over the last one thousand years arriving Nigeria in the 14th century (Odoh and Chigozie, 2012). Other groups of herders include the Kanuri-related groups, the Shuwa-Arabs, the Yedina and the Uled Suleiman. However, “the cattle-based pastoralism of the Fulani has thus been the most *significant* focus of herders/farmer conflict in Nigeria” (Odoh, and Chigozie, 2012 p 113). The report of the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) cited in Okeke (2014) indicates that herders in Nigeria resort to pastoralism instead of the sedentary practice of breeding livestock in ranches as it is done in advanced countries of the world such as the United States of America and Israel because it is relatively cheaper. This is in addition to their desire of finding good pasture for their cattle which can only be found in places where the soil is fertile and there is the presence of rivers.

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are people who because of violence or natural disasters are made to abandon their homes and means of livelihood for safety of their lives and families, taking refuge in other places or environments other than theirs within their National boundaries. Ajiboye and Ajokpaniovo (n.d) sees IDPs as those individuals and families that are forced to move from their long-term abode to new places due to certain factors beyond their control. Such factors according to the Guiding principles on internal displacement may include situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights, natural or manmade disasters (Kalin, 2008). One cardinal thing about this definition is that the affected persons are forced to leave their residences for a reason that could be natural or manmade but do not cross international boundaries.

The unrelated nations in Ajiboye, Akinlabi and Ajokpanioro (n.d) has offered one of the most comprehensive definitions of Internally Displaced Persons when it refers to IDPs as:

persons or group of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of natural or manmade disasters and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border (Asiboye, Akintabi and Asokpanioro (n.d p.90).

In view of the above, the U.N has identified three main types of displacement that could warrant a person or group of persons to flee their homes for safety. These include; development-induced displacement, conflict induced displacement and disaster induced displacement. Among these three types, the displacement of people based on development may be for their common good and may not be sudden or unexpected. Whereas, conflict and disaster induced displacement usually comes sudden and unexpected. However, the magnitude and frequency of displacement witnessed in Africa and indeed Nigeria is man-made or conflict based. What this means therefore is that the internally displaced persons are reduced to the condition of refugees in their own father lands undergoing physical and psychological trauma. The condition of IDPs in their respective camps is full of misery, squalor and agony (The Nation July 23, 2015). The groups of people often caught in this situation are mostly women and children-the vulnerable in the society.

The Basis for farmers! Herders Clashes in Nigeria

The frequent cases of Clashes between the Fulani leaders and farmers of various ethnic groups across Nigeria which has assumed alarming dimension over the years can be predicated on a number of factors. These factors could be political, environmental, economic, social, cultural or other-wise. This has largely to do with the composition, internal dynamics and configuration of Nigeria as a country. For quite some time now, these factors have singly or collectively ignited conflicts between the Fulani herders and the non-Fulani's crop farmers leading to wanton destruction- of farmer's crops and herder's cattle. This situation is captured by Okeke when he aptly asserts that;

This usually leads to the destruction of farmers crops. Thus, the herders provoke their victims to acts of resistance (preventing entry into farms, killing or stealing of Cattle, or poisoning fields). In response, the herders wage deadly attacks on farming communities (Okeke, 2014 .p.6'7).

One factor scholars and policy makers have argued has given vent to the farmers-herders conflicts in Nigeria over the years is the environmental factor. This is borne out of the thinking that climate changes due to global warming - has given rise to certain unfavorable environmental conditions, particularly in the northern part of Nigeria which is the original home of the herders. Such conditions like desertification, inadequate rainfall or drought, loss of wetlands, environmental degradation, harsh, weather conditions, among others have created misfortunes for pastoralism in the far northern part of Nigeria which the original home of the cattle breeders, and hence need to migrate to more favorable places that can support their cattle (Blench, 2004; Okoli and Ateihe, 2014). Okelce (2014) has particularly argued that due to desertification and overgrazing, lands in the home States of the Fulani herders have geometrically deminished. Consequently, they have found it expedient and rewarding to move southwards in search for good pasture for their cattle. In the process of this, they come in contact with farming communities who in defense of their farm lands repel the herders and their herds from destroying their arable land which serves as the means for their survival. Obviously, this increase competition of pastoralists for a grazing land has created imbalance in the eco-environment between the Fulani herders and the crop farmers of various ethnic groups in the country (Odoh and Chigozie, 2012; Okoli and Ateihe, 2014; Luka and Erunke, 2016).

The inability of the herders and crops farmers to strike a balance in the eco-environment thus precipitating eco-violence can be attributed due largely to the inability of the Fulani herders to "build up exchange relations with their host communities, particularly farmers" (Odoh and Chigozie, 2012, p.1 13). Instead, they resort to intimidation, hostility and acquisitive tendencies with their host communities aimed of displacing them and taking over their lands. This practice is iti sharp contrast to the known norm whereby the herders and farmers mutually established a relationship that warranted the herders to visit such places when crops are harvested and leave during new cropping season or at best limit their grazing to places where farmers have no interest. This deteriorating relationship between herders and farmers often make migrants to arrive farming communities in search for pasture and water without seeking the consent of the farmers and their community leaders. This situation is made worst when the herder's cattle resort to the destruction of farm lands and crops. The farmers on the other hand have a thinking that they are the rightful owners of these lands, and any attempt to take over their land by the herder migrants and destroy their crops which is their means of livelihood must be resisted with all sense of commitment at any slightest provocation.

Ayih (2013) cited in Okoli and Ateihe attributes the high wave of farmers/herders clashes to the problem of population explosion that has hit Nigeria. This situation is further complicated by the issues of resource scarcity, livelihood crisis, and resource competition. This picture is painted thus;

People tend to move from northern and Southern Nigeria into the Middle Belt region where population is relatively low and where there is availability of vast arable land. The consequent rapid growth in population has caused the farmers to struggle for farmland which is becoming scarce by the day. With this

development, grazing areas that were hitherto abundant are being taken over by scattered small farms, making grazing in these areas difficult..... that create the situation of land scarcity and hunger, which in turn, precipitates the herders farmer conflict (Okoif and Ateihe, 2014 p. 51).

It implies therefore that the population of both the farmers and the herders (including their cattlie) has geometrically increased over the years, thus, increasing competition for land and water to make ends meet. Consequently, grasses and water available to the Fulani herders can no longer support their occupation and hence the seed to expand and capture more places. On the other hand, the population of the farming communities has largely increased because of lack of birth control measures and polygamous marriages and hence, the need to expand their farm sizes - a situation that leaves no free land for the herders to graze their cattle as hitherto done.

One other factors that has tremendously contributed to the continuous conflict between the farmers and herders in Nigeria is the cultural and religious configuration of Nigeria (Luka and Erunke, 2016) and of course the ethnic and religious consciousness among Nigerian. The geographical and social divide of Nigeria is such that the northern part is Hausa/Fulani who double as Muslims while the southern part and to some extent the middle belt region is made up of other ethnic groups who are mostly Christians. Apart from this, the country has over two hundred and fifty ethnic groups with diverse cultures who want to affirm total control over their land and resources. These cultural differences have made it quite difficult for these groups to- peacefully co-exist, coupled with the fear of domination by one group over, the other. In this case, there is always the' fear among the farming communities of other tribes that the Fulani herdsmen would eventually suppress them and take over their lands and impose in alien culture and religion on them.

Other factors attributed for the farmers -herders impasse in Nigeria has been the desire by the Fulani herders to fatten their herds close to their markets, accounting largely for why they graze large proportion of their cattle in central and Southern Nigeria (Okeke, 2014). Relatedly, the pastoralists practice of cattle breeding that warrants the herders to freely graze their cattle where there is abundant pasture is far more economical in terms of cost than the sedentary method of breeding livestock whereby herders are made to establish ranches and inturn acquire hay and foliage for their livestock. The Fulani herders have therefore seen this, as an imperative as they bear less or no cost at the detriment of the crop farmers:

The Challenges of Managing Farmers/Herders Induced Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) In Nigeria

Apart from the dreaded Bokd-Haram insurgency in the northern part of Nigeria, there is no other factor that has produced large number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the country like farmer/herder clashes. This coupled with the insurgency in the north-east has produced quite a large number of IDPs, throwing a big challenge to government and other stakeholders. Reports indicate that Nigeria has over 1.5 million displaced persons who are camped in various IDPs camps across the country (Ogunmorayo, 2015). It is surprising to note that out of this number, 53 percent are women while 5'6 percent are children (Premium Times, December, 2015). These IDPs however, live in very poor conditions as their welfare and security is threatened.

The management of Internally Displaced Persons' camps in Nigeria has been a joint responsibility of the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), the States Emergency Management Agencies (SEMAs) and non Governmental Organizations (NGOs). In spite of this collaborative efforts, there has been daunting Challenging in the management of IDPs in Nigeria, particularly in the areas of welfare, security, rehabilitation, administrative bottleneck, funding,' corruption, the role of the host communities, bad terrain, among others (Eweka and Olusegun, 2016; the Nation July 23 2015).

In the .area of welfare, because of lack of an articulate way of handling the IDPs, most of the camps if not all, have problems of adequate basic amenities like kitchen, water, electricity, clinics and shelter. In view of

this, the IDPs lives in environmental conditions that are unfit for human habitation (The Nation July 23, 2015). They live miserable lives as if they were slaves in their own father land. Poor living conditions, poor sanitation and poor medical facilities have exposed IDPs in various camps to various infectious diseases due largely to poor sanitation, the growth of infections bacteria, fungi and virus in their bodies. Also poor feeding exposes them to malnutrition, which in turn result to many deaths in camps on almost a daily basis (Premium Times December 28, 2015). This development is made worst by the increasing number of these IDPs.

The frequency of these farmers/herders conflicts which cut cross almost all the geo-political zones of Nigeria, coupled with the magnitude of the destruction caused by it Ha s created a related problem of funding. These clashes occur spontaneously, government never envisage the occurrence of such crises and therefore never budget for such. Even in an event where the budget of the emergency management agencies covers this, the frequency with which such crises occur makes it quite difficult for such finds to adequately carter for this ever increasing population of the IDPs. This therefore makes adequate provision of infrastructure to the IDPs at these respective camps quite impossible in view of government's competing needs. Connected to this is low budgeting -by government for emergency management (Eweka and Olusegun, 2016). The issue of paucity of funds is further compounded by corruption and of course, negative perception by government officials saddled with the responsibility of catering for IDPs. Most often when money is made available to the camp administrators to properly and adequately take care of the needs of the IDPs in the Camps, they normally siphon it for personal use not minding the plight of these people who have become refugees in their own land The tendency to make money often takes prominence over the welfare of the people. Suffice it to say further that even when physical items are supplied by government or humanitarian organizations and even well meaning individuals, such items are in most cases diverted to homes of camp officials or to points where they could be sold. Invariably, while government continue spending so much money on these IDPs in the wake of other competing needs, the money ends up in enriching some few individuals at the detriment of the IDPs, who are caught -up by humanitarian challenges (Olagunju, 2006, Eweka and Olusegun, 2016)'.

One other challenging area in the management of IDPs in the country is that the government in Nigeria seems not to have adequate machinery in place to' address IDPs' issues. And even the organizations created by government such as NEMA/SEMA do posses only minimum capacity to handle IDPs related issues (Olagunju, 2006). There is generally lack of trained staff among these agencies, most of them do not have competent and sufficient staff to implement government polities for the IDPs (Lomo, 2000; Olagunju, 2006; Eweka and Olusegun, 2016). The inability of these agencies to train enough manpower to handle these assignments has much to do with inadequate funds (Eweka and Olusegun, 2016).

Another challenge posed by the management of IDPs is that of social integration by the IDPs into their new found environments in which they have virtually no means of livelihood but depend solely on support from government and other humanitarian bodies. Related to this is how to make the IDPs cope with the psychological trauma from loss of family members, friends and properly destroyed by the clashes.

Managing the quantum of internally displaced persons in the wake of the current economic downturn and in view of the multiplicity of issues at the disposal of government is quite challenging for both federal and state governments. This development no doubt greatly undermine the development drive of government as resources meant for development are often channeled to management of IDPs in various camps across the federation. This is apart from the insecurity of lives and property created.

Conclusion and Recommendation

Based on the above, we make bold to conclude that the increasing cases of farmers/herders clashes in Nigeria over the years has not just threatened the peaceful co-existence of the diverse groups in the polity

but has seriously created humanitarian crisis in the country for government to contend with. This has no doubt; further deepened the identity problem and the already deteriorating relationship among groups that make up the Nigerian federation. Today the farmers (of various ethnic groups) and their brother herders (majorly of the Fulani origin) who hitherto lived together in pursuance of their common wealth live a life typical of Thomas Hobbes state of nature where life was brutish, nasty and generally short.

The sanctity of life among these groups is today completely lost. There are brutal killings and maiming of fellows brothers and sisters at any slightest provocation because of the natural resources that were given to us free by God. It is common practice today for the Fulani herders to take arms against their host farmers destroying their lives, property and farm crops. On the other hand, the farmers often take arms against their brother Fulani cattle breeders killing them and their cattle. This development therefore amounts to sheer display of barbarism and is highly condemned. It is actually uncivilized and ought to be stopped forthwith, considering the negative implications it has on our economy and national life as a united people in diversity.

In view of the above, if Nigeria's corporate existence must survive, we as a people must take decisive steps to end these divisive tendencies. We must learn to live in harmony irrespective of our ethno-religions or cultural difference, Nigerians must also recognize the fact that our being together in one country is not by accident but by providence, and therefore Nigerians must eschew all forms of negative tendencies but instead live complementary lives if the desired peace must be achieved.

The challenged faced by government in managing the ever increasing large number of internally displaced persons in the country can however be best tackled if a permanent solution is sought instead of a mere palliative measure(s). It is therefore the position of this paper that the establishment of ranches remains the only permanent solution to this problem since the population of Nigeria has over the years grown to an appreciable level that has put much pressure on land and other natural resources in the eco-environment. The era of open grazing of cattle is no longer tenable. The so-called grazing reserves and routes earmarked by the colonial masters have been overtaken by farmlands and houses due to population upsurge. Therefore, as it is the practice in advanced countries of the world like the United States of America and Israel, Pastoralism must be stopped, and in place ranches be established by cattle owners who could liaise with the crop farmers to ensure massive production of feed for the cattle. To this regard, the effort by the federal and some state governments to enact a legal framework to support that is quite commendable.

In the interim, if we are to reduce the number of conflict induced IDPs, then, Nigerians must learn to imbibe the culture of tolerance. The long standing relationship between farmers and herders which was mutually established even before independence in 1960 up to the 1990s must be restored. Farmers must remember that they cannot live without the herders, just like the herders cannot live without the farmers. Farmers need meat from the herds just like herders need food from the crops grown by farmers. Therefore they must live complementary lives protecting each others means of livelihood as hitherto done.

The elite cannot be left out of this confusion, thereby unnecessarily increasing the number of IDPs. The elites in Nigeria on both sides have largely contributed to aggravating this deteriorating relationship by fueling it for their political motives. The level of sophistication of weaponry used by both the farms and herders in events of conflict leaves much to be desired. The Nigerian elites are usually behind the scene sponsoring these clashes so as to create acrimony among groups and destabilize the unity of Nigeria, a part from destabilizing groups for the purpose of taking over their places of abode. Therefore, the Nigerian elites and traditional rulers have a duty to continually educate their ethnics on the need to eschew violence but imbibe peace through dialogue, as it is only in a peaceful atmosphere free of rancor that development can thrive. As such, they should endeavor to withdraw all forms of support and sponsorship they give to these crises in the interest of peace and for prosperity.

In as much as we are to tackle this menace from the roots, it is equally expedient for government to take concrete measures to cater for the welfare of the IDPs in an event such happens. This is borne out of the fact that conflict and conflict resolutions are part of life. Government must to this end endeavour to make adequate budgetary provision yearly to cushion the plight of the IDPS in an event such occurs. This is in addition to empowering the emergency management Agencies technically to have the capacity to render valuable services to the IDPs in camps. Also, government must establish standard IDPs camps in all the States of the federation with state of the art facilities that can support human living instead of the current practice whereby IDPs are camped in schools and uncompleted buildings with no or limited facilities.

Last but not the least, corruption in the administration of IDPs camps must be tackled headlong. Working for the IDPs must be seen by the staff of emergency management agencies and the political class as a call to service — a service that is humanitarian in nature, and not an avenue for personal aggrandizement. Their work must be guided by compassion and the driver to save lives who are predominantly women and children. So, any emergency management staff or politician caught in the act of siphoning funds meant for the IDPs or diverting items for their welfare must be seriously dealt with to serve as deterrent to others. Finally, more corporate bodies and well-meaning individuals must endeavor to complement government's efforts by coming to the aid of the IDPs when the need arises in other to save lives as government all alone cannot do it.

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DIVERSIFICATION OF THE NIGERIAN ECONOMIC IN THE MIDST OF RECESSION: THE NEED TO GO BEYOND THE RHETORIC

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Abstract

Nigeria became independent in 1960. Since her birth as a nation, the country has faced enormous economic challenges that deprived her of desire development. This phenomenon is not unconnected to the mono-cultural status of the nation's economy. This paper looks at the present administration efforts to diversify the Nigerian economy amidst recession. Secondary and primary data are used as a method of analysis. The work observed that overdependence on the oil over the year was a major contributory factor to the country's recessed economy. Rhetorically, government has pay lip service to the transformation of Nigerian economy from mono-cultural to multicultural economy taking in to consideration the country's non-oil abundant natural resources. This however did not translate to reality as proceed from oil is still taking a centre stage in Nigerian economy. It is therefore the recommendations of this paper that government should go beyond the diversification rhetoric and face agriculture, solid minerals and tourism.

Introduction

The economic survival of any nations largely depends on maximum utilization of all economic potentials on its disposal. This fact is undisputable as success of most developed countries in the World today is intrinsically linked to the pulling of their available resources for human development. This phenomenal of government to pull both human and natural resources necessary for human development are mostly lacking in third World countries including Nigeria where practice of mono-cultural economic is prevailing thus giving room to interval and sometime regular economic recession

On August 31 2016, the Federal Government of Nigeria officially informed Nigerians that the country was in recession. On that day, the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) released its indices which showed that the Nigerian economy had contracted for the second consecutive quarter (see Ehikioya and Babalola, 2016; Iloani, 2016). Reacting to this disclosure, Nigeria's Finance Minister, KemiAdeosun said *inter alia*;

It's the worst possible time for us. Are we confused?
Absolutely not. How are we going to get ourselves out of this recession? One, we must make sure that we diversify our economy...
if we rely on oil and the price of oil remains low and the quantity of oil remains low, we can't grow. We have to grow our non-oil economy (in Ehikioya and Babalola, 2016: 6).

In the face of the reality of an economy in recession, many Nigerians have intervened on the whys and the

wherefores of the recession. In a typically Nigerian fashion the serious issue has been politicized. The ruling All Progressives Congress (APC) think it is the consequence of many years of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) misrule while the PDP think that the crisis is the result of President Muhammadu Buhari's incompetence. This perhaps is the habits of Nigerians by politicizing every issues of national significant.

Be that as it may, it must be stated *ab initio* that the Nigerian economy going into recession did not just happen overnight. It followed many years of almost total dependence on oil resources, its mismanagement -and in many cases- outright looting of the resources accruing from the country's oil wealth. It is based on this that Sanusi averred that, the lack of political will of the successive governments, political class and elites coupled with endemic corruption in the system, are some of the factors that have snowballed the economy into present economic distress. The major factors accounting for the relative decline of the country's economic fortunes are easily identifiable as political instability, lack of focused and visionary leadership, economic mismanagement and corruption (Sanusi, 2010). The recent mind boggling revelations about cash in both local and foreign currencies kept in ward robes, refrigerators and idle accounts by former public office holders give a clue to why Nigeria got to the sorry pass of recession (see Odunuga, 2017; Salau, 2017;). Monies that would have been injected in the economy to stimulate production and growth were left to idle and the effect of this has been very telling on the Nigerian economy. Whatever the reason for the recession what is important now is that there is urgent need for a solution. Several suggestions have been put forward on how Nigeria may overcome her economic crisis. This paper is of the opinion that diversification is one sure way of getting the country out of recession. The government in power seems determined to diversify the economy at the level of rhetoric. However, it is also of the strong opinion that there is need to go beyond the rhetoric into action.

What is Economic Recession?

An economic recession is “a backward, or reversal of the economy over a relatively long term” (Igwe, 2011:375). It is according to Black,

A situation when demand is sluggish, real output is not rising and unemployment is increasing. A recession is usually identified when real gross domestic product (GDP) falls for two consecutive quarters. It is not as severe as a depression (Black, 2002: 393).

From the perspective of Lee and Shield, a recession simply refers to the event that has an adverse impact on individual's economic well-being (Lee & Shields, 2011). Similarly, Biafore (2009), sees recession as a “slowing in economic growth” (p.1). The period in view showcases a world economy where jobs are lost in their numbers, much money chase few goods and currencies are largely devalued, among other harsh economic indices. It is in the light of these realities that Igwe (2005) has observed that recession refers to:

A backward march, or reversal, of the economy over a relatively long term, believed by some economists to be part of a regular cyclical phenomenon of decline which must inevitably follow some periods of sustained growth or “over-heating”. There is no scientific basis for the cyclical theory of Recession, for such a theory must equally embrace a Recession in other spheres of existence, including the individual, family, group, as well as national and international. Recessions are an unavoidable crisis of any imperfect or unjust economic systems, such as the variants of capitalism, including unequal competitions, rivalries and mutual struggles, often develop a negative character, one of whose many consequences can be a Recession (p.375).

Recessed economy is often identifiable with certain characteristics such as unemployment, high rate of inflation etc. Emauel (2016), opined that recession is the period characterized by a decline in income,

aggregate demand, prices of goods and services, investment and employment in the country. These characteristics and many others are present in Nigeria during recession. What makes the 2016 recession in Nigeria peculiar is that, it is a combination of balance of payment deficit, high exchange rate, a rise in prices of goods and services (inflation), low aggregate demand, low output, rising unemployment, and low income. However, the recession didn't just happen, it occurred as a result of actions and some decisions taken in the past by administrators and policy makers.

Concept of Diversification:

Radical shift from single or mono-cultural to pulling of diverse national resources for human development entails economic diversification. From the view of Michael (2015), Economic diversification is a process of broadening the range of economic activities both in the production and distribution of goods and services. It does not necessarily entail increase in output but it enhances stabilization of economies by diversifying their economic base. Many third world countries including Nigeria are underdeveloped because their negligence in pulling all the available resources necessary for human development.

Causes of Economic Recession

Essentially, there two (2) major causes of economic recession. These are; internal (endogenous) and external (exogenous). The former is usually as a result of conflict of ideas, misapplication of economic theory and regulatory negligence or policy inconsistency. For instance, The Asian financial crisis of 1997-1998 was caused partly by internal factors; banks were lending abroad in pursuit of high profit margin, due largely to slow downs at home, desire to pursue development without due consideration of economic fundamentals, corruption, and structural and policy distortions (Wong, 1999; Corsetti et al, 1999). Other factors were the overheating of private sector and excessive investments in real-estate with non-commensurate returns. In the same vein, the global financial crisis of 2007 and the ongoing recession was triggered by the United States housing bubble; excessive lending of banks into high-risk subprime and adjustable rate mortgages resulted in high default rates as well as downfall of banking sector (CBN, 2012).

While the external causes of recession have to do with factors that are exogenous to the economy over which policy makers have little or no control. Factors like natural disaster, climate change, revolution and wars. An agricultural economy could face crop failure resulting in general economic slowdown. Also, a mono-economy could suffer recession from international price shock for its product. The neoclassical economists are of the view that state interference in the market, labour union, monopolies and technological shocks are external causes of recession (Kamar, 2012).

Apparently, Nigerian recessed economy is caused by both internal and external factors as evidenced in both past and 2016 economic recession in Nigeria. Government inconsistency in policy making across climes, corruption with impunity, activities of militant in oil producing areas are strong instruments to endogenously exposed Nigerian economy to recession. Externally, the country mono-cultural economy which is largely depended on oil in many cases faces decline in prices at the international market which also often exposed economy to recession. The most worrisome of these recession typologies is external factors especially for mono-cultural economy like Nigeria where there is low institutional efforts to tap other resources for economic development.

Diversifying the Nigerian Economy the Need to go Beyond Rhetoric:

The rhetoric about diversifying the Nigerian economy has been on for a long time. Successive administrations in the country all seemed to realize the importance of diversifying the economy but none seemed to have had the will todo so and the country is paying the price for this negligence. It is on this note that Shuaibu et'al (2018), argued that despite abundant natural and human resources, Nigeria faces some challenges. Up to the end of 1960's, the country was selfsufficient in food production and even at net exporter of Agricultural Produce. Since the early 1970's, as oil became a major foreign exchange earner and contributor to Gross Domestic Product (GDP), other sectors of the economy have been relegated to the

background and stagnated, while crude revenues have not been managed effectively to stimulate desired growth levels and sustainable economic development. It is clear now that Nigeria needs to look towards non-oil alternatives if the country will survive (Adeyinka, 2016).

Since the discovery of oil in Nigeria, the economy became a mono-cultural one. In the late pre-independence and early independence period, the regions were known for their agricultural prowess: Groundnuts in the North, oil palm in the East and cocoa in the West. With the discovery of oil, agricultural production has been in decline. The danger of this is that the country has been unable to feed itself but more crucially the country is subject to the vagaries of the international oil market. This, to say the least, is a precarious situation for a country to be in. The full import of this became clear when oil prices crashed in the international market. In fact it has been reported that oil prices have slumped to a six-year low (Akanbi, 2015). The impact has been very telling with government unable to meet a number of its obligations (Nwoji, 2015; Baje, 2015; Ukoko, 2015; Wakili et al, 2015; Editorial *Leadership* May 15, 2015: 3). Ironically the fall in oil prices coincided with the country's centenary.

The past Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development had put in place a programme to revolutionise agriculture in the country (Agha, 2014; Okwor, 2015; Ogunbiyi, 2015). This is the way to go. Suggestions have been made by the All Farmers Association of Nigeria (AFAN) to the effect that government should allocate 20% of annual budget to agriculture (Natsa, 2014d). Considering the place of agriculture in ensuring food security, job creation and also as a revenue earning means the government needs to give priority to the agricultural sector (Olorufemi, 2015; Aliyu, 2015).

Apart from the agricultural sector, there is the need to also develop the country's vast solid mineral resources. The government should seriously consider investing in the mining sector given the country's solid mineral resources. The solid minerals sector is said to have earned the economy N31.499 billion in 2012 (Natsa, 2015b). If one considers the fact that the sector is underexplored then its potential contribution to the Nigerian economy comes into clear relief. The need for government to increase investments in the mining sector cannot be over-emphasized (Natsa, 2015a; 2015b; 2015c; Obi, 2015). Furthermore, there is the need to explore the tourism potentials of the country. In this direction some tourism professionals have drawn attention to the potentials of the sector and the need for government to be more committed to developing the sector. Specifically IniAkpabio has drawn attention to how the tourism sector in South Africa is contributing more to the economy than the sale of gold which used to be the highest revenue earner for the country (Akpabio, 2014).

Nigeria has limitless tourist attractions and according to Akpabio "unless we have our government...fund the tourism sector and the marketing arm of the sector to give out correct information, we are not going to have people coming to Nigeria as tourists" (Akpabio, 2014:26). Considering the huge promise that the sector holds, the need to develop it cannot be overemphasized. Because Nigeria's tourist destinations are not developed, her citizens go abroad for their tourism needs and the country is said to lose N700 billion annually to this (Okeke, 2015b). In the face of falling oil prices and the potentials of tourism in Nigeria, the advocacy for prioritizing tourism has been made and it is worth pursuing in the larger economic interest of Nigeria (Amzat, 2015). Chika Okeke has examined some of the challenges confronting the tourism sector in the country and has also proffered solutions which need to be taken into consideration as the government moves towards revamping the tourism sector (Okeke, 2015a). The Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC) has in recent times made efforts aimed at showcasing the country's tourism potential. It has opened tourism information desks at the Abuja and Lagos airports and has plans to do so at other points of entry and exit in the country (Busari, 2015). Such efforts need to be sustained in order to fully tap into the tourism potentials of the country. However, to fully reap the benefits from the sector, the Nigerian government needs to tackle the challenge of insecurity in the country. This is discussed in detail in the next section.

When all these suggestions are given due consideration the economic fortunes of the country will be enhanced. From a comparative perspective it can be argued that if a country like Singapore without any known resource can move from a Third World to a First World country in less than half a century then this is also possible for Nigeria if her vast resources are adequately managed. This is a great opportunity that the country needs to maximize.

The fall in oil price may be taken as a blessing in disguise as it will make Nigeria look towards non-oil exports which are indeed abundant in the country (Editorial *Daily Trust* December 17, 2014: 55; Chidiebere, 2014). The position has been canvassed that non-oil exports are Nigeria's next line of defence and her trump card as oil prices plummet (Ogwu, 2014; *ZenithEconomic Quarterly*, October 2014). Nigeria needs to begin to look beyond oil to other sources in addition to the ones that this paper has isolated and discussed (Manuaka, 2015; Ugochukwu, 2015a; 2015b; Ezonom, 2014).

For Nigeria therefore to move from dilemma of mono-cultural economy which has not addressed the nation's economic woes, the government must give utmost priorities to the following non-oil sector;

1. Agriculture and agro allied
2. Manufacturing
3. Tourism
4. Solid minerals
5. Transportation
6. Health care service
7. Telecommunication
8. Banking and financial services and
9. Human capital

It may not be overstatement that if two or three of these available potential in Nigeria are maximally pulled together, the derivable benefits will override the benefit of petroleum to the national development. However, successive governments in Nigeria have pay lip service to diversification by refusing to make a radical shift from petroleum to other productive sector of the economy.

The Challenges of Diversification

Diversifying the Nigerian economy has proved a daunting challenge over the years. The challenge is not less so in this era of economic recession. From the foregoing discussion, there seems to be an agreement on the need to diversify the economy. In the preceding section, the ways in which this can be done have been expatiated. However, diversification requires the channeling of resources into these identified sectors. Does the government have the resources to do this? A simple yes or no answer will not suffice in this matter. Yes it is true that resources have dwindled in recent years leading the country into recession. However, the government can source for funds to diversify the economy given its importance.

Couples with government rhetorical expression on economic diversification over decades, the antecedents that led to country's economic woes is negligence and abandoning of agriculture which has been the main stay of economy in favour of lately discovered and regularly decline price oil. This development was captured by Ogen who strongly argued that crisis in Nigerian agriculture also lies in the total neglect of the sector by successive government through payment of lip service to the sector. The increased dependence on a mono cultural economy based on oil production (Ogen, 2007). It is disheartening that by mid 1970s, Nigeria became a net importer of various agricultural products ranging from palm oil, cotton, wheat, rice, maize to other agricultural products. For instance, Nigeria has been spending an average of 60 million USD on importation of rice annually and indeed in 1994, agricultural sector performed below the projected 7.2% of the budgetary output (Lawal, 1997)

It has to be understood clearly that diversifying the economy especially considering that it requires resources and that as bad as the economy is, Nigeria still depends on the oil sector, will require a lot of perceptiveness on the part of Nigerians. Nigerians need to key into the little windows of opportunities which periodic increases in the price of oil in the international market offer. In this regard Nigeria's Vice

President, Yemi Osinbajo has opined that;

As we move to diversify our economy, we are acutely aware that we need oil to get out of oil. Yet our window of opportunity to benefit maximally from the petroleum industry is narrowing (in Okoromadu, 2016: 27).

The country needs to utilize whatever windows it can get from oil along with other sources of funds to diversify the economy.

Conclusion

The imperative of diversifying the Nigerian economy cannot be over emphasized. After many years of paying lip service to diversification, it would seem from the discussion in this paper, that the present government is determined to turn the situation around though with little headways. The current efforts in the agriculture, solid minerals and tourism sector if sustained will end the current dependence on oil.

Recommendations

The current government efforts to diversify economic is quite acknowledged, shifting a little bit from rhetorical expression of previous government in Nigeria. More needs to be done to move the country from its mono-cultural status economy. Based on this, the paper recommends the followings;

Strong economic team who are expertise in all non-oil economic sectors is desirable. This team will advise the government on their various expertise areas to move the country out of over-dependent on oil proceeds.

Similarly, government need to inject enough capital to agriculture as decline in agricultural products in contemporary era is also link to poor farmers with simple tools of farming. Government effort to mechanized farming in the country will boost the agricultural product and improved foreign exchange earnings.

Fighting corruption couple with strict monitoring of all activities of diversification is strongly recommended as past failure in diversification has been linked with government failure to monitored policies aimed to diversify economy.

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KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES TOWARDS TYPE C MENINGITIS: A QUALITATIVE STUDY IN ZAMFARA STATE NIGERIA

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Abstract

Meningitis is a serious viral or bacterial disease in which an outside layer of the brain or spinal cord becomes affected and swollen, and can lead to death of the patient. As one of the countries within the Meningitis Belt, Nigeria has recorded outbreaks in the recent past. Meningitis has a significant impact in Nigeria, but the methods for treatment and factors determining a person's vulnerability are not well understood. This paper adopt knowledge to explore the knowledge, attitudes, and practices of people in Zamfara State in order to identify social and behavioural factors that may contribute to the spread of the disease and likely belief attitudes and peoples practices that might improve health outcomes. The study was conducted among household heads and some health care providers across three senatorial districts in Zamfara State Nigeria. The Health Belief Model was used as theoretical guide of this study. Findings from the study reveal that though there is knowledge about the aetiology of meningitis but some of the respondents lack knowledge to on early sign and symptoms of the disease. Furthermore, the findings indicate that some people in the study area does not engage into proper health preventive practices such as going to hospital for vaccination services. The paper recommends awareness campaign to educate and enlighten people on proper for the treatment and management of meningitis.

Keywords: Type C Meningitis, Peoples attitude, Knowledge, Practices.

Introduction

Meningitis disease is a major treats to health in parts of sub Saharan Africa. According to Greenwood (1999) meningitis is a serious viral or bacterial disease in which an outside layer of the brain or spinal cord becomes affected and swollen, and can lead to death of the patient. Molesworth et al (2003) reported that

meningitis epidemic can occur in the meningitis belt causes tens of thousands of cases. The African meningitis belt extend from Ethiopia in the east and Senegal in the west and comprise the countries such as Nigeria, Niger, Gambia, Mali, Cote D'voire, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Togo Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Ghana, Sudan, Sudan South, Central African Republic, Kenya Uganda among several others (Molesworth, et al 2003).

In the past, Nigeria has suffered large-scale outbreaks of meningitis A. In 2009, such an outbreak in the country caused over 55 000 cases with close to 2500 deaths (WHO, 2009). Niger was also affected, with 13 000 cases and 550 deaths (WHO, 2009). However, preventive mass vaccination campaigns supported by Gavi and partners, using the safe and effective MACV in Niger (2010-11) and Nigeria (2011-14) have provided high and long-term protection against the bacteria (WHO, 2011). Since 2010, less than 20 cases of meningitis A have been reported from all vaccinated areas in the region as reported by World Health Organisation in 2011. According to Federal Ministry of Health (2014), there have been outbreaks of meningitis C in Nigeria, initially limited to a few areas in Kebbi and Sokoto states in 2013 and 2014. In 2015, however, there were more than 2500 cases of the disease across 3 states in Nigeria as well as 8500 cases in Niger (WHO, 2016).

As of 19 March 2017, Federal Ministry of Health (2017) reported that a total of 1407 suspected cases of meningitis and 211 deaths have been reported from 40 Local Government areas (LGAs) in five states of Nigeria since December 2016. Zamfara, Katsina and Sokoto account for 89% of these cases (FMH, 2017). Twenty-six LGAs from all five states reported 361 cases in epidemiological week 11 alone. Twenty-two wards in 15 LGAs have crossed the epidemic threshold (FMH 2017 & WHO, 2017). It has been reported by UNICEF (2015) that the most affected age group is 5 to 14 year olds and they are responsible for about half of reported cases (FMH 2017 & WHO, 2017). Both sexes are almost equally affected.

Although meningitis is a vaccine-preventable disease, there is limited knowledge of the co-factors influencing spread and severity of meningococcal disease. A previous clinic-based study conducted during 2006–2007 in Burkina Faso addressed issues concerning beliefs surrounding disease aetiology and found these beliefs had an important influence on health care seeking behavior (Colombini et al 2009). A search of the literature indicates this is the first case–control knowledge, attitudes, and practices survey to be undertaken in the meningitis belt of Africa. This study focused on the knowledge, attitudes, and practices of people in Zamfara State to identify social, economic, and behavioural factors that may contribute to the spread of the disease and likely belief attitudes and people's practices that might improve health outcomes.

Conceptual Discourse

Attitude: A Sociological Explanation on Disease Perception and Knowledge Attitudes defined as a learned predisposition to respond in a consistently favourable or unfavourable manner . According to attitudes is an expression of favour or disfavour towards a person, place or events. The popularity of the attitude construct in sociology and the social sciences can deduce from a large amount of theoretical and empirical literature. Its popularity is because attitudes are supposed to have an impact on, and even predict behaviour (Kraus, 1995). Still, empirical research on the attitude and behaviour link has been yielding contradictory results. In an early literature, concluded that it is more likely that attitudes will be unrelated or only slightly related to behaviours that attitude closely linked to the action. , however, attributed the weak relationship between attitudes and behaviour found in the previous literature to the incompatibility between the attitudes measured and the related behaviour. The results of the later reviews by , and Kraus (1995) diverged from Wicker's (1969) results. They found that attitudes were rather consistent with the future behaviour. Kraus (1995) pointed out that attitudes account on average as there is no significant attitude and behaviour relationship could be established.

According to Munro et al. (2007) four constructs such as perceived benefit, perceived barriers, perceived susceptibility and perceived seriousness can be used to explain behaviour about understanding and definition of disease.

Household perceived seriousness: household belief about the seriousness or severity of illness often based on information or knowledge, it may come from beliefs a household has about the difficulties of a disease would create or the effects it would have on his or her life in general (McCormack, 1984). For example, most of the people is said to view the flu as a relatively minor ailment. People get it stay home and get better. However, if people have HIV/AIDS could land them in the hospital. It may also happen in the case of malaria as household respond to health seeking behaviour only if they perceived the seriousness of malaria and its possible consequences to their life in general.

Household perceived susceptibility: Personal risk or susceptibility is one of the most powerful perceptions in promoting household to adopt healthier behaviour. The greater the household perceived risk, the greater the likelihood of household engaging in health behaviours to decrease the risk. According to people perception about the vulnerability is what prompts men who have sex to use condoms. Similarly stated that it is what prompts people to vaccinate against hepatitis B to decrease the risk of the disease. Correspondingly averred that it is what motivates people to use sunscreen to prevent skin cancer. It is, therefore, assumed that if the household had perceived the vulnerability of malaria may likely to motivate them to seek for health care services for disease prevention.

However, it is opposite in some cases when people believe they are not at risk or have a low likelihood of vulnerability; unhealthy behaviour tends to result. This is found out by Rose et al (2010) and Maes and Louis (2003) with older adults and HIV prevention behaviour. Adults do not perceive themselves as prone to HIV and therefore not practice safe sex protection. This same scenario happened to Asian American college students who perceived HIV as non-Asian disease and they are not susceptible to it. This is what makes their low safer sex practising behaviours (Winfield & Whaley, 2002).

What we have seen so far is that a household perception of increased risk linked to household health behaviour and also decreased the risk to unhealthy household behaviours. However, this is not always the case. Perception of disease risk among college student is linked to healthier behaviours even when the perception of risk is high. Although those students consider themselves at risk for HIV because of their unsafe sex behaviours, they still do not practice safer sex behaviour. This may likely be in the case of malaria as household perceived the disease risk but do not adopt health seeking behaviours. Similarly, another instance in which perception of threat linked to behaviour change is found in a cancer study. According to cancer is a severe disease with a high risk of recurrence. It is the perception of the threat recurrence that increases the likelihood of behaviour change in people previously treated for the disease. In the same way, same thing happens when people perceived a threat of developing diabetes.

However, as the perception of increased risk does not always lead to behaviour change, as found with college students, neither does a perception of increased threat. This is the scenario with older adults and safe food handling behaviours. Older adults are among the groups most vulnerable to food borne illness. Even though they perceived a threat of disease from food borne sources, they still do not use safer food handling behaviours.

Household Perceived Benefit: This is about household's opinion of the value or usefulness of a new behaviour in decreasing the risk of developing disease. Household tends to adopt behaviours when they believe the behaviour decrease their chances of developing disease. Household perception about the benefit of the programme plays a significant role in the adoption of behaviours. It is found in the study of breast cancer. We hold opinion that the earlier breast cancer found, the greater the chance of survival. It is

also known that a breast self-exam when regularly done, can be an effective means of early detection . They have to believe there is a benefit in adopting the behaviour. It is precisely what was found to be true among black women who believed breast self-exam is beneficial (Graham, 2002).

Household Perceived Barrier: since behaviour change is not something that comes easily to the most household, perception about barriers addresses the issue of behaviour change. This is an own household evaluation of the obstacles in the way of adopting a new behaviour. According to this is the most significant factor or construct in determining behaviour change. For a new behaviour to be adopted, a person needs to believe the benefits of the new behaviour out weight the consequences of continuing the old behaviour (Centre for Disease Control & Prevention, 2004). It enables household barriers to overcome and new behaviour to be adopted.

In trying to increase breast self-examination practices in women, it would seem obvious that the threat of breast cancer would motivate the adoption of this early detection practice. Certainly breast cancer is a severe disease, one of which women are at risk and for which the perception of threat is high. However, even with all of this, the barriers to performing breast examination exert a greater influence over the behaviour than does the threat itself . Some of those barriers according to Umeh and Rogan include difficulty with starting a new behaviour or developing a new habits and fear of not being able to perform examination correctly.

Theoretical Framework

Health Belief Model (HBM)

There are so many theories in sociology that attempt to explain health issues; one of such theories is Health Belief Model (HBM). In every research, a theory is needed, because “theory helps us structure our ideas, so as to explain causal connections between specified phenomena within and across specified domains by using interrelated sets of ideas whose plausibility can be tested by human action and thought” (Krieger 2001, p. 670). Health Belief Model (HBM) was developed according to Nejad et al (2005) by Godfrey Hochbaum and his friends in the 1950s. In order to find out and understand public participation in health screening activities in the United States of America public health service. This was to examine if members of the society decide to involve in healthy activities to eradicate, reduce or prevent the occurrence of disease. Health Belief Model was used by Hazavehei et al. (2007) to study the control of osteoporosis disease among middle school girls in Garmsa, Iran. Similarly, Family Health International also applied Health Belief Model (HBM) in various studies of HIV/AIDS, breast cancer, hemorrhagic fever and several other studies of handling food behaviours.

Moreover, Nejad et al. (2005) in combination with reasoned action theory adopts the health belief model as a theoretical stance to understand dieting and fasting among female university student in Australia. In general, sociologists and anthropologists widely used health belief model with other theories to study health and illness behaviour. Health Belief Model (HBM) holds the idea that, believes about perceived threats of a disease or beliefs about vulnerability to illness and perceived effectiveness of the treatment is to be modified variables. This simply shows that the higher perception about the danger of the disease and also the perceived benefits or the outcomes of using that action results to the possibility of taking positive health action. Therefore, with particular reference to this study of the knowledge attitude and practices towards type C meningitis, Health Belief Model (HBM) was used as theoretical framework

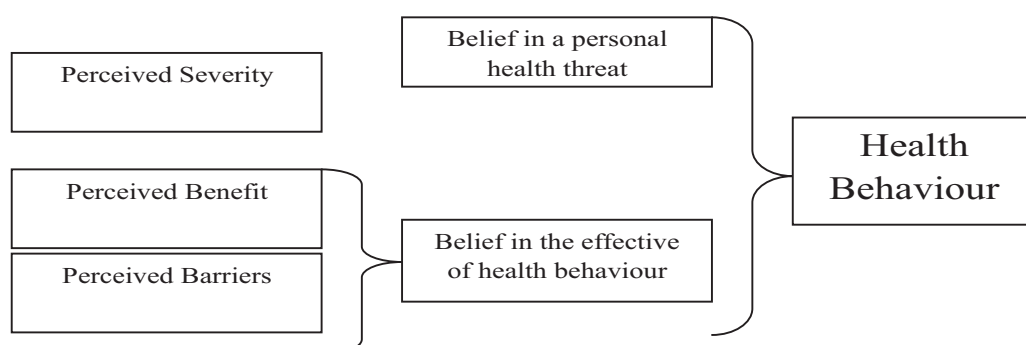


Figure 2.1 Health belief model

Source: Munro et al. (2007).

Methodology

This study used a qualitative methodology of research. Qualitative research aims to collect an in-depth understanding of social behavior and the causes of such behavior. The qualitative research technique explores the why and how not just what, where and when. According to Kalthum (2008) qualitative research provides a means to access immeasurable proofs about social phenomena. Sekaran (2003) discourse that qualitative research design incorporate extensive use of verbal and developing full information on comparatively few cases. It is also provide accurate information from social event and picture conclusions from available data. It is in view of this that this study adopt qualitative technique of research to provide accurate and extensive information about knowledge, attitude and practices towards meningitis C in Zamfara state Nigeria

The present study was conducted in Zamfara state North West Nigeria. Interview was conducted with household heads members and health care workers across the three senatorial zones in the state. The state was divided into three senatorial districts and one local government was selected as study centre in each zone. Gusau was selected from central, Kaura Namoda from north and Talata Mafara from west. Ten persons was interview from each selected local government area making the total number of the interview thirty. The participants of this study was chosen because they are in better position to provide information regarding knowledge, attitudes and practices towards meningitis C in Zamfara state and hence justify the reason for choosing them as participants of this study.

Semi structure interview was used to achieve the objective of this study. An open ended flexible and adaptable interview guide was formulated that cover the questions ranging from knowledge, attitudes and practices towards meningitis C. Interview guidelines provided by Creswell (2007) was used to successful interview 42 Informants and 8 health Informants across three senatorial districts that respondent on several issues relating to the peoples knowledge, their attitudes and practices and social and behavioural factors towards meningitis C. Those protocols include researcher's arrival and introduction, introducing research topic and purpose of the research; start actual interview and ending the interview. Recording devices was used to record the interview conducted.

Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis was used for the analysis of data collected during the interview. This process of thematic analysis involved the familiarising with data that is transcribing the data by reading and re-reading. This is followed by generating initial codes in a systematic fashion across the entire data set. After

searching for themes by gathering all data relevant to each code, the next was to reviewing themes checking in the themes work about the coded. Later defining and naming the theme. Generating clear definitions and names for each theme and finally producing the report. After transcribing the recorded version of the interview, this study arranged those into themes for simple thematic analysis of the results. Three themes were generated for this study. The table below shows the themes generated for this study and their codes. 42 informants were interviewed in which 22 were male, 20 are female and 8 were health informants within the age of 20 to 50 years old.

Table 1: Themes

Table 1: Themes

S/NO	CODE	THEMES
1	SM01	Symptoms of Meningitis
2	CM02	Causes of Meningitis
3	PDS03	Perception of Disease Severity
4	HSP04	Health Seeking Practices

The main objective of this paper is to investigate people's knowledge, attitudes and practices towards type C meningitis in Zamfara state North West Nigeria. To achieve the above mentioned objective four themes (symptoms of meningitis, causes of meningitis, perception of disease severity, health seeking practices) was developed. The first theme explore people knowledge of the respondents and their understanding with regard to major signs and symptoms of meningitis C. Interview was conducted purposely to find out the level of meningitis knowledge among the people including their general understanding of the causes and disease aetiology. Furthermore, perception of disease severity was developed to finds out people's perception and awareness with regard to the meningitis severity among study population. Lastly, health seeking practices theme discusses people's practices especially on treatment and management of meningitis C.

Results

THEME ONE

Symptoms of Meningitis

Interview was conducted across the state to explore people's knowledge and understanding of the major signs and symptoms of meningitis type C in Zamfara state. During the interview participants of this study reveals information on sign and symptoms of type C meningitis.

Informant from Zamfara central senatorial zone informed that:

Usually joint pain is the major sign indicating that the patient is attack or suffering by meningitis. This new type they called type C is the worst. Because in just recent time it comes with some symptoms of joint and waist pain that are very severe if compare with previous times (SM01- Informant *from Zamfara central zone*).

Same Informant stress further that:

When it is hot season and we recognise that one of us is reporting serious joint pain especially around his neck would indicate to us that it is sign or symptom of meningitis (SM01- Informant *from Zamfara central zone*).

Another Informant from the same zone indicate that:

Hot temperature with cases of joint pain and entire body weakness is

an additional sign and symptoms of meningitis. When you wake up from sleeping especially in the morning and you begin to feeling and noticing such above mentioned symptoms it clearly indicate that it is meningitis (SM01- Informant *from Zamfara central zone*).

New sign and symptom of meningitis type C has been to consist of:

Difficulty in breathing and animating with patient during hot season indicate the signal of meningitis with patient. You see due to the severity of this type C meningitis patient suffering from the experience difficulty to animate. Because of the attack from the organs responsible or help for breathing many patient suffering from the disease are unable to breath. This is one of the contributing factor causes a lot of casualty. You see this symptom of inability to animate is known to only type C meningitis (SM01- Informant *from Zamfara central zone*).

Interview with Informant from Zamfara west senatorial district reveals that:

Joint pain especially neck and waist was the major sign and symptoms of meningitis but it is usually accompanied by headache, loss of appetite and dizziness (SM01- Informant *from Zamfara west zone*).

Another Informant stress further that:

Unusual headache, dizziness and body hot temperature is the major sign and symptom of meningitis. Type C meningitis that are new to us came with the same symptoms with the previous or normal meningitis known to us if I have to call it in such a way, but this type C is very dangerous because it kills instantly. Because the serious headache reported by our children who died recently indicates that the serious headache affects their brain (SM01- Informant *from Zamfara west zone*).

Interview with another Informant reveals that:

Body weakness is one of the sign and symptoms of meningitis. What show first to indicate that meningitis is with you is feeling too much weakness. Than from here it may grow up to the level of side body stiffness to the severe level. When you begin to feel that that severe stiffness of the side of your body than it means all the other symptoms that are common to meningitis patients are already displayed (SM01- Informant *from Zamfara west zone*)

It was also revealed by different Informant that:

Symptoms of meningitis are many, but there are some that are very common. Among those that are common include inability to eat and drink. Those that are suffering with meningitis are in most cases unable to drink and eat anything due to the lack of flexibility of the body system. The entire body system of the patient has severely stiff and due to that stiffness the patient experience difficulty to eat and drink (SM01- Informant *t from Zamfara west zone*).

Informant from Zamfara North confirmed that:

You know usually when it is hot season that is during dry period most of the disease we are suffering from is meningitis. We can easily understanding it when someone reporting some pain from part of his body. So it depends on how it came to victim (SM01- Informant *from Zamfara North zone*).

The Informant continued saying that:

Some experienced hot body temperature, complaining about side pain and some symptoms usually common to children is that some of his body system stop moving especially at the head side. You can see him unable to blink his eye up or down unable to move his or her head up down, right or in the left side (SM01- Informant *from Zamfara North zone*).

It is also reported that:

Children under ten years of age suffer most from the disease. Because all those mentioned symptom are very severe to this new type C meningitis. When those symptoms show on child less than ten years it is very hard for that child to survive. That is why in just of recent you hard we witness a lot of casualty and most of the victims are children (SM01- Informant *from Zamfara North zone*).

Another Informant t also lamented to this study that:

Hearing defect is among the symptom of meningitis C among the victims. But to be sincere these symptoms happen mostly to adult members. You can see someone just wake up with hearing defect and because you know he or she may start reporting other symptoms like feverish condition, hot body and other body throbbing problem (SM01- Informant *from Zamfara North zone*).

To confirm the responses of those participants, this study interact with health care providers in the state to investigate the Informant level of knowledge about signs and symptoms of meningitis type C in Zamfara state North West Nigeria.

Interview with health care personnel in Zamfara west reveal to this study that:

When meningitis patients come to us they usually reported cases of waist pain, hot body and headache. So you know it defend on when the cases are very severe or not. In most cases also the symptoms reported defends on the age of the patient whether he is adult or a child. Sometimes symptoms may be similar or the same but it severity defend on the age (SM01- *Health personnel from Zamfara west*).

The Informant adds further:

You know children are more severe to those symptoms and also more prone to meningitis type C. This is because children may not take some measures when they are sleeping for example they can't on their own change the position of where they are sleeping like rooms due to hot condition, or moving their body when they are sleeping unless when they are assisted. So this reason makes them more vulnerable to the disease unlike their adult counterpart. So that is why you see cases reported here with a child his head was hook (SM01- *Health personnel from Zamfara west*).

Health personnel from Zamfara North averred that:

Meningitis type C has many symptoms. But most common among those may symptoms include; waist pain, stiffness in neck, severe head pain, high body temperature, vomiting, and loss of appetite. Those are frequent symptoms of meningitis especially during hot season. So you know as I said earlier it all defend some symptoms may even be dehydration of body (SM01- *Health personnel from Zamfara west*).

Collaborating responses of the health personnel from Zamfara North and South senatorial zones, health personnel from Zamfara central district affirmed that:

Most of our people refer meningitis as neck disease. That is why if there is severe neck problem our people may urgently seek meningitis treatment even without coming to us. This indicates that neck pain and other body parts are among the major signs and symptoms of the disease (SM01- *Health personnel from Zamfara west*).

He stressed further that:

You know this type C meningitis comes with severe pain cases which results to the death of the patients without delay especially if there is any hindrance or obstacle in seeking treatment services. In most cases the symptoms are almost the same but in meningitis type C the pain is very severe especially among the young children. Yes it is more rampant among the small even with the record we have here (SM01- *Health personnel from Zamfara west*).

Another health care provider responded in the following statement:

Inflexible within some part of the body especially around the head side is the major symptom of meningitis and that is why our Hausa people called it *Dansankarau* meaning that organs that are flexible moving up and down are no longer flexible. So the moment this happen to someone it means is major signs and indicator of meningitis. The one we have now or we experience just of recent that is type C meningitis is very severe and it kill instantly without delay due to its severity (SM01- *Health personnel from Zamfara west*).

Cause of Meningitis

Interview was conducted to explore the causes of meningitis among the participants of this study across three senatorial districts of Zamfara state North West Nigeria. Respondents who participated in this study shade more light on the issue bordering their perception and understanding of the causes of meningitis in their area.

Informant from Zamfara central zone reveals that:

To my own understanding heat is the major cause of meningitis. This is because the disease comes only when it is hot season. To me it as a result of unfavourable temperature we experience which is hot that cause meningitis. That is why you see if rains comes than meningitis is over till next season again. So usually is a seasonal disease associated with extreme heat or during dry season (CM02- Informant *from Zamfara central zone*).

The Informant similarly informed that:

That is why you see areas around our states like Zamfara, Kebbi, Sokoto, Borno and rest of them are more prone to meningitis cases and people living in those areas are mostly affected and vulnerable all the times. So you see this is as a result of the hot temperature as I said earlier. I can tell you that is why the cases of meningitis are very rare and exceptional in the southern part of the country. This is because of what? Because they have not experience the hot temperature as we witnessed here (CM02- Informant *from Zamfara central zone*).

Another Informant from the same zone notify that:

Lack of ventilation is the major cause of meningitis. When there is lack of exposure to air and it hot one may be likely to get meningitis. That is why you see in many cases people get meningitis when they are

sleeping. So when you sleep in a room or place without cross ventilation of the air you may likely attack or acquired meningitis (CM02- Informant *from Zamfara central zone*).

In a very divergent view another Informant affirmed that:

Yes it is very clear and I agree with all what have been said or people are saying about the causes of meningitis, but to my own belief and understanding that factors believe to the causes of meningitis are not sufficiently enough to cause a disease without the will of God (that is Allah SWT). If you talk about those causes or somebody sleep in the hot room and he or she get meningitis, than you have to tell me what of those that have been sleep in the hot rooms also that have not been affected. And what of those affected without any causes you believe or mentioned in. Here you most leave God with his own decision (CM02- Informant *from Zamfara central zone*)

Informant from Zamfara west zone expressed that:

Congestion is one of the major causes of meningitis. When people are congested and overcrowded sleeping in the same room, there is every tendency for them to get meningitis. That is why you hear in the radio that people should avoid being congested during sleeping in the night especially during hot season. This is because of the understanding of the contribution of being people congested sleeping in one room make in getting meningitis disease (CM02- Informant *from Zamfara west zone*).

Another Informant reveals that:

Contact with infected person is one of the major causes of meningitis. Meningitis is a communicable disease. My reason is that if one person is affected before he recovers or dies it spread to many persons. So you see it is through this way that the disease is spread to many people. This is major causes of spreading the meningitis (CM02- Informant *from Zamfara central zone*).

But Informant from Zamfara North lamented that:

Dirty environment is another cause of meningitis. It is because of this dirty place we are living that cause meningitis. Do you see meningitis in the areas that is not like that? Tell me. So meningitis and not only meningitis think of several other diseases are all as a result of dirty environment we are living in (CM02- Informant *from Zamfara North zone*).

Another Informant reveal that:

People attitudes towards meningitis vaccination are one of the leading causes of the disease. This is because we already know that meningitis comes almost every year and vaccines are provided but people refuse to take it. So if something happen what do you say is the cause? You see simply is their refusal to take that vaccines (CM02- Informant *from Zamfara North zone*).

It was also reported differently:

What do think can cause disease apart from Allah the Almighty? If you think in that direction you are very wrong. Nobody can cause any harm to anybody except Allah and He alone. So who ever stand before you telling you that this and this can cause A, B can lead to this type of

disease and in short something of that nature, the worst you can is just for you to look at him, period (CM02- Informant *from Zamfara North zone*).

Similarly another informant reported that:

All this kind of diseases you are hearing about is the hand work of witchcraft. Let me give you an example, do you see such kind of diseases during rainy season? Answer my question now..., so the reason is that many of our people has nothing to do when it is dry season. So they engage into such witchcraft and cult activities. You know some of them are ask to kill or to do whatever inhuman to have good harvest during the rainy season if they are farmers. It is also involve people doing different kind of business. So you see the issue here is that this period that people are more prone to various kind of disease are period that many of our people are doing nothing at home (CM02- Informant *from Zamfara west zone*).

Health care personal explain to this study that:

Yes it is exactly hot and harsh weather is among the causes of meningitis. But you there are more clinical factors involve also. But any way no doubt about hot environment, too much crowd in a place without proper ventilation can also serve as contributing factor for the causes and development of meningitis (CM02- Informant *from Zamfara central zone*).

Perception of Disease Severity

This study engages the respondents that participate in this study to investigate their perception about the severity of meningitis type C disease in their respective areas or location. Therefore, respondents of this study shade more light about how harsh and terrible meningitis disease is across the entire Zamfara state in the northern part of Nigeria

Interview with Informant from Zamfara central explain to this study that:

There is no disease that you can compare it severity with meningitis. This is what we usually called or term as *annoba* (disaster). Look it is not like malaria or common fever, look this one kills instantly. I mean it usually comes with death. So the moment you hard the breakout of meningitis so expect death everywhere. It is term as a period of disaster *wallahi ko*. It is very severe it is very sad it kill especially the young children (PDS03- Informant *from Zamfara central zone*).

Another Informant confirmed from his perception about meningitis disease severity and note that:

Meningitis is very worrisome. It is very terrible and worries us when there is break up. That is why you see government and partnership with community leaders and many stakeholders are joining hands together when it is a period of hot season to provide vaccination services against meningitis disease. Because this new type of the disease that is type C meningitis we experience is quite different with the one we usually know. This one is very severe and kills instantly. Its severity is what terrifies us and it is what makes a lot of casualty (PDS03- Informant *from Zamfara central zone*).

In a very similar way another Informant added that:

Meningitis is a serious disease. Due to the cases of meningitis we experience almost every dry or drought season many of our young children die. Yes because they are mostly affected. Do you know something? If have a child that is less than five years of age you do not consider that you have a child till he passes through various

meningitis struggle. Because meningitis kills a lot of them at that age circle. Some of them do not survive the disease episode due to its severe consequences among the children less than five years or yes it can be up to ten years they are all children (PDS03- Informant *from Zamfara north zone*).

Another Informant reported that:

Due to the severity of meningitis a lot of patients suffering from the disease lost their sight and hearing due to the damage the disease done to the organs performing such function. You know the disease is best at attacking such sense organs and in most cases if patient recover he or she begin to feel such kind of deformity. In cases among the children it easily results to the death of the child (PDS03- Informant *from Zamfara central zone*).

Interview results indicate that:

Honestly meningitis is very disturbing and causes a lot of suffering among the people. Many people taste the severity of the disease. It is a social problem causes a lot of social suffering and consequences. The severity of the disease is socially disturbing as you know it mostly affected by younger ones at their teen age. So it is disturbing (PDS03- Informant *from Zamfara west zone*).

It is also confirmed that

Meningitis disease severity increases due to the harsh temperate condition. Anytime or each year that comes with extreme heat whether condition cases of meningitis would be worst. That is why you see this year that we experience extreme hot season the cases of meningitis are even worst if we compare with what we witness before. The severity of this type C meningitis is even worrisome and we attributed it to too much hot weather in the area. So you see the way the weather is very harsh the same way the disease would be so disturbing (PDS03- Informant *from Zamfara central zone*).

Another Informant of this study stated that:

Due to the severity meningitis type C disease there is evidence that a substantial number of people died as a result of the disease. There is also believe that this consequences and or suffering continue to increase due to the change may be as a result of global warming that introduces to us new kind of heat season that we don't know before. Anyone who witness or observe the level of heat this year most understand that something unusual with regard to the heat season related diseases may likely to occur. With this expectation we receive type C meningitis that is very different with usual one in terms of severity and social consequences (PDS03- Informant *from Zamfara north zone*).

Health Seeking Practices

This theme focus on the health care seeking practices among the participants of this study towards meningitis type C in Zamfara state North West Nigeria. Interview was conducted with several persons in the study area to find out how they respond, manage or treat meningitis. It is base on this subject matter that those that participated in the study reveals and share information to the best of their knowledge.

Interview with the participant of this study informed that:

We first go to the clinic when we were very sick. Not only on meningitis alone includes all other disease that comes. So I use to it going to clinic for whatever kind of disease I and my family experience. But you know in case of this meningitis it is not even advisable to seek treatment somewhere before it is not everywhere that you find it. There is also awareness and public enlightenment when it is season for the disease for people to visit any nearby clinic. To my understand that is why I used to it that is visiting hospital any time I have any disease challenge including type C meningitis (HSP04- Informant *t from Zamfara central zone*).

Another Informant averred that

Hospital is the best option I use to patronize when there is meningitis case. Going to hospital when you are suffering from meningitis is not only the good option but also reliable. Because not everywhere you go that you find meningitis vaccines especially when it is not a hot season. Medicine vendors are not use to keep the vaccines all the time due low patronage. You know the vaccines are only available some time if there is outbreak of the disease. Sometime you have to wait for supply even in the hospital. That is one of the reason when there is outbreak before action taken a lot of people especially children die. You know, look for example when there is out break for this type C meningitis they said all the vaccine available in the world is not enough to treat the whole cases of Zamfara state. This is also another reason that leads to huge casualty across the affected states nationwide. For this reason if you go to hospital even if there is no vaccines available I think they may have some first aid treatment they provide or render to you pending the supply or provision of the said vaccines. So hospital is the safe place to me that is why I choose it as first treatment seeking option not only to meningitis but also to all other disease related cases (HSP04- Informant *from Zamfara central zone*).

But in a different opinion another Informant reveals that:

What I first do is to treat myself first in the home. When the disease persists after some time I than sought another alternative may be using drugs or some vaccines available. Going somewhere when I am sick or one of my family are sick is a big difficult for me. This is due to some reasons that I may not be able to reveal or inform to you. So that is why I may use the available option I have at home and treat whatever type of disease or illness my family is suffering from. This is because revealing the failure for me to report to somewhere else when we are sick seeking for treatment to my own understanding is like I am reporting my creator (Allah) to you which to my own believe most be avoided (HSP04- Informant *from Zamfara central zone*).

Another Informant also informed that:

I use drug shop to my medicine for me and my family when we are sick. There is a lot of medicine vendors stores here that if you report whatever type of illness or disease they have something very effective to you that will deal with the disease. This is also to inform to you that with an affordable rate or price that someone at this or our level can

pay for. That is why I choose and feel very comfortable on my own side to visit any medical vendor shop or store to report my case of whatever type of illness I have and they attentively look into my case and address it. That is all and that is the reason that I use going to that place as my first option or choose of health care treatment (HSP04- Informant *from Zamfara north zone*).

Another Informant said that:

There are some circumstances that I go to medicine shop to report for any disease or illness. Such circumstances include perceiving that the disease I am suffering from is not very severe or medicine store can handle it enough. But cases that are severe by their symptoms may refer to nearby clinic or hospital. Even if I am away or out of the town that when I travel, if my wife inform me about any illness one of the family member is suffering from I first ask the level or seriousness of the disease that is the perceive severity or dangerous nature of the disease. So it is from here that make me to decide where to go for treatment. In short case that I understand is very light I treat them at medicine store or even using self medication at home but those that are serious, the one like meningitis with serious signs of death treat I urgently for that case refer myself to hospital (HSP04- Informant *from Zamfara north zone*).

In a very similar case one Informant also confirmed that:

My decision on health care seeking practices is solely motivated and driving by the severity of the disease. You know there is cases that are not even handle at medicine shop, pharmacy or chemist. You know this kind of meningitis type comes with some unusual symptoms that is difficulty in breathing. So in that case what a vendor medicine store can do to you. That case you see has to be refer to hospital and has may be oxygen assistance to the patient, you know, but as I have said some minor disease with little severe signs you can handle it even at home. There is even meningitis case that is not severe before the breakup of this type. So you see that type you can handle it here without much difficulty (HSP04- Informant *from Zamfara central zone*).

Informant from Zamfara west zone indicated that:

Cost of the treatment decide in most cases which treatment option I may likely look upon to. If the treatment is too cost that I cannot afford than I have to use the one available to me. As I am now I don't have any treatment option until after the disease or illness arrived. If disease comes to me or my family members I use the financial ability I have at disposal to manage the disease and leave or allow the Almighty God (Allah) to the rest. Because you know you cannot go beyond what you can't and you cannot pass the limit of Allah. Allah himself stated in his holy book that he cannot put upon you the responsibility that you cannot afford or take care of. So as our basic responsibility to look into our family we do the best within our limit to treat them with best option of health seeking practices when they are sick (HSP04- Informant *from Zamfara north zone*).

It is also revealed by another Informant that:

Distance of the health care centres where treatment and management of the disease are provided is the driving factor for the choose of health care seeking practices. There is a case for example that needs urgent attention even at home. So when you decide to travel for a long distance looking for another treatment option may likely to put yourself or the patient in trouble. For example the case of meningitis which the major case is as a result heat season and you decide to take the meningitis patient let say to Gusau the state capital going through all those hot and sunny situation it means what, it means you are putting the patient into the way of causing his life especially if the patient is a small child. But if you are lucky enough the vaccination are within your area than you can you it. As it is in the case of meningitis they use to provide sometimes with vaccines in our area especially when it is a hot season. I have no problem of what kind of health seeking behaviour I adopt but my problem those factors that I just mention to be sincere is what determine my decision of health care seeking practices (HSP04- Informant *from Zamfara west zone*).

Health care personnel in the state informed that:

Many people patronage modern health care services especially when it's involve the case of meningitis. But some people do not accept any idea that come from western countries that they believe it as anti Muslim and it is a plot to destroy Muslim community. That is the only reason for those whose do not patronage the modern medicine or meningitis vaccination. So we are facing with this misperception of people about this vaccination. So we are making effort to enlighten people about the importance of using meningitis vaccination especially the one provided at various health care centres. You know it is worrisome for the people to you know when there is outbreak of the disease and means available to manage or take care of the said disease people refuse to patronise or honour it. Most of those people with this habit usually prefer to keep the patient at home if necessary to provide or go into home management of disease control (HSP04- *Health personnel* Informant).

It is for this reason that some of the respondents disclose their preparedness to rely on home management of the disease. Interview conducted with some of the respondents informed that:

You see this meningitis vaccination you are talking about is supply and provided by western countries. So how to do believe with those countries that supported the killing of people across the world insulting the religion of Islam to provide you with vaccine, medicine or drugs that manage your disease. If you believe in this and go into it to my own believe that is the major mistake one can make in his entire life time. So you see that is why I solely rely to what remedies we have and provide locally for whatever kind of disease we are facing in the family. So think is better to manage it at home than take myself and family to something that causes my death (HSP04- Informant *from Zamfara west zone*).

In a very similar instance this study found out that:

I believe totally in prayer when I am sick. Or do think there is anything or something that are wonderful in managing the disease of whatever type than prayer and total surrender to God Allah the Almighty. The answer, you know is big no. Or there is tell me I am listening. So as you see us here we just pray when one of us is sick and Allah in his mercy intervened and solve whatever disease it is. And we are seeing the result as Allah says when you rely on him He will give you the way out at any difficult moment you find yourself (HSP04- Informant *from Zamfara central zone*).

Discussion

The main objective of this paper is to explore the knowledge, attitudes, and practices towards type C meningitis in Zamfara State to identify social and behavioural factors that may contribute to the spread of the meningitis disease and likely belief attitudes and people's practices that might improve health outcomes. It was base on this that this study was conducted. Interview was carried out and the results show people knowledge, attitude and practices towards meningitis.

Results from the interview conducted during this study shows that people are well informed about the major signs and symptom of meningitis. Though some of the responses from those that participated in the study reveal some symptoms that are contrary to the clinical side, however, a substantial major of the respondents indicated the correct sign and symptom of meningitis. Those symptoms include; hot body, waist pain, severe neck stiffness, severe headache, serious body pain, loss of appetite, and in some cases difficulty in breathing. This study observed that due to the knowledge of respondents about meningitis symptoms it greatly assists in seeking health care for the prevention, treatment and management of the disease. Knowledge about sign and symptoms of meningitis is very essential because it is the assumption of this paper that, it is only through such understanding of the symptoms that people define and understand meningitis. People across different senatorial zones reveals signs and symptoms of meningitis and it is of our believed that only through such understanding that people can take proper or provide necessary measures for meningitis control, elimination and prevention (Ranasinghe et al., 2015; Mayala et al., 2015). This finding adds more value to health belief model.

Further finding from the research indicate that respondents of the study disclose several causes of meningitis. Some of those causes include; hot season, sleeping in a congested room without proper ventilation and contact with infected person, attitudes among several others. Some of the causes slightly different with medical domain include dirty environment, religious believe and witchcraft. But considerable number of the respondents was clearly understand and stated exactly the causes of meningitis as informed by scientific and medical experts. Results from the interview demonstrate that people's attitude of refuse to take vaccination despite knowing the danger of meningitis is the major cause of the disease. This is consistent with finding of Courtenay (1998) that perception of disease risk among college student is not linked to healthier behaviours even when the perception of risk is high . Although his finding shows that, those students consider themselves at risk for HIV because of their unsafe sex behaviours, they still do not practice safer sex behaviour.

This paper found out that meningitis is a very severe disease as mentioned by those that participated in the study. The disease severe was also observed by this research as a driving factor for seeking health intervention. This finding is also similar to the concept of perceive susceptibility of health believe model. According to the concept the greater the household perceived risk, the greater the likelihood of household engaging in health behaviours to decrease the risk of the disease. According to people perception about the vulnerability is what prompts men who have sex to use condoms. Similarly stated that it is what prompts people to vaccinate against hepatitis B to decrease the risk of the disease. Correspondingly

Finding from this study shows that people in the study area engage into several practices to manage and treat meningitis. Some of those practices includes; going to hospital, clinic and medicine stores or chemist. Other practices employ for the treatment of meningitis consist of self medication using both local and modern medicine and in some cases define as home management of disease. Other respondent reported that they do not employ any method for disease control apart from prayer and total submission to God the Almighty.

Recommendation and Conclusion

Meningitis disease is a major treats to health in parts of sub Saharan Africa. It is a serious viral or bacterial disease in which an outside layer of the brain or spinal cord becomes affected and swollen, and can lead to death of the patient. This study was conducted to explore knowledge, attitudes, and practices of people in Zamfara State with main purpose of identify social and behavioural factors that may contribute to the spread of the disease and likely belief, attitudes and peoples practices that might improve health outcomes.

Base on the findings of this study, there is enough knowledge about sign and symptoms of meningitis. Though there is some element of mentioning symptoms that does not correspond to clinical realm but there is significant improvement about respondent's knowledge of the disease. This study shows that there is still misunderstanding about the causes of meningitis. This study recommends public enlightenment campaign to sufficiently inform people about correct causes of meningitis. There is also urgent need for the authority concern to make critical response to address the severe nature of meningitis type C as informed by those that participated in the study. On the treatment practices to manage meningitis, part of the results indicate that lack of resources to treat meningitis and distance location of health facilities is the motivating factor for their treatment choose. It is also recommended to authority concerns that adequate provision of vaccination is needed across the state. There is also a need to reserve those vaccines on standby in case of any breakup. In conclusion

Furthermore, the findings indicate that people in the area does not engage into proper health preventive practices such as vaccination services against meningitis. This study find out that still people in the area use options like home management of disease and some of them does not engage any treatment option. It is in view of the above that this paper recommends a comprehensive awareness campaign to educate and enlighten people about taken proper treatment option for the treatment and management of meningitis. This awareness should involved enlighten people about susceptibility and vulnerability of meningitis. Possible social consequences of the disease which include morbidity and mortality should also be informed.

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THE ROLE OF NIGERIA IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: THE CASE OF ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)

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Abstract

This study seeks to examine the role of Nigeria in international organizations with particular reference to Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Findings reveal that fifteen (15) countries in West Africa came together to form ECOWAS with the main objective of economic harmonization and free trade relations among member states that will bring progress and development in the entire continent. The study relies on secondary sources of data as veritable tools for its analysis. Objective of the study is to ensure progress, stability, and development in Africa. The gap of the study is that Africa should be self-reliant economically so as to stand tall among comity of nations. The theoretical framework for this study is the liberal institutionalism. Further findings reveal that ECOWAS was formed to achieve economic harmonization and free trade relations among member states, solidarity, self-reliance, coordination of national policies, non-aggression among member states, maintenance of regional peace and stability, promotion and recognition of human rights in accordance with the provision of the Charter on Human and Peoples Rights, transparency and accountability, good governance, trade liberalization, harmonization and cooperation of national policies and the promotion of programs, projects and activities particularly in food, agriculture, and natural resources. The study concludes that Africa is yet to attain full development through the instrumentality of ECOWAS. The study recommends that the overall objective for the formation of ECOWAS which is to develop the sub-region should be aggressively pursued and achieved by ECOWAS leaders in the interest of Africa and Africans.

Introduction

The study of international organizations dates back to 1800 when Professor of Law named J. Lorimar at Edinburgh University coined the term “international organization” the study gained currency since then and other disciplines embraced it because of its importance and contribution to them. Economists, sociologists, anthropologists recognized the study of international relations and the close relationship between them is made known through the works of Clive Archer who gave particular considerations to the constitution of international organizations, their legal personalities and institutional problems. (Archer, 2001)

International organizations have specific objectives that they pursue and these objectives range from political interest to economic, social and even environmental interest. In Africa, international organizations most a times come up with their own agendas completely disregarding the needs of the people they try to represent. The post-cold war era witnessed high proliferations of international organizations making their entry into Africa because the continent is rich in raw materials and it's touted to be the fastest growing continent in the world both in population and wealth creation. An upsurge was also witnessed in the formation of regional organizations mostly seeking to consolidate their gains occasioned by the economies of scale in markets and expand their influence at the international forum.(Archer, 2001) In May, 1975, fifteen (15) West African countries in Lagos, Nigeria signed a treaty that created the Economic Community of West African State (ECOWAS) and Nigeria played a key role in the intensive three-year diplomatic activities that culminated in ECOWAS. Since its creation, ECOWAS has faced a lot of political, economic and security challenges from the states that makeup this organisation. For instance, weak state structures, poverty, technological backwardness, low level of the development productive forces, her position in the international division of labour (globalization) (Lawrence,(2008)

ECOWAS was set to achieve economic harmonization, coordination of national policies, solidarity, self-reliance, non-aggression among member-states, maintenance of regional peace and stability, promotion and recognition of human rights in accordance with the provision of charter on Human and Peoples Rights. (Lawrence, 2008)

Statistics has shown that since 1999 Nigeria has been actively involved in the promotion of West African Sub-Region through the instrumentality of ECOWAS..The struggle over available scarce resources unending hostility in the international arena have forced many countries into multilateral relationships that will promote their interests and Nigeria's participation in the regional organization is a clear demonstration of this fact. The role Nigeria plays is basically to ensure the realization of the aims and objectives of ECOWAS in the shortest possible time and in the best interest of the people of the continent. To say the least, Nigeria intends that African should develop and be on the same page with other developed nations of the world such that her poverty and dependency status should become history (Duffield, 2007).

Research Objectives

The study is predicated on the following research objectives:

- 1) Examine the role of international organizations with particular reference to ECOWAS.
- 2) Evaluate the role of ECOWAS in the realization of economic harmonization free trade relations and stability of the continent.
- 3) Identify efforts made by African leaders to develop the continent.

Methodology

The study examine the role of Nigeria in international organizations with particular reference to ECOWAS. Data for the study were sourced mainly from magazines, journals, newspapers, periodicals, internet, encyclopedia, textbooks, published articles and seminar presentations, quoted speeches among others. The essence is to avail readers the opportunity of assessing the views of authorities cited in the literature review since methodology outlines the step-by-step details of the procedures followed in carrying out a research.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework used for this work is liberal institutionalism. This tool of analysis is quite relevant here because it focuses on specialized international agencies as main actors in international politics. Also, liberalism, a subset of international relations posits that morality, law and international organizations can indeed set the basis for relations between states. Goldstein and Pevehouse(2007) assert that cooperation among states is possible and there is a possibility of states acting as community rather than autonomous unit. Even through realism argues that international system is anarchical in nature and states pursue self- interests, but Neo-liberalism, a critique that emerged in the 1980s, debunked this view

held by the realists rather, it lays emphasis on international institutions as means of reducing conflicts. This school of thought believes that it is rational, better and there is complete correctness to seek mutual and long-term gains rather than maximizing short-term gains hence the term liberal institutionalism (Goldstein and Jon, 2007)

According to Sands and Klein(2009) formal institutions can ensure international cooperation and this is because they consist of rules, regulations, norms and procedures of decision-making where states with the objective of maximizing their interests would converge. One of the traditional tenets of neo-liberalism is to enhance economic and environmental cooperation, it equally have the objective of analysing the behavior of states and international system.

According to Griffin (2003) liberal institutionalism posits that an increase in economic contacts between the states have led to a dependence among them in order to achieve national objective of growth, full employment and price stability because it views states as equal partners with the objective of securing the well -being of their citizenry. It argues further that specialized agencies can enhance cooperation between states. Thus, ECOWAS from the neo-liberal perspective can act as a strong regional ally of states towards meeting their economic objectives within the region. The main goal of liberal institutionalism is the establishment of peace; this led to the creation of the League of Nations even though it did not produce the desired global peace it was established for.(Rochester, 19886)

We have come to the realization that liberal institutionalism has the tendency to promote economic cooperation , encourage integration among states, remove trade barriers, reduce conflicts among member states and recognizes the existence of an international organization as main actor in international politics. ECOWAS properly fits in here because it encourages integration among member states. We learn from the theory that there can be increased relations in the international system it also shows the importance of international organizations in the world's politics. For example, because of the establishment of the United Nations as an international organization, a regional economic cooperation for the purpose of integration has gone a way in reducing conflicts among states as a result of trade relations with one another and members have achieved national objectives of growth, full employment and price stability. This is why ECOWAS is charged with the responsibility of ensuring free movement of people and goods, smooth trade relations as well as peace and security within the region.(ECOWAS

Conceptual Clarifications

International Organization:Merchi (1997) refers to an organization with international membership, scope and presence. They are of two types mainly (1) International Non-Governmental Organizations' (INGOs) that operate internationally. These include international-non-profit organizations and world-wide-companies such as International Committee of Red Cross and Medicines and (2) International Governmental Organizations (IGO) that are made up primarily of sovereign States. Notable examples include the United Nations Organization (UN) International Labour Organization (ILO) International Police Organization (INTERPOL), Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) African Union (AU) European Union (EU) New Partnership for African's Development (NEPAD) (Buchanan and Koehane, 2006)

An international organization could also be defined as a forum of cooperation of sovereign states based on multilateral relations and comprising of a relatively stable range of participants, the fundamental feature of which is the permanent organs with definite competences and powers acting for the carrying out of common aims. (Marchi, 1997) Hanriender (1998) defines international organization as an institution agreement between members of an international system in order to achieve objectives according to systematic conditions reflecting attributes, aspirations and concerns of its members. And what gives their basic rule is the sovereignty of the nation-state. (Barkin and Cronin, 2009)

International organization are important actors in the critical episodes of international politics with power in mediation, dispute resolution, peace keeping, application of sanctions and others. They also help in managing Key areas of international concerns from global health policy to monetary policies around the world. (Abbott and Snidal, 1998)

International Law Commission (ILC) of the UN defines international organization as an organization established by a treaty or other instruments governed by international law and possessing its own international personality. I.O may include members, states and other entities. Duffield (2007) posits that. International organizations are a relatively stable set of related constitutive, regulative and procedural norms that pertain to international system (including states and non-state actors) and their activities. (Duffield, 2007)

ECOWAS, this is an acronym for Economic Community of West African States. This concept does not lend itself to definitional parameter as such and so we will rather try to emphasize its aims and objectives. The primary objective of ECOWAS is the creation of economic and monetary union covering all West African States by integrating different levels of socio-economic, political and cultural activities. The main decision-making body of the community responsible for implementing the statutory objective of this organization is the authority of the Heads of State and Government which lays the direction of its development and the control of adopted provisions(Dufied, 2000)

It places emphasis on peace, stability and security, the promotion of democratic principles, popular participation and good governance. Promotion and protection of human and people's rights and other relevant human rights instruments to establish necessary conditions that will enable the continent play its rightful in the global economy and international negotiations. It also aims to promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economics. To promote cooperation in all fields of human activities and to raise the living standard of African people and to coordinate and harmonize policies between the existing and future regional Economic Communities for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the organization that will result in greater unity and solidarity between African countries and Africans.

Review of Related Literature

Reasons for States' Membership of International Organisations

States use international organizations as engines for cooperation. States have the capacity to limit or expand their autonomy, interfering in their activities, restructure or dissolve them, and sometimes they collide with the sovereignty of states when they create new structures for regulating cross-border relationships hence independence of these organizations depend on the states. (Hanrieder, 1966)

Another major reason why states want to be part of international organizations is the fact that they delegate authority in matters that require expertise, knowledge, information, time and resources that are not available all the time. (Hanrieder, 1966).

Another cogent reason for states membership of international organization is that they complement national prevailing paradigm being an expression of de-nationalization policies. It undermines national decisions using the principle of international cooperation. There is centralization of power and decision-making autonomy having political effects beyond the simple effectiveness of the already decisions taken. (Ostrom, 1990)

According to Ostrom (1990) international organizations carry out activities that enjoy a sort of legitimacy which affects states legitimacy as well. These organizations provide for a neutral, depoliticized and specific discussion in a more effective way than any other agreement. They outline specific terms of the on-going interactions between states and try to balance the relationship between the stronger and weaker states and between interests and knowledge (Ostrom, 1990)

The way international organizations are organized and structured influence the evolution of inter-state cooperation. Even though most organizations perform functions to support cooperation between conferences dealing with very important issues as well as implementing a set of regulations, however, to maintain international standards in international relations it is an exclusive preserve of the heads of state. (Dowling, 2000)

Posits that international organizations enjoy special legal status under international law illustrated by international personality they have so as to function effectively and independently from the member states involved in the organization. And for it to function freely in international arena on behalf of the states that created it on specific issues such as environment, peace and security or human rights, it should have legal standing; operate independently without direct influence of individual states. (Dowling, 2002)

Characteristics of International Organizations

According to the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaty (1969) the establishment of an international organization by an international agreement is preferably the use of treaty. A treaty is an international agreement governed by international law and it provides the organization with basic and legal document governing its creation. There are four basic characteristics of an international organization:

1. From the creation
2. From the membership
3. The body of law governing the organization
4. Its basic structure. When the entity is established by a treaty, it qualifies it as a constituted document and the fact that such an organization should be created only by an international organization indicates that it is not possible for private parties to create it. (Amerasinghe, 2005)

Amerasinghe (2005) posits that there is a characteristic that deals with parties to the initial agreement and parties to the international organization itself. Here international agreement must be concluded between states and or other international organizations also, membership of entity must consist primarily of the states and international organization since such an organization is established by the will of the states. There are numerous entities created within the framework of an international organization for instance, those created by virtue of United Nations Security Council Resolution under Chapter VII. However, such entities do not constitute international organizations in strict legal sense.

Sands and Klobber (2009) argued that it is the membership of international legal persons that gives the international organization its legitimacy that is why the entity must have states or international organization as its members instead of national legal persons such as corporations or NGOs. This is the characteristic that deals with the form or nature of membership and the main reason behind this is that, an entity cannot create another entity with more powers than itself.

According to Klabber (2009) one basic characteristics of an international organization is that the entity must be governed by law and not by a specific national legal system and so if an international agreement provides for the creation of an entity, it is not an international organization unless it has international legal personality. The characteristics which deals with the structure of an international organization says that if an entity is separate and independent of its members, it might be assumed according to its separate statuses and independence that it possesses some degree of international legal personality separate from its members that qualifies it become an international organization. (Schemes and Blokker, 2003). International Labour Organization (ILO) (1959) posits that treaty making international organizations necessarily enjoy international legal personality but not all international organizations with international legal personality have treaty making powers.

Nigeria and the Formation of ECOWAS

ECOWAS is made up of fifteen member countries located in West African region namely; Cape Verde, Guinea, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Togo, Burkina Faso, Mail, Niger, Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea Bissau, Gambia, Nigeria and Benin. Nigerian's Active involvement in the formation of ECOWAS is motivated by certain imperatives that govern the conceptualization and conduct of the country's foreign policy towards her regional neighbours such as defense and protection of Nigeria's territorial integrity and sovereignty from both internal and external aggression, peaceful co-existence, friendship with countries it shares contiguous boundaries (be it land or water), and her concern about stability and economic integration in the West African sub-region. These interlocking and conterminous elements coupled with

the ever growing population of the country defined the behaviour and realistic analysis of Nigeria's role in the sub-regional integration process. (Bassy and Nyonge, 2012)

Another reason for Nigeria's vested interest in the formation of ECOWAS is her quest for a sub-regional security. What happens during the Nigeria's civil war became an eye opener to her leaders concerning her security, for instance, the vulnerability of Nigeria to her neighbouring countries, especially the Francophone countries aided by French government worth mentioning. During the war, Cote d' Ivoire, a Francophone country, recognized the state of Biafra while Benin and Chad under the influence of France, gave secret support to the secessionist Biafran state. Soon after the war Gowon administration aware of the security leak and threat Nigeria's close neighbours posed to her existence, initiated a platform that would unite Nigeria and other countries in the sub-region and negotiations thereafter culminated in the formation of ECOWAS in 1975 (Asiwaju, 1984)

To protect Nigeria from external aggression is another reason. This necessitated her mobilizing ECOWAS member states to invoke the 1981 Protocol on Mutual Assistance in Defense to deal with external threats and aggressions in the light of cold war realities to intervene in the Liberian Civil War and other subsequent interventions in Sierra Leone and Cote d' Ivoire. (Asiwaju, 1984)

Economic reason is another very important one. With her huge population and resources, Nigeria's domestic market makes it a regional economic power. Benevolently and graciously enough, Nigeria made the sale of oil at concessionary prices to poor ECOWAS member states to cushion the effect of the hardship precipitated by the global economic crisis of the early 1970s, thus, enhancing the country's position and influence in its efforts towards achieving sub – regional integration. (Nwoke, 2005).

FIGURE1:Showing Organizational Structure of ECOWAS

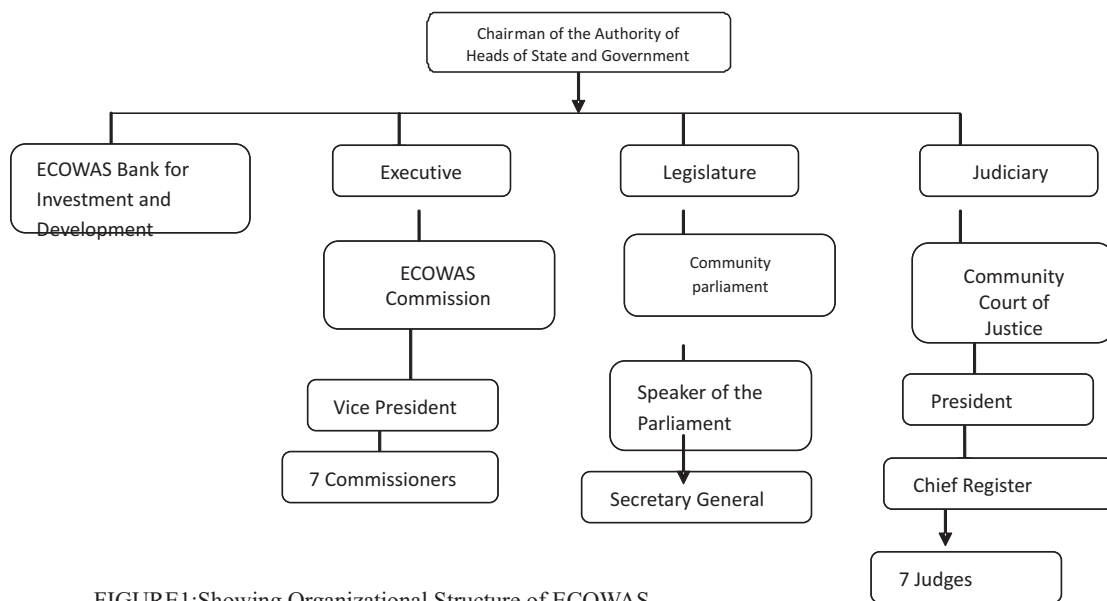


FIGURE1:Showing Organizational Structure of ECOWAS

Source: www.ecowas.int/org-structure

Table 1: Showing Members States and Parliamentary Seats

Benin	5
Burkina Faso	6
Cape Verde	5
Cote d' Ivoire	7
Gambia	5
Ghana	8
Guinea	5
Guinea-Bissau	5
Liberia	5
Mali	6
Niger	6
Nigeria	35
Senegal	6
Sierra Leone	5
Togo	5

Source: International Democracy Watch.Org/Index.

Table 1: Showing Members States and Parliamentary Seats

The parliament has 115 seats and each of the 15 member states has at least 5 seats, the rest is shared according to population.

Nigeria's Commitment to ECOWAS Objectives

Nigerian leaders at different times have shown commitment to ECOWAS objectives at varying degrees. For example, the administration of General .Gowon recommended long -term goal which involved per man sacrifice without any benefit in return but Obasanjo whose tenure as military head of state spanned between 1976 and 1979, with pronounced nationalistic fervor pushed away the long – term goals and spirit of permanent sacrifice of Gowon administration and began to press for immediate benefits that will accrue to Nigeria in the integration process first Obasanjo raised an objection to a situation where by Nigeria was contributing over 35% of the organization annual budget and it was immediately reduced to 25% Obasanjo also emphasized the need for a benefit that is commensurate with the burden borne by Nigeria towards the realization of ECOWAS objectives. This made him to suggest that ECOWAS headquarters be built in Nigeria despite earlier agreement by Gen. Gowon and president Eyadema that it should be located in Togo new

Obasanjo argued that whatever policy Nigeria is pursuing in ECOWAS and in the sub- region must benefit the country and its people. This conclusion also made him to formulate more stringent criteria for providing aid to West African countries these new criteria were as follows: Promotion of National interest 45%, taking into account high and middle level manpower in Nigeria 20%, contributing to national economy and creating productive capacity for Nigeria 25%.Providing relief during disasters and national emergencies in the recipient country 10%. In sum, the spirit of sacrifices and selflessness which characterized Gowon's administration for ECOWAS project was completely absent in Obasanjo's military regime. (Bolarinwa, 2005)

The different posture from Obasanjo's regime continued with Shagari and Buhari governments. President Shagari for instance embarked on mass expulsion of large number of West Africans described as “illegal aliens” in response to the fundamental structural crisis in which Nigeria was enmeshed in 1983. The anti-regionalism stance was given a military flavour in April, 1984; Buhari closed all Nigeria's land borders.

The border remained closed for two years and the measure was justified in terms of the exercise of changing the currency which was an anti-smuggling policy and a response to other criminal practices that were sabotaging Nigeria economy. (Dauda, 2013)

According to Dauda (2013) the same Buhari administration banned food export to ECOWAS member states and halted trade relations with her Western neighbours such as Benin, Togo and Ghana which has serious impact on them. This situation was further aggravated when in May 1985, the Buhari administration embarked on mass expulsion of about one million illegal aliens mostly of Ghanaian origin. The action of Shagari and Buhari were revisited by the Babangida regime on August 26th 1986 in the interest of these neighbours this time around.

In the final analysis therefore, despite the ambivalence of some Nigerian leaders towards ECOWAS some years back, ECOWAS provides Nigerian government the platform that promotes her socio-cultural, political and economic interests. Equally true is the sub-region has enabled ECOWAS to effectively respond to inter-state conflicts in West Africa. The formation of ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) through the initiative of the Nigeria's Head of State Gen. Babangida in 1980, was instrumental for curbing conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone. This conflict mediating strategy contained under Abacha and Abdulsalami administration respectively. (Dauda, 2013)

Continuity and Change in Nigeria-ECOWAS Relations since 1999:

There is no falsehood asserting that in international politics foreign policy is an extension of domestic politics. This is particularly true because the impact of domestic politics after 1999 had tremendous impact on the way and manner Nigeria conducted her external affairs with ECOWAS. Unlike the military juntas of Babangida, Buhari and Abdulsalami when Nigeria bore ECOWAS's burden with military interventions in Liberia and Sierra Leone, the country's approach towards similar developments from 1999 has been markedly different under President Obasanjo, Yar'Adua and Jonathan. The reason behind this is that democratic and civilian regimes are more vulnerable to pressures from public opinion, parliament and the press than from military regime. (ECOWAS, 1999)

In the three successive administrations of Obasanjo, Yar'Adua and Jonathan, Nigeria played a major role in solving the crisis in Cote d'Ivoire when the incumbent leader Laurent Gbagbo refused to hand over power to Alassane Ouattara after the latter's electoral victory in November, 2011. President Obasanjo collaborated with his Ghanaian counterpart President John Kuffor to resolve the conflict, ensured that Nigeria's should only be diplomatic in nature. As a result, when the sub-regional organization decided to send one hundred and fifty (150) strong forces to join French peace-keepers in Cote d'Ivoire in January, 2003, Nigeria declined to participate in the operation consequently, ECOWAS troops came only from Benin, Gambia, Niger, Ghana and Togo. In a related development Nigeria refused to feed her forces in ECOWAS led military operation in Guinea-Bissau but resorted to diplomatic approach. The absence of a regional hegemon (Nigeria) from ECOMOG was responsible for the premature termination of the operation just after a period of four (4) months (Osunkotun, 2015).

Many reasons could be advanced for the differences in approach to ECOWAS' matters under Obasanjo, Yar'Adua and Jonathan, firstly, at this time Nigeria already had many internal problems, prominent among them was the Boko Haram insurgency. Secondly, both President Yar'Adua and Jonathan experienced diverse problems in securing their mandates and so they were preoccupied with establishing their legitimacy and promoting national peace and stability. Under these circumstances therefore, the logical option was only to be diplomatically involved in resolving conflicts in the sub-region (Aworawo, 2011)

Apart from her non-military involvement, diplomatically the country dropped her leadership role. For instance, it was France that helped to negotiate the Linas Marcoussis Accord in January, 2003. Ghana also participated in the negotiations that led to the signing of the Accra III Agreement in 2003. Also as Ivorian crisis lingered, South African President Tabo Mbeki took the lead in organizing an AU- sponsored peace

talk among Ivorian leaders, leading to the signing of the Pretoria Agreement in April, 2005. Even much less powerful African state like Burkina Faso's President Blaise Campaore organized negotiations leading to the conclusion of Ougadougou Agreement in March, 2007. Just as the Togolese leader President Gnassingbe Eyadema did in 2001. None of these negotiations was organized by Nigerian leaders except under the auspices of ECOWAS or the African Union (AU). This has led to the conclusion by analysts and scholars that Nigerian behaviour towards ECOWAS changed drastically during Obasanjo's administration (Aworawo, 2011)

Despite the country's diplomatic stance, Nigeria took a position that demonstrated commitment by insisting that Ivorians should have a democratically elected government that should be committed to the rule of law and condemned Guei's military coup of 1999 which was an attempt to truncate democratic process in 2000. Nigeria also asked Laurent Gbagbo to respect Ivorian opinion by handing over power to Alassane Ouattara, winner of the 2010 presidential election. (Aworawo, 2011)

In the area of trade, Nigeria has the largest trade volume within the sub-region and has equally promoted intra-regional trade with ECOWAS member states since the beginning of the Forth Republic. Nigeria's major trading commodities in the international market is the crude oil and ECOWAS member states consume less than 10% of the product this has accounted for low trading between Nigeria and ECOWAS since 1999. Nigerian's export to ECOWAS region which averaged about 7% of its total export between 2001 and 2006 plummeted to 2.3% in 2010. The share of other ECOWAS countries in Nigeria's imports also dropped from 4.4% in 2009 and plummeted to less than 0.5% in 2010. Thus, only 2% of Nigeria's total imports are within the region making it difficult for Nigeria to use ECOWAS markets as catalyst for her economic development. (Nwokoma, 2009)

In the area of telecommunication, Nigeria has since the dawn of the new millennium benefited from investments across the sub-region. For example, the Globacom owned by Nigeria not only provided telecommunication services to Nigeria but also to some West African countries such as Ghana and Benin Republic. Thus economic advantages of ECOWAS for Nigeria could have been many if properly harnessed, but it's unfortunate that Nigerian leaders are not showing enough commitment to actualize it by using ECOWAS to develop her economy. Also the idea of focusing mainly on crude oil as her economic mainstay without proper diversification, and the absence of stable power supply are strong reasons why Nigeria is struggling economically to assert herself in the sub-region. But Nigerian state, her citizenry and business organizations will only benefit maximally from the region when ECOWAS is fully explored as a springboard for economic development. (Mohammed, 2006)

ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS)

According to ECOWAS Reviewed Treaty (ERT) the aims and objectives of ECOWAS are the promotion, cooperation and integration leading to the establishment of an Economic Union in West Africa in order to raise the living standard of its people and contribute to the progress and development of the entire continent. To realize these objectives, ECOWAS should ensure the harmonization and cooperation of national policies and the promotion of integration programs, projects and activities particularly in food, agriculture and national resources, industry, transportation, communications, energy, trade, money and finance, taxation, economic reform policies, education, information, culture, science, technology, health, tourism and legal matters. The establishment of common market is one of the steps taken by Nigeria and some West African countries in achieving the objectives. This treaty recommends abolition of custom duties levied on imports and exports and approves non-tariff barriers in order to establish a free trade area in the sub-region (ECOWAS, 1991). The second strategy is the adoption of external tariff and common trade policy with other third world countries. The third strategy is the removal of obstacles to ensure free movement of persons, goods, services, capital as well as right of resident and establishment. (ECOWAS, 2000)

The ETLS dates back to June, 1989 when in Ouagadougou, the West African Heads of State and Government under the Nigeria's initiative that places topmost priority on the development of intra-community trade came together to establish it. As part of implementing strategy, member states were grouped into three(3) based on their level of industrialization. And in order to eliminate tariff barriers, goods have been classified into 3 board groups namely; handicraft products, unprocessed goods and industrial products. The numbers of industrial goods approved to benefit from the ETLS were increased from 25 in 1990 to 142 in 1994. By December 2000, the ECOWAS Council of Ministers approved about 200 additional enterprises and products to benefit from the ETLS and some of Nigeria's approved products included: fatty acids, soaps, hair dressing products, skin care products, perfumes, electrical materials, plastic materials, tiling materials, palm oil, table and kitchen wares, others were foot wears, aluminum-zinc alloys, cement, bear and beverages, orange and pineapple juice, plywood, medicament, disinfectants, air conditioning machines, synthetic fibers, folding cartons and boxes. Palm kernel, crude oil, sheet of asbestos, cement, reservoir tanks, corrugated paper and sacks (ECOWAS, 2000). Member states are compensated through ECOWAS funds for loss of customs revenue because of the ETLS intra-community trade in industrial products and Nigeria makes the highest contribution to this budget since she also drives huge revenue accruing from export duties, all things equal. (ECOWAS, 1990)

Before the formation of ECOWAS in 1975, the freedom of movement, residence and establishment had no legal backing but the Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS approved this protocol (ECOWAS protocol in 1999) for these freedoms in Dakar Senegal on May 20th 1979, recognizing the fact that freedom of movement is one of the inalienable fundamental rights that could enhance development in the sub-region. The protocol provides that the right of entry, residence and establishment shall be accepted in three phases namely;

Phase 1: Right of Entry and Abolition of Visa

Phase 2: Right of Residence

Phase 3: Right of Establishment

Abolition of Visa and entry permits by member states were introduced in 1980. Citizens can now go on short term visit to member states and stay up to 90 days without visa or any entry permit. The right of residence which is the second phase came into force in 1989. But contrary to the spirit of this integration, Nigeria expelled about 3 million illegal aliens mostly community citizens from 1983-1985. Despite the fact that Article 14 of September Protocol A/SPI/7/8/86 provides that any form of expulsion must be according to the law, Nigeria claimed that it was based on economic and security reasons. (ECOWAS, 1990)

Monetary cooperation programme is another vital area of economic cooperation and sustainable development which Nigeria is seriously tackling. This refers to the harmonization of national monetary systems common management institution, facilitating regional trade transactions by improving and strengthening multilateral regional payments and clearing system of West African Clearing House, achieve regional currency convertibility and to establish a single monetary zone in place of 10 currency zones. This was adopted in Abuja Nigeria, in 1987 by the authority of the Heads of State and Government. (ECOWAS, 1994)

Conclusion

The main objective of the study has been to identify efforts made by African leaders to bring about development in the continent. Consequent upon the findings of the study, the following conclusions have been drawn.

The main objective of economic harmonization and free trade relations among member states for which ECOWAS was formed are yet to be realized. Africa is yet to witness complete peace through the instrumentality of ECOWAS. We discovered that the rate at which African leaders seeks foreign loans, aid

and grants are on the increase and this not good for the continent because they are capable of sinking the continent into greater dependency. Political and economic problems faced by ECOWAS are yet to be completely resolved for development to take place in the continent.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the discussions involved and the conclusions thereafter drawn, the following recommendations are proposed: African leaders should strive to achieve objectives identified by ECOWAS Review Treaty so that they do not just become mere declarations of intentions. The objective of economic harmonization and free trade relations among ECOWAS member states should be achieved by African leaders. As good as it is to develop the sub-region national objectives should be promoted over and above regional objectives. The overall aim for the formation of ECOWAS by the states that came together to form it which is the development of the sub-region, should be pursued with utmost sincerity. African countries should embark on educational system that emphasizes science and technology that will ensure high level of the development of productive forces, only then can we compete favorably in the global market.

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VOTING PATTERN AND THE CHALLENGE OF DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION: A STUDY OF THE 2019 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

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Abstract

This study adopts qualitative method of data analysis and elite theory to examine the voting pattern in the just concluded 2019 presidential elections and to link it to Nigeria's democratic consolidation as a pathway to growth and development. The 2019 presidential elections was globally acknowledged as free and fair, yet, it came with a lot of challenges, not quite different from the type witnessed in previous elections. The 2019 presidential elections remind political observers about the deep rooted divide and polarization found within the Nigerian polity. Consequently, this paper argues that, religion, ethnicity and money played a very important role in determining the pattern to which voters tilted their votes. Finally, the study recommends among other things that Politician should avoid using religion and ethnicity and money to play on the sentiments of the electorates; rather, they should focus on issue-based campaigns when they go to canvass for votes and Our election commission must improve its capacity to deliver credible elections and our political *parties must play according to the rules*.

Keywords: Election, voting behavior, ethnicity, religion.

Introduction:

Nigerian politics from pre-independence right into independence was regional and ethnic based. This same pattern was observed in the subsequent republics that emerged as a result of different military interregnums the country suffered which further created blocks of tribalism, religiosity, favoritism and nepotism among others.

Similarly, Ibrahim, Liman&Mato (2015) observed that Nigeria has been a country characterized by great history and great people of divergent culture and traditional values. These have initially been adopted to maintain unity in diversity and a strong federal constitution. But one major obstacle that has been in

Nigerian federation is ethnicity, tribalism, regionalism and strong religious affiliations that embedded the political system, democratic processes, the civil service and even the economic sphere of the country (relating to employment, banking sector and other financial agencies and institutions).

At the inception of the fourth republic in 1999, these negative cultures were transferred from our hitherto defunct third republics into our body polity. It was expected that at the beginning of the new republic in 1999, Nigeria would be ushered into a new paradigm, unfortunately, just like in the first republic and the formation of political parties of the NCNC, AG and NPC, the second republic and fourth had the same level of party coloration. The trajectory and evolution of political party development in the fourth republic toed similar ethnic and religious coloration. The PDP gained extreme acceptance from the eastern part, so was APGA which was founded by the late Igbo conduit and leader of the defunct Biafra state OdumegwuOjukwu, the ANPP and later CPC and the AD were more popular in the northern and western regions in the country respectively. Aside these, transactional politics (money politics) characterized by votes buying and selling, election rigging, thuggery, political assassination, ballot snatching etc... have also formed part of the electioneering process in Nigeria.

Yakubu& Ali (2017) observed that, the history of presidential elections in Nigeria have taken place eleven times; twice during the First Republic, twice during the Second Republic, once in an aborted Third Republic and six times in the present Fourth Republic, they observed that these elections have been characterized with impunity, religious bias, ethnicity, regionalism, tribalism and rigging. Interestingly, at each election electioneering period, many of the aforementioned factors have determined to a very great extent the voting pattern of Nigerians, chief among these factors have been ethnicity and religion.

Similarly, Olayode (2015), Metumara (2010), &Rufa"I (2011) in Yakubu& Ali (2017)observed thatelections in Nigeria are marred with a political behaviour of rigging, the manipulation of religion, ethnicity, regionalism and nepotism. Votersare voting during elections based on their affinity with leaders that belong to the same religious groups, ethnic cleavages, region and other sentiment, this is because, when voting patterns are observed during elections, southerners are more likely to vote for fellow southerners and vice versa. Elections were marred with the culture of rigging, malpractices, intimidation of both voters and opposition, use of violence and political thuggery(Olayode (2015), Metumara (2010), &Rufa"I (2011) in Yakubu& Ali (2017). This at times invited military to overthrow the civilian regimes. This process led to many Republics in the country emerging and disappearing constantly.

Mudasiru (2015) observed that ethnicity has always been a factor in Nigeria's politics. It is why Ibrahim, Liman&Mato (2015)argued that“parties in democratic politics are analogous to entrepreneurs in a profit-seeking economy. So as, to attain their private ends, they formulate whatever policies they believe will gain the most votes, just as entrepreneurs produce whatever products they believe will gain the most profits for the same reason”.

This paper examined the voting pattern in the just concluded 2019 presidential elections and attempts to link it to Nigeria's democratic consolidation. To do this, the paper made clarification on the concept of election viz a viz political behavior, used the elite theory to create a basis for the paper, discussed the crux of the matter as regards the voting pattern in the 2019 presidential election and came out with sustainable recommendations going forward.

Methodology

This paper is based entirely on secondary sources of data. These sources include relevant textbooks, journals, articles and online materials on the 2019 general elections in Nigeria; therefore, conclusion emerged from content analysis. Content analysis is a research technique used to make replicable and valid inferences and coding textual material by systematically evaluating text (Content analysis as a research technique, n.d.).

Theoretical Framework

This research adopts the Elite theory of power. This theory can be traced back to the 19th century and was popularized by Gaetano Mosca, Vilfredo Pareto, and Roberto Michels (Elite Theory, 2016). The elite theory accepts a broad division of society into dominant and dependent groups. To this school, the people are necessarily divided into two groups; the rulers and the ruled. The ruling class controls most of the wealth, power and prestige in society and exercises it, in whatever form of government might be adopted. Michels for instance insisted that majority of human beings are apathetic, indolent and slavish and they are permanently incapable of self-government. Leaders take advantage of these qualities to perpetuate themselves in power. They employ all kinds of methods; oratory, persuasions, playing upon sentiment in order to fool them (Elite Theory, 2016).

Applied to the context of this paper, it can be observed that the behavior and character of the Nigerian political elites over the years have demonstrated their nonchalant attitude, their lack of patriotism, their ineptitude and their disdain for the followership class, this is the reason they continue to employ any form of divisive strategy and tact to woo the people during electioneering periods without minding the negative aftermath of these kinds of tact afterwards. The reason they mostly use ethnicity, religiosity and non-conventional forms to acquire power.

It is aligning to this that Sanusi (1999) opined that “this nation has the misfortune of having produced an elite whose selfishness and greed know no bounds. Unless they are able to agree on how to accommodate each other they are willing to tear this country apart and lead us into a meaningless war”. He argues further that “when we blame our elite for ethnic chauvinism and religious intolerance, therefore, we blame them, not for the caducity, but for the endurance of these reactionary ideologies. The tragedy of Nigeria does not lie in its diversity, or in its population, or in its resources. Our tragedy lies in the lack of a truly nationalist and visionary leadership, an elite that harnesses the diverse streams that flow into the melting pot called Nigeria” (Sanusi, 1999).

Conceptual Clarification

Election:

Election has become the most acceptable means of changing leadership in any given political system. There are elements that make electorates vote or not to vote in an election. These elements are different and dependent on the socio-cultural, economic, and political background of the nation and voters at one point or the other. In Nigeria, this is rampant, not necessarily because the electorates are apolitical, but the circumstances and the ways in which the context are fixed, forced them to accommodate other considerations (Iwundu, 2011).

Election is a formal decision making process by which a population chooses an individual to hold public office (Wikipedia, 2015). Elections constitute an important element in liberal democracy. They are a viable means of ensuring the orderly process of leadership succession and change and an instrument of political authority and legitimation (Adejumobi, 2000).

Elections are instruments of democracy to the degree that they give the people influence over policy making. One of the fundamental roles of elections is the evaluation of the incumbent government. Citizens use elections to reward or punish the incumbents (Powell 2000 in Cho 2007).

Elections according to Free Black Law Online Dictionary is the “act of choosing or selecting one or more from a greater number of person, things courses or rights. The choice of an alternative. Election is the internal, free, and spontaneous separation of one thing from another, without compulsion, consisting in intention of will. Election is also the selection of one man from among several candidates to discharge certain duties in a state, corporation or society (Free Black Online Dictionary, 2015).

Political Behaviour

Settle (2014) argues that Political behavior is the study of the way people think, feel, and act with regard to politics. It touches on the major areas including public opinion, ideology, partisanship, political knowledge, participation, campaigns, the media, and polarization.

Similarly, Sule, Sani & Mat (2017) opined that Political behaviour is a view that there is no polity without a belief system inherent in the people. The rising and the falling of a polity is a product of a kind of political beliefs, dispositions, and orientations that run in the psyche of the people and their leaders. Further, they argue that Political Behaviour determines electoral process and voting pattern in every democratic regime. In Nigeria, the political and socioeconomic settings as well as historical background of the country shaped the behaviour and voting pattern of the electorates in the Presidential elections that took place in the history of the state so far. Having conceptualized election and political behavior, it is now time to look at the crux of the matter.

Voting

According to Alonge (2005) Election is the mode of selecting representatives into the legislature or executive arms of government.

Democratic consolidation

According to Schedler (1998) Democratic consolidation can be as the challenge of securing and extending the life expectancy of new democracies, of building immunity against the threat of regression to authoritarianism and reverse waves.

Ademola (2011) defines democratic consolidation as an identifiable phase in the process of transition from authoritarian to democratic system that is critical to the establishment of a stable, institutional and lasting democracy.

Summarily, Ogunidiya (2009) summarizes democratic consolidation as maintenance of regime regarding the key political institution as the only legitimate framework for political contestation and adherence to the democratic rules of the game.

Voting Pattern and the Challenge of Democratic Consolidation:

Before we delve into discussing the 2019 presidential elections, it is imperative to reflect previous elections. Olowojolu (2015) opined that, the political parties that emerged shortly before 1979 General Elections also followed the patterns of Nigeria's First Republic. The National Party of Nigeria was the successor party to the defunct NPC. The Unity Party of Nigeria rode on the success of AG in Western Nigeria, while the Nigerian People's Party (NPP) took the baton of Eastern region politics from NCNC. Results of the Presidential Elections of 1979 and 1983 respectively showed that Nigerians voted along ethno-religious configurations. The 2011 Election epitomized ethno-religious divide in Nigeria. The emergence of President Goodluck Jonathan from the Christian South- South minority ethnic group sparked large scale violence in the Muslim dominated Northern states of Nigeria. Several Christians and Southerners were unjustly killed after the announcement of the results. The aforementioned was not far fetched during the build up to the 2015 general elections as top politicians were seen to have used religion and ethnicity as propaganda in order to appeal to the consciousness of Nigerians (Olowojolu, 2015).

The 2019 presidential elections came with a lot of challenges, not quite different from the type witnessed in previous elections; however, the 2019 presidential elections continue to remind political watchers about the deep rooted divide and polarization found in the Nigerian body polity. Religion, ethnicity and money played a very important role in determining the pattern to which voters tilted their votes. The problem with the aforementioned is the challenge it poses to the democratic process and consolidation in Nigeria. It can be observed from the voting pattern as seen in the map showing voting pattern below the sentiments and loyalties of voters during the 2019 presidential elections.

Nigerian election results

Winning party in each state

■ APC ■ PDP



Source: INEC

BBC

Ukiwo (2004) observed that since Nigeria's political independence in 1960, ethno-religious factor determines largely who becomes what in Nigerian politics. Similarly, Onapajo (2012) believed that Nigerians are more loyal to religion than state. This according to him can be observed from the trend of what he termed "Religiosity of politics" where religious affinity determines the outcome of election in a democratic dispensation. This affects voting behaviour of the electorates and one can never imagine doing away with the influence of religion in Nigerian election. Very important to note is the very peculiar situation of the 2019 presidential elections as both presidential candidates were northerners and Muslim. The usual pattern that accompanies the north-south divide was taken off the table and the voters had to look at other parameters to watch out for like who were the running mates, who were the religious leaders supporting as better "religious" persons.

Ayantayo, (2009) cited in Iwundu, (2011) observed that when religion comes calling as a determinant in elections, "we hear of Christian/Muslim or Muslim/Christian ticket. This is common where we have two positions running concurrently such as those of President and Vice President, Governor and Deputy Governor. Voting of candidate had always been considered on religious basis. Citizens vote candidates of the same religion more than others. This practice is evident in the leadership of the nation as narrated by Ayantayo as cited in Iwundu, (2011).

- i. Nnamdi Azikiwe/Tafawa Balewa (Christian/Muslim) 1960–1966
- ii. Shehu Shagari/Alex Ekwueme (Muslim/Christian) 1979–1983
- iii. Buhari/Idiagbon (Muslim/Muslim) 1983–1985
- iv. Babangida/Ebitu Ukiwe, Aikhomu (Muslim/Christian) 1985–1993
- v. Shonekan/Abacha (Christian/Muslim) 1993–1997

- vi. Abacha/Diya, (Muslim/Christian) 1997–1998
- vii. Abubakar/Akhigbe (Muslim/Christian) 1998–1999
- viii. Obasanjo/Atiku (Christian/Muslim) 1999–2007
- ix. Yar'Adua/Jonathan (Muslim/Christian) 2007-2010
- x. Jonathan/Sambo (Christian/Muslim)
- xi. Buhari/Osibanjo (Muslim/Christian) 2015 to date.

The above trajectory of past and present Nigerian leaders shows how religion plays an important role in the politics of Nigeria. The reason the voting pattern of states in the 2019 presidential election took a religious and ethnic pattern.

Majority of those in the south south and southeast of Nigeria voted overwhelmingly for a particular political party against another. Many have argued that their voting pattern wasn't borne out of genuine concern for the capacity and capability of the candidates and political parties to deliver, but because of ethno religious sentiments and bias. During the 2019 Presidential elections as with other elections, another fundamental pattern that has the capacity and capability of changing electors and voting patterns is transactional money politics, characterized by votes buying and selling.

This parameter called money behaves like the swing states in American politics; it can change the fate in favour or against a candidate in the slimmest possible time, in many elections, electorates become sellers of commodities in the market that are ready to sell to the highest bidder, in some cases a votes can go as high as ₦10,000 and as low as ₦250 or even ₦500. Kwaghga&Tarfa (2015) observed with disdain that “paradoxically, money itself has become a dominant factor in African politics. Money seems to have taken the centre stage in the political process in most countries and in the Nigerian politics. It is, sadly, now playing an increasingly critical role. It even appears to be so dominant in the electoral process to such an extent that the word 'money politics' with a pejorative connotation, has crept into the country's political lexicon”. They observe further that The role that money and vote buying play in Nigeria politics today have earned them a dominant position in the election of officers into position of authority where they can authoritatively decide who gets what, when and how (Kwaghga&Tarfa, 2015).

To further buttress the above point Chul, Bin ismail& Ku Samsu (2017) commented that “unfortunately, unlike money use in electoral and political process of the advanced societies strictly within legal limits, Nigerian politics become excessively monetized, with widespread, often illegal and undetected use of money by politicians in elections taking the front burner, under guises such as 'dividends of democracy; 'votes buying' 'food or stomach politics' 'money bags' 'god father' etc. the legal regime funnel is full of holes, allowing politicians to refuse to keep, and disclose, full and accurate records of all election finances in accordance with the electoral (Amendment) Act 2011, and political finance and manual 2011”.

Furthermore, Danjibo and Oladejias cited in Chul, Bin ismail& Ku Samsu (2017) opined that “money politics make politicians to see themselves as investing in a greater political harvest, thereby encouraging the entrenchment of corruption in the polity which does away the very basis of democratic governance”. This is why Ojo as cited in Chul, Bin ismail& Ku Samsu (2017) concluded that “where candidates have invested much before being elected or appointed into public office, simple economic rationality will propel them to make the money they have invested in as many folds as possible. Where that is the case, accountability and transparency known to be hallmark of good governance and democracy becomes jettisoned to the detriment of the system”.

The power and prestige attached to transactional politics in Nigeria has become too prominent that when politicians come into politics without adequately equipping themselves financially, they are called “unserious politicians”. The reason many who come into politics do so as though they were venturing into

a business and the end objective is profit. The reason real and genuine growth and development has simply become a mirage.

Conclusion

This paper concludes that development is not a one-way traffic, it is multi-faceted and interconnected, development cannot be achieved based on ascribed values, development and genuine political growth and development, building a virile political culture requires a holistic approach rather than a parochial one. The reason, the Nigerian electorates must look beyond religion and ethnicity and pennies when making their electoral choices at the polls. Scholars have argued that ethnicity and religion have considerable influence on the voting patterns of the Nigerian electorate. Therefore, leaders should be elected not according to religious or ethnic affiliation but according to what it is they can offer for the betterment of society.

Recommendations

The paper makes the following recommendations;

- i. Our election commission must improve its capacity to deliver credible elections and our political parties must play according to the rules. YIAGA argues that failure to do so could fundamentally threaten our democracy.
- ii. That's religious and traditional leaders must use their pulpits to preach to their congregations that hunger, poverty and underdevelopment does not understand the language of religion and ethnic affiliation, it is not a respecter of creed and language or region, it tentacles affects both Muslims and Christians, therefore, they should encourage their congregations to make choices based of their perceived and known capacities and capabilities of those who present themselves for elective offices.
- iii. Government and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) must intensify advocacy on voter education, serious advocacy is required to help change the perspective and world view of electorates. Awareness and sensitization should be geared towards reorientation of the electorate as regards the dangers of focusing on ascribed values rather than achieve values. The reason this paper aligns with Olaniyi, (2017) opined that Nigerian voters should be exposed to political education that will make them promote national interest.
- iv. Politician should avoid using religion and ethnicity and money to play on the sentiments of the electorates; rather, they should focus on issue-based campaigns when they go to canvass for votes. The work also aligns with Nyiayaana, (2019) observes that liberal democratic elections that swept across Africa in the 1990s in the so-called third wave of democratisation, which emphasize individualism are yet to be creatively adjusted to the historical, cultural, and practical realities of communalism and ethnicity in Nigeria. There is still a pervasive sense of collective identity built around primordial conceptions of ethnicity, one that is also intensely instrumentalised by political elites who appeal to voters, weeping ethnic and religious sentiments in a bid to capturing and retaining power. Ethnicity, thus, continues to condition people's social, economic and political relations, for example, in the unfair distribution of power and opportunities amongst ethnic groups as well as voting choices expressed during national elections. More so, politicians must see politics as service to humanity rather than a business venture, anybody who's interested in becoming the next Dangote has no business in politics, and therefore, should look elsewhere.
- v. The electorates must learn to see beyond their sentiments and refused to be played by these politicians who do not have their interest at heart, if not, why would a person intending to genuinely represent their people play on their primordial and religious sentiments? This in itself show ulterior motive and should be resisted at all cost.

vi. This paper also aligns with the thoughts of Olowojolu (2015) when he said ethno-religious sentiments must be discouraged among Nigerian politicians. Anti-ethnic/religious sentiments bill should be passed into law in Nigeria. Politicians that sponsor or incite the voters under the umbrella of ethnicity and religion should be either be disqualified or face jail terms.

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PROFESSIONAL ETHOS AND SERVICE DELIVERY IN NIGERIAN HEALTHCARE INDUSTRY

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Abstract

This study examines ethical professionalism in the Nigerian healthcare industry as it affects the performances of health/business in the country. The study is cross-sectional in nature and it utilizes purposive sampling technique and questionnaires administered to Abuja Accredited HMOS to Sample the opinion of the target respondents, staff and customers from the ages of 20 and above, with exception of infants and minors to measure performance of HMOS In Nigeria. The finding reveals that ethical issues play a significant role in the performance of HMOs in the Nigerian health sector. The study recommends that management should pay attention to abuse of trust and limpidity which are variables adopted in this study and other significant variables not mentioned in the work to determining optimal ethical professionalism in order to have a better outcome in performance.

Keywords: Ethics, Limpidity, Business ethics, Professionalism, Healthcare

Introduction

The Nigerian healthcare system has ethical issues at workplace which ranges in different dimension, and it is as old as the first organization established in the country. Healthcare system in the world today faces the challenges of ethical issues of providing and delivering of services with the solvency of finance. Ethical issues have over the time grown concern in the organization, especially when it concerns quality, care, affordability, safety, finance, acquisition and mergers, advanced medical technology and other complex issues that affect decision and policy making where life is concerned. Healthcare sector should be designed in such a way that its executives will shoulder the challenge of professionalism, thereby ensuring the challenges of ethical professionalism are properly handled through a process that will be favourable to all; which therefore results in everyone being given fair chance to participate in it. Although there are many things to consider in making such professional decisions, such as time, cost, profit, quality, value and regularity as it may affect outcomes. Ethics in health evolved through several phases during the last few decades; traditional ethics, bioethics, health policy ethics and ethics in relation to human rights. The last can only be achieved in wealthy politically stable communities. With the promotion of human

rights gaining momentum in recent years; there is a need to review ethical principles in health to ensure that human rights and dignity are fully respected. The health industry has the obligation of considering the ethical dimensions of the major determinants of health. These include the political system, economic situation, demographic changes, cultural diversity, role of women, global ecosystem sustainability, technological advances and the changing pattern of disease. Ethical issues results from a situation or problem where an individual or group of persons will have to choose between the alternatives of what is right (ethical) or wrong (unethical) after a careful evaluation. In a global business environment of the 21st Century, investors have the responsibility of creating codes of conduct and ethics to which every member of that organization must abide by. An **ethical issue** is an identifiable problem, situation, or opportunity that requires a person to choose from among several actions that may be evaluated as right or wrong, ethical or unethical. In business, such a choice often involves weighing monetary profit against what a person considers appropriate conduct. The best way to judge ethics professionally is to look at a situation from a customer's or competitor's viewpoint Onotai (2008).

Professionalism in ethical issues have over the time grown concern in the organization, especially when it concerns limpidity, trust, quality, care, affordability, safety, finance, acquisition and mergers, advanced medical technology and other complex issues that affect trust and limpidity where life is concerned, Lewis and Stiles (2004). Healthcare industry should be designed in such a way that its executives will shoulder the challenge of decision making, thereby ensuring the challenges of trust and limpidity in decision making are properly handled through a process that will be favourable to all; which therefore results in everyone being given fair chance to participate in it. Although there are many things to consider in making decisions, such as time, cost, profit, quality, value and regularity as it may affect outcomes. Health care professionals are given certain privileges in the society due to the nature of their contributions. Doctors are characterised by their strong commitment towards patient's well-being, high standards of ethical conduct, their mastery in learning knowledge and acquiring skills, and self regulation. Professionalism is one of the competencies a healthcare professional should and must possess. In fact, Accreditation Council for Graduate Medical Education (ACGME) suggests teaching of professionalism to students during their training period.

“Professionalism” is derived from the Latin profession or public declaration. A definition of profession is “a calling requiring specialized knowledge and often long and intensive preparation including instruction in skills and methods as well as in the scientific, historical, or scholarly principles underlying such skills and methods, maintaining by force of organization or concerted opinion high standards of achievement and conduct, and committing its members to continued study and a kind of work which has for its prime purpose the rendering of a public service”. Professionalism is constituted by the goals, attributes and behaviours of profession. Its attributes are communication, empathy, integrity, compassion, responsibility, respect, duty, altruism, self-regulation, ability to understand limitations and eager to improve the skills and knowledge. Professionalism is concerned about the moral aspects such as norms, values and behaviour of a medical personnel. Professional ethics encompass the personal and corporate standards of behaviour expected of professionals. It partly comprises of what a professional should and should not do. Every profession or calling has ethical code which is more often than not universally observed. Professional ethics in healthcare understands the system of moral principles that apply values and judgments to the practice of medicine. Ethics is a professional guide for practicing physicians regarding ethical issues and ethical policies. There are a lot of ethical issues that practicing physicians are likely to encounter in their training and daily practices. There is hardly any area of healthcare that does not have an ethical aspect. For instance, Medical Rehabilitation Therapist (Registration) Act Law of Federation of Nigeria (LFN) 2004 provides for discipline of erring member in reported cases of ethical breach.

Promoting professionalism in the healthcare industry involves training and coaching employees on the various areas important to the industry/business. Where there is ethics healthcare professionals are good communicators. They are able to truly listen to their patients, empathize, and provide information about diagnosis and treatment in a way their patients will understand. According to Yeboah et al (2013) "Business ethics is a study of business activities, decisions and situations where the rights and wrongs are addressed; it is a form of applied ethics that studies rules and principles within a commercial context and any obligations that apply to persons who are involved in commerce". Professionalism is an important part of managing any business. Professional employees enhance the image of the business, help employees deal well with customers, and will help the business Professional ethics encompass the personal and corporate standards of behaviour expected of professionals. It partly comprises of what a professional should and should not do. Every profession or calling has ethical codes which are more often than not universally observed. In the healthcare industry, professionalism becomes even more important due to the complex aspects of the business. Good healthcare professional are altruistic that is, they are always ready to put their patients' needs first. Good healthcare professionals also have a strong sense of service, of wanting to help people feel better, making health care work better, and, in many cases, giving back to their communities. Above all, they are motivated by a strong sense of professionalism - they have trust, integrity, limpidity, honour and are committed to upholding health and business's timeless values".

According to Schepee,(2003) a profession is highly specialized and grounded in a body of knowledge and skills that are given special status in the labour force, its members are certified through a formal educational program controlled by the profession, and qualified members are granted exclusive jurisdiction and a sheltered position in the labor market. Perhaps most important, professionals have an ideology that assigns a higher priority to doing useful and needed work than to economic rewards, an ideology that focuses more on the quality and social benefits of work than its profitability. Although this ideology is the most important part of medical professionalism, it is what is now most at risk. The science and technology of medicine and the special place that medical practice holds in the labor market are not presently threatened. The expanding professional health care responsibilities of nurses and the increase in other health workers such as physician assistants and technicians are changing the mix of the health care workforce, but the central role of the physician as the manager and provider of medical services is not likely to be challenged. The business industry has developed a reputation for its lack of ethics. In an industry where getting ahead and making money appear to take precedence over ethical decision making, it can seem difficult to understand the importance of ethical behavior in business. A lack of ethics leads to a wealth of problems for a business.

Where there is a lack of professional ethics, there is a heavy negative effect on the performance of the employees. This is so because, most times, employees are so interested in making money, there by ignoring protocols and leading procedures. This leads to careless errors, additional paper works and repeating task all over. Furthermore, some employees feel less motivated when they perceive that being professionally and ethically responsible by following the rules, will slow them down in business. This often times leads to a serious decrease in performance. Where there is a lack of ethical professionalism, this leads to lost of respect by all stake holders. Meaning, the healthcare system will find business difficult where there are no well respected leaders to monitor and regulate its activities. This will lead to tension, lack of trust among stake holders and it is of big detriment to such business that leans on the sense and collaboration of the community. Where there is a lack of professional ethics, and it is made known to the general public, that business automatically loses credibility and also key customers. If such business eventually recovers from such lost, it will still cost it soo much time and money to restore its confidence and business image.

Customers who leave such organisations due to a lack of ethical professionalism often find other services and products to meet their needs. Winning them back after such an ethical laps might remain a thing of the past. A lack of professional ethics might be poor planning and other faults in the line of business. To

prevent this, there should be a preparation for a set of realistic goals for both employees and benefactors in order to reach unreachable quotas and goals. Also, there is a need for a monitoring system to monitor the performances of all areas of the business to avoid lack and also to remain credible. Unethical organisations often cut corners and create excuses for not following right procedures required by its standard business nature, Cornwall (2007).

Healthcare sector should be designed in such a way that its executives will shoulder the challenge of limpidity, thereby ensuring the challenges of limpidity are properly handled through a process that will be favourable to all; which therefore results in everyone being given fair chance to participate in it. Although there are many things to consider in making decisions, such as time, cost, profit, quality, value and regularity as it may affect outcomes. In a world where consumers are well equally informed openly without any fear of the future outcomes, unnecessary care will be avoided; consumers will understand that care can be expensive but not necessarily better in value, this will give room for better choices where the ability is available. The implication of limpidity is that there is no secret due to scrutiny of an organisation's actions, whether intended or not. There is a growing interest on the part of research to provide a rigorous scientific and ethically effective basis for policy making in preventive, treatment, diagnostic, clinical trials and related information as the case may be. Every health care sector in Nigeria needs to be clear in terms of openness, accountability and communication in order to expose what is wrong from right. The central question of this research is meant to answer and find out whether, ethical professionalism affects the performance of the Nigerian healthcare Industry using the Nigerian Health Maintenance Organisation (HMOs) as a study area. As at the time of this research work, most of the studies conducted on the topic, to the best of the researcher's knowledge have not been able to look at the study area, this informed the decision to undertake this research work in Nigerian healthcare sector, linking it to health maintenance organisation in the country as an Industrial gap among other industries such as agriculture, mining, construction and manufacturing and also a Variable inclusion gap. Specifically, the study will find out to what extent does professional ethos in Abuse of trust and limpidity affects the service delivery in the sales performance of the Nigerian healthcare industry, narrowing the scope down to the Nigerian health maintenance organisation (HMOs).

In order to find answers to the above question the objective is being drawn towards investigating the effect of Abuse of trust and limpidity on the sales performance of the Nigerian health maintenance organisation (HMOs)

In line with the objective of the study the following hypothesis has been formulated in null form.

Ho1: Abuse of trust has no significant relationship with the service delivery in the Nigerian healthcare industry.

Ho2: There is no significant relationship with limpidity and the professional ethos service delivery of sales performance in Nigerian healthcare industry.

Literature Review

Abuse of trust in healthcare have different meaning to different people, many define it based on their understanding and the way they perceive it. From a consumer perspective, Trust may mean having access to every relevant information about the price and quality of healthcare service so as to be able to make great and better decisions in matters of their health. From a physician point of view, trust is when a physician can be accountable not only for the kind of care service rendered but also for the quality delivered by referred partners. To payers and providers, trust may be seen as the shift from a fee-for-service reimbursement system to a value-based care driven by unprecedented collaboration. This is also similar to Libich (2006) and Melendez (2001).

Trust is a series of actions creating credible governance systems, visible performance measurement systems, and readily available decision-making information about pricing of services and the amount of charity care (Summers and Nowicki 2006). Corruption does not enter the transparency definition except

in the sense that high executive salaries are a misuse of donor funds. Trust references in the non profit scholarly research are largely synonymous with accountability, particularly financial accountability. Nonprofits create accountability by releasing IRS 990 forms and other information to the public, such as the costs of fundraising (Thornton 2006) and the pricing of health care (Razzaque, Shactman, and Eilat 2002; Summers and Nowicki 2006). In the evolving definition, where there is no abuse of trust, it increases the public trust in the work of nonprofits and is part of good governance (Melendéz 2001). As is true in the international relations literature, trust is a double-edged sword. Fear of greater government regulation and loss of flexibility is an issue (Asigele 2012). Melendéz (2001) argues that the amount of information available to the public is already substantial, and what needs to occur is improved access to the information

Abuse of trust internationally plays a major role in creating transparency by conveying information about government decisions, increasing the effectiveness of government management and pressing for standards of ethics (Cooper & Yoder 2002, Backstrand&Saward 2004:). Therefore, trust is a behavioural norm or even the act of public value for organisation. A major theory in this literature is that non-profits exists between and because of public trust (Ortman& Schlesinger, 2003). Where the non-profit organisation see trust as a greater public accountability, the Nigerian healthcare sector should see trust as a mechanism to create necessary trust.

Trust in business began with organisations and non-governmental organisations. Trust in business became more common in the 1990s when Peter Eigen a World Bank manager became distressed at the failure of the bank to address it unethical issues of corruption in its giving loan to nations. This lead to little economic growth and progress, citizens could not develop their countries because of the high cost and this lead to a mass protest. Eigen was able to form a new organisation to address the situation with him as the head. The organisation he formed was called Transparency International (TI) (Eigen 2003; Holzner 2006).

Libich (2006), In five areas elaborated trust in business namely; political/goal, procedural, policy, economic, and operational transparency all have a major effect on the implementation and outcome of any policy. Where political/goal is the mission of an organization, Economic trust in transparency focuses on institutions and sectors making decisions based on tools, example; forecasting models; procedural transparency focuses on the processes of made decisions and operational transparency focuses on activities of performance measurement and error admission, so as to plan and meet goals, all of which is aimed at helping an organization to meet its goal. Lewis and Stiles (2004) in a counter views that the priority of every decision making is transparency. With trust in business, there is no open door to cross-subsidies that may leads to managerial decisions that are short-sighted. Trust in business is not all about just gathering information, the more open and easy it is for people to gather information the greater the trust and believe. Finally, trust may be seen as a double edge word that pierces like any other sword or blade, so much that it creates fear in the regulations of government and might result to great loss of flexibility. Therefore there is a call for healthcare sector to fully embrace transparency as a norm and valuable means to evaluate the performance progress of their programmes, profits, growth and actions.

Limpidity according to an associated practitioner is a means to create accountability and credibility, and as a defensive measures to maintain non-profit tax status (McPherson 2006;Ferman 2007; Galvin 2007; Muller 2007). Limpidity is a series of actions creating credible governance systems, visible performance measurements system, and readily available decision-making information about pricing of services and the amount of charity care (Summer &Nowicki, 2006). Limpidity increases the public trust in the work of non-profits and is part of good governance (Melendez, 2001). Melendez (2001), argues that the amount of information available to the public is adequately substantial and what needs to occur to improve it is information access.

The inability of a well spelt out limpid system in the Nigerian healthcare sector, has attracted the growing movement to encourage limpid practices in the community, which includes the public having a link to raw

data and every other protocol. Lack of limpidity reduces the value any of research. The earlier effort is made to encourage protocol, analytic codes, and available raw data, the better the access to monitor and be monitored.

Cornwall (2007), holds that, limpidity should have fast moved into the mainstream of development and aid, but it is still at a point where it's at the risk of becoming buzzwords. Goldfrank (2006), opines that budget monitoring sector specific, monitoring public expenditure through social audits, participating audits and tracking surveys and advocacy for budget transparency be made open. A leading change in climate borrows ideas and models international sector aids, from a perfectly limpid and accountable governance. (Eyben, 2006 ; Hayes and Pereira, 2008). For instance, greater accountability may not be achieved by limpid information alone but may require media competition, citizen capacity to process the information and the resources to act on it (Kolstad and Wiig, 2009). The point here is that, limpidity is a concept of mutual reinforcement and where there is no limpidity, it would be difficult to call health sector organisation into account, because there will be no access to timely and a well laid reliable information to decision and the performance outcome.

The concept of performance is widely used, despite its great importance only little effort have been made to clarify this concept. Various authors, (Okaida, 2003, Crawford, 2005; Kim, 2005 & Shum, 2005) agree that when conceptualizing performance one has to differentiate between an action aspect (that is, behavioral) and the performance outcome aspect. In practice, it might be difficult to describe the action aspect of performance without any reference to the outcome aspect. This is so, because not all action but actions significant to organizational goals can make up for performance, there is the need for criteria in evaluating the height to which individual performance meets with organizational goals. Several studies by various authors of organizational performance (Demaki, 2011, Kirby, 2005; Kukure, 2006; Crawford, 2007 and Komolafe, 2007) define performance as a dependent proxy which measures differences in organizational performance.

The authors of Limpidity in Public Policy accept limpidity as a given attribute of policy, and they reason that limpid policies are better than opaque policies (Finkelstein 2000, 1). Good limpid policies contain methods of accountability. Limpid policies also provide information to citizens and improve their ability to make choices about the services they receive. A limpid policy is deemed effective when the public acts on the information the policy provides. If an education agency provides information on the quality of schools through performance measurement, and parents choose their child's school based upon this information, the policy is said to be effective. Limpidity, then, relates to inputs, outputs, and outcomes of decisions

Theoretical Framework

Utilitarianism Theory

Utilitarianism looks at acts of what is wrong and right as a theory that is professionally ethical which depends on the maximization of the general wellbeing. Utilitarianism is greatly associated with these phrase 'the greater number for the greatest sum of good,' this typically allows the public act in any way that will result to the aimed target of biggest possible quantity of well-being, where well-being is greatly understood as nearly related to everything happiness. **Utilitarianism** a logical ethical theory, states that an action is best with maximizes utility. "Utility" may be seen from diverse views, mostly in sentient entities well being. Jeremy Bentham, the founder of utilitarianism, explained it as the complete pleasures derived from any action, excluding the pain of a person involved in such an action. Few disagreement on utilitarianism proponents are namely, situation where actions are chosen based on results that are likely (act utilitarianism) or whether agents should conform to rules that maximize utility (rule utilitarianism) (Lawrence, 2014).

Deontology Theory

Another class of professional ethical theory is the deontology theory, states that individuals should focus on obligations/duties once decision is to be made and ethics is to play a part. Meaning, one must follow their obligations to another society or individual to uphold a duty of what is ethically considered to be correct. Example, one who is a deontologist always keeps promises made to friends and always law abiding. A believer of deontological theory always produces consistent results and decisions because it is usually based on the set of duties for the individual. (Stone, 2001). Deontology involves a lot of positive attributes, at the same involves flaws. Deontology flaw is seen from where no logical grounds to decide the duties of a person. Example, a health care management may decide that it is their duty to be as trust worthy as possible in providing information about their healthcare services and costs. Although this appears to be something good, we don't know why they chose to make this his duty. Sometimes, a person's duties are in conflict. For instance, if the health care management who must provide adequate information on their health care services and practices, decline to make patients' information known to public and private authorities who requested them as regard to official or protocol process in order to keep up with confidentiality, then how can their level of limpidity be rated? There could be observed contradictory aspects of keeping with professional ethics, as one says 'give' and the other says 'withhold' (Paley, 2002).

The Deontology theory was adopted for the study theoretical framework as it provided a background and a guide linking the variables of the study. The deontological branch of ethics argues “Do what duty indicates is professionally ethically right.” A decision using a deontological paradigm is potentially more complex than one based on utilitarianism, wherein the philosophy directs a clear path of serving the self or the good of the greatest number. Deontology is based on the moral agency of the individual, and that aspect of the theory confers a great responsibility on the individual issues manager. With that responsibility comes a need to rationally and thoroughly consider the ethics of issues, and this practical model of ethical issues management provides a sound basis for that analysis. The practical model allows issues managers to conduct a thorough, systematic analysis of the ethical aspects of a decision and to understand that decision, and its ramifications, from a multiplicity of perspectives. Regardless of which ethical paradigm is implemented, conducting a rigorous and methodical analysis of ethical decisions ensures that a more sound decision is made than if an informal approach to ethics had been used.

Utilitarianism a logical ethical theory, states that an action is best with maximizes utility. The researcher also assumes that total (total utilitarianism) or average (average utilitarianism) utility should be maximized. Therefore the Deontology theory was adopted for the study theoretical framework as it provided a relevant background and a guide linking the variables of the study. The theory shows how contradictory aspects of set rules, standards and obligations could conflict and result to ethical issues which tends to reduce customer's satisfaction with health care service and subsequently have impact on sales performance through its service delivery in the Nigerian healthcare industry.

Empirical Studies

Latif (2000) examined the relationship between patient care performance, moral reasoning, and social desirability, with the use of empirical evidences from the retail pharmacy setting. The study was exploratory and reviewed data from empirical literatures of previous works. The study found that moral reasoning and social desirability influences patient care performance.

Kalvemark, Hoglund and Hansson (2004), assessed ethical dilemmas and moral distress in the health care system. The study adopted the descriptive research method in which 7 Swedish hospitals were surveyed; structured questionnaire was used to elucidate data from pharmacists, nurses, dispensers and doctors. Descriptive and inferential statistics was used to analyse data. The finding of the study showed that ethical dilemmas and moral distress in the health care system are correlated and both affect performance.

A study by Kouzes & Posner (2002) on the integrity and performance confirms that organizations have integrity as core values outperform other firms by a wide margin in terms of revenue growth, job creation, stock price and profitability. Corporations that are leaders in their various industries tends to have a culture of integrity; they turn in solid long-term financial performance by out forming other firms.

LoeFerrel and Mansfield (2000), conducted a study on the effect of ethical decision making on the performance of organization. Their study was quantitative and a structured questionnaire was used in collecting data from 300 respondents. The data collected was analysed using linear regression with Stata version 12.1. The finding of the study showed that ethical decision making associates significantly with organizational performance.

In a study conducted in Nigeria by Kehinde (2010), titled "Effects of Ethical Behaviors on Organization Operations". The researcher described the how organizations of today are faced with a number of different challenges namely unethical and illegal business practices in various business transactions. He explained how Code of ethics may affect the conducts of employees when they are properly set and adhered. Questionnaire was administered on selected respondents who are employees from 16 organizations. The study used a quantitative method with two hypotheses documented in the null form. Findings show that ethical behavior has an effects on the organizational operation and that good ethical behavior has an effective positive correlation with organizational outcomes. Suitable policy recommendations were offered which decision makers in business organizations and government functionaries will find highly useful. The paper reflected the theme of this study on the facts that it explores the ethical conducts of employees and their consequences on the performance of an organization. However, the research basically had focused on Nigeria environment only particularly in Lagos.

Asigele (2012) in his work assessed effects on working environment on the performance of workers His work aimed at determining the effect of working environment on the performance of reproductive and child health care providers in Tarime district. A closed and open ended questionnaire was used in collecting data. The researcher conducted a cross sectional exploratory search in 12 health facilities in the district. Eight (8) dispensaries, 3 health centers and a hospital were also involved in the study. Data analysis was carried out using SPSS version 15.0. The questionnaire major variables were characterized by socio- demographic characters (age, status, marital status, sex, and education level), availability of medical supplies, office building space, privacy presence, availability of drugs. Thirty health providers and (147) one hundred and forty seven clients were all interviewed. Result reveals shows that the working environment elements have a significant effect on the performance of health providers in the Reproductive and Child Health unit.

Under this section the review of related literatures reveals the significance of adhering to proper ethics in organizations; it also shows the ill effects of unethical standards and practices especially in the health sector. Also, relevant theories that relates to this study are discussed and one was chosen to underpin this study. Some of the principles and practices discussed in this chapter on the unethical issues in health sector give relevant guide and information for a patient as well as the health care provider. This further confirms the need for this study on the effect of unethical issues on the performance of health care sector in Nigeria.

Methodology

The research designs used in this study is survey research design which is common to social and business research. The design provides the framework for finding solution to any problem under study. Kothari (2015) opine that the choice of research design is determined by the-objectives of the study. Therefore, the study employed cross-sectional in nature and it explain the relationship between ethical professionalism and performance in healthcare industry. This method relevance in terms of efficiency and usefulness for collecting data and in explaining the variables in the study based on the information gathered.

The population of the study consist of employees and subscribers of the 43 accredited Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs) out of 76, with physical address in Abuja. The population according to preliminary survey by the researcher was 6,303,000 which was gathered from a total addition of the information gotten from the visited HMOs (comprising employees and subscribers of the selected HMOs). To arrive at the sample size, the purposive sampling technique was adopted which is a non-probability sampling method and selection is based on characteristics of a population and the objective of the study. The following sample size formula for infinite population is used to arrive at a representative number of respondents (Godden, 2004).

$$SS = \frac{Z^2 \times (p)(1-p)}{C^2}$$

Where:

SS = Sample for infinite population (more than 50,000)

Z = Z value (1.96 for 9.5% confidence level)

P = population proportion (0.5 {50%} because it will provide the maximum sample size)

C = Confidence interval, expressed as decimal (0.5 for 95% confidence level)

Therefore,

$$SS = \frac{1.96 \times 0.5 (1 - 0.5)}{0.05^2}$$

$$SS = \frac{3.8416 \times 0.25}{0.0025}$$

$$SS = \frac{0.9604}{0.0025}$$

$$= 384.16$$

The sample size therefore is approximately 384; the sample size is obtained by purposively selecting 384 respondents who are active subscribers of the 43 selected HMO. The researcher utilized primary sources of data.

The research model was tested by conducting a survey of the 384 respondents' selected using simple random sampling technique from the various HMOs. Prior to entering the data, all the questionnaires returned by the respondents were checked and filtered. It was ensured that the respondents met the research criteria namely; management staff of HMOs with physical location in Abuja and Kaduna. All the responses were checked, missing responses discarded and later checked for outliers. The data was entered into Statistical Package for Social Sciences to test the fit of the model.

The model for this study was represented as follows:

$$SP = \beta_0 + \beta_1 AOT + \beta_2 LPD + \varepsilon$$

Where

SP = Sales Performance

β_0 = Constant

β_1, β_2 = Regression Coefficients

AOT = Abuse of Trust

LPD = Limpidity

ε = Error term

The data collected was analyzed using both descriptive and inferential statistics with the help of Statistical Package for Social Sciences SPSS.

Descriptive Statistics

The descriptive statistics of the data collected for the study is presented and discussed in this section. The summary of the descriptive statistics of the data collected is presented in **Table 4.1** as follows;

Descriptive Statistics of the Variables

VARIABLES	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis
SP	1	5	2.00	1.375	-0.045	-1.395
AOT	1	5	4.03	1.405	0.022	-1.447
LPD	1	5	2.11	1.418	0.098	-1.361

Source: SPSS 22(Appendix ii)

Table 1 shows that our measure of Sales Performance (SP) has a minimum value of 1 and 5 as the maximum value, this indicates that 1 is the lowest value in the data set while 5 is the highest value in the data set which signifies that there is no serious outlier issues in the data set. The average value of the SP is 2.00 with standard deviation of 1.375, signifies that the data deviate from both side of the mean value by 1.38 approximately. This implies that there is a bit dispersion of the data from the mean, because of the value of standard deviation which is close to the mean. The kurtosis and skewness has value of -1.395 (0.0045). Which signifies that kurtosis does not fall between -1.96 to 1.96, which depicts that the data might not meet the Gaussians distribution theory. While the skewness falls the distribution assumption. The descriptive statistics from Table 1 shows that AOT has no elements of outliers' issues in the data set because the minimum and maximum value in the dataset is 1 and 5 respectively. On average, the AOT in the sample firms is 4.03 with standard deviation of 1.405. That is, the deviation from the mean is about 1.40 at best. The kurtosis and skewness has value of -1.447 (0.022, which signifies that kurtosis does not fall between -1.96 to 1.96, which depicts that the data might not meet the Gaussians distribution theory.

The descriptive statistics from Table 1 shows that LPD has no elements of outliers' issues in the data set because the minimum and maximum value in the dataset is 1 and 5 respectively. On average, the LPD in the sample firms is 2.11 with standard deviation of 1.418. That is, the deviation from the mean is about 1.42 at best. The kurtosis and skewness has value of -1.361 (0.098). Which signifies that kurtosis does not fall between -1.96 to 1.96, which depicts that the data might not meet the Gaussians distribution theory. While the skewness falls the distribution assumption.

Correlation Results

In this section, the result of the Pearson correlation Coefficients of the variables of the study is presented in Table 2 as follows;

Correlation Matrix of the Dependent and Independent Variables of the first model

VARIABLES	SP	AOT	LPD
SP	1.000		
AOT	-0.137	1.000	
LPD	-0.026	-0.027	1.000

Source: SPSS 22(Appendix ii)

Source: SPSS 22(Appendix ii)

Table 2 present the correlation results between predictor variables (AOT andLPD) and sales performance (SP) in the HMOs in Nigeria. Table 2 also the results indicate that there is a weak and negative relationship between sales performance (SP) and (AOT) from the correlation coefficient of -0.137.

Table 2 also the results indicate that there is a weak and negative relationship between sales performance (SP) and (LPD) from the correlation coefficient of -0.026. (LPD) has weak and negative relationship with (AOT) from the coefficient value of -0.027.

Regression Results and Hypotheses Testing

In this section, the regression results of the models of the study are presented and interpreted. The hypotheses formulated for the study are also tested from the results as presented in Table 3 below;

Summary of Regression Result

Variables	Co-efficient	t-statistics	p-values	
Constant	0.449	6.821	0.002	
AOT	-1.231	2.751	0.006	
LPD	-1.775	2.437	0.000	
R ²	0.45			
ADJ R ²	0.39			
F-Stat	10.122			
F-Sig				0.002

Source: SPSS22 (Appendix ii)

The Table 4 presents the regression results of OLS model.

This section presents, interprets and discusses the regression result of the dependent variable (Sales performance) and the independent variables of the study (AOT and LPD). The presentation of the result takes the form of analyzing the relationship between the dependent variable and each independent variable as well as the analysis of the combined result of the model.

The result shows that variable (LPD) have significant effect on sales performance at 10% levels of significance, AOT is having significant impact at 5%. Cumulatively the R² (0.45) which is the combined coefficient of determination indicates the extent to which the independent variables explain the total variation in the dependent variable and the remaining 55% is explained by the other factors not captured by the model of this study. Thus, it signifies that 45% of the total variation in sales performance of HMOs in Nigeria is caused by AOT and LPD. This indicates that the explanatory variables are well selected and combined because the R² is positive and satisfies the minimum rule of thumb.

The F-statistics of 10.122, which is significant at one percent level of significance indicates that the model of the study is fit. The value of F-statistics which is statistically significant at five percent level of significance (0.002) means that there is a 95 percent probability of confidence that the association amongst the variables of the study is not just by chance.

In line with the findings above it is necessary for us to test our hypotheses, as follows:

We reject the null hypothesis which states Abuse of trust does not have significant influence on the performance of Health maintenance organizations (HMOs) in Nigeria. It is in line with our priori expectations. The null hypothesis that states that there is no significant relationship between limpidity and performance of Health maintenance organizations (HMOs) in Nigeria is also rejected and it's in line with our priori expectations.

Conclusion

This study examine the effect of ethical issues on performance of core health operations of HMOs in Nigeria, and the relationship between ethical issues and performance of HMOs in Nigeria. To achieve the intended objectives the multiple regression was computed with SPSS computer package to test for the fit of the model and the significance of association of the predictors with the dependent variables. The results of the random effect regression showed the existence of the following relationship between ethical issues and three independent variables. Ethical issues as measured by Abuse of trust and Limpidity had significant positive relationship with performance, which was in line with earlier expectation. This result also supports the theoretical frame work. Similarly, HMOs needs the coordination of a higher authority to guide it affairs in other to maintain a standardized moral and ethical values to better the essence of its existence, which was also in line the expected sign. The finding reveals that ethical issues had significant effect on performance of core health business operations HMOs, and implies managers need to consider this impact in their ethical issues management decision.

Recommendation

The following recommendations are made based on the obtained findings.

In line with the results of this study, firms, management and organisations should pay greater attention to significant variables such as the effect of Abuse of trust in determining their optimal ethical issues in management by maintaining a work place culture of trust, respect, professionalism to achieve optimal level of performance of their core health business operations and hence, value for the health sector. Abuse of trust as one of the variables, impacts on ethics and performance, because it forms the strength of any sector that want to last long and business strong.

From the findings, HMOs needs to create more awareness across the geographical scope to enlighten all stakeholders, especially those for further studies taking cognizance of the best variables including those not mentioned in this work, which will produce them a much better performance outcome.

The HMO's are also recommended to develop strategies that will increase performance without affecting their overall function of decision making influence in the health industry. People are usually scared of what they don't know, but with a little awareness and some level of limpidity upon services to subscribers, the fear of the unknown is deleted and business strength will wax of trust and utmost satisfaction.

A check on the ethical issues surrounding the Nigerian health system through the HMOs creates an opportunity for subscribers to maintain a good and healthy life style which is easy for customers. Therefore, The Nigerian Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) is expected to take the accredited HMOs into confidence to determine a limpud system as regards service to subscribers because of its significant great influence on its customers and the performance outcome of the sector. If possible a code of conduct be created to guide both employee and subscribers to enhance growth performance.

The current research is restricted only to the accredited HMOs in Nigeria. Furthermore, this research was mainly conducted on primary data collection. The other individual data collection methods had not been considered. As a result they may not be 100% accurate. In addition to these data representing Abuja were used for the study. The research has compiled a large database of HMOs data that demonstrate what can be done even with the limitations of currently available data. There is clearly enormous scope for more research that can inform an understanding of how professional ethos and service delivery can be managed, how it connects with the performance and what elements of ethical issues makes a difference. To develop specific policy recommendations we develop the following for further research.

- i) There are currently (76) seventy six HMO's; the study covered only the ones with physical address. Therefore, additional investigation is required to examine firms in the different sectors tend to follow different ethical patterns.
- ii) Another research area that could be extended is to examine ethical issues and performance to the non-physically addressed HMO's in Nigeria.
- iii) There are some other factors found which also affect the firms' performance which are not focused in this study. One of the main factors is the regulations and restrictions from the Health Regulatory Bodies. Therefore further investigation is required to examine regarding what are the factors other than professional ethos influences on performance of service delivery.

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