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- All charts/diagrams which must not exceed 3.5 inches by 5.0 inches should be scanned and fixed into appropriate positions within the text.
- Authors should adopt the MLA referencing style and endnotes should be used instead of footnotes.
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An Assessment of the Structure and Academic Programmes of Local Arabic Schools in Remoland, Ogun State

Kabir Adeniran
Taofiki Ajani Salako

Abstract

The history of Islamic learning in Remoland cannot be complete without mentioning the great input of local Arabic schools, this is because they form the foundation for all other stages of education in Islam. The roles of these schools at producing eminent Yoruba scholars cannot be over-emphasised. However, the possibility that these schools might have been influenced by the background of their proprietors cannot be overruled as their graduands make little or no impact in the present day society in other spheres of life. This calls for serious concern and the need to review the structure and improve on the curriculum. Findings show that the proprietors in the Local Arabic Schools are the sole teachers that take care of all other subjects. Aside, there are virtually no other teachers to help impart knowledge to the students. The organogram and administrative structure of the Local Arabic Schools failed to include standard structure like the modern one. The academic structure in the Local Arabic Schools still follows the old Ile-Kewu style. Local Arabic Schools did not operate the modern form of Arabic Schooling. The academic programmes include: Qiraa (recitation), Nahu (grammar), Tajwid (phonology), Tawheed (Unity of God), Tafsirul-Quran (exegetes), Balagha, Ar-Ruhd (poetry), Inshahu (composition), Sirah (history), Adab (etiquette), and Hifzul-Quran (memorization) which did not include practical education. The structural patterns of the Local Arabic Schools affected students' outlook and dispensation to practical education. There is need for the introduction of modern teaching techniques into the Local Arabic Schools to make their graduands more relevant to the society. Some practical subjects of pure sciences and ICT should be included

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into the curriculum of these schools. The proprietors/teachers of these schools should be encouraged to seek for professional certificate in teaching.

Introduction

The role of knowledge in the emergence and development of Islam cannot be over emphasised. The maiden revelation to prophet Muhammad (SAAS) at a cave in the outskirts of Makkah in 610 CE and subsequent others that lasted twenty-three years bear eloquent testimony to this. Acting on divine instruction, arch-angel Jibril had commanded Prophet Muhammad to read and after a serious prodding, a remarkable response came from the latter who recited, “read in the name of your lord who created (Qur’an: 96, 1). This verse among four others that successively followed it became the bases for the process that ushered in a new dispensation that also doubles as a way of life. The indispensability of knowledge to the survival of the religion and the emancipation of the entire mankind from spiritual malaise and moral laxity formed the primary reason for Prophet Muhammad’s instruction to his followers to always seek for it even if it is in china.

As obedient followers, his companions adhered to this call and it became subjects of study and commitment to memory by his *Ummah*. What began as a gradual endeavour in Makkah however became an open and elaborate activity when Islam had its stronghold in Madinah beginning from 622 C.E. The ascent Muslim community had established a formal study circle popularly called *halaqatul-ilm* in the prophet’s mosque where members began to engage themselves with full scale learning. *Ablus-suffah* were reputed to have permanent and regular members of this academy during that period. (Yusuf & Abdur-Rahim, 2004)

When Islam spread outside the Arabian Peninsula, formal teaching on the basic values of Islam later transformed into a big oak of intellectual activities with the establishment of varsities, library and production of literary works. It is from these universities that prominent and distinguished scholars in various fields of human endeavour emerged and thrived. In line with the Qur’an, Prophetic tradition and the common practice in other parts of the world where Islam reached, scholars in Nigeria also made Arabic and Islamic learning their major preoccupation. In the northern part of the country was the establishment of local Qur’anic schools and their broad categorization into *makarantar allo* and *makarantar ilmi* (Fafunwa, 1995).

In Yorubaland, the same type of schools established was popularly known as *ile-kennu*. The advent of Islam came along with Arabic and Islamic

learning and the actual date of its arrival in Yorubaland cannot definitely be ascertained, noticeable traces of real scholarship was said to have begun as early as 1830 (Abubakre, 2004). This was made possible through the efforts of some learned scholars from the north who came to Yorubaland through Ilorin for *da'wab* efforts, these scholars played significant roles in the establishment and sustenance of the local Arabic schools which had long time history in Remoland.

The history of Islamic learning in Remoland which forms part of the Yorubaland cannot be complete without mentioning the great input of local Arabic schools. This forms the foundation for all other stages of education in Islam, the roles of these schools at producing eminent scholars particularly of Yoruba stock cannot be over-emphasised. However, in view of the fact that these schools might have been influenced by certain factors became a subject for serious academic inquiry. Among these were the advent of the colonial masters intrusion into the Islamic education, impact on social and economic lives of Nigerians and several others which have serious impact on the survival and sustenance of these local Arabic schools. The main focus of this paper therefore is to assess the academic structure and programmes in these schools and the development thus far in a bid to make graduands of these schools more useful to themselves and relevant to their society.

A Brief Overview of Academic Programmes

Universities and Colleges are called “academic” institutions. There was a time when “academic” meant “pertaining to the development of the mind.” Nowadays, it seems to mean anything that occurs in a school setting (Simanek, 1996). Academic has been variously defined but for the purpose of this study, Hornby (1991) defines academic as that which has to do with school, college studies or learning. It could now be concluded that, academic implies set of instructions received from a school setting towards a total development of body, mind and soul.

Academic programmes may refer to a broad area of study, such as specific colleges, but usually refer to specific types of academic activities that the learner must undergo before been qualified to be awarded a certificate or degree in educational endeavours. These academic programmes may be a long-term area of study over many years. Depending on the extent of the education, they may be broken down into different subgroups of programmes.

The most basic types of academic programmes are those that teach learner a vocation. These vocations may include some general education

work, but will mainly be focused on the skills needed to perform a certain task.

Conceptual Clarification of Local Arabic School

An attempt at defining what local Arabic school connotes immediately provokes some salient issues that demand comprehensive explanation. This is particularly against the background that some Islamic scholars have made a clear compartmentalisation between Qur'anic school, an *ilmiyah* and a modern Arabic school (Abubakre, 2004 & Adetona, 2009). Abubakre (2004) has defined a local Arabic school as 'a primary level of Islamic education not only for children from the age of talking and understanding, but also for adult Muslims who have the desire to know the rudiments of their faith but did not have the opportunity to do so at the early stage of their lives'. He further defined the Qur'anic school within the context of curriculum contents and methodology of teaching as follows:

It is a piazza school where pupils learn the Qur'an written on wooden tablets by rote. Any lessons in the vernacular, like narratives or sing songs, have a religious orientation (Abubakre 2004, p. 148)

While describing *ilmiyah* or *ilm* school, he says "members of this category seem to overlap with the first, for they grow from each other". He finally sees the modern Arabic as the product of concerted efforts of some Nigerian Islamic scholars to reform the existing institution with the goal of making them- at least structurally- more attractive to prospective candidates like their western education counterpart. The difference between the Qur'anic and the modern Arabic schools as presented by Abubakre (2004) is encapsulated in the following:

Pupils of modern Arabic schools now largely pay tuition fees and obtain textbooks. They now study within the four walls of a school which had been their teacher's house, veranda, and mosque or under a tree in the days of the Qur'an school. They now use various teaching visual aids such as the blackboard and other apparatus going with it, as well as textbooks to teach Arabic. They also have a syllabus. They now use one particular design of dress as school uniform. Many of them run and maintain organised boarding houses and make provision for sporting activities. Roll call is taken every morning and records are kept by the teacher. (Abubakre 2004, p. 152)

Adetona (2009) on his own tries to differentiate between Arabic and *ilmīyyah* school while seeing both the *ilmīyyah* school and modern Arabic school as one and the same thing. In the introductory aspect of his work, he asserts, “our intention in this contribution is to study the operation of the modern Arabic schools owned by private individuals otherwise known as *ilmīyyah* schools in contemporary Lagos” (Adetona 2009, p.52). Otunniyi’s (nd) idea of what local Arabic/Qur’anic school connotes is a bit different. First, he supports some educationists’ view that three types of Arabic-Islamic schools constitute what can be referred to as ‘local Arabic educational system’, these were Arabic or tablet (primary) schools, ‘*Ilmi* (secondary) and post ‘*Ilmi* schools’. Thereafter, he opines that a feature of the system is that the students, most especially in ‘*ilmi* and post ‘*ilmi* stages are given the privilege to choose textbooks on any subject and then invoked for teachers who guided them through (Otunniyi, nd, p. 56).

Notwithstanding, the division between the three concepts mentioned above and their different nomenclatures, there is obviously an overriding factor that bounds them together which traditionally is to learn the theory and the practice of Islam. With the holy Qur’an as the first organized representation of the Arabic language that provides the first material for the study of its various aspects and as the source of other branches of Islamic learning, reference to these schools collectively as local Arabic/Qur’anic school cannot be an overstatement. The other branches of the Qur’an which are usually taught in Arabic include *ulum-ul-Qur’an* (science of Qur’an), *hadith*, *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *tafsir* (exegesis), *thaqafatul Islamiyyah* (Islamic civilisation), *siyasah* (politics), and ‘*adab* (ethics and morality). The local Arabic school within this context is therefore a school that focuses traditionally on the teachings of Islam based on the Qur’an and its ancillary subjects either in Arabic or the vernacular irrespective of the stages where it occurs.

The Concept of Islamic Education

The term education is elusive. It has been defined or described in various ways or forms by many authors, philosophers, psychologists, educators, educationists etc. In reality, education is not as simple as we may conceive of it as a concept. It may mean different things to different people and different society. For example, it is defined as “a process, which enables an individual to adjust himself to the environment.” Education was clearly pictured by Stark (1987: 3) when he opined that:

It is the process by which an individual born into a human society, learns the ways of life, which include knowledge, skills and moral values of the society, at home, community and schools, so that he can function effectively as a member of the given society.

Adeniran (2013) views education as the process of learning to live as a useful and acceptable member of the community and as a good citizen. Tella (1989) takes education as life long process from the day we are born to the day we die, and it is a way of making people fit to live and fit to live with. Education all over the world is seen as a process of transmitting the cultural heritage, stabilizing the present and improving or changing the future of the people. It is also seen as process by which individuals are perceived to assume their respective responsibilities within a social setting, thus, making it a tool for social reconstruction and development.

Despite the polymorphous nature of the concept of education as attested by the different interpretations given to the concept, one thing that is fundamental to the concepts and which is common to all the interpretations is that education foster knowledge, skill, attitudes and morals. Also two approaches to education are identified; the first is the approach of looking into the process of education and second is the product of educating. From the process approach, education is purposeful activity achieved by structuring the resources in the environment of the learner, or designing a curriculum or a programme of studies, which produces desired change. And from the product approach; education signifies showing evidence of knowledge, understanding, good moral character and ability to use such knowledge and ability to reach some level of conduct which the society arbitrarily sets up and expects (Adeniran, 2013).

Islam examines education from a broader perspective, with a concept that is both scientific and philosophical. Thus, the concept of education in Islam means the process of developing balanced growth of the total personality of man through the training of man's spirit, intellect, rational feelings and bodily senses (Stark, 1987). It is on this balanced growth that Islam has based its educational system and enjoined all Muslims to pursue it. This therefore leads us to what could be called "Islamic education".

According to Sarwar (1996), Islamic education could be defined as the process through which human beings are trained and prepared in a concerted way to do their Creator's bidding in this life (*Dunya*) and to be rewarded in the life after death (*Akhirah*). In Islam, mundane, empirical metaphysical and spiritual matters are interconnected and inseparable. Thus, an Islamic

education system prepares human beings for both life on this earth and the life after death. It enjoins man to acquire education that will give him necessary tools of this life but not at the expense of the hereafter.

On a broader line, one may wish to consider Islamic education as system of education which entails ideological concept expounding the very nature of life (here and after), and prescribing the position of man and his role on earth. In arriving at this definition, Ajidagba (1991) is greatly influenced by the opinion of Qutub (1977), from which one can infer that Islamic education includes the doctrine and pragmatic set-up, which emanate from and premised on the ideological framework. The framework in question entails its sustaining power, politics and its characteristic, social order and its values, economic precepts, its philosophy and internationalism in its ramifications.

Aim and Philosophy of Islamic Education

Philosophy, from the ordinary man perspective, is a reflection of the people's world views. Balogun (2006) defined it as "a process of asking particular questions in particular areas". Technically, philosophy is characterized by a logical, consistent and systematic thinking so as to reach sound, coherent and consistent answer (Akinpelu, 1981).

Basically, philosophy deals with three basic branches: metaphysics, epistemology and axiology. Metaphysics deals with issues beyond ordinary human comprehension such as the nature of God, man, death, universe etc. Epistemology deals with the meaning, scope, sources and types of knowledge while axiology deals with the issue of morality and values (Balogun, 2006).

In Islam, the Holy Qur'an offers explanations for all the constituents of philosophy. The nature of God is not in doubt. He is perceived as the Almighty Allah. Man is presented as a representative of God on earth. He is made up of the indivisible components of body, soul and intellect. Man is created for a purpose to worship God alone and he is charged to do good for he must surely give account of his works on earth on the Day of judgement. The Holy Qur'an lays emphasis on various values which it compels on Muslims. These include: honesty, truthfulness, justice, sound moral character, humility etc (Akinpelu, 1981).

The ultimate purpose of Islamic Education is the attainment of Islamic virtue. Islamic Education aims at developing people's talents and inspiring lofty ethical values in them. This philosophy is the main foundation on which Islamic civilization, society and people's personalities is built. The aim of education, as observed by Sarwar (1996), is to initiate total change

in a person – beliefs, actions, potential, faculties, thoughts, expressions, aspirations, energies and everything relating to that person; in other words the balanced development of the whole personality of a human being – the agent of Allah. It seeks to motivate every member of society to promote and encourage everything good (right) and discourage and forbid evil (wrong). Expatiating the aim of Islamic Education, Abdulkareem (1990, p. 22) enlists ten points as the goals of Islamic Education. These are:

- The inculcation of consciousness of the Creator-Allah, on a basis of rational understanding;
- Implanting in people a harmonious relationship between them and their Creator on one hand, and between them and other creatures and the universe on the other hand;
- To enable people discover their innate talents and utilize them for the survival of the individuals and their society;
- The inculcation of a systematic Islamic values;
- The building of a balanced personality;
- The development of all human resources for the betterment of mankind;
- The inculcation of scientific methods of thinking, learning and acquisition of knowledge;
- The inculcation of fraternity and brotherhood among Muslims;
- The building of the mind in the understanding of nature and the world as the field of exploration and the object of enjoyment;
- The inculcation of social consciousness and nourishing a feeding of human response.

Spread of Islamic Education in Nigeria

There is no doubt that wherever Islam spreads, Islamic Education emerges there as well. This is so, because, the adherents of the faith would want to be educated about the religion; hence they always charged themselves about Islamic Education (Fafunwa, 1995). Historians acknowledge the fact that one of the factors that aided the spread of Islam in West Africa is the intellectual and literary posture of the religion. Acknowledging this fact, Stride and Ifeka (1977) remarks that “their literacy in Arabic impressed non-literacy people who assigned important supernatural qualities to the written word.”

With the emergence of Islam in Nigeria, there developed the teaching and learning of Arabic and Islamic studies. For the mere fact that the Glorious Qur’an, the Holy Book of Islam is written in Arabic and the five

daily prayers are to be observed with Qur'anic chapters or verses to be rendered in Arabic and Islamic Education. This is one of the reasons why the elementary Arabic Schools in Nigeria were called Qur'anic Schools and both Arabic and Islamic studies were taught simultaneously (Fafunwa, 1995). The elementary Arabic Schools known as Qur'anic Schools started to emerge wherever there were Muslim faithful. Pupils were then put in these schools with the intention of giving them Islamic education which begins by learning Arabic. Hence, when a pupil began to read Arabic alphabet, he did so with an intention to read the Qur'an. Thus two types of Qur'anic Schools developed in North: *Makaranta Allo* or Tablet –school and *Makaranta 'Imi* or the higher school. The first school is meant for the beginners while the higher school embraces all aspect of Islamic studies (Fafunwa, 1995).

Pupils who graduated from the higher school also had the opportunity to further their Islamic education to a higher level. This was done by patronizing highly respected 'Ulama-Islamic scholars or teachers around. More so, there were highly respected 'Ulama in the northern states right from the time that Islam was first brought to Hausaland and Kanem-Bornu. The rulers employed Muslim scholars as administrators since they could correspond with the North African Muslim rulers. It was because of this royal patronage that a large number of scholars came to the Western Sudan from the Maghrib and Egypt (Fafunwa, 1995). It was this influx of scholars who were deeply learned in the science of the Qur'an and *Hadith*, Islamic theology and etymology which assisted to a great extent, the teaching of Islamic education in the northern states. Many Islamic centres later sprang up in Sokoto, Kano, Katsina, Zaria, Daura, Gombe, Gwanda, and other parts of the present Sokoto, Kano, Katsina and Kaduna States of Nigeria (Fafunwa, 1995).

Islamic education in the northern part of Nigeria was noted to have grown very speedily. Before the amalgamation of Northern and Southern protectorates in Nigeria, Lord Lugard estimated the number of Islamic schools in the North as 20,000 with about 250,000 pupils. By 19th century, Islamic education as the first literate and systematized form of education had spread to many parts of Northern Nigeria including Nupe and Ilorin Emirates (Fafunwa, 1995).

Concerning the spread of Islamic education in the Southern part of Nigeria, Ahmed Baba Timbuktu mentioned Yorubaland as a country where unbelief predominated and Islam was rarely found. Since Ahmed Baba died in 1627, one can safely assume that the Yoruba country was known to Muslims in the 17th century or earlier. Samuel Johnson in his *History of the Yoruba* suggests that Islam came to Yorubaland towards the close of the

18th century. To him, Islam had certainly reached Southern Nigeria long before the birth of Uthman Dan Fudi not to talk of the Jihad of 1804. In the opinion of Fafunwa (1995), it was in 1830 that some learned scholars of Islam came to Yorubaland from the North through Ilorin. He further reports Adam Al-Ilori saying:

The name of an enthusiastic learned man and missionary who was responsible for the foundation of Islamic learning in Ibadan. The scholar was Shaykh Abu Bakr bn al-Qasim who originated from Ibadan but whose father had settled in Ilorin and was also trained there. Who later started a large *Madrassah* where he taught Arabic grammar, theology, Qur'anic studies and Prophetic traditions. Students gathered round him from different parts of the country. As time passed, Ibadan also became a reputed centre acquiring Islamic education. In this manner, a large number of Yoruba scholars were attracted to Ibadan or Ilorin to get their training in Islamic learning, and on completion returned to their home towns to establish similar *Madrassahs* or Qur'anic schools. As result of this, Qur'anic schools are found in almost every town and even small villages where there are only few Muslim families.

During this period, Qur'anic school system was held in the mosques or their verandas in many places in the country, it is to be mentioned without mixing words that separate schools were built across the country for Islamic education. This is why Doi (1984) remarks that “nowadays, separate Qur'anic schools are built in large towns rather than using the mosque buildings”. There are many separate Islamic/Qur'anic schools in many towns in the Northern parts of Nigeria as well as in the Southern parts particularly Yorubaland. There are even few ones in the East. Islamic centre in Anohia in Afikpo Local Government Area of Abia State where Islamic education is fully acquired. (Makinde, 2007).

A Typical Local Arabic School System

Islamic education begins from Arabic/Qur'anic school. An Arabic/Qur'anic school is usually found in or outside the mosque. It has become a common practice either in the Northern or Southern part of Nigeria to find Arabic schools located either in mosques, private houses or premises specially built for this purpose. In a typical local Arabic school, the school system is controlled by a single teacher called '*Malam*'. He organizes the school in his private house, or in a mosque and pupils turn to him to receive their Islamic education. Fafunwa (1995) notes that: “the teacher sits under a tree, or his parlour, veranda or porch, surrounded by volumes of the Qur'an and other Islamic books”. A little further off, but near

enough to be within reach of his long cane, squat some ten to forty pupils in semi-circle. With most of their bodies shielded by the broad wooden slates (called- *opon-ola*) they hold proudly before them, they chant different verses of the Qur'an. At the early stage of learning, repetition and rote learning were the main methods that involved choral recitations (Adeniran, 2013). The method is aptly described by Fafunwa (1995) in the following statement:

The teacher recites to his pupils the verse to be learnt and they repeat it after him. He does this for several times until he is satisfied that they have mastered the correct pronunciation. Then, they memorized verses and in this way, the pupil gradually learns by heart whole chapters of the Qur'an. A chapter at a time is written on his wooden board (slate) which has been scrubbed smooth with the aid of some coarse leaves and painted with a white clay-like substance. The *tada* (ink) which the teacher uses to write the chapter on the slate is extracted from a certain leaves which are boiled until they give off their dye.

In some cases, the teacher is assisted by one of the pupils who is considered the brightest or the oldest or both (Makinde, 2007). Muslim children are expected to start this first stage of Islamic education as early as the third year of their life. At this stage, the pupils learn the shorter *sumar* or chapters of the Qur'an through repetition and by rote. The only pleasure they can derive from the system at this stage lies in the choral recitations which often follow a sing-song pattern. The pupils seem to enjoy reciting these verses to themselves in their homes and at play (Makinde, 2007). What could be regarded as the 'secondary' level of the system has a much broader and deeper curriculum. The pupils begin by learning the meaning of the verses he has committed to memory. The teacher does his best to explain the Arabic texts. But this is usually far too difficult for the young minds and in many cases, for the teacher as well. Besides knowing the meaning of the verses of the Qur'an, the pupil is also introduced to other writings, such as *Hadith* and *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence). The translation method is largely used and repetition is still fully exploited.

In Arabic/Qur'anic schools, unlike in formal schools, there are no rigidly codified rules, but there are a few conventionalized ways of behaviour which guide the pupils and teachers. Although the periods for the classes are vaguely fixed, the teacher does not treat tidiness as serious offence. He is ready to pardon a latecomer if he is convinced that his lateness was caused by some engagement at home. Teacher himself is able to declare a holiday if a religious obligation (such as a burial or naming ceremony) takes

him away from home.

The school week starts from Saturday and ends on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are observed as resting days for the pupils. There is no bell to summon the pupils to school; nor is there a fixed dress, and no specified curriculum for different stages although nowadays, some Qur'anic schools make use of uniform for their pupils and to some extent a well defined curriculum for every stage. The exact time of the beginning of classes vary from teacher to teacher. In many parts of Nigeria, there are three sessions a day; morning, afternoon and evening. The morning session generally begins about 8.00 a.m. and ends about 10.00 a.m. the afternoon session lasts from about 2.00 p.m. to about 4.00 p.m. and (immediately after *Isha* prayer) to about 9.00.p.m. is the time for evening session.

In 1962, the existing Arabic/Qur'anic schools faced a significant reform when the western education was introduced by the colonialists. Shaykh Adam Abdullah al-ilory and later Shaykh Kamalideen Al-Adabiy, blazed the trail in this regard by reorganizing their schools to run *ibtida'iyyab* (elementary), *'idadiyyab* (junior secondary) and *tanjibiyyab* (senior secondary) programmes respectively. This type, popularly known as 'modern Arabic school' was a total departure from the former traditional and local Arabic/Qur'anic schools in many respects. One of them was the replacement of mats with desk and chairs; textbooks with slate among others while pupils/students who are now divided into classes gained promotion through the conduct of examination. Another difference was the design of comprehensive curriculum for full circle Arabic learning in which a student either passes through all the three stages of the programmes or terminates it where his capacity permits. Moreover, the period of learning for pupils/students was for the first time officially pegged to between eight and ten years, unlike before when the teacher determined the period when an individual pupil/student is sound enough to gain his freedom (Ayanbadejo, 2015).

With the takeover of missionaries and private owned schools in 1975 by the Federal government, both Christian knowledge and Islamic studies are now offered in most of the public schools. Lawal (2007) cited in Ahmad (2002, p. 19) asserts that:

Through religious education, students are morally upright, spiritually and academically developed. Obedience to constituted authorities and discipline, hardworking and love are inculcated through which they would be useful to themselves and to the society at large.

Research Methodology and Findings

Researchers in this study conducted on the spot observations to Local Arabic schools in Remoland. The duration of the exercise was between March 15th and April 30th 2019. Fifteen (15) privately run Arabic schools were visited but for the purpose of research and confidentiality their names were withheld. Part of what the observations focussed on were the curriculum in use, number of teachers in the schools, administrative styles and policies, methodology adopted in teaching, the school environment and the likes.

Summary of Findings from the Observations

Observations carried out in this study show that:

- (i) The proprietors in the Local Arabic Schools are the sole teachers that take care of all other subjects.
- (ii) Apart from the proprietor of the school, there are virtually no other teachers to help impart knowledge to the students.
- (iii) The organogram/administrative structure of the Local Arabic Schools did not take cognizance of the modern set up.
- (iv) The academic structure in the Local Arabic Schools still follows the old *Ile-Kennu* style.
- (v) Thanawwiyy (senior secondary) is the highest class in the Local Arabic Schools visited.
- (vi) The academic programmes in Remo Local Arabic schools concentrate on theoretical aspect of knowledge like *Qira* (recitation), *Nahu* (grammar), *Tajwid* (phonology) and the likes.
- (vii) The uncivilised attitudes of some of the proprietors of these Local Arabic Schools do not encourage patronages into these schools.
- (viii) There is lack of modern teaching techniques in the Local Arabic Schools.
- (ix) Some practical oriented subjects of pure sciences and ICT are not included in the curriculum of these schools.
- (x) The proprietors/teachers of these schools lack professional certificate in teaching.
- (xi) Graduands of these schools find it difficult to make practical meaningful contributions to the development of their communities and their dispensation to vocational training and modern outlook is not encouraging.

Discussion of on the observations

This Study attempted to assess the structures and programmes of

Local Arabic Schools and their outputs and outlook on graduands in Remoland in the present dispensation. Observations revealed that the structures of Local Arabic Schools still follow the old *Ile-Kenu* style. This is not good enough considering the reforms brought by eminent scholars like Adam al Ilori and Kamaldeen Al-Adabi in this regards. It was observed that the proprietorship and (or) tutorship were and are still in most cases personalized; hence, the schools are run according to the discretion of their owners and this threatens the continuity and future of the schools and the students in case of any eventualities.

It was further observed that apart from the proprietor of the school, there were virtually no other teachers that could help impart knowledge to the students. This again is not good enough as there are areas of specializations in Islamic Education which only one teacher cannot claim to know all. Students would only be left to the discretionary ability of the proprietor in the running of the school which may not augur well for the system and output.

Further investigation revealed that *Thanamiy* (senior secondary) is the highest class in the Local Arabic Schools in Remoland. This may not give opportunity to students to further their studies at other higher levels of Islamic Education because of new admission requirements in vogue.

There is need to point out that the scope of Local Arabic School is wider today than before. The Arabic aspect of learning and teaching Arabic has opened a vista of hope for people who want to become interpreters, translators and those who wish to acquire the knowledge of Arabic for the purpose of international business relationship with the Arabs.

Arikewuyo (2007) documented innovations introduced by Shaykh Muhammad Kamalu'd-din into the Local Arabic School thus:

He introduced the use of black board, chalk, benches and tables, formal classroom structure, class attendance register, wider curriculum, printed Arabic books, continuous assessment, and examination, grading and certification of pupils among other things in his *Azzumrat'ul Adabiyah* school. (Arikewuyo 2007, p 92)

Emulating something of this nature will widen the horizon of the students of local Arabic Schools in Remo and open doors of opportunities to the graduands.

Concerning the structure and academic programmes of the local Arabic school, Arikewuyo (2007, p. 94) suggests that:

Towards the realization of the desired goal, it becomes imperative for the Qur'anic school to strive to formalize its system, both structurally and academically... Moreover, the use of the formal classrooms equipped with at least moderate infrastructures to satisfy the academic needs of the learners at this stage should be adopted.

All these no doubt, are desirable for structural improvement of the Local Arabic Schools.

In other findings, it was revealed that the uncivilised attitudes of some of the proprietors of these Local Arabic Schools do not encourage patronages into the schools. Arikewuyo (2007) opines that the rigidity and the conservatism of the traditional *Ulama* (scholars) cannot be overemphasized. Pertinently, they resented any attempt to change the status quo. He further added that,

It is on record however that in Ilorin, Shaykh Muhammad Kamalu'd-din championed the course of reforming the stereotyped method of imparting the Islamic learning as far back as 1947. (Arikewuyo, 2007, p. 92).

In another dimension, interaction with some students revealed that there is need for the introduction of modern teaching techniques into the Local Arabic Schools. This if adopted would help to quickly transform the Local Arabic Schools into a more attractive system. More so, some practical oriented subjects of pure sciences and ICT are to be included into the curriculum of these schools.

Studies, observations and interactions with the schools show that the proprietors/teachers of the schools need to be encouraged to seek for professional certificate in teaching. This position will bring in variety of teaching methods in the dissemination of learning in the Local Arabic Schools. Proprietors/teacher themselves should seek for professional certificate in teaching from the government licensed institution of education. To buttress this, Adeniran (2013, p.77) and Bilesanmi-Awoderu (2012: 14) write:

That the success of any educational system or programme depends, to a large extent, on the quality and availability of qualified and committed teachers. This is true because the teacher formulates, designs, assembles, controls, supervises, selects, explores, facilitates, manipulates, assesses the teaching-learning materials, and evaluates all other factors in the

teaching-learning process.

Recommendations

To enhance the structural development and academic excellence of the Local Arabic Schools in Remoland, and to make graduands of the school more useful and for them to change the perception and outlook in line with the modern day learning, the following recommendations are suggested:

1. Proprietors of the Local Arabic schools should endeavour to bring into their schools, the professional teachers that can help to impart positively on the lives of the learners.
2. Proprietors of the Local Arabic schools should put in place a required administrative structure so as to facilitate good academic and administrative plans for execution and to have an effective succession plan.
3. There is need for Proprietors of these Local Arabic schools to come together and form a common front that would be able to enlighten their colleagues on the emerging challenges and need to reform the present standard for a better improvement.
4. There is need for the existing academic programmes and subjects recommended texts in these schools to be reviewed for updating to cater for new trends in Islamic Education which would conform with global practice.
5. Some practical oriented subjects of vocational courses and ICT should be included into the curriculum of these schools to enable students acquire practical oriented skills which would be useful to them and make them contribute meaningfully to their environment.
6. The proprietors/teachers should go for professional training in teaching for them to be skilful in the chosen career.

Conclusion

This paper takes a look at the structural pattern of the Local Arabic schools and programmes and output impact on the students. The study shows that the Local Arabic schools have gone through many developmental stages, these changes should be adopted by the local ones in Remoland and also to improve on the existing practices for better impact on the output of the graduands.

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Ethno-Religious Conflict in Nigeria: A Case Study of Bachama and Fulani Conflict in Adamawa

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Abstract

As the dawn of independence broke, the country made spirited attempt at building a nation that would break away from the shackles of colonialists' dictatorship and rule of impunity. Many had hoped even among the international community that the problem of insecurity, human right abuse, intimidation and poverty would come to an end. Unfortunately however the conceived nation evaporated without notice. This paper examines ethno-religious crises in Nigeria with Bachama and Fulani as a case study and drawing from its implications attempts to foster solution to the degrading nature of the nation. The research is of the view that the long time consolidation of colonial structures, coupled with surrogates wide spread poverty and several other social-economic crisis, nurtured the breeding ground for this situation. It is more annoying to know that, those entrusted with solving these problems are becoming hopeless and in most cases "directly involved" in the evil acts. The paper also makes suggestions on the necessary institutional and attitudinal changes that have to be put in place to ensuring institutionalization of a civilized nation of multicultural, plural and economic diversification in Nigeria.

Introduction

Nigeria's political landscape has undergone dramatic transformation since 1960. Repeated attempts at the institutionalization of democracy and nation building have failed largely as a result of the "general curse" of Africa (tribalism/ethnocentrism). As the dawn of independence broke, the country

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made spirited attempt at building a nation that will break away from the shackles of colonialists' dictatorship and rule of impunity. Many had hoped that the problem of insecurity, human right abuse, intimidation and poverty would come to an end. Unfortunately the conceived nation evaporated without notice. This paper examines ethno-religious crises in Nigeria with Bachama and Fulani as a case study and drawing from its implication attempts to foster solution to the degrading nature of the nation.¹ Nigeria, apart from being a geographical area of multicultural is an area of great agricultural and mining potentials. In fact it has potential of feeding West Africa with its agricultural endowment. There are also huge deposits of tin in Jos, Columbite, Kaolin, limestone, salt, precious stones and barites in the area. Historically, Nigeria has witnessed a lot of migration of people through the northern hemisphere of the country; some were threatened by desertification and drought. Some have migrated to find jobs in the mining industries or grazing land.²

Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Nigeria

As is the case in other parts of Africa, Nigeria of today has Africa has witnessing a lot of conflict outbreaks mainly over **“ethnicity” “religious bigotry” and struggle for economic opportunities”** These crises and many others have contributed greatly to the state of underdevelopment, not only in Nigeria, but Africa at large, providing serious impediment to the democratization process in Nigeria. Scholars have generally agreed that it is the ethnic and communal conflicts that are militating against national integration and nationhood in Nigeria.³

Communal conflicts are those in which the participants are communal groups sometimes seen as ethnic groups. A communal group has primary identity of language, religion, common history, the “we vs them syndrome”, the “in group vs the out- group”. Communal identity has the symbolic capability to define for the individual the totality of his/her existence including embodying his/her hopes, fears and sense of the future. Thus individuals are very sensitive to matters of communal symbolism created by the imperial powers to consolidate exclusionism for easy access and control of the divided people.⁴ Any action or thought that seems to threaten or undermine the communal group identity evokes every hostile response. Such actions include those that diminish group status, worth and legitimacy in the eyes of its members”.⁵

Dawood Egbfo quoted Best S. G. with clarity on the devastating nature of ethnocentrism on nation building and development in Nigeria as having argued:

Perhaps the past ten to twenty years were characterized by some of the most deadly conflicts in Nigeria. Hardly was any region spared some of these conflicts even though the conflicts differed in prevalence and intensity. They have defined themselves as “indigenes” and those outside of them as “settlers” depending on their own account of history of settlement, land ownership and claims to chieftaincy and rituals.⁶

As such some of the most violent and protracted conflicts in Nigeria have been recorded as ethnic conflicts. Among them were the Tiv-Jukun conflicts in Wukari in Taraba state, the Kuteb-Chamba-Jukun conflicts in Taraba state, Bachama/Fulani in Adamawa, Tiv/Azara in Nasarawa state, Bassa-Egbura in Nasarawa state and the Jos communal violence that engulfed the whole state between 2001 – 2004

The regularity with which these crises occur is highly responsible for the underdevelopment of the Nigeria. These crises do not augur well for the democratization processes in the country. The impact of these conflicts is severe as most of the time valuable human resources are lost, elections are disrupted and in some cases do not take place at all, property is lost, strained relationship between themselves and amongst their neighbours. Lest we forget, the issue of indigene vs settler has become a hot bed of controversy and conflict in Nigeria. The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria recognizes citizenship by birth or naturalization and it also recognizes the rights of citizens to free movement, association, settlement, religion in any part of the country. However, the constitution contradicts itself when it comes to political appointments, where it emphasizes on indigene of a person for appointment to key positions like the minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.⁷ The constitution in as much as it tries to promote national unity and integration, lacks the capacity to enforce it with respect to claims of individuals to some communal rights and identities which is subsumed under the umbrella of indigene or non indigene (settler). Nigerians are in the first place indigenes of their state of local government. The bond of indigene is stronger than that of citizenship in Nigeria. This has been protected by violent expressions in the form of communal violence. An indigene is simply seen as a person(s) who first settled in an area and have the rights to claim over land, grazing field, and other sites of historical importance, including chieftaincy of the area. A settler on the other hand is a later inhabitant of an area, who seemingly has residency right, but not customary and political rights e.g. the right to claim land, chieftaincy, election into offices, and control over customs and traditions etc. are denied him by the indigenes.

It is the competition or struggle to take control of resources which include power, land, chieftaincy, commerce and trade between the “indigenes” and the “settlers” that has produced most of the communal conflicts witnessed in Nigeria in general and the central Nigeria region, in particular. Other related issues resulting to conflicts include the colonialist tactics of divide and rule, Ethnic struggle for the minorities, indigene, exclusionism and land pressure in Nigeria.⁸ The crises are based on fears, aggressiveness, that a particular group is out to annihilate, exterminate, reduce or marginalize another and thus diminish its legitimacy, status and prestige as a group. The contest is usually over land, chieftaincy, political, economic power or boundaries. These are conflicts that have some kind of deep rooted histories of marginalization, and domination of one group by another which the leaders can correct or check if they want to for any nationhood features to make any meaningful impact on the people.

Bachama and Fulani Conflict

The recent communal/ethnic conflicts between Fulani nomads and the Bachama community in Adamawa State is taking a new dimension. Weekly Trust explores all the angles, and the root cause of the problem. It started with the killing of 12 Christians in a night raid by gunmen at the Christ Apostolic Church in Jimeta in the state capital in January 2012. Tension flared leading to the attack on the then Adamawa State Police Commissioner, Mr. Shinaba Adenrele, while was addressing the youths. The attack on the police made the State Government to impose a 24 hours curfew within the state capital to enable it take stock of the situation and restore normalcy. This attempt by the government failed with another set of angry youths protesting the killing of members of their ethnic group, who barricaded some streets in Yola. Like a wild fire, the protests spread to Numan, Demsa, Guyuk and Lamorde local government areas of the state. There have been occasional clashes between the mainly Muslim Fulani herders and the mostly Christian local farmers in the affected communities.⁹ The herdsmen alleged that about 50 of their people were killed while their livestock and mosques were burnt in what was said to be reprisal attacks. Their women and children were also reportedly held hostages, while access to corpses for burial was denied. The affected herdsmen further lamented that while the state government assisted victims of the Jimeta church attack with N16 million, no government official visited the affected communities when they were attacked:

A source told Weekly Trust that it was sensed that the situation in the area was going to worsen, and all indicators point to the fact that an attack was in the offing. He said security committees of the affected local governments met and communicated to the government.¹⁰

While the state government was planning to meet with stakeholders, another round of violence broke. Twelve villages were ransacked by people suspected to be Fulani nomads, killing a number of people the attackers were said to have stormed the communities at midnight of Sunday, having crossed the River Benue, entering through Bujum-Abbare, a border village between Taraba and Adamawa States. Local sources told Weekly Trust that same time as the alleged herders were attacking Suwa, in revenge, the Dadiya also came from neighbouring Gombe State on a separate revenge rampage. There have been series of communal conflicts between Suwa communities in Lamorde and Dadiya over farm lands.

Bachama Leaders Blame Government

Though, no group has claimed responsibility for the attack, the Bachama Socio-cultural group, Pene-Da-Bwatiye, alleged that the attack was launched by mercenary Fulani nomads who were on revenge mission. It went on to state that the Fulani have distributed kola nuts to their kith and kin preparatory to an undeserved reprisal attack on the Bwatiye.

In Yola, the state capital, the National President of the Association, Prince Hezron A. Fada also alleged that nomadic Fulani mercenaries were hired from the governor's local government of Mayo Belwa to attack Numan and Demsa local government areas:

Events in Adamawa now prove that attacks by Fulani marauders have been masterminded by the Government of Adamawa State. Government was availed with the security reports and threats, but the government was nonchalant about addressing the problem, regrettably, no such steps were taken and it seemed that government deliberately turned deaf ears and blind eyes to what seemed obvious in surreptitious support of the act seen as a retaliation, he alleged.¹¹

According to him, the government got wind of the attack since January 2012, but it was not proactive to address the situation:

Governor Murtala Nyako failed to promptly address the situation when the association made a representation to him on the need to forestall the

attacks, while security agencies were aware of the security implications to the phenomenon.¹² he stated.

Government's Denial of the Alleged Accusation

Governor Murtala Nyako, through his Chief Press Secretary Malam Mai Jama'a Adamu, denied the accusation of being the perpetrator of the conflict and killing:

They (the Bwatiye) are only playing a course of ethnic champions and hypocrites, because all necessary steps have been taken by the government, two days earlier, the National President of the Pene da Bwatiye Hezron Fada, the Deputy Speaker in the Adamawa State House of Assembly Hon. Kwamoti Laori, the member representing Lamorde in the State Assembly Hon. Mike Zidon and former commissioner Crowther Seth were at the residence of the governor, where they saw security chiefs that were collaborating with the governor on the way out of the crisis situation. The mission they brought before His Excellency was that they needed money to reach out to the armed Fulani and persuade them against planned attacks. Money was their mission! Just as they do in politics. I say this with all sense of responsibility.¹³

Maijama'a Adamu also said that a week before the attack, Governor Nyako had to cut short an official engagement in Abuja to preside over an emergency security meeting as the Secretary to the State Government Mr. Khobis Ari Thimnu convened a meeting with the Fulani group to ascertain speculation of planned attacks. According to him, emissaries were sent to persuade them (Fulani) against reprisal.

The Displaced Population

Over 6,000 families had been displaced and already the Tigno Primary School premises and other places have been turned into a camp for survivors of the violence.

National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) donated relief materials worth millions of naira to about 5,000 displaced persons who fled their homes in attempt to pacify the people which altogether would have been prevented. Surrogates or not surrogates, from the information exposed, one will begin to ask if government has no access to place or government deliberately abandoned them. The NEMA team, led by the North-east Zonal Coordinator, Alhaji Muhammad Kanar described the incidents as unfortunate, noting that "the agency and the Federal Government deem it necessary to assist and sympathize with the victims"¹⁴.

While regretting that the attacks had displaced many people, he advised leaders to mind their utterances and avoid any acts capable of creating tension in the land.

In his remarks, the chairman of the state emergency relief agency (SEMA), who is also the deputy governor Bala James Ngillari, said the state government is working assiduously with the local council in alleviating the suffering experienced by the displaced persons.

He assured that security operatives in the state would continue to protect the lives and property of citizens. He also asks the fleeing residents to remain calm, saying that the government was on top of the situation. Spokespersons of the displaced had earlier said that the communities affected are Bukutu, Luwafuti, Furtu, Wamsa, Suwa Bariki, Sulne, Wurki, Bang, Kullani, Murai, Kiza and Ninge, as according to them all the villages were burnt down and they are unable to ascertain the number of lives lost.

Whichever ways one wants to examine the incident, one must not forget the single most influential factor that led and continue to “fuel” the aggressiveness of the people (ethnocentrism), the “we vs them” syndrome. According to Samuel H.:

the alignment has now shifted to alignment of same civilization, in this context, a civilization and race are not identical, people of different races may be united by civilization. In particular, the great missionary religions, Christianity and Islam encompass societies from variety of races, yet the crucial distinctions among human groups mainly in Africa concerns their values, beliefs, institutions and social structures not their physical size, head shapes and skin colours.¹⁵

It is obvious beyond reasonable doubt that the curse of Nigeria as it is said, is “tribalism” and until we break away from this shackle created by both external and internal perpetrators, the phenomenon that lead to nationhood and development may elude Nigeria

Among these elements we can particularly count the following just as we accept them as the minimum that can be attained by any nationhood process worth the name. These are:

- The right of citizenship with a high degree of inclusion,
- Free and fair, competitive and effective elections, hence,
- Freedom of association and information, and
- Effective government by selected officials which can be held accountable for policies of inclusions against the exclusionism of the “surrogates and their masters”,

- The recognition of human rights,
- Wealth creation and poverty alleviation,
- Security of lives and property,
- Human and capital development and
- The guarantee of rule of law and civil liberties.

Civil society encompasses a vast array of organizations, formal and informal. It encompasses the ideological market place and the flow of information and ideas. Multiculturalism, pluralism and economic diversification geared towards a common goal of national interest with maximum loyalty and patriotism.

There is no doubt that outlining a clear agenda for making the state meet the aspirations and dreams of the people and subordinate to popular will remains the principal challenge of Nigerian politics. Only a strengthened and enlightened civil society and the conduct of the political class can prevent the conflicts resulting in arm struggle. Hence the need for Nigerian civil society groups to embark on a massive programme of public education in order to encourage the populace to reject and resist any attempt of using sentiments in the Nation politics.

Conclusion

Ethnocentric conflict is prevalent in Nigeria. The basis of these conflicts can be located in the nature and the structure imposed by the surrogates and their masters. The social and political structure of the society (ethnocentrism) has become a source of conflict. Individuals and groups struggle to gain positions of leadership for personal gains and this has hindered development. Consensus must be reached on all issues, if nationhood is to take its roots.

Far beyond doubt, one can now posit that most of these conflicts are based on exclusion identities, ethnicity customs, traditions that tend to separate the indigenes from the settlers, particularly beginning with the colonial divide and rule policy and segregation in residence between natives and settlers. It is the position of this paper, that with loyal and patriotic leaders and not surrogates, democratization directed to meet the realities of common origin and identity; these ethnocentric conflicts will become a thing of the past.

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Exercise Influence on Immunity, A Better Defence Against Infections

Abdul Mohammed

Abstract

It is a fact university acknowledged that health sector is bedeviled with a catalogue of problems that are somewhat endless. Various organizations are having all hands on deck to see to the eradication of some of these problems. Suffice to say that the relevance of this paper presentation which is tagged immunology will put some awareness on the mind of the students and the society at large some ways of controlling and improving health status. The paper endeavor to highlight on definition of immunity, history of immunity, barriers against infection, types of immunity, exercise and immunity, effects of exercise on immune function, immune response to exercise and disorders involving immune system. Some recommendations were made.

Introduction

During the last century, the population of developed and developing countries has become less physically active, either by the alteration in the kind of work, or by adoption of new habits attributable in part to changes in the demands of work and the adoption of new habits that are increasingly sedentary. This alteration has led to remarkable increases in the incidence of chronic diseases, such as cardiovascular diseases and type 2 diabetes, highlighted words obesity, musculoskeletal disorders, pulmonary diseases, certain types of cancer and neurological disorders. Regardless of the health status, sedentarism has also been affecting both the quality and life expectancy of these populations (Handschin&Spiegelman 2008).

The responses promoted by exercise, both acutely and chronically, affect many components of the immune system. Exercise of moderate

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intensity may stimulate parameters related to cellular immunity and hence decrease the risk of infection, while high-intensity exercise may promote a decrease of these same parameters, increasing the risk of infectious diseases (Rosa & Vaisberg 2002).

The amount of physical activity that a person does influences his/ her risk of infection, most likely by affecting immune function. It is known that regular moderate exercise reduces the risk of infection compared with a sedentary lifestyle (Walsh, Gleeson, Pyne, Nieman, Dhabhar, Shephard, 2011), but very prolonged bouts of exercise and periods of intensified training are associated with increased infection risk. Acute bouts of prolonged strenuous exercise cause a temporary depression of various aspects of immune function that typically last for up to 24 h after exercise (Walsh, et al., 2011).

Definition of Immunity

Immunity is the body's ability to resist disease. Immunity is also the capability of multicellular organisms to resist harmful microorganisms from entering it (*Keller, Margaret.;Richard, 2000*). Immunity involves both specific and nonspecific components. The nonspecific components act as barriers or eliminators of a wide range of pathogens irrespective of their antigenic make-up. Other components of the immune system adapt themselves to each new disease encountered and can generate pathogen-specific immunity. Much of the body's resistance to pathogenic (disease causing) microbes is brought about by several general body functions. Such resistance is called "Innate immunity". Mechanisms of immunity include phagocytosis, the activity of gastric juice, the hydrolytic action of the enzyme muramidase in tears and resistance of the epidemic of skin to penetration (Lindquister, 2006). Immunity therefore describes the ability of humans and other animals to resist or overcome infection by invading microbes or large parasites that the environment contains. Many potentially destructive micro organism is obvious from the speed with which animals decay after death. It is impossible for an animal to avoid contact with microbesbillions of which live harmlessly on the skin and in the gut, quite apart from those that are breathed in or that penetrate the skin whenever it is pricked or cut. What matters is that microbes should not grow once inside the animal's body. Humans and other vertebrate have two sorts of defences against microbial infection. One consist of the so-called innate immune mechanisms, those that kill and inhibit a wide variety of microbes in-respective of whether these have challenged the body before. This kind of immunity is non-specific that is, its mechanism can act against microbes that are not necessarily similar to

one another. The other type of defence, mechanism, by contrast, provides specific acquired immunity. Such immunity is specific in that its responses are tailored to act against a particular microbe or its products, it is acquired in that their tailor made responses are enormously increased as a result of being stimulated by the presence of a given microbe or its products.

History of Immunology

The term immune is derived from a latin word *immunis*; and it means to exempt from the charge; that is the act of exempting from charges. For many years, up to a span of century. The term immunology, denotes resistance to possible attack by an infections agent. As far back as 18th century, attempts to protect against varilla (a virus disease) were made in Eastern China and Western Asia by inoculation. This was done by using fluid from vesicle of persons infected with small pox virus into another individual, or it is done by purposely using contact with disease individuals. In 1721 Mary Montagu introduced the process of Virulation into England from Turkey, using unidentified small pox virus. This was found to be dangerous since dealt results.

Similarly, Mithridate the 6th (is an Ancient Greek King) tried to protect himself against the effect of poison by administering small amount of poisonous substance on multiple occasions. The process was later called mithridatism.

The wizards of Central Africa (Medical practitioners) in the middle of least 19th century protect people against snake bite by treatment with mixture of snake eggs and ant eggs. And at the beginning of the 20th century, the same procedure was employed by “Djoekas” among the black population of Dutch Guyana. Ants eggs were found to contain Formal which is now used for detoxification of toxin and venoms.

Early Immunology

The first effective, though empirical immunization was performed by Edward Jener (1749-1823). He was an English physician. Jener observed that those who recover from Cowpox were protected from small pox, so there is a cross protection. Thus, he introduced vaccination with cowpox in 1796 to protect people against smallpox. “Vaccination” came from latin word “*Vacca*” meaning cow the term vaccination replaces virulation.

In 1822-1896 Louis Pasteur a worker working on microbes investigated the possibility of protecting against infection by vaccination with attenuated strains of micro organism. Attenuated strains of micro organism are micro

organisms that have been treated in such a way that their pathogenicity is reduced, the attenuation can be produced in various ways.

Between 1878-1880 researchers observed that *Pasteurella abisepctica* (an organism) which causes chicken cholera has lost its infectivity when inoculated into animals and that it protect such animals from virulent strains. That is another way of attenuating the organisms. The agent introduced loses part of its former identify. So, Pasteur called these attenuated microbes “vaccines”. Thus, in honour of the work of Jener, almost 100 years after Jener, Pasteur extended the term “vaccination” to denote conferring immunity by injection of attenuated strains of organisms.

In 1881, Pasteur further confirmed the idea of using attenuated strains through his study on vaccination against anthrax. Other researchers, such as Richet and Héricourt in 1888, noticed that there could be partial protection against bacteria, such as staphylococcus.

While in 1889, Charrin and Roger demonstrated a phenomenon known as agglutination between immune serum and the organism that is used for the immunization. The same year a researcher named Pfeiffer demonstrated the specificity of the protective effect of immunization. That is, he showed that the anti-body serum developed against a specific form of micro-organism can only protect against that specific species not another species of the same microbe.

Barriers Against Infection

The simplest way to avoid infection is to ensure that the skin is not broken, because it gives a way for the organism to enter the body. The major line of defense under barrier is the skin. When the skin is intact, it is impermeable to most infection agents. But when there is a skin loss e.g by burns, infection becomes a major problem. Most bacteria cannot survive long on the skin because of the direct inhibitory activity of lactic and fatty acid that is present in the sweat and sebaceous secretion and also due to the low PH (acidic) that degenates. Human skin has a tough layer of cells that produce Keratin, protein similar to that of which hair is composed. This layer of cells, which is constantly renewed from below, serves as a mechanical barrier to infection. In addition, glands in the skin secrete oily substances that include oleic acid, that can kill some bacteria; skin glands also secrete lysozyme, an enzyme (also present in tears) that can break down the outer wall of certain bacteria.

Mucus

Mucus is secreted by the membrane living in the inner surface of the body. And it acts as a protective barrier to block adherers of bacteria to epithelial cell.

Microbial and other foreign particles that are trapped with adhesive mucus are removed by mechanical methods, which include the ciliary movement, coughing and sneezing.

Other mechanical factors that protect epithelial cells include the washing action of tears, saliva and urine.

Many of the secreted body fluids contain internicidal components e.g acid (found in the gastric juice), spermine and zinc (found in the semen lactoferotidase (found in milk) and lysozyme (found in tears, saliva and nasal secretions).

The second mechanisms of defence is microbial antagonism associated with normal bacteria flora of the body. This normal flora of the body suffers the growth of many potentially pathogenic bacteria and fungi, especially at the superficial sites by competition for essential nutrient or by production of inhibitory substance, such as acids that are produced by particular or specific specie of commensal bacteria, which metabolise glycogen that is secreted by the vaginal epithelium.

When protective commensals are disturbed, sensetibility to opportunistic infection is encouraged. Such as the use of anti-biotics or immune-suppressive diseases (malaria, Aids, etc.) make non pathogen to be pathogenic. This lower the ability of the commensal to protect the individual.

Types of Immunity

Immunity can be acquired naturally or artificially and both forms may be acquired actively. When immunity is acquired actively, the individual has responded to the antigen and has produced his own anti-bodies.

Passive Immunity: this occurs when the individual has specific antibodies which has been produced by someone else. For example a foetus or the new born infants may also obtain antibodies from its mother, across the placenta or in breast milk respectively. Anti-bodies obtained in this way provide that which are not produced by the individuals own immune system. Passive immunity is short lived because the transferred antibodies are soon destroyed in the liver, hence the reason why new-babies are usually resistant to a variety of diseases for only about three months. At this stage a programme of vaccination is normally begun to give active immunity, against serious microbial disease.

Active Naturally acquired Immunity: This occurs when the body is included actively in producing anti-bodies. This type of immunity can be acquired in two ways.

1. By actually having the disease. This micro-organisms, invade the body successfully where they grow and reproduced in sufficient numbers to produce the clinical features of the disease. During the course of the illness, anti-bodies are produced in sufficient numbers to overcome the micro-organisms and the person recovers. This sensitisation remains as a future protection against the particular pathogen. In a nutshell this is called cellular immune response where cell mediated response is usually brought about by the presence in our bodies of cells with non-self antigens on their surface. Such cells may be cancer cells or self cells whose antigens have been changed to non-self after a viral infection.
2. By having a sub-clinical or sublinial infection. In this instance, the body is exposed to minute numbers of micro-organisms which are insufficient to give rise to recognizable disease but are sufficient to stimulate the production of anti-bodies. Again, sensitization remains to provide future protection which usually occurs when pathogenic microbe get into our bodies. On entering our lymph nodes they activate B-cells to divide many times by mitosis and swell to become large plasma cells. This plasma cells produce large quantities of anti-body specific to the antigen which triggered the response. This is called humoral immune response.

Passive naturally acquired immunity

In this instance the anti-bodies are passed from the mother to the foetus through the placenta before the baby is born. This type of immunity is thought to be very short lived.

Active Artificially Acquired Immunity

This type of immunity develops in responses to the administration of a suspension of killed or attenuated micro-organisms or detoxication toxins. Attenuation means that the organisms retain their antigenic identity but cannot cause the disease. This is achieved by heat, treatment, exposure to chemicals such as formalin or by growing successive generation over a long period of time on artificial media in the laboratory. The suspensions of micro-organism which are dead or attenuated are called (vaccines) and the detoxicated toxins are called toxoids.

Vaccines and toxoids are prepared so that they will not cause the disease but are sufficiently powerful to stimulate the production of anti-bodies and

this build up and active immunity. Many disease can be prevented by artificial, active immunization, some of these are:- anthrax, diphtheria, measles, poliomyelitis, small pox, tetanus, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, whooping cough, and yellow fever

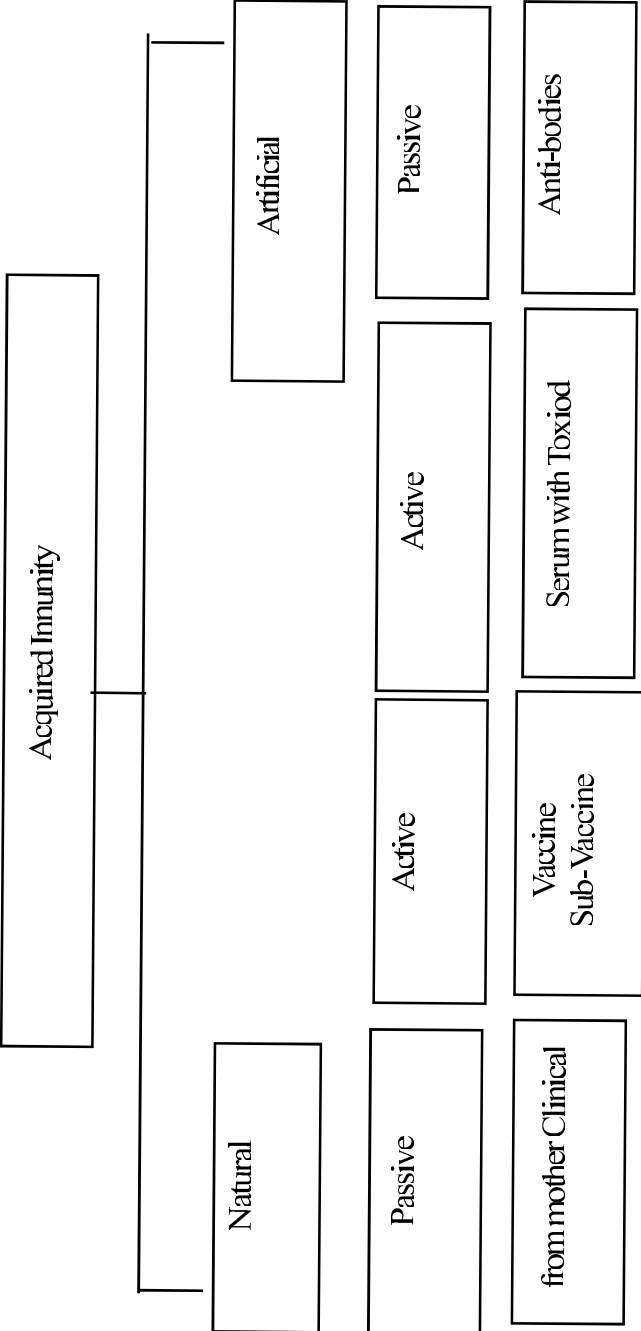
Passive artificially acquired immunity

In passive immunity the individual plays on active part in production of anti-bodies.

The ready-made anti bodies obtain in human or animals serum are injected into the individual.

Human serum contains the (ready-made anti-bodies) if the individual has recovered from an infections diseases, for example, Measles, Animals serum contains the anti-bodies following its active immunization.

Animal anti-sera may be used both prophylactically (to treat an infection). A summary of the types of immunity is given below.



Exercise and immunity

Michael, (2015) stated that exercise helps decrease chances of developing heart disease and also keeps bones healthy and strong. It is not known exactly if or how exercise increases immunity to certain illnesses but there are several theories that supported it. However, none of these theories have been proven but some according to Michael (2015) include:

- Physical activity may help flush bacteria out of the lungs and airways. This may reduce your chance of getting a cold, flu, or other illness.
- Exercise causes change in antibodies and white blood cells (WBC). WBCs are the body's immune system cells that fight disease. These antibodies or WBCs circulate more rapidly, so they could detect illnesses earlier than they might have before. However, no one knows whether these changes help prevent infections.
- The brief rise in body temperature during and right after exercise may prevent bacteria from growing. This temperature rise may help the body fight infection better. (This is similar to what happens when you have a fever.)
- Exercise slows down the release of stress hormones. Some stress increases the chance of illness. Lower stress hormones may protect against illness.

Exercise is good but, you should not overdo it. People who already exercise should not exercise more just to increase their immunity. Heavy, long-term exercise (such as marathon running and intense gym training) could actually cause harm (Michael,2015)

Studies have shown (Pollock, Gaesser, Butcher, Després, Dishman, Franklin, 1998) that people who follow a moderately energetic lifestyle, benefit most from starting (and sticking to) an exercise program. A moderate program can consist of:

- Bicycling with your children a few times a week
- Taking daily 20 to 30 minute walks
- Going to the gym every other day
- Playing golf regularly

Effects of Exercise on Immune Function

Pollock, et al, (1998) stated in American College of Sports Medicine (ACSM, 1998) that aerobic activities ranging from 40 to 59% of VO_{2max} , 55 to 69% of maximal heart rate and 12-13 on the Borg's subjective perceived exertion scale are considered moderate intensity, while aerobic activities ranging between 60 and 84% of VO_{2max} , 70 and 89% of maximal

heart rate and 14-16 on the Borg's subjective perceived exertion scale are considered high intensity (Pollock, et al, 1998, Haskell, et al, 2007). The International Society of Exercise and Immunology (ISEI), in its official guideline, states that the immune dysfunction observed after exercise is more remarkable when the exercise is continuous, prolonged (> 1.5h) and performed at an intensity ranging from moderate to high 55 and 75% of VO (Walsh, et al, 2011).

Michael (2015) revealed the following as effects of exercise on immune function;

- Regular moderate exercise reduces the risk of infection compared with a sedentary lifestyle, but very prolonged bouts of exercise and periods of intensified training or competition are associated with increased risk of infection. In athletes, a common observation is that symptoms of respiratory illness cluster around competitions and these can impair exercise performance.
- Prolonged bouts of strenuous exercise have been shown to result in transient depression of white blood cell functions and it is suggested that such changes create an “open window” of decreased host protection, during which viruses and bacteria can gain a foothold, increasing the risk of developing an infection. Other factors such as psychological stress, lack of sleep and malnutrition can also depress immunity and lead to increased risk of infection.
- Periods of intensified training with insufficient recovery may result in a temporary state of immune depression which should recover with a few days of relative rest.
- There are several behavioral, nutritional and training strategies that can be adopted to limit exercise-induced immunodepression and minimise the risk of infection. Athletes can limit their risk of infection by avoiding close contact with people who are showing symptoms of infection, by practising good hand, oral and food hygiene, and by avoiding the sharing of personal items such as towels and drink bottles.
- For maintaining robust immunity, getting adequate recovery and sleep is important, as is avoiding deficiencies of protein and micronutrients (particularly iron, zinc and vitamins A, D, E, B6 and B12).
- Athletes are advised to ingest carbohydrate (30-60 g [1-2 oz] per h) during prolonged training sessions, and consume – on a daily basis – plant polyphenol (flavonoid) containing supplements or foodstuffs and Lactobacillus probiotics. Vitamin D₃ supplementation may also be

desirable for some athletes as vitamin D deficiency is common in the winter months.

Immune Response to Exercise

In the several models put forward by various researcher to explain possible mechanisms under-lying the response of particular parameters to exercise, the common theme is the role of neuroendocrine factors. Many hormones capable of immune modulation are released during exercise. Such as epinephrine, ACTH, Cortisol, B-endorphin, metenkephalin, Prolactin, growth hormone, and thyroxine. Moreover, regular exercise (i.e training) changes the response of several of these hormones to exercise, usually by bunting exercise induced release, which may account for training induced changes or differences between athletes and non-athletes in the immunes response to exercise.

One example of a model recently proposed to explain the apparent dual response of neutrophils to exercise (Smith&Weidemann, 1990) stated that moderate exercise may induce priming of neutrophil microbicidal capacity through immune stimulatory pituitary hormones and or an endotoxin monokine cascade. These mechanism may work synergistically or independently. Priming may be negated, however, lye very intensive exercise, due to activation of the immune suppressive or of the pituitary-adrenal axis. The initial switch may be triggered by local hypothealamic/pituitary factors once exercise intensity reaches a critical threshold level. Immune suppression may be manifested as a consequence of sustained ACTH and cortisol release caused by high concentration of monokines. Although this model was developed to explain a particular immune responses (neutroplmicrobicidal activity), many features may be generalied to other immune parameters. For example, growth hormone, IL-I and TNF also enhance other immune parameters, such as NK cytotoxicity. The model addresses the complex interaction of neuroendocrine factors (e.ghornes) and cytokines, as well as both stimulatory and inhibitory effects of some hormones. Moreover, the model attempts to explain why moderate exercise appears to stimulate immune function. Whereas intense or prolonged exercise often results in immune suppression.

Regular physical activity appears to reduce the incidence of cancer in humans and to enhance resistance to tumor growth in experimental animal models, suggesting a possible role of exercise in long-term prevention of cancer. Moderate exercise is also recommended as adjust therapy in some illnesses such as cancer and treatment and to enhance the patients psychological state. Recent data also suggest that moderate exercisemay

enhance immune function in early HIV-1 infection. At present it is unclear whether the immune modulating effects of exercise occur directly via action on immune function or indirectly via alterations in other parameter, such as psychological stress and neuroendocrine factors. The long-term effects of exercise on immune function in patient with disease have not been thoroughly explored.

Having reviewed current literature describing effects of exercise on various aspect of immune function and having touched on the complexities of the immune system, its effects on immunity can be categorized as potentially positive, negative or neutral (no effect). Four (4) major points are apparent:

1. Exercise alters many aspects of immune function in both positive and negative directions. Immune parameters are unaffected by exercise.
2. Exercise influences the immune response at the level of the intact organism (e.g survival during infections) as well as individual immune parameters (e.g lymphocyte proliferation).
3. Response of a specific immune function varies with exercise intensity and individual fitness level.
4. There are inconsistencies in the immune response to exercise that cannot yet be fully explained (e.g both increased and decreased specific antibody responses).

Disorders involving the immune system of the body (Immune deficiencies)

There are several ways in which the protective mechanisms outline above may fail. Some are inborn, due to genetic defects in the development of one or more of the cells involved in immune responses. Others result from infections agents that damage essential immune cells. Still others are due to poisons or to drugs administered accidentally or with the intention of curing or ameliorating other disease. In yet other cases, the immune deficiency stems from inadequate nutrition.

Some infants never develop a thymus, and consequently they cannot produce mature lymphocytes. In others the B lymphocytes fail to secrete immune globulins some infants are born with combined immune deficiency, in which the functioning of both types of lymphocytes is impaired. Other inborn deficiencies occur because the macrophages or granulocytes lack one or more of the enzymes needed to destroy ingested microbes. All these conditions are rare and many victims can be maintained in reasonable health of drastic procedures, such as a thymus or bone-marrow transplant to restore the defective cells, or by regular administration of pooled immune globulins

prepare from the blood of normal people.

Damage to lymphocytes by viruses is more common but usually transient. During infections mononucleosis, for example, the Epstein-Barr virus infects B cells, causing them to express viral antigens. T cells that react against these antigens then attack the B cells, and a temporary deficiency in the production of new antibodies lasts until the overt viral infection has been overcome. Since antibodies already present in the blood are only slowly broken down, failure to make new ones is only important if the infection persists for a long time as it sometimes does. A more serious viral infection is that due to the agent responsible for AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome), which selectively infects helper T cells and prevents them from producing lymphokines and from functioning in cell mediated immunity. Persons with AIDS may be unable to overcome infections by a variety of microbes that are easily disposed of by normal persons. Severe infection by certain parasites, such as trypanosomes, also causes immune deficiency, as do some forms of cancer, but it is uncertain how this comes about.

Conclusion

Finally, research has just begun to address the mechanisms responsible for exercise induced changes in immune function. Future applications of technology in immunology and molecular biology to research on the immune responses to exercise will greatly enhance our understanding of the body's responses to exercise as well as regulation of the immune system.

Recommendations

In the final analysis, it becomes pertinent to give some pieces of advice to individuals on how to improve the immune system of the body because of the global threat on health.

It is therefore recommended that:

1. Good nutrition should be adhered to that is people should endeavour to eat ideal diet in order to improve the immune system of the body. In a nutshell, vitamins is recommended (fruits, vegetables and minerals).
2. People should desist from drugs that are detrimental to the body's immune system e.g excessive doses of anti-biotics and self medication be avoided in its totality.
3. Most studies on the effects of exercise on immune function have focused on short-term changes following a single bout of exercise or short-term training. The long-term effects of regular exercise training

have received relatively little attention. The potential long-term effects of exercise on immune function have obvious implications for health promotion and preventive medicine.

4. Health is wealth: and a healthy Nation is a wealthy nation therefore people should develop positive attitudes towards health by participating in regular exercise programme..

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From “Ideological Appeals” to “Valence Issues”: Reflections on Electoral Politics in Africa

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Abstract

African political parties in the period preceding and immediately following independence were ideological garbs. But this changed following the third wave of democratization that began in the 1990s. Currently, there is a growing saliency of valence issues in African electoral competitions which has also birthed ethnic politics and exacerbated electoral violence. This paper dilates on the factors responsible for this shift and weighs in on the implications for democratic competition in Africa. It argues that the saliency of valence issues in Africa’s electoral politics has reinforced identity politics. Identity politics rooted on ethnic cleavages has provided incentives for violence and reduced elite responsiveness and increased political polarization. Due to lack of other cleavage lines, ethnically based parties are unable to diversify their electoral base. The total dependency on communal support puts ethnic parties under great pressure to satisfy group demands. It concludes by stressing the need for African governments to evolve policies aimed at discouraging ethnic parties. It considers the view that multi-ethnic parties promote multi-cleavages and minimize ethnic based electoral violence. The analysis in the paper is anchored on secondary sources.

Introduction

Election cycles in Africa are currently shaped by valence issues rather than ideological appeals. This development also makes it problematic to distinguish African political parties from one another. The manifestoes of the parties contain similar programs but they are usually silent on the strategies for

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realizing set goals. It is instructive to note however that, the political parties that emerged in the years preceding and immediately following European colonialism were ideologically based parties. The international political environment arising from the cold war bipolar politics created the incentives for the emergence of ideological parties in Africa. Parties were either affiliated to capitalist or socialist values. These affiliations made it possible to identify, distinguish and understand the policy directions of political parties. But the ideological garbs have disappeared particularly following the third wave of democratization that began from the 1990s sequel to the end of cold war bipolarity. The shift from ideological appeals to valence issues has since thrown up a number of implications for electoral competition in Africa. This shift also provokes critical questions; what is responsible for the prominence of valence issues in African politics? What are the implications for electoral competition in Africa? What are the policy options for improving the quality of elections in Africa?

This paper provides an explanatory compass for the shift from “ideological appeals to valence issues”; highlights the implications for electoral competition in Africa and dilates on the policy options for improving elections. For a logical anchorage of the discourse, the paper is structured into sections. The first section is the introduction which provides a lead into the discourse. The second section clarifies the context in which the phrases ideological appeals and valence issues have been used. The third section accounts for the deficit in ideological appeals in African elections. The fourth section discusses the saliency of valence issues and the implications for electoral competition in Africa. The concluding remarks are contained in the fifth section.

Ideological Appeals versus Valence Issues: The Context

The phrase “ideological appeals” derives its constituent meaning from the concept “ideology”. Ideology as a concept has been given varied meanings by scholars. Erikson(1958:20) sees ideology as “an unconscious tendency underlying religious and scientific as well as political thought: the tendency at a given time to make facts, in order to create a world image convincing enough to support the collective identity”. From this frame of thought, ideology regulates activities in society. Easton (1965) conceives of ideology as consisting of ethical explanations and principles which set forth the purpose, organization and boundaries of political life. He identifies three strands of ideology namely, communal, partisan and legitimating ideology. These strands are said to work together to give expression to a political system. For instance, communal ideology projects political

identification among citizens; partisan ideology cultivates opinion for political authorities and mobilizes support, and legitimizing ideology shapes a political structure, its norms and occupants, which is vital to the existence and perpetuation of a regime. This interpretation attempts to describe political behavior in society.

According to Karl Marx (1904:11) ideology originates in the material conditions of life, as determined by the division of labor and man's relation to the means of production. Marx conceived the capitalist system as being incapable of allowing for an achievement of correct knowledge or true consciousness of itself by all classes within it as the dominant ideas of a period were regarded as being always the ideas of the dominant class. Max Weber and Karl Mannheim saw ideology in a similar way with the Marxists. They regarded ideologies as idea systems that were expressions of certain interest groups. It is however important to make the point that ideological formulation in any society cannot be solely based on economic interests, for a variety of interests and influences exist that impact on the form of ideology any society adopts. Mittelman (1975) identifies six functions that ideology performs which include legitimating, rationalization, interpretation, solidification, communication and mobilization. The performance of these functions depends on the socio-cultural, economic, and political environment of the State concerned. It is ideology that creates a political culture, stimulates new orientations for individuals in the society and provides new patterns of behavior relevant to the development of society. It is instructive to note therefore that the years immediately preceding and immediately following European colonialism saw political arenas in many African countries filled with explicitly ideological parties.

A number of early post-independence leaders- Luis Cabral of Guinea Bissau, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Modibo Keita of Mali, Antonio Aghostino Neto of Angola, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Ahmed Skou Toure of Guinea among others, developed or adhered to, at least rhetorically, variations of socialist ideologies and their political parties crafted electoral appeals or other legitimizing messages (Bagaards, 2004). Some African leaders also formed political parties that embraced capitalist policies and orientations. For instance, Felix Houphouët-Boigny and his mass party, the Parti Democratique de la Cote d'Ivoire (PDCI), supported pro-Western policies throughout the continent. In Ghana, J. B. Danquah and Kofi Abrefah Busia, and the United Party (UP), formed the core of the anti-Nkrumahist opposition. The global power politics of the cold war era supported the capitalist-socialist ideological divides. It is important to also state that party leaders developed ideological rhetoric,

and they invested heavily in mass communication systems to disseminate propaganda.

The point therefore is that ideological appeals are belief sets that provide a cognitive structure through which the universe is perceived, understood and interpreted. Ideological appeals in a political context provide prescriptive guides to political action, specifying the goals which may be pursued and the means used to pursue them. Such appeals justify societal order in a way power is organized, distributed, used and limited, thereby converting it to its most highly durable, reliable and effective form-authority. The ultimate purpose of these ideological appeals is to provoke societal development using an elaborate framework. It is in context that Christensen et al (1972: 5) conceptualization of ideology is particularly apt. They defined ideology *inter alia*;

The belief system that explains and justifies a preferred Political order for society, either existing or proposed, and Offers a strategy...for its attainment... it includes a set of Basic assumptions, both normative and empirical, about the nature and purpose of man and society.

The rise of capitalism and then socialism brought to the fore contending sets of political and economic orders. The ideological competition that this development provoked gave birth to sub-ideologies like liberalism, conservatism, anarchism and feminism. The exact meaning of what these forms represented existed more in rhetoric than in reality. In fact, some of the African leaders of the 1950s and early 1960s rhetorically Africanize the two dominant ideologies and reproduced ideological rhetoric like African Socialism, Democratic Socialism and African Communism (Elischer, 2013). In contemporary African electoral politics, the agency of ideology has whittled down significantly giving rise to the predominance of valence issues. This explains why it is difficult to identify parties in Africa by their ideological bearing. But what is responsible for this shift? The answer to this question will be attempted in the next section.

Explaining the Deficit in ideological Appeals in Contemporary Electoral Politics in Africa

Unarguably, electoral politics provides a means for society to make collective judgments about the past policies of government and the direction a future government should follow. Elections supposedly provide an opportunity for groups to agitate contending interest within a political setting. Historically, the 20th century was dominated by economic competition among

social classes particularly in many Western democracies. In other climes, religious, regional, or other cleavages defined the issues of electoral politics and public policy. (Dalton, 2006). Democracy therefore provides a social construct whereby elections are periods when people choose between different competing and contending world views or ideologies that address societal needs.

In Africa, as indicated earlier, the period preceding and the era immediately after independence witnessed remarkable ideological competition amongst political parties in African States. However, contemporary electoral politics in Africa lacks substantive issues. Most of the discourse around elections is focused either on the identity characteristics of the politicians constituents-typically through the lens of ethnicity-or a reductive vision of elections as primarily a venue for violent threat and the distribution of money and gifts to buy votes. For instance, even in Ghana- a country whose politics were long marked by sharp ideological rifts between Nkrumahist and liberal camps- the dominant parties are not as distinguishable by ideology as history might suggest. Political cleavages in Ghana in contemporary times seem to be even more about ethnicity and region, although identity is not the sole determinative factor (Arthur, 2009). Further examples of parties in African States such as Angola's MPLA, Mozambique's FRELIMO, and Tanzania's Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) that were once staunchly leftist in their ideological rhetoric have more or less embraced many aspects of free market capitalism, at least in practice. In Nigeria, it is difficult to tag political parties based on political ideologies. The poverty of political ideology manifested during the first republic. The parties of the first republic, NPC, NCNC and AG were more characterized by ethno-regional coloration than a clear ideological prism. Claims on an ideological angling existed more in rhetoric than practice. This problem continued all through the second republic. In the aborted third republic, attempts were made to root the SDP and the NRC (the only parties established) on an ideological platform of a 'a little to the left and a little to the right', in practice, it was difficult to differentiate these two parties ideologically. The political parties of the fourth republic do not really represent any distinguishable ideological bend. The parties exist more as platforms for political recruitment into office. This is why party defections have become rampant.

In Kenya, the latest elections held on 8th August 2017. It was the sixth set of national elections since the return to multi-party rule. The electoral space was dominated by two prominent parties – Jubilee Party of Kenya and National Super Alliance. However, the ideological bend of these leading

parties is difficult to figure out. The basic issues in the 2017 elections for example revolved around some basic issues in the Kenyan society rather than any known ideological constructs. The key issues are matters of the economy particularly the cost of living, food security, poverty and unequal distribution of resources. These issues played out as election deciders. Closely related is a concern about unemployment. The unemployment rate in Kenya is high even by African standards with 40 percent of the adult population reported to be jobless. The reason for the soaring unemployment rate is said to be the yearly release of ill prepared youths into the job market by the education system and the inability of the industrial sector to absorb them. The land question in Kenya has for long been entwined in national politics. Its pull as a key resource for wealth generation saw communities clash in the run of two elections in 1992 and 1997 before the near apocalypse that was the 2007 post-election violence. The security question also resonated as a serious election issue. Kenya has suffered several terrorist attacks, the most tragic being that at the Garissa University and at the Westgate mall. The debate among the candidates centered on who had the best strategy and is better placed to tackle the challenge. Questions about devolution, citizen rights, establishment of independent Constitutional Commissions and clipping of presidential powers by parliament were key planks in the electoral debates. Devolution proved an acid test with incessant disputes on what resources should be released to the 47 counties and whether the central government has a coordinating role on devolved functions like agriculture, health, early childhood education and collective enterprises. The issue of sovereignty as thrown up by the International Criminal Court (ICC) was another big issue. Whereas the Jubilee party saw ICC as a neo-colonial institution attempting to undermine the sovereignty of the country; the opposition regarded the judicial interrogations of the ICC as an attempt at ensuring accountability (KNBS, 2017). Clearly, valence issues have featured prominently in Kenya election cycles.

In Zimbabwe, the July 30, 2018 elections brought out an interesting pattern of election predictors. It marked the very test of the popular will since the dramatic military intervention of November 2017 that ended Robert Mugabe's 37 year rule. The issues in the election oscillated around economic pessimism and cautious political hope. The 2018 contest was the first in Zimbabwe's history in which both leading candidates for the presidency campaigned on messages of economic reform though the strategies for achieving this rhetoric pronouncement was unclear. Neither ZANU-PF led by Emmerson Mnangagwa nor MDC-T led by Nelson Chamisa is known by any ideological coloration. Rather, the two major parties appeal to very

different political bases, ZANU-PF to a rural base and MDC-T- to a base among educated people. Thus, the demographic predictors in Zimbabwe are the voter's rural residential location. There is no denying the fact that there are structural realities that sway votes. For example, Zimbabwe's population remains predominantly rural; the latest census projections estimate the rural –urban population break down at 63:37 (Afrobarometer, 2018). This means that the party with the rural base will often win the election. The point also need be made that, Zimbabwe has suffered an extensive brain drain during recent decades as many of the county's most educated citizens emigrated for economic opportunities in the region and abroad. The sum trite is therefore that electoral politics in Africa particularly in contemporary times is not founded on ideological leanings. Valence issues take precedence over ideological constructs.

The electorates in Africa often do vote expressively and on the basis of emotional appeals or identity. But this does not suggest that African elections are less meaningful or that voters do not understand their electoral choices in substantive terms. It is indeed true that elections in the region rarely elicit appeals to class cleavages, but the absence of debate involving economic ideologies should not be confused with a dearth of programmatic politics. However, the point is that, there is a noticeable and overwhelming use of valence issues in African election cycles. Campaigns are colored by “incumbent” and “challenger” issues rather than concrete ownership of issues as found in climes where parties are ideologically structured.

The Saliency of Valence Issues in African Politics and the Implications

Valence issues offer safe topics which parties know will be salient and will appeal to shifting constituencies rather than establish a reputation as ideological issue owners. Three factors have fundamentally changed the nature of party politics: first, the end of the cold war, which weakened the political benefits of appealing to class and culture; second, the reliance of parties on the mass media and its dependence on professional expertise in running election campaigns and third, the increase in the cost of political defeat caused by the professionalization of politics (Jaimme and Nicolas, 2019). As a result, parties now resemble each other not only in terms of their organizational structure, but also in terms of their strategies. Thus, political competition revolves around trying to prove that a candidate is best placed to attack an issue that voters care most about like corruption, human rights, economic prosperity, etc. Valence issues can give incumbents an advantage due to their past experience in office but this advantage holds

only when the incumbent, are doing their jobs well. Given their experience and resources, incumbent advantage is likely multiplied in the African context, where incumbents have even more exaggerated comparative advantage in terms of resources and experience. Sitting presidents can leverage access to state resources or subtly manipulate institutions, such as the press, to create greater visibility for the president or to portray the president in a more positive light.

There is no need gainsaying the fact that the ideological space in Africa has shrunk. What is worth stressing is the reason(s) for the salience of valence issues. According to Keefer and Vlaicu (2008), in situations of underdeveloped mass media and non-transparent formal political structures, both of which exist in most African countries, voters' abilities to monitor whether candidates follow through on programmatic electoral appeals are quite limited. They argue that, in such environments, candidates have greater incentives to make clientelistic appeals, which citizens can monitor more easily. Since voters are therefore unlikely to place much value on programmatic promises, which might seem unenforceable, candidates will be less likely to make them. It is easier to locate issues that resonate with public opinion.

A further reason for the salience of valence issues relates to the fact that contemporary African parties are too weak, institutionally, to operate on ideological bases. Ideological parties must limit the extent their candidates and elected officials deviate from certain central tendencies; too much intra-party diversity in elite members' ideological and programmatic appeals undermines the party's claim ability to mobilize on the bases of such appeals. (Snyder and Ting, 2002). Clearly valence issues are reinforced by weak party systems.

The preference for valence competition could also be explained in terms of African Policy makers' inability to uphold a policy position once elected to office. Poor African countries are uncommonly budget constrained because of their low fiscal capacity, their reliance on highly volatile flows of foreign aid, and the conditionality imposed on them by international financial institutions. These constraints probably undermine the credibility of specific campaign promises that are not approved by donors.

It is a considered view that the quality of literacy amongst the electorates to a greater degree determines their disposition towards ideological constructs. This presupposes that "politically sophisticated individuals" (i.e. with greater cognitive abilities and more access to information) will be more likely to self-identify ideologically and to structure their political attitudes accordingly. In contemporary African countries, access to formal education is severely

limited; and high quality political information can be prohibitively expensive. The shift from ideological base issues to valence issues has impacted electoral politics in Africa in a number of ways. It has encouraged the emergence of ethnic parties. Suffice it to note that in the industrialized world, party competition is characterized by multiple cleavages. Communal boundaries constitute one cleavage line out of many. In the non- industrialized world, communal boundaries constitute the dominant if not the only cleavage line that structure party politics. The inevitable result is the introduction of ethnically based parties into the political system. Once in place, ethnic parties aggravate ethnic divisions. They depend exclusively on the support of a particular ethnic group. Due to lack of other cleavage lines, ethnically based parties are unable to diversify their electoral base. The total dependency on communal support puts ethnic parties under great pressure to satisfy group demands. They constantly face the possibility of competition within the group the party claims to represent. The potential of “ethnic outbidding” by an intra-group competitor makes parties adopt radical positions. Party leaders espouse ethnic demands, thereby bolstering chauvinistic elements. These positions are irreconcilable with the positions of other ethnic parties. (Bogaards, 2004). These dynamics create an environment whereby multiparty elections are tense and conflict-ridden. The exclusionary political environment may transform democratic election outcomes into an ethnic census. Among the losers, elections produce a feeling of constant political marginalization. The political environment is thus conducive to ethnic violence.

A corollary implication is that ethnic parties can always and anywhere affect the quality of democracy. The proliferation of ethnic parties increases the number of parties achieving legislative representation. This development leads to a high degree of party fragmentation, and formation of governments subsequently becomes a cumbersome process. Ethnic parties minimize elite responsiveness and distort competition and choice. The high polarization and the low degree of voter availability make any assessment of the incumbent government less contingent on governmental performance. Incumbent vulnerability instead becomes dependent on the turnout rates of ethnic communities (Bayart, 1993). It is important to also make the point that the political salience of ethnicity does not exist at the same intensity in all countries. There are variations.

In addition, when valence issues dominate electoral competition particularly issues erected on ethnicity, the tendency that plays out is that individuals will consider each of the identity groups in which they can claim membership and embrace the one that defines the most usefully sized

group. They will consider each of the principles of group division that divide the political community (religion, ethnicity, clan, etc.), compare the size of their own group with that of the other groups that each of these cleavages defines, and then select the identity that puts them in a winning coalition (Basedau, 2011). This development therefore encourages identity based politics.

In sum, ethnic parties negatively affect democratic competition and choice. They minimize elite responsiveness, increase political polarization and make political change at least partly contingent on turnout rates of individual communities. It is in recognition of the danger possessed by ethnic parties that currently, 39 of 45 sub-Saharan African countries ban particularistic parties. Of these 39 countries, 32 explicitly ban ethnic parties either in their Constitutions or in party laws regulating party competition (Posner, 2005). Ethnic party bans are clearly a response to the assumption that the return of multiparty contest in Africa would harden ethnic cleavages and endanger stability.

Conclusion

The paper interrogated evolving dynamics in electoral competition in Africa. It noted that there has been a shift from ideology based parties to parties that seek votes on the basis of valence issues. These valence issues keep changing with every election cycle and this makes it difficult to pin down African parties to any specific coloration. This development has also reinforced the prominence of identity politics particularly ethnic identities. Ethnic parties negatively affect democratic competition and choice. They minimize elite responsiveness, increase political polarization and reduce the quality of democratic governance. Consequently, African States as a matter of policy direction must sustain steps aimed at discouraging the formation of ethnic parties. It is a considered view that this can be done by raising the threshold for party formation in Africa. Given the weakness of democratic institutions in Africa, it is obvious that ideological parties are difficult to sustain. However, the deciding issues in election cycles should be based on multi-cleavages rather than ethnic cleavages. There is therefore the need to rethink, rejig and refocus electoral competition in Africa. It is this that will hopefully propel democratic consolidation, development and ensure the realization of democratic dividends.

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Towards Understanding the Sokoto Caliphate Foreign Policy Options: Some Consideration of the Domestic and External Environments that Shaped the Foreign Policy goals of the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello (1817-1837)

Yaro Gella

Abstract

Several factors affect, if not determine, the foreign policy goals and objectives of any given state. These include, but not limited to, historical and cultural traditions; natural resource endowment and economic development; military power, which determines a state's national capacity and international public opinion, as well as leadership qualities. The interplay of these factors within the domestic and external environments determine the success with which a state can pursue and realize its policy objectives. The most critical period in the history of the Sokoto Caliphate was that of the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello (1817-1837). The death of the Shehu dan Fodio, in 1817, created, not only a very serious crisis of succession to the leadership of the Caliphate, but also that of the survival of the state itself and the continuation of the jihad movement. The Caliphate, therefore, required a leadership that could sustain the Shehu's charisma, commitment and zeal, to save the new state from imminent apostasy, and further consolidate the ideology of the jihad, to take over the mantle of leadership of the community. Muhammad Bello adequately and appropriately filled that vacuum.

Introduction

Muhammad Bello, the son of Shehu Usman dan Fodio, emerged as the Caliph and Amir al-Mu'min of the Sokoto Caliphate by by-passing his uncle Abdullahi bn Fodio. He was a brilliant scholar, a brave military

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commander and military strategist, and a skilful diplomat. He was credited with the establishment of the Caliphate administrative structure as well as properly shaping the institutions that supported the Caliphate structure. He matched the intellectual prowess of both his father and uncle.² Above all Muhammad Bello was a great and skilful administrator, a realist and a progressive fundamentalist. It is these qualities, all combined, that made Muhammad Bello the greatest leader of the Sokoto Caliphate, after Shehu Usman. As Muhammad Bello was busy mapping up strategies of consolidating the gains made during the period of the Shehu, in terms of dealing with the dissensions and rebellions, both at home and from external forces, he had to fashion out foreign policy that was to guarantee the sovereignty and independence of the Caliphate in tune with the objective conditions the Caliphate found itself. This paper attempts to examine the foreign policy objectives of the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello showing how critical factors within the domestic and external environments greatly influenced the realization of these goals and objectives.

The Foreign Policy Goals and Objectives of Bello's Caliphate

The examination of the foreign policy objectives of the Caliphate of Muhammad makes sense when measured against what the jihad leaders aimed at achieving when they launched the Sokoto jihad movement in 1804. The jihad movement aimed at not just to reform the governments and societies of the Bilad al-Sudan by overthrowing what was considered unislamic states, and instituting in their place Islamic government based on pristine Islamic law and order, but also extending the frontiers of dar al-Islam by conquering the neighboring societies of the dar al-Harb and incorporating them in to the new state. The jihad leaders aimed at creating a new system of interstate relations in which it was to become the dominant power, with sufficient military muscle, economic power and ideological acumen, to adequately regulate the behavior of the states and societies of the region. However, the objective conditions in the Caliphate, when Muhammad Bello became Caliph, demanded a robust and clear and realistic foreign policy objective. Let us consider some of these critical foreign policy objectives.

1. The maintenance of the security, territorial integrity and independence of the Caliphate.

The first priority of any state is self-preservation. For the Sokoto Caliphate, so newly established after the violent overthrow and seizure of power from several hitherto powerful and large scale centralized political systems in Hausa land and (later)in parts of Borno, the security and survival

of the state was the most important and foremost requirement of the Caliphate. In fact for the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello, the survival of the state was the foremost foreign policy objective. The threats to the sovereignty of the state from external and internal enemies influenced, if not determined, the degree and extent to which the Caliphate could pursue and realize its policy goals and objectives. It is therefore important that we examine the political situations in both the external and domestic environment, in so far as they bring out the objective security conditions under which Bello mapped out and implemented the foreign policy goals of the caliphate during his reign. We begin with the external environment.

(a) The External Environment

The external political and social environment, in the bilad al-Sudan, was crucial in determining the policy options open to the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello, especially as it relates to the issue of the security of the state. As a new power whose mission was to transform the interstate system of the region by creating, in place of the previously independent sovereign states, a single dominant structure the Caliphate could only ignore the interest of self-preservation on the part of the other states at its peril. Oppositions did come from the Muslim states, such as Borno, and even from previously client states such as Marina. There is no doubt that the belligerent political and ideological posture which Borno took, under Muhammad al-Amin al-Kanemi, against Sokoto, must have constituted a stumbling block in the way of a more dynamic policy towards that kingdom.³ Although Muhammad Bello was able to neutralize the Borno challenge, he was unable to pursue a robust foreign policy goal in that direction.

If the Caliphate was able to neutralize Borno's belligerency through a combination of diplomacy and compromise, the threats from Adar, and to lesser extent Ahir, were real and serious. The first power in the region to recognize and enter into some kind of alliance with Shehu Unman dan Fodio, was the Sultanate of Ahir (based in Agades).⁴ But the nature of the Asbenawa (Ahir) and Adarawa political system, based, as it was, on a loose confederation characterized by a fluid and ephemeral system of alliances, made it very difficult for the Sokoto Caliphate to deal with them easily. The unpredictable, and often unreliable, political behavior of the Tuaregs as well as their constant alliances with the enemy (Hausa) Habe dynasties in exile, and their constant raids on traders and on settled communities deep in the caliphate, constituted a serious encumbrance on Sokoto's policy goals on that frontier. In fact the problems caused by the Tuaregs eluded any political solution, to the extent that the Caliph Muhammad Bello was

said to have, on several occasions, resorted to leading congregational prayers to ask for divine aid against them.⁵

The problem here was that, unlike on the other frontiers of the Caliphate, Muhammad Bello was dealing with a militarized society existing under a political system that was less precise in terms of political authority, in the sense that the states of Ahir and Adar were not properly organized under a central government. That the Caliphate had to deal with each of the leaderships of the contending confederacies, made it difficult for Muhammad Bello to have a well articulated foreign policy goals in dealing with his northern Muslim neighboring states. This made it difficult to assert whatever political influence Sokoto would have aspired to realize over the states of Ahir and Adar, short of military intervention and which the Caliphate was not in any position to do at that point in time. It is understandable why, therefore, the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello would instead take it upon itself, to organize Ahir and Adar political communities with a view to bringing them under more centralized political authorities as well as interceding between the various powerful groups, so as to create a climate of trust and confidence necessary for the authority of the Caliphate to be accepted. The goal of the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello towards its enemies among the Asbenawa and Adarawa, on the other hand, was to neutralize their alliance with the other enemies among the Gobirawa and Zamfarawa, so as to contain the threat they posed to the security of the Caliphate.

A more serious threat to the security of the Caliphate came from the exiled Habe (Hausa) dynasties located outside the state. With the fall of Alkalawa the capital of Gobir, in 1808, its ruling dynasty founded a new base in Adar from which to resist and attempt to attack the Sokoto Caliphate. In 1814 the Gobirawa, under their leader Salihu, and aided by the Tuaregs, raised the standard of war and invaded the Caliphate. Muhammad Bello had to deal ruthlessly with the Gobirawa and Tuareg leaders in order to eliminate their menace.⁶ But this did not put an end to the Gobirawa challenge. In fact the Gobirawa menace grew more worrisome, especially as the Zamfarawa had also intensified their resistance to the Caliphate from within, all at the same time. In fact, the year 1816 was particularly one of Sokoto Caliphate military failures against both the Gobirawa and Zamfarawa. The intensity of the threat to the survival of the Caliphate in the hands of the enemies from without, and coupled with adverse developments taking place from within the Muslim ummah itself, which tended to undermine the jihad movement, shook the ailing Shehu so much that he seemed to have lost hope in the continued success of the jihad mission. For the Shehu is said to have warned Muhammad Bello on his

death bed, in 1817, that when he was gone the whole country would go back to paganism.

This was on account of the growing number of apostasies taking place within the Caliphate who had links with the ousted Gobirawa leaders in exile that were threatening the new state. It took four years (1817-1821) of Muhammad Bello's hard and sustained military campaigns, and the loss of thousands of his most able and committed men, to defeat the enemies and halt their incursions in 1821.⁷

This defeat was not to silence the Gobirawa and their allies for long, for in 1822, the exiled dynasty, in alliance with the Tuaregs, had taken control of Adar and launched an attack on the Caliphate. Not only that; in 1824, Muhammad al-Amin al-Kanemi, fresh from his victory over Bagirmi had turned his attention towards the Caliphate to deal finally, he hoped, with the Fellata problem. By 1825 there was a renewed invasion of the Caliphate by the combined Gobirawa and Tuareg allied forces from the northern frontier. It took the Caliphate an estimated 60,000 men drawn from the eastern emirates to confront the enemy but failed to dislodge them from their base at Birnin Kuna.⁸ In 1826 Muhammad al-Kanemi, desirous of creating a buffer state in Shira area, had advanced against the emirate of Katagum, forcing the emir Kauwa to retreat westwards. The Borno forces then advanced further into the Sokoto Caliphate, creating panic, not only in Kano, where the forces are said to have advanced as far as the Dala hills close to the city, but also Sokoto metropolis. Kano city was saved by the forces of the emir of Bauchi, Yaqub who, at the beginning of 1827, sent his forces to repel the Borno attack on Kano city.⁹

It was not until the battle of Gawakuke, inside the Caliphate, in 1836, that the Caliph, Muhammad Bello, was able to put to rest the military threat of the Gobirawa-Kebbi-Katsina and Tuareg threat, although the Gobirawa and Tuareg resistance petered out only in the second half of the 19th century. The threat to the security of the Caliphate from these external enemies, and the preoccupation with attempts to contain them, had negative consequences on the pursuit of the Caliphate's foreign policy objectives. But serious as these threats from the external environment were to the security of the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello, these did, not, by themselves, constitute the greatest constraint on whatever goals the Caliphate may have designed for itself in its external relations with the neighboring states and beyond. It should be noted that the success achieved by the Gobirawa dynasty in exile, the Tuaregs as well as the Borno forces under al-Amin al-Kanemi, were directly related and linked to existing internal forces which

were confronting the Caliphate from within the domestic political and social environment.¹⁰ It is important that we examine these internal forces.

(b) The Domestic Environment.

The view that foreign policy is a function and a product of the objective operations of the internal conditions in a state more than it is of the international or external environment, is quite true of the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello. It would seem to us that the problems which beset the Caliphate from within shaped its foreign policy of the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello, especially towards its neighboring Muslim states. This is true in respect of the behavior of the frontier emirates in the implementation of the Caliphate's foreign policy goals in maintaining external relations with the non-muslim states and political communities.

By the time Muhammad Bello became Caliph following the death of his father in 1817, the Caliphate was already beset with serious numerous internal crises. With the death of the Shehu the various interest groups which could not find expression in the bureaucracy were now openly expressed. With his death those who were attracted to the jihad movement because of his charisma, felt it no longer necessary or obliged to identify with the cause of the jihad and the Caliphate. These interests and attitudes ran counter to the spirit of the movement, as they were given more to worldly material pursuits. As Abdullah B. Muhammad had lamented, that the original motives of the jihad had been abandoned. As at that time, he pointed out, the community was made up of people, "whose purpose is the ruling of country and their people in order to obtain delights and acquire rank according to the custom of the unbelievers".¹¹ Muhammad Bello was himself disturbed by the indulgences of the members of his community and their preoccupation with materialism and other worldly pursuits to the detriment of the jihad movement.¹² He was particularly disturbed by the lack of continued commitment, on the part of the community, to the cause of the jihad. This was a dangerous attitude which exposed the Caliphate and rendered it prostrate to both the internal and external enemies.

But such is the problem that confronts a movement, such as the Sokoto jihad, that has not been able to mature and become well grounded in its philosophy as to affect people's ideational orientation. It was apparent that the interests of a large number of the jihadists were better served by the pre-existing political and social arrangements in the Central Sudan, as represented by the old regimes. Such interests may have been suppressed by the personal charisma of the Shehu Usman and the religious zeal of the early years of the jihad movement. But with the Shehu out of the way, and

the establishment of the Usmaniyyah dawlah over the whole of Hausa land and beyond, some of the jihad leaders deemed it fit to relax and enjoy the fruits of their labor. This was the position which the rebellion of Abd al-Salam seemed to have revealed.¹³ The revolt of Abd al-Salam was dangerous to the security of the Caliphate as it represented the political expression of a schism that was growing within the leadership of the jama'a. According to Ibn Said, Abd al-Salam was the precursor of the 'tawaye' (rebellion) which soon engulfed the Caliphate, as his example 'was followed by all the countries in the apostasy'.¹⁴

As a result of this development, some leaders, such as those of Masina beyond the western frontiers of the Caliphate, saw no sense in their continued payment of allegiance to Sokoto since the Shehu was dead and there was no longer unity of purpose on the part of the Caliphate leadership. This seemed to indicate that Masina's loyalty to the new state was personal. Thus, in the absence of any compelling force (military), some members of the community even found it no longer necessary to embrace the new system as well as the ideology of the Caliphate. As a result, not only had several members of the community began to abandon the ribats, which Muhammad Bello was establishing to serve as defense out-posts against the enemies of the Caliphate, as well as centers where the ideals of the jihad movement were to be practicalized, but they began to show disobedience to the leadership of the state.

The predictions of the Shehu that Muhammad Bello, his successor, was going to suffer when he became Caliph; that he would be deserted and the jihad abandoned, was becoming a reality. Showing his despondency and disappointment over developments in the Caliphate, Muhammad Bello had, later, lamented that:

Certain symptoms of disunity have surfaced amongst the jama'a for the sake of this world and the control of office (which is) the desire of nations. Jealousy and disunity and hatred have eaten deep into it until they have started to abandon the ribats and the establishment of the shari'ah.¹⁵

The Caliph was particularly disappointed by the lack of gratitude on the part of the community, who did not seem to have appreciated the contributions of the Shehu and his lieutenants to the success of the jihad, over whose spoils they were now fighting. According to him the community had:

..disobeyed their leader whom Allah has saved them with, and who has renewed their faith for them and established the sunnah and guided them after they had gone astray, and brought harmony amongst them to conquer their enemies as a sign of karamat, which Allah has bestowed on him in adhering to the Kitab and the Sunnah. Then they have forgotten from where goodness has cometo them.¹⁶

The net result of all these developments was waves of disloyalty and disrespect; dangerous development which tended to undermine the very foundations of the structure of the Caliphate. It left wide crevasse in the structure which exposed the Caliphate to the numerous enemies perching on its frontiers as well as within its territory. It was these cracks in the unity of the Caliphate that gave the Zamfarawa, so example, the opportunity they were waiting for, to revolt against the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello. It was these developments that gave the 'aggrieved' Abd al-Salam the opportunity to join forces with the Zamfarawa. to attack the Caliphate from within. This is not to mention the incessant revolts and attacks of the Kebbawa alliance with the Arewa, Dendi and Zabarma, which beginning, in 1818, did not end until after the 'Lafiyar Toga' of 1867. The belligerent posture of, especially, the Kebbawa of Augie, Babace, Bayawa and Argungu occupied the attention of the Caliph Muhammad Bello. So much so that he had to establish a series of ribats based on Silame, Gande, Binji and Sayyina, to absorb and curtail the Kebbawa attacks.¹⁷ Under the leadership of Banaga dan Bature the resistance of the Zamfarawa. To the Caliphate authority was transformed into 'tawaye' (rebellion) an open rebellion that represented a resurgence of the old opposition against the jihad movement. Launched in the southern part of Zamfara in 1818, the Banaga tawaye soon attracted a large-scale following with a powerful cavalry force which the leaders of the tawaye raised, the soldiers dispatched by the Caliph Muhammad Bello to crush the rebellion, was easily and roundly defeated.¹⁸

The defeat of the Caliphate army had serious repercussions. For the Caliphate authority it threatened the security of the new state as well as demoralizing the army. For the rebels the defeat of the army of the all-mighty Caliphate, not only spurred the Zamfarawa. The to persist in their attempt to throw off the yoke of the Caliphate authority, but attracted others to join in the rebellion against the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello. In fact not only did the other parts of Zamfara join the rebellion but the tawaye soon spread to include such provinces as Gobir, some parts of Daura, Kebbi, Gwari, as well as Yawuri which was said to have been 'forced' to join in the rebellion. The Zamfarawa. The led tawaye raided most parts

of the Sokoto metropolis, and as far west as the villages on the outskirts of the city of Gwandu.¹⁹

Being much closer to the Sokoto metropolis than the other members of the 'tawaye' alliance, the rebellion of the Gobirawa constituted the greatest and immediate threat to the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello. The Gobirawa tawaye began with their refusal to pay the *jizya*. As *dhimmis*, the act of refusing to pay the 'protection' tax (*jizya*) signified a declaration of independence from the Caliphate. This attempt to create a state within a state was so challenging that Muhammad Bello was left with no option than to crush the move at all cost. In the initial encounter the rebel forces easily defeated the army of the Caliph. It took three years (1818-1821) of persistent engagement to defeat the rebels.²⁰ Although Gwanki, the leader of the Gobirawa rebellion, was killed, the movement continued under his son Ali, who in alliance with the Tuareg leader Ibro, continued to harass Sokoto. Clapperton reported, in 1825, that the Gobirawa rebels caused a major conflagration which destroyed about two-thirds of Sokoto city.²¹ The Gobirawa were again to mount another rebellion in 1835 which, this time around, was decidedly crushed by the Caliphate forces, at the battle of Gawakuke in 1836.

The preoccupation with the security of the Caliphate certainly engaged the attention and drained the physical and mental energy of the Caliph Muhammad Bello for the larger part of his reign as the Caliph. In the twenty years of his reign (1817-1837) he is said to have conducted about forty seven major military expeditions, mostly against internal dissidents. According to the Caliph himself, one of the greatest calamities the society of his time faced, was the great fear which had gripped them from every direction.

Thus the temerity and viciousness, with which the external enemies, under the leadership of the Gobir allied forces, successfully attacked the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello, can now be appreciated given the enormity of the internal security challenges which the administration of the Caliph faced. That the Caliph was so hopelessly disturbed the seriousness of the internal problems that beset the Caliphate, can be seen in the emphasis he laid on obedience and unity in his correspondences with his emirs as reflected in some of his major works.²² It would appear that many of the emirates on the eastern frontiers had not only engaged themselves in squabbles, attacking each other over worldly and other material interests, thereby neglecting the affairs of the Muslims, and in the process undermining the security of the Caliphate in that direction, but they also seemed to have reneged on some earlier undertaking to the Shehu which they promised to uphold at

the time they paid the initial bay'a.²³ The Caliph Muhammad Bello likened the attitudes of such members of the Muslim community to "a man who will sleep as mu'min and wake up as a kafir, selling his religion for the sake of this world"²⁴ Muhammad Bello was only reiterating the concern earlier expressed by the Shehu Usman dan Fodio in respect of his disappointment with the attitude of some of the jihad leaders who had earlier undertaken

...to take an oath that they would not be corrupted or changed by power, as were the Israelites in the desert, but (that) they will avoid worldly aspirations envy, mercilessness, feuds, and the pursuit of wealth.²⁵

Muhammad Bello was thus confirming and reiterating the concern expressed by his late father, that the success of the jihad, if not properly handled, may turn the emirs into a replica of the rulers they had overthrown and render the aims and objectives of the jihad a nullity.

It is clear from the above that the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello was confronted with very serious security problems that called to question the very survival and existence of the newly created Muslim state in the bilad al-Sudan. That Muhammad Bello was able to defend and defeat the enemies within both the external environments and sustain the unity and territorial integrity of the new state is a testimony to his bravery and commitment to the cause and mission of the jihad., His proactive strategy as Amir al mu'minin, his suave diplomacy based on clear understanding of the social and political forces operating in the international environment of the time, enabled him to choose the policy options that would adequately guide his chancery in fashioning out what foreign policy goals to pursue and with what level of intensity.

It is clear from the above that whatever foreign policy goals the Sokoto jihad leaders had fashioned for the Caliphate, with a view to pursuing and realizing them, were seriously circumscribed by the security challenges which the state, especially after the death of Usman dan Fodio, the founder and leader of the Sokoto jihad movement, faced from the external and, especially, the internal, environments. The political objective of expanding the frontiers of dar al-Islam under the direct political leadership of the Caliph had to be abandoned as the Caliphate was perpetually engaged in putting off external aggressions and dealing with internal revolts and rebellions. That was real-politick and a reasonable strategy to save the caliphate from destruction and, at the same time, advance the philosophy and ideology of the jihad movement.

2. The establishment of a powerful, large and dominant power in the bilad al-Sudan.

One of the major foreign policy thrust of the Sokoto Caliphate was to create a proper Muslim state that was economically and politically powerful enough as to regulate the behavior of the states within the bilad al-Sudan and whose social and philosophical norms were to be governed by the shari'ah. For the Caliphate to realize these objectives, it needed to have a large and well trained professional standing army which, not only to defend the state from both internal and external threats, but to extend the frontiers of the Caliphate. But this notion is based on a misunderstanding of the nature of the state's political structure. The Sokoto Caliphate operated a federal-type structure, with the emirs being the chief executives of their various emirates with governmental institutions similar, if subordinate, to those of the Metropolis. Although the Amir al-Mu'minin, his at the metropolis was the head of state, Commander in-chief of the Caliphate armed forces, the emirs operated and ran their governments without much interference from the capital. The emirs raised their own armies to defend the emirate as well to advance the frontiers of the caliphate through regular jihad expeditions to bring communities of the dar al-Harb in to the fold of dar al-Islam, and in the process defended the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state from their own ends. The emirates were, however, under obligation to send military personnel and arms in aid of the Caliphate when called upon to do so in times of need. In this wise, there was no need to establish a standing army, as is the practice in the later Muslim caliphates or as is practiced in the modern era. At any rate, the Caliphate did not have both the resources and the technical capability to raise and maintain an army under a single command structure that could adequately police the entire Caliphate, given its large size and the complications of its various political and social communities. That was why the Caliph Muhammad Bello laid emphasis on strengthening the governmental institutions and consolidating the Caliphate structure.

None-the-less, by the time Muhammad Bello died, the Sokoto Caliphate had become the dominant power to be reckoned with, not only in the bilad al-Sudan, but among the political entities of Africa of the time. Infact, but for the intervention of the Colonial powers who put an end to its territorial expansion, the effective territory of the Caliphate would have exceeded its current historical boundaries. But in spite of that limitation, the power and influence of the Caliphate was felt from the Atlantic Ocean in the West, to the coast of the Indian Ocean in the East. This was achieved mainly through

the export of the ideology of the Sokoto jihad, through the writings of its leaders and the circulation of the Sokoto literature throughout the continent.

3. The building of a sound, self-sufficient and self-sustaining Economy.

As for the economic objective the emphasis of the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello was on the development of the internal resources that would guaranty sustainable economic self-sufficiency of the state, to be supplemented with revenues from trade and commerce with friendly nations. This was to be based on primarily agricultural production as well as arts and crafts. According to Muhammad Bello it is the responsibility of governments at all levels to mobilize their citizens to engage in productive ventures so as to eliminate idleness, redundancy and indolence. In fact one of the cardinal principles of Islam, and which a Muslim government must strive to achieve, is the material welfare of its citizens.²⁶ In fulfilling this social obligation the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello enunciated principles of production and relations of production which emphasized equity and justice. Muhammad Bello emphasized economic self-sufficiency derived from the total engagement of the Muslim community in legal productive activity as the hallmark of the Caliphate's economic policy.²⁷ This derives from the belief that the political and other objectives of the Sokoto Caliphate would not be realized until and unless it was economically self-sufficient. In the attempt to realize this measure of economic self-sufficiency the leaders paid attention to agricultural production. And in doing so, they paid particular attention to the distribution, ownership and utilization of all types of lands.²⁸ The concern on the part of the jihad leaders with land reforms was to place more lands in the hands of the state so as control production, in such a manner that government and the community at large could reap much from land use. To set the tone for the community to follow Muhammad Bello's administration participated in agricultural production on its large estates, located in all the emirates as well as in the Sokoto hinterland.²⁹ Throughout his tenor as Caliph, Muhammad Bello continuously urged his emirs to encourage their subjects to produce food in abundance. The same emphasis was laid on trade and commerce. Because of the importance attached to the promotion of trade, Muhammad Bello, in all his directives to the emirs on economic matters, emphasized the prime duty of the rulers to encourage their subjects to take to trading by keeping the roads safe, building roads and bridges; establishing markets and regulating prices of commodities.³⁰ The caliphate similarly encouraged the community to engage in industrial enterprises and endeavored to turn all urban centers

of the Caliphate in to industrial and craft hubs.³¹ Muhammad Bello did not seem to have laid much emphasis on international trade. However, the Caliphate did try to improve on the existing commercial infrastructure established by the trans-Saharan trade by expanding the old trade centers and ensuring the security of the roads and markets. Muhammad Bello, however, demonstrated his enthusiasm in establishing trade relations with the European nations, especially with the British. In 1824, when Hugh Clapperton was in Sokoto, the traveler discussed with the Caliph about the possibility of sending British consul as well as a physician, to reside in the Caliphate, apparently to represent British commercial interests. As a demonstration of the Caliphate's desire to trade with Britain, Muhammad Bello gave a letter to Clapperton, on his departure in April 1824, to give to George IV (1762-1830) the British king, which contained commercial agreement, which spelt out the type of relationship which the Caliphate desired with the British nation as well as the articles of trade.³²

The concern, on the part of the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello, with the internal economy, we reiterate, was as deliberate as it was determined by the circumstances in which it found itself. It must have been clear to the leadership of the Caliphate, that surrounded as the state was, by powerful enemies (with mostly non-Muslim states on almost all its borders as well as within) as well as rival Muslim states (such as Borno) in the north-east) the administration needed to fashion out realistic foreign policy objectives that were in tune with the objective conditions in which the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello found itself. The foreign policy of the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello was, therefore, hinged on a tripod of (1) ensuring a regularity in the maximum production and accumulation of surplus goods to sustain the people and the administration of the Caliphate, (2) ensuring that the political and ideological goals of the Caliphate became so decisive in such a way as to make it the dominant power to be respected by all the other political communities in the region and acknowledged by others beyond the bilad al-Sudan, (3) establishing a large measure of economic self-sufficiency that would free the people of the Caliphate to participate in extending the frontiers of the Muslim state by participating in the jihad wars and sustaining the movement until the ultimate goal of bringing the whole of bilad al-Sudan under the Sokoto Caliphate suzerainty was achieved. In large measure, and in spite of the constraints imposed by conditions in both the domestic and external environments, the Caliph Muhammad Bello consolidated and stabilized the Caliphate that it became the dominant power in the region, whose expansion southwards and eastwards was halted only

by the intervention of the colonial powers towards the closing decades of the 19th century.

End Notes

1. There is extant and copious literature on the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello; see Gella Y.T "The Foreign Policy of the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello (1817-1837 Ph D thesis, ABU, 1986: Mukhtar U B," Muhammad Bello ibn Shehu Usman Dan Fodio (1817-1837) in, *Sultans of Sokoto* (edits. Alkasum Abba, Ibrahim M.Jummare, Shuaibu Shehu Aliyu (Arewa House,CHDR,ABU) 2017etc.
2. Muhammad Bello is said to have authored over 160 books. See. Minna M.T.M "Sultan Muhammad Bello and his intellectual contributions to the Sokoto Caliphate" Ph D thesis, University of London, 1982.
3. The details of the crisis between Bello and Al kanemi can be seen in Gella Y T "The Place of Borno in the Interstate System of the Central Sudan" in ABU History Department Seminar Series Vol.
4. For the roles of Ahir and Adar in the Sokoto jihad, see Last M. *The Sokoto Caliphate*, Longmans, London, pp.107-113.
5. This is dealt with in greater details in Gellar's Ph D Thesis.
6. It is reported that the Caliph Muhammad Bello had the Gobirawa and the Tuareg leaders captured and publically executed to serve as deterrent to other rebels. See Abd al-Qadir Al Mustafa ,*Raudat al-Afkar*. See also Captain Hugh Clapperton," *Narrative of Captain Clapper ton's journey from Kouka to Sokoto*" in Bovil W.*Mission to the Niger vol 1V,p.697*.where he reported that about 2000 Tuareg were executed.
7. For more details see Augie A.R. *The Gobir Factor in the Social and Political History of the Rima Basin*, Ph D thesis ABU, 1984, pp.510-16.
8. Clappeton H. *Journal of A second Expedition in to the Interior of Africa*, 1929, Frank Case, 1966, p.186.
9. According to Clapperton, following the attack on Kano, people were seen gathering in their grains into Sokoto in anticipation of a general attack on the city rebels who were likely to take advantage of the Bornoan invasion of the Caliphate. See Clapperton H, *Journal of a Journey*.P.243. See also, Augie, *The Gobir Factor...Pp.524-534*.
10. It should be noted that the devastating raids against the Caliphate, from without, coincided with serious challenges from within, and usually carried out in collaboration with one or more of the internal enemies of the Caliphate. For example, the Zamfarawa. The revolt and the Abd al-Salam rebellion.
11. Abdullahi bn Muhammad Fodio, *Tazyin al waraqat* (translation and edition by Whiting) p.121.
12. Muhammad Bello, *Sard al kalam ma jara bayna na wa Abd al-Salam*.NHRS ABU, Zaria.

13. Abd al Salam rebelled against the Caliphate, ostensibly, because he was dissatisfied with his portion of the fief allocated to him. See Muhammad Bello, *Sard al kalam*....
14. Ibn Said, *Tarihin Sokoto*, P.260.
15. Muhammad Bello, *Nush kafin wa bil maqsud in sha Allah wafin*.NHRS, ABU, Zaria p/12/8.
16. Muhammad Bello, *Nush*...
17. See Muhammad Bello Alkali, *A Hausa Community in Crisis Kebbi in the 19th century*, M.A, ABU, 1973.
18. For more details see Garba Nadama, *The Rise and Fall of a Hausa state; A Social and Political History of Zamfara*, Ph D thesis.ABU, 1977.
19. Clapperton, H, and *Journal of a Journey*...pp.154-5.
20. Augie A.R.The Gobir Factor...p.517.
21. Clapperton H. *Journal of a Journey*...pp194-5.
22. These correspondences are contained in Abubakar Gidado's *Majmu' al Rasail ila Nuh b. Tahir*.NHRS (F/192/19.Ahmad Kani trans.
24. Muhammad Bello, *Nush Kafin*...
25. Last Murray, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, Longmans, London, 1967, p.36.
26. Muhammad Bello: *Usul al Siyasat: sixth principle* (translated into English by Martin B.G) in D,F, Mcall and N, H, Bennet (eds.) *Aspects of West African Islam*, Boston University papers (Africa vol.1V,1971'
27. This concern for the development of a sound economic base for the society of the Caliphate could be found in the important writings of the jihad leaders ,such as Shehu Usman's *Wujub al Hijra alal ibad:Abdullahi's Ta'lim al Radi asbab al ikhtisas bil ma'ruf al Radi*:and Muhammad Bello's *Al gayth al Wabil* etc.
28. See Abdullahi B. Muhammad Fodio; *Tahrir al Radi adab al ikhtisas*.This is the most comprehensive document on land reforms and land utilization to come out of the Sokoto jihad literature.
29. For the on the Sokoto economy see, Abdullahi Mahadi: *The State and Economy of the Sokoto Caliphate and its roles in shaping the State, Society and Economy of Kano*, with particular reference to the 18th and 19th centuries, PhD thesis, ABU, 1982.
30. Muhammad Bello, *Tanbih al-Sahib ala ahkam al-makasib*, NHRS, ABU,, unclassified.
31. For more on this see Saleh Abubakar,Birnin Shehu, *the City of Sokoto Social and Economic History c.1809-1903*,Ph D thesis,ABU,1982,pp.62-121.
32. Clapperton H, *Narratives of Captain Clapperton*...p.682.

The Importance of History to Security Studies

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Abstract

Since the evolution of sedentary life, history has shown that no community, kingdoms, empires, and nation-states entirely are involve in wars and security delima which affected an organize political system and steady economy. In modern times, due to exigency of the period, nations enter into bilateral or multi-lateral relations cutting across cultural, political, military and economy. The bilateral or multi-lateral relationship of whatever form, security issues cannot be underplay .it is on this premises the paper examine the important of History to security studies

Introduction

In the first place, history offers a storehouse of information about how people and societies behave. Understanding the operations of people and societies is difficult, though a number of disciplines made attempt to study and explain behavior .However an exclusive reliance on current data would needlessly handicap our efforts. How can we evaluate war if the nation is at peace—unless we use historical materials? How can we understand genius, the influence of technological innovation, or the role that beliefs play in shaping family life, if we don't use what we know about experiences in the past? Some social scientists attempt to formulate laws or theories about human behavior. But even these recourses depend on historical information, except for in limited, often artificial cases in which experiments can be devised to determine how people act. Major aspects of

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a society's operation, like mass elections, missionary activities, or military alliances, cannot be set up as precise experiments.¹ Consequently, history must serve, however imperfectly, as our laboratory, and data from the past must serve as our most vital evidence in the unavoidable quest to figure out why our complex species behaves as it does in societal settings. This, fundamentally, is why we cannot stay away from history, as it offers the only extensive evidential base for the contemplation and analysis of how societies function, how they run their own lives. History Helps Us Understand Change and How the Society We Live in Came to Be The second reason history is inescapable as a subject of serious study follows closely on the first.² The past causes the present, and so the future. Any time we try to know why something happened we have to look for factors that took shape earlier. Sometimes fairly recent history will suffice to explain a major development, but often we need to look further back to identify the causes of change. Only through studying history can we grasp how things change; only through history can we begin to comprehend the factors that cause change; and only through history can we understand what elements of an institution or a society persist despite change.

Conceptual Clarification

For the purpose of this discourse, certain key concepts central to the issues need to be clarified. This is to allow for easy understanding and appreciation of their usage in this work and of our line of argument and presentation. Moreso, that Aristotle (384-322 BC) once said that any meaningful discussion should begin with a clarification of terms.³ To this end the concept of History and Security Shall be examined.

History

Barnes defines history as the 'sum total of human activities of the past'. The use of the phrase 'sum total' means whatever happened including statements from human action in the past constitute what is history.⁴

Security

Is the degree of resistance to, or protection from, harm. It applies to any vulnerable and/or valuable asset, such as a person, dwelling, community, item, nation, or organization.⁵

The Importance of Studying History in Security

A study of history is essential for good citizenship. This is the most common justification for the place of history in school curricula. The study

of history in promoting good citizens by promoting national identity and loyalty through teaching lessons in individual success and morality.⁶

History lays the foundation for genuine citizenship returns, in one sense, to the essential uses of the study of the past. History provides data about the emergence of national institutions, problems, and values as the only significant storehouse of such data available. It offers evidence also about how nations have interacted with other societies, providing international and comparative perspectives essential for responsible citizenship.⁷ Furthermore, studying history helps us understand how recent, current, and prospective changes that affect the lives of citizens are emerging or may emerge and what causes are involved. More importantly, studying history encourages habits of mind that are vital for responsible public behavior, whether as a national or community leader, an informed voter, a petitioner, or a simple observer.⁸

Thus fundamental reasons for studying history underlie more specific and quite diverse uses of history in our own lives. History well told is beautiful. Many of the historians who most appeal to the general reading public know the importance of dramatic and skillful writing as well as of accuracy. Biography and military history appeal in part because of the tales they contain. History as art and entertainment serves a real purpose, on aesthetic grounds but also on the level of human understanding. Stories well done are stories that reveal how people and societies have actually functioned, and they prompt thoughts about the human experience in other times and places.⁹ The same aesthetic and humanistic goals inspire people to immerse themselves in efforts to reconstruct quite remote pasts, far removed from immediate, present-day utility. Exploring what historians sometimes call the “pastness of the past” the ways people in distant ages constructed their lives involves a sense of beauty and excitement, and ultimately another perspective on human life and society.⁹

- Teaching of morals
- Respect for Individuals through intergroup Relations
- Expose learners to insecurity of awareness and its concern
- Allowed for critical analysis of events

The Ability to Assess Evidence the study of history builds experience in dealing with and assessing various kinds of evidence the sorts of evidence historians use in shaping the most accurate pictures of the past that they can. Learning how to interpret the statements of past political leaders one kind of evidence helps form the capacity to distinguish between the objective

and the self-serving among statements made by present-day political leaders. Learning how to combine different kinds of evidence public statements, private records, numerical data, visual materials develops the ability to make coherent arguments based on a variety of data. This skill can also be applied to information encountered in everyday life.¹⁰

Experience in Assessing Past Examples of Change. Experience in assessing past examples of change is vital to understanding change in society today it's an essential skill in what we are regularly told is our "ever-changing world." Analysis of change means developing some capacity for determining the magnitude and significance of change, for some changes are more fundamental than others. Comparing particular changes to relevant examples from the past helps students of history develop this capacity. The ability to identify the continuities that always accompany even the most dramatic changes also comes from studying history, as does the skill to determine probable causes of change. Learning history helps one figure out, for example, if one main factor—such as a technological innovation or some deliberate new policy—accounts for a change or whether, as is more commonly the case, a number of factors combine to generate the actual change that occurs.¹¹

Historical study, in sum, is crucial to the promotion of that elusive creature, the well-informed citizen. It provides basic factual information about the background of our political institutions and about the values and problems that affect our social well-being. It also contributes to our capacity to use evidence, assess interpretations, and analyze change and continuities. No one can ever quite deal with the present as the historian deals with the past we lack the perspective for this feat; but we can move in this direction by applying historical habits of mind, and we will function as better citizens in the process.¹²

Relevance of History in Security Studies

The Ability to Assess Conflicting Interpretations. Learning history means gaining some skill in sorting through diverse, often conflicting interpretations. Understanding how societies work—the central goal of historical study is inherently imprecise, and the same certainly holds true for understanding what is going on in the present day. Learning how to identify and evaluate conflicting interpretations is an essential citizenship skill for which history, as an often-contested laboratory of human experience, provides training. This is one area in which the full benefits of historical study sometimes clash with the narrower uses of the past to construct identity. Experience in examining past situations provides a constructively critical sense that can

be applied to partisan claims about the glories of national or group identity.¹³ The study of history in no sense undermines loyalty or commitment, but it does teach the need for assessing arguments, and it provides opportunities to engage in debate and achieve perspective

The answer is because we virtually must, to gain access to the laboratory of human experience. When we study it reasonably well, and so acquire some usable habits of mind, as well as some basic data about the forces that affect our own lives, we emerge with relevant skills and an enhanced capacity for informed citizenship, critical thinking, and simple awareness.¹⁴ The uses of history are varied. Studying history can help us develop some literally “salable” skills, but its study must not be pinned down to the narrowest utilitarianism. Some history that confined to personal recollections about changes and continuities in the immediate environment is essential to function beyond childhood. Some history depends on personal taste, where one finds beauty, the joy of discovery, or intellectual challenge. Between the inescapable minimum and the pleasure of deep commitment comes the history that, through cumulative skill in interpreting the unfolding human record, provides a real grasp of how the world works.¹⁵

Conclusion

History is necessary because it helps us to understand the present. If we will listen to what history has to say, we can come to a sound understanding of the past that will tell us much about the problems we now face. If we refuse to listen to history, we will find ourselves fabricating a past that reinforces our understanding of current problems. However, Conflicting Interpretations. Learning history means gaining some skill in sorting through diverse, often conflicting interpretations in today’s increasingly confusing and complex world of information overload. For example, understanding how societies work the central goal of historical study is inherently imprecise, and the same certainly holds true for understanding what is going on in the present day, whether it be in the UK, or on the world stage. So, learning how to identify and evaluate conflicting interpretations is an essential citizenship skill for which history, as the accumulation of human experience and knowledge, provides essential training. However, this is one area in which the full benefits of historical study sometimes clashes with the narrower uses of the past. So, experience in examining past situations provides a critical ability that can be applied to partisan claims about the glories of national or group identity.

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Theory and Practice of British Anti-Corruption Campaign in Sokoto Province, 1903 – 1960: A Re-assessment

Attahiru Ahmad Sifawa

Abstract

This article examines the British anti-corruption strategies and programmes adopted during its administration of Sokoto province. An attempt has been made to assess the extent at which anti-corruption theories and policy declarations were marched with actions on one hand, and the overall success of the programmes on the other. It has been identified from the onset, that the British anti-corruption campaign in Sokoto province and the machinery set for administration were contradictory. A part from what the British described as the ‘absentee landlords’ (the Emir’s councilors residing at the Emirate’s headquarters), many native administration officials such as *Kofas*, *Jakadas* and considerable number of *Dogarai* the Native Authority (N.A.) Police, were among the N.A officials the British considered unproductive. Consequently, they were not officially recognized by the British, and therefore not provided for, from the N.A funds. Instead, they were only considered as members of an emir’s or District Head’s household. Yet, these officials, particularly the N.A Police, continue to perform a lot of services which were critical to the survival of the administration. Eventually, the native Chiefs were pushed into gross misappropriation of the N.A funds and extortion of the peasants in order to provide for these unpaid officials, particularly when the native Chiefs were reduced to salary earners in 1911, instead of the percentage of revenue they were initially receiving from the colonial government. On the part of the British officers, their assessment tours were characterized with a lot of extortion, bribery and corruption. The native Chiefs had to buy as much good will, of the touring officers, as possible, through the supply of goats, chickens, eggs, milk and other forms of gratifications so as to maintain their good records in the colonial scheme of things. Moreover, at official level, gratifications for

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appointment to public offices in the name of (*kudin sarauta*), was recognized and maintained for quite a long period of British administration, a practice hitherto condemned by Lugard. Strikingly, native Chiefs who were favourites of the British officers/colonial government were mostly not penalized for extortion, bribery, financial frauds and abuse of office. Looking at the general irregularities and corruption with which the British colonial administration was characterized, it is the conclusion of this paper that the contemporary problem of corruption in Nigeria got much of its root during the colonial period. Selfishness and exploitative nature of the colonial regime, poor working condition among the native colonial officials, as well as material greed and lack of sincerity which was the characteristic of the European and native colonial personnel, are the principal factors behind the institutionalization of corruption in Nigeria.

Introduction

There is quite a large scale literature on British colonial administration in Nigeria, examining the causes, course and consequences of that particular aspect of Nigeria's history.¹ In particular, the colonial historiographers and their apologists, portrayed colonial administration to have intended cleansing the conquered territories of all forms of human servitude, extortion, oppression and corruption, which was allegedly the order of the day, as at the time of the British colonial conquest.² Lugard made it categorically clear in his First and Second speeches at Sokoto, after the conquest of the caliphate in 1903, that the aim of his administration was to rid the territory of all forms of oppression, extortion, corruption and human servitude, which the Fulani rule institutionalized. He equally added that they would ensure justice free from bribery, open to all, and based on the principles of natural justice and humanity.³ Looking at it from the theoretical view point, therefore, British administration of northern Nigeria and Sokoto province in particular, was but anti-corruption campaign, in a way, aimed at salvaging the helpless peasants from the shackles of corrupt administration under the traditional aristocracies, which, according to European proconsuls, was characterized by tyranny and oppression.

This paper examines the British anti-corruption campaign in Sokoto province, assessing the extent at which theoretical articulation and the expression of intent of the administration was justified by the operation of the administration, as well as the conduct of colonial officials, both European officers and their native counterparts. Ironically, the theoretical aspect of the British anti-corruption campaign and the machinery set for

administration, were from the onset, contradictory. The British Administration, in the first place, failed to recognize many native officials, and provide for them from the locally generated revenue. Yet, the colonial government relied on the services of many of those officials, particularly the native police, in executing its orders and performing other functions of the administration. The ever increasing responsibilities and low-level, or, at times, absence of any take-home wage, made many native officers vulnerable to gratifications, bribery, and or, even, forceful extortion and oppression of the *Talakawa* (masses) to meet the basic necessities of life. Amazingly, the colonial government not only failed to address the foregoing challenges, but openly tolerated extortion, corruption and maladministration from perceived British loyalists among the native officials, while at the same time furnishing some, for even lesser faults, who were coloured as anti-British elements.

Corruption: Conceptual Framework

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary defines corruption as: Immoral and dishonest behaviour especially through accepting bribes.

According to Mbaku, corruption involves; outright theft, embezzlement of funds or other appropriation of state property, nepotism and the granting of favours to personal acquaintances, and the abuse of public authority and position to exact payments and privileges.⁴

Looking at it from a broader perspective, Usman sees corruption to mean much more than public officers taking bribes and gratification, committing fraud and stealing funds and assets entrusted to their care. Corruption according to him, means the deliberate violations, for gainful ends, of standards of conduct legally, professionally or even ethically, established, in private and public affairs. These gains may be in cash, or, kind, or, may even be psychological, or, political, but, they are made from the violation of the integrity of an entity and involves the subversion of its quality and capacity.⁵

Passion for luxurious living, lawlessness, material greed, indiscipline and other related problems are among the causes of corruption. In addition however, poverty and poor working condition are widely believe to be among the causes, of corruption, which, in Africa today, is growing at an alarming rate due to poverty, miserable salaries that cannot suffice to cater for a big and extended family forces among others. Consequently, many people to opt for bribes to meet their needs.⁶

The British Administrative Machinery in Sokoto Province

Immediately after the British conquest of Sokoto Caliphate, and the formal installation of Sultan Attahiru II, as the Sultan of Sokoto, on 22nd March, 1903, major Burdon was appointed as the Resident of Sokoto Province, comprising Sokoto, Gwandu and Argungu Emirates. Conditions that would guide relationship between the British administration and the individual emirate was outlined in the individual emir's letter of appointment, as well as other policy directives which followed.⁷

One of the guiding principles of British colonial administration was to administer its territories with the least expenditure possible, and that the colonies should be self-sustaining, independent of Grant in-Aid from the British home government.⁸ In accomplishing these tasks, British officials have to address and tackle the problem of what they described as the 'absentee landlords', concentrated in the emirate's headquarters. These absentee landlords included principal councilors, some N.A officials and many District heads who reside at the headquarters (Sokoto) instead of their Districts. Lugard, according to Perham, insisted that these officials should go out and administer their Fiefs, and so dispense with the rapacious crowd of agents and messengers, passing, to and fro, between the capital city and the District headquarters.⁹

At Sokoto, apart from the emir's councils residing at the emirate's headquarters, many Native Administration officials such as '*Kofas*' '*Jakadas*' and considerable number of '*Dogarai*' (the N.A police) were among the N.A officials the British considered unproductive. For instance, Magajin Gari, Magajin Rafi and Galadima were '*Kofofi*' (officials responsible for overseeing the affairs of territories), for Zamfara Districts, Bauchi, Katsina, Daura and Zaria emirates in the pre-colonial period.¹⁰ But all these councilors, and their counterparts in Gwandu and Argungu, were considered unproductive by the British colonial officials. According to Tibenderana;

Of all the former councilors of the rulers of Sokoto, Gwandu and Kebbi, only Wazirin Sokoto was recognized as a Councilor. The rest were regarded as not being administratively productive as councilors. Accordingly, they were appointed district or villageheads and ordered out of the capital towns to their districts.¹¹

Moreover, many other important offices/officials were equally abolished by the colonial administration. This actually revealed what Tibenderana described as Lugard's Ignorance on the nature and workings of traditional political institutions? In fact, these officials it should be noted, were

indispensable part of the native administration. For instance, the role of native chiefs in ensuring/maintaining law and order, in addition to tax assessment and mobilization, could not in any way be done by the native Chief (District and Village Heads), not to talk of emirs, directly, without the help of their subordinate officials. It is practically difficult for a District or Village Head to perform community policing role, in addition to safeguarding lives of the European staff in his domain, and other related functions, and at the same time have enough time to tour his territory, assess taxable men and properties, and as well, attend to day to day administration of his domain. Commenting on this poorly conceived administrative policy, Resident Goldsmith said;

Some little progress has been made in abolition some offices. '*Kofas*' and '*Jakadas*' are only recognized by the administration as being simply members of an emirs household, they are in no way provided for in the shares allocated to the native administration under the general assessment tax.¹²

This contradiction was borne out of the desire of the British colonial government, to administer the province with very little expenditure, from the revenue generated in the province. Otherwise one would wonder why the principal agents of tax assessment and mobilization, the '*Dogarai*' (native police), were not provided for, in the same tax they generated. This was particularly surprising when it is realized that the imposition of colonial taxation in Sokoto province, a practice totally unknown before the British conquest, was not without hitches and problems.¹³ The native administration had to involve a lot of coercive measures to impose tax in different parts of the province. Resident Temple categorically stated that on different occasions, force was employed through the native police, in the collection of tax from the peasants.¹⁴ But despite all the roles performed by the N.A. police for instance, they were not provided for, from the very revenue they helped generate.

Unfortunately however, the District and village heads, who supposed to take care of the Native Administration (N.A) police and other Native officials who assisted them in the conduct of administration, were themselves subjected in to a very serious economic hardship. Even at Gwandu and Argungu emirates, where the District Heads were prior to 1911 given only 12½% of the revenue generated from Jangali and general tax respectively, they experienced serious financial deficit, not to talk of their counterparts in the Sokoto Sultanate. Ironically however, Sub-District Heads and Village

Heads were in their entirety, sharing only 6½% of the revenue generated, before 1911, when together with other native chiefs, were all placed on meager salaries. The situation in Gwandu and Argungu was prior to 1911, better than the situation in the Sokoto Sultanate, where the District and Village Heads were receiving less their counterparts in Gwandu and Argungu. But even then, it was the colonial government and individual Emirs who took away the larger percentage of the revenue before the introduction of salary scheme to native colonial officials, instead of percentage of revenue generated in their individual domains.¹⁵

On the operation/conduct of the administration however, in addition to executive duties, the N.A police according to Temple, performed wonderful policing work in the province.¹⁶ Considering the enormous services rendered by the N.A police and other N.A officials, in the consolidation of colonial administration, one must actually wonder why did the British administration failed to give these people their deserved rights. Little wonder therefore, the native chiefs and their subordinate officials, unconsciously found themselves in state of maladministration and financial scandals in order to meet their basic needs.¹⁷ Not only were figures altered and some men exempted from the payment of tax by the N.A officials, for gainful purposes, but the village and district heads continuously found solace in diverting and or borrowing the funds generated from taxation, in order to meet their basic needs.¹⁸

Furthermore, the replacement of the 'Beiyt-el-mal' system with the Native Treasury in 1911, also open up a new page in the history of British administration of Sokoto province on one hand, and the British anti-corruption drive on the other. Immediately after the establishment of the native treasury, the native chiefs were placed or salaries instead of the hitherto percentage of the revenue generated in their territories. The Sultan was placed, on £4,800 as his annual emolument. Other principal councilors received the following: Waziri, £1,000; Galadiman Gari, £300; Magajin Gari, £204 and Magajin Rafi, £300, respectively. Other executive staffs were all placed on salaries.¹⁹ By 1913, the entire District Heads in the province were equally placed on salaries. Although the introduction of salary scheme to the native chiefs, instead of the earlier arrangement of giving them percentage from the locally generated revenue, assisted the colonial administration in generating budgetary surpluses, these funds could not be spent to improve the welfare of the tax payers. Instead, the surpluses were diverted by the colonial government for investment in Britain.²⁰

With this development, the native chiefs, particularly the Village and District Heads were subjected into serious want and misery, due to their

inability to meet the needs of their defendant N.A. officials. They were thus thrown in to gross maladministration and financial irregularities in order to cater for their enormous responsibilities. It is paradoxical to note that the responsibility of the N.A. chiefs, was not only enormous but practically impossible to cater for, with their salaries. For instance, they were charged with superintending over the local administration, vis-à-vis community policing role, as well as the tax assessment and mobilization. Because of the enormity of their responsibilities, the native chiefs had to employ the services of their N.A. police, palace officials and other dependents to perform their roles. In return, they had to devise other means through which they could raise some money to meet the needs of those officials. The result was thus the continued extortion of the peasants as well as financial and administrative irregularities in order to meet these needs. The cases of extortion and mismanagement of the tax generated revenue became very rampant in the history of British administration of Sokoto province. Although disciplinary measures were continuously taken, particularly against the perceived anti-British elements among the native officials, corrupt practices and administrative irregularities persisted throughout the colonial period.²¹

Preservation of the Tax Generated Revenue: The British approach to Fighting Corruption in Sokoto province

Financial and administrative irregularities were some of the earlier recorded challenges faced by the British, in the administration of Sokoto province. Embezzlement of the tax generated revenue, extortion, concealment of true taxable men and cattle, among others, were very common. In addressing these challenges, the British adopted various cleanup measures and strategies. There were regular investigations and auditing of the treasury; investigations in the conduct of administration; and treatment of appeal cases of extortion, oppression and injustice against many native officials. Consequently, the colonial government continue to employ various disciplinary measures such as; reprimand, fines, imprisonment and, or, removal of the affected officials from office. In fact, the deposition, imprisonment, or reprimand against the corrupt Village and District Heads was an annual rite performed by the colonial government.²² Only in 1939 for instance, resident Ross reported that:

There were 70 casualties among the 560 village Heads in Sokoto Emirate. Of these, 13 died, 3 resigned, 6 were promoted, 6 were retired on account of age. 42 were dismissed for irregularities and misconduct, including

embezzling tax or Jangali. Of these last, 24 were sentenced to terms of imprisonment.²³

Suffice to state here that various anti-corruption measures were adopted by the British colonial administration in Sokoto province. But the colonial government was more serious, harsh and pro-active on issues related to financial matters, particularly the management of the tax generated revenue, where the British adopted zero tolerance on corruption. Native chiefs who were found embezzling or misappropriating the tax generated revenues were severely dealt with.²⁴

The Colonial Art of Governance in Sokoto Province

As earlier noted, there were a lot of contradictions between the machinery set for colonial administration, and the British anti-corruption campaign in Sokoto province. Thus, the general art of governance or policies of administration during the colonial period arguably violets the universal principles of good governance.

One good and additional example of such contradictions earlier mentioned was how the 20% of the salaries of the N.A employees was diverted in to payment of the Sultan's household slaves and other active N.A officials that were not catered for by the colonial administration. In addition also, the Sultan's household slaves/palace officials were made part of the officials charged with the responsibility of paying the salaries of District and village Heads. The rationale behind this strategy employed by the Sultanate and emirate councils was that whenever a slave or a place official conveys the salary of individual village or district head, he must be paid by that particular village or district head. But although the colonial government discovered these irregularities, Resident Edwards, could not do anything to stop it, because, as he rightly observed, most of those affected officials were not provided for, from the tax generated revenue.²⁵

Paradoxically, also, during the early years of British colonial administration, gratifications for appointment to public offices, '*kudin-sarauta*' was officially recognized by the British colonial officials, who, together with the native chiefs, continue to enjoy some percentage of the money, for quite significant period of colonial administration.²⁶

Similarly, there were many instances of appointments based on personal acquaintances not on merit. On several occasions perceived loyalists and pro-British officials were convicted with different cases of corruption, but none of them was punished by colonial government. The cases of District Head of Tambuwal in 1907 and 1921, as well as District Head of Rabah

in 1921, were clear examples. Tibenderana recorded how Resident Temple punished the District Heads of Kaura and Anka, but refused taking any action against corrupt dealings and disobedience to the sultan, by Shehu, Sarkin Tambuwal. He said;

But about the same time Temple allowed Shehu, Sarkin Tambuwal, to remain in office after finding him guilty of several charges including oppression and extortion, for which he was fined £150.... There could possibly have been no greater miscarriage of justices than this, and yet Temple was never charged with corruption, a charge which would have been leveled against any emir who acted as Temple did.²⁷

In fact, Temple intervened in the legal process to prosecute Shehu, and ordered the Alkali to fine Shehu, not to imprison him. Amazingly, when he was fined, Temple gave him £100 to meet up the fine. But the colonial government refused to take any serious step to either depose or imprison Sarkin Tambuwal Shehu, on account of his blind loyalty to the British.²⁸

Another particular area in which both the native officials and the British officers engaged in various acts of corruption was in the administrative and tax assessment tours. In fear of dissatisfaction from a touring European officer or a negative report, native officials had to do everything possible to satisfy him, particularly through gifts of eggs, chickens, goats, milk and other forms of gratification, or through other means of winning his goodwill and sympathy. This was not only in Sokoto, but virtually throughout the country.²⁹ Temple lamented how the peasants were extorted not only by colonial officials, but including what he described as '*sojan gona*' people who pretended to be conducting tour on the instruction of a white man, in order to extort the peasants. He reported how he made an experiment of sending an ordinary country-man, whom he gave a constables zouava jacket and vest and told him to go to some village near Sokoto and see whether by stating himself to be acting under orders of the white man, he could obtain a goat or two. And that was exactly what happened, he brought 4 goats before the Resident which he obtained from the masses without any payment.³⁰ This same problem persisted throughout the colonial period, and was thus among the issues that engaged the attention of educated elites, at the wake of nationalists agitations in northern Nigeria.³¹

On the whole, there were different forms of corruption during the British administration of Sokoto province. Although the native officials were much more involved in embezzlement of the tax generated revenue

and other administrative irregularities, the British officers too were active partners in promoting and perpetrating extortionate practices during the colonial administration of Sokoto province.

Conclusion

The British administration of Sokoto province was replete with various cases of mal-administration and corrupt practices both on the part of the native chiefs and the British colonial officers. However, there were different strategies adopted towards curbing the menace. These strategies involved serious disciplinary action such as; warning, fines, imprisonment and or removal from office. In Sokoto emirate alone, there was instance of dismissing 42 village heads on charges of corruption and maladministration in 1939. Out of this 42 affected officials, 25 were imprisoned. There were equally similar cases in Argungu and Gwandu emirates. But despite all these measures, corrupt practices and maladministration persisted throughout the colonial period. It is the argument of this paper that the inability of the colonial government to fight corruption was the result of contradiction between the British anti-corruption policy and the machinery set, to administer the province. Not only were the native chiefs denied adequate salaries that would take care of their basic needs, but majority of the native officials were not even recognized by the British colonial officers not to talk of giving them salaries. Eventually, native chiefs particularly the Village and District Heads were thrown into gross maladministration and extortion in order to cater for these unpaid officials, who were apparently integral part of the native political institution.

Moreover, in the British effort to strengthen the authority of the native chiefs, to make them capable of executing harsh orders, from the colonial government, the native chiefs were given excessive powers and thus made autocratic. Coupled with the misery and want, arising from poor working condition and the failure of the British colonial government to give the native chiefs reasonable take-home wage, on one hand, and the excessive powers they enjoyed under the British, on the other hand, translated into, not only mismanagement of tax generated revenue and other financial abuses, but rampant and serious extortion and oppression of the masses. The colonial government on its part, expressed little or no concern against oppression and extortion, so long as that did not affect the regular mobilization and flow of the tax generated revenue due to the crown. This condition played significant role in institutionalizing the public sector corruption in Sokoto province and Nigeria as a whole.

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The Nigerian Power Sector: A Historical Perspective from 1950-2015

Clement Selbong

Abstract

For a nation to be developed, it must have undergone the process of economic growth, equitable distribution of resources, the provision of food, shelter, health care, education and essential services. For that nation to record economic growth, it needs a robust power sector. This underlines the significance of this paper. It examines the power sector in Nigeria and the efforts as well as resources invested in this sector, but yielding very little result. Raising the questions: When was electricity introduced in Nigeria? What is the investment in the power sector and what are the challenges? How can we overcome the challenges? Using primary and secondary sources of obtaining data, it is clear that we cannot rely on one source of generating and distributing electricity such as gas thermal. We need to invest in gas, coal, hydro, wind, nuclear and solar which is cheaper and individuals can also invest in it.

Introduction

Nigeria emerged as a nation after the colonial conquest and amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates in October, 1914. But the nation had no electricity supply except European quarters in Lagos, now known as Government Residential Areas (GRA) which housed the first generating plant built in Nigeria in 1886 with the use of generators to provide 60 kilowatts.¹

In 1923, European tin miners installed a 2 megawatts plant on Kwall River near Jos. Six years later; The Nigerian Electricity Supply Company (NESCO) was established at Kura Falls to supply electricity to the mining industry on the Plateau².

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That 1950, the government passed the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria Ordinance No 15. This gave birth to the Electricity Cooperation of Nigeria (ECN). ECN later became the statutory body responsible for the generation, transmission, distribution and sale of electricity to all electricity consumers in Nigeria. Two years after Nigeria gained her independence from Britain, the Niger Dam Authority (NDA) was established by an act of parliament with the mandate to construct and maintain the Dams and other works in River Niger and other Areas. Its main function was to generate electricity by means of water power, improve navigation and promote fisheries and irrigation farming.³

In June, 1972, the Federal Government of Nigeria during the military regime of General Yakubu Gowon, promulgated decree No. 24 which merged ECN and NDA to become National Electric Power Authority (NEPA). The name NEPA is the name most Nigerian know when you talk about electricity. In Nigeria today, whenever light goes off, you hear people shout “NEPA” “Na wa for dis NEPA”. NEPA became operational in 1973 with the responsibility to generate, transmit and distribute electricity to all parts of Nigeria with only four major power stations, namely Ijora, Delta, Afam Thermal Station and Kainji Hydro Power Station. With total installed capacity of 532.6 megawatts serving over 2 million customers at that time.⁴

By dawn of the third millennium, new power generation and distribution stations were built namely; Jebba, Shiroro Hydro Power Station, Egbin, Sapele and Delta Power Station supplying a total of 5,958 Megawatts(MW) of electricity. Between 2001 and 2008, Geregu, Omotosho and Olurunshogo Thermal Power Stations with generation capacity of 1,084 megawatts were inaugurated to boost electricity supply in the Country. In 2004, the National Integrated Power project (NIPP) was initiated by the Federal Government under the democratic administration of president Olusegun Obasanjo, to boost the nations generating capacity taking advantage of the abundant natural gas in the Delta region and Calabar in the then Cross Rivers State.

The Delta Power Station was generating 561 megawatts. Egbema in Imo, 338 Megawatts. Ihovborin Benin 415 Megawatts Gbaran in Bayelsa generating 225 Megawatts, Sapele in Delta 451 Megawatts, Omogu in River state 230 Megawatts. Various contracts were awarded for increasing transmission and distribution capacity under the NIPP projects. Over Sixteen Billion US Dollars was claimed to have been released for all the NIPP projects by the Obasanjo administration without any improvement in the Power supply in the Country. Electricity Supply is still inadequate and unable to meet the nation’s demand and stimulate economic growth.

Therefore, on the 11th of March, 2005, the Federal Government enacted the Electricity Power Sector Reforms ACT (EPSR), with a view to making the private sector the leading engine of growth and re-integrate Nigeria into the Global economy as a platform to attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in an open and transparent manner. This led to the repeal of NEPA and the electricity act and its restructuring from vertical integration structure into 18 unbundled autonomous companies which consist of one Transmission Company, six generation and eleven distribution companies respectively. The act further provided for the establishment of the Nigeria Electricity Regulatory Commission (NERC), The Rural Electrification Agency (REA) and the National Electricity Liability Company which are special purpose entities created to manage the residual assets and liabilities of the defunct NEPA after privatization of the unbundled companies. The act also provided for the establishment of a Power Consumer Assistance Fund, to subsidize under privileged electricity consumers. Power Holding Company of Nigeria was put in place to manage the different sectors while undergoing privatization process. The following sectors were created for self governance to realize the efficiency and reliability of the electricity industry which includes:

- i. National Control Centre (NCC) which is the national hub for monitoring and controlling system performance in real time. It ensures that the Country and reliability of the system is met by applying necessary procedure and provides forced scheduled outages through the system operator.
- ii. The system operator coordinates all system operations activities, restoration and planning in collaboration with NCC and other regional control center. It is equipped with state of the art hardware supervisory control Remote Thermal Unit (RTU) computers for dispatcher's tele-control, power line careers and a host of software. Simulation tools for system and operational system studies.
- iii. Supplementary National Control Center (SNCC) Set up in 1993, has state of the art supervisory control and data acquisition/energy management system technology for its activities and those of the National Control Centre Oshogbo.

There are seven fuel coal power stations and four gas turbine power stations namely:

Fuel Coal Power Stations

- i Afam Electrical Power Business Unit
- ii Delta Electrical Power Business Unit
- iii Egbin Electrical Power Business Unit
- iv Jebba Hydro Power Station
- v Kainji Hydro Power Station
- vi Sapele Electric Power Business Unit
- vii Shiroro Hydro Power Business Unit

Gas Turbine Power Stations

- i Ebute Power station
- ii Afam Gas Turbine Power station
- iii Delta Power station
- iv Sapele Gas Turbine Power station

The organization responsible for electricity production and supply in Nigeria is the National Electrical Power Authority (NEPA). But due to the epileptic power supply in the country, Nigerians have coined a new meaning for the abbreviation NEPA meaning “Never Expert Power Always”. The installed capacity at that time was 5,900 megawatts, but due to poor maintenance, and corruption, the country is only generating 1,600 Megawatts. Currently, only 10% of rural households and 30% of urban households have access to electricity in Nigeria. The Nigerian Energy Commission and Solar Energy Society of Nigeria have been tasked with generating solar powered solutions for the remote rural dwellers not served by the national power grid.

Nigeria exports electricity to neighbouring Niger Republic via a 132KV interconnection, constructed in 1976. The power demand of Nigeria keeps increasing while the generation and distribution keeps decreasing, hence the need to find a lasting solution to Nigeria’s energy crises. Thus, more private sector generation and distribution companies are needed to operate in each state of the country.

Historical Analyses of the Power Sector Interventions

The introduction of electricity in Nigeria was not for the use of all Nigeria or for commercial purposes. It was strictly for serving the needs of colonial officials. They were using generating plants and it served them adequately.

When large quantity of tin and columbite was discovered on the Jos Plateau after World War 1, there was a high demand for electricity to meet

the needs of mining equipment. A private company called Nigerian Power and Tin Fields was contracted to construct the first hydro power station in Nigeria at Kwall Falls in Miango, Bassa Local Government Area of Plateau State in 1923.⁶ It was a 2megawatt hydro generating plant along one of the tributaries of River Kaduna. It supplies electricity to various tin mines at 22 KV high voltage lines⁷.By 1929, the private electricity company had expanded and became known as Nigerian Electricity Supply Company, (NESCO). NESCO constructed a 4 MW hydro-power project at Kurra Falls along one of the tributaries of River Benue, in Barkin Ladi Local Government Area of Plateau State, in 1929. By 1972, NESCO constructed, generated and distributed electricity from 6 hydro-power stations namely. Kwall, Kurra, Jekko 1, Jekko 2, Ankwil 1, Ankwil 2 with a total capacity of 29 MW. It was financed by parent company overseas which saw the sale of energy on the Plateau profitable. In 1963, the company constructed a 4 MW diesel power station at Bukuru, bringing the total capacity of NESCO to 33 MW. NESCO now supplies electricity to parts of Plateau State, parts of Nasarawa State such as Akwanga and Lafia, Kafanchan, in Kaduna State and parts of Benue State. These were areas that were not yet connected to the national grid of NEPA. Today they have the national grid but due to the erratic power supply people in these areas, people prefer to use NESCO light despite the fact that their tariff is higher than that of NEPA. NESCO generates electricity and sells the bulk of it to NEPA who distributes it, collect the revenue and pay NESCO for their supply. NESCO is licensed by Federal Ministry of Mines, Power and Steel. Apart from selling the bulk of its power to NEPA, NESCO also has a few companies it supplies with electricity such as Amalgamated Tin Mines of Nigeria (ATMN) and Jos steel Rolling Mill. NESCO has three categories of electricity consumers namely: Industrial, commercial and residential consumers. With each category having a different tariff. The residential consumers pay the least compared to commercial and industrial consumers.

The major reason why the first generating plant in Lagos that served colonial officials quarter's supplied adequate electricity was because it was not on commercial bases at that time and only colonial officials in Lagos enjoyed the electricity therefore it was more than enough for them at that time. But by 1950 when electricity was opened to Nigerians to enjoy and pay for it, the customer base started expanding rapidly, leading to the mandate setting up ECN to generate, transmit, distribute and sell power all over Nigeria. With the establishment of NDA in 1962, it constructed the first government owned hydro power station at Kainji in 1968. This led to competition and a sort of cold war between ECN and NDA in generating

electricity. Kainji initially generated 320 MW of electricity using water which is much cheaper.⁸In 1972, the policy of the federal government changed, which is partly due to the friction between ECN and NDA leading to the merger of the two, creating the National Electricity Power Authority (NEPA). There was no coordination between ECN and NDA, both were not ready to accept responsibility for power failure. Each will push the blame to the other. They also couldn't agree on tariff plan for different categories of consumers. NEPA expanded the generation capacity of Kainji hydro power station to 720 MW between 1976 and 1978.⁹ A 330KV power line were constructed from Kainji to Lagos and from Kainji to Kaduna State and later across the Country including the Federal Capital Territory Abuja ¹⁰. NEPA got its first manager and officially started operating on the 6th of January, 1973. By 1978, the Federal Government set up two panels of enquiry to research and come up with a model to restructure NEPA preparatory to privatization. It resulted into setting up Rural Electrification Boards (REB) to ensure the national grid gets to rural areas and new cities that were yet to be electrified. As a final step towards privatization, the National Integrated Power Projects (NIPP) was established to construct new power generating stations across Nigeria to add to the total generation capacity on the national grid before privatizing it. In 2005, the Power Holding Company of Nigeria was formed to start the privatization of the power sector. NIPP was a private initiative supervised by Niger Delta Power Holding Company (NDPHC). The Nigeria Electricity Supply Industry was then unbundled into 18 companies. Six generating companies called Gencos, one Transmission Company of Nigeria (TCN) and eleven distribution companies called Discos.

The Generating Companies are:

- i Egbin Electricity Generating Company (EEGC)
- ii Sapele Electricity Generating Company (SEGC).
- iii Ughelli Electricity Generating Company (UEGC)
- iv Afam Electricity Generating Company (AEGC)
- v Shiroro Electricity Generating Company (SEGC)
- vi Kainji Electricity Generation Company (KEGC)

While the eleven Distribution Companies are:

1. Abuja Electricity Distribution Company (AEDC)
2. Benin Electricity Distribution Company (BEDC)
3. Eko Electricity Distribution Company (EKEDC)
4. Enugu Electricity Distribution Company (EnEDC)

5. Ibadan Electricity Distribution Company (IbEDC)
6. Ikeja Electricity Distribution Company (IKEDC)
7. Jos Electricity Distribution Company (JEDC)
8. Kaduna Electricity Distribution Company (KdEDC)
9. Kano Electricity Distribution Company (KnEDC)
10. Port-Harcourt Electricity Distribution Company (PHEDC)
11. Yola Electricity Distribution Company (YEDC)

The Federal Government owns 20 percent in the generating companies, while private investors own 80 percent equity. In the transmission company The Federal Government owns 100 percent. In the privatized distribution companies, the Federal Government owns 40 percent and sold 60 percent to the private companies. The TCN owned 100 percent by Federal Government is handled by a Canadian Company, Manitoba Hydro Company. On September, 30 2013 the Federal Government officially handed certificates of operation to the private owners of the generation and distribution companies.¹¹

There were various government policies and laws implemented in the power sector, but still could not meet the power demand of the country. Therefore there was the need for reforms in the power sector. The Electricity Power Sector Reform Act of 2005 was the introduction of reforms in the power sector in Nigeria, which was a response to the massive outcry against the handlers of the power sector, which is the back bone of the economy. The reforms were to improve system reliability, but this is difficult to achieve because of very poor system maintenance culture in Nigeria over the years¹².

The NIPP introduced by Obasanjo's democratic administration was a step in the right direction, but due to change of leadership in the country and lack of continuity by successive administrations; The projects were abandoned by the Yar' Adua administration in 2007, when the Revenue mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission took the Federal Government to court claiming government was funding of NIPP with funds from the excess crude oil account which legally belongs to the three tiers of government, Federal, States and Local Governments.¹³

There was also the allegation that the NIPP projects were not carried out, but a conduit pipe for stealing public funds. This is merely a politicization of the projects to get at some highly placed politicians and prevent them from holding public office. This is evident as the House of Representative Committee on power headed by Ndudi Elumelu, toured NIPP sites across the Country but the Chairman didn't give contractors at the sites the chance

to talk and explain what was going on and they didn't inspect the heavy power equipment inside containers at the various sites. They got to most sites at night and when they were to write a committee report, only the chairman sat down and wrote the report indicting the contractors and the previous administrations. According to Ndudi Elumelu, the National Integrated Power projects do not exist. But the contractors showed evidence of work in progress at various NIPP sites. Members of the House of Representatives Power Committee rejected his report. A case in point is Ahmed Salik, a member of the Committee that toured all the project sites, was quoted thus; "I want to say that there is nothing like a committee report on the probe of the power sector. If there is any, it is the chairman's report and not a committee report".¹⁴ This report misled Yar' Adua to stop funding NIPP projects. But a few years later, Yar' Adua discovered that the NIPP were real and necessary for increasing power generation and distribution in Nigeria. Therefore he included the completion of some NIPP projects in his 7-point Agenda Roadmap to Sustainable Power Supply. Yar' Adua planned to generate 1,200 MW of electricity from NIPP, while PHCN plants will generate 3,900 MW and Independent Power Plants will generate 1,300 MW, making a total of 6,400 MW by December, 2009.¹⁵ But Yar' Adua's target was not met due to the taking over of NIPP by the Ministry of Power and it was suffocated to death by needless bureaucracy and corruption.¹⁶

When Goodluck Jonathan took over the leadership of the Country, he also set a target for power generation and distribution in Nigeria. He targeted 18 hours daily electricity supply. His massive investment in the power sector attracted fifty billion dollars' investment to the power sector.¹⁷ He targeted 10,000 megawatts by December, 2014. This was as a result of the increase in generation he recorded from 3,674 MW in December, 2013 to 4,306 MW by August, 2014.¹⁸ This improvement in power generation gave Nigerian's hope that very soon they will have 24 hours electricity supply daily, but this hope was short lived. Although NDPHC was able to complete and handover 40 transmission lines, 45 transmission sub-stations and 20 sub-stations extension, the targeted generation by the Goodluck administration was not realized. It appears that despite all the reforms in the power sector by successive administrations and the huge investment sank into the power sector, Nigeria is still groping in the dark. Even the change government that took over on May, 2015 could not change the power sector. The privatized discos are still facing the same challenge as PHCN. Majority of the customers are still not metered and are given estimated billings which are usually too high and the electricity supply is still

very erratic. All across Nigeria, business are folding up due to lack of stable electricity. Big companies spend million to run generator sets monthly. A case in point is Cadbury Ltd Manufacturers of confectioneries and beverages in Ikeja, Lagos told tell magazine that they spend an average of 1,300,000.00 daily running the company on six big generators daily due to lack of electricity.¹⁹ While small scale business such as hair dressing saloons, barbers shops, sachet water vendors are all lamenting the lack of electricity which slows down their businesses sometimes they have no choice than to fold up their businesses,²⁰ adding to the already high unemployment rate and crime.

Power Sector Challenges

A lot of researchers have given divergent views as to the solution to Nigeria's power problem. Some say it must be hundred percent government owned while others say it must be hundred percent privately owned. Some say partly private and partly government ownership.

The major problems of the power sector in Nigeria includes poor maintenance culture. This has greatly affected the power sector, slowing down national development,²¹ But if all the investment in the power sector was well maintained, the current generation capacity would have been higher. Besides another major challenge is the change of government and lack of continuity. If a leader leaves office, his successor will abandon his projects and embark on new projects of his own so as to take all the credit. Thus leading to so many projects started but not completed.

Another challenge is funding power projects are expensive and need huge investments from both government and the private sector. Funds are not budgeted for routine maintenance after installation.

Furthermore, at independence, Nigerian's who worked under European Officials were not money minded; they were interested in getting the job done in the right manner. As soon as the military took over leadership in Nigeria and the country went through a terrible civil war everything changed for worst. Nowadays, Nigerians are no longer work minded but have become lazy. Seeking after easy and quick money through dubious means.²²

In addition, the government concentrated so much on gas power stations at the expense of hydro and coal power stations which are cheaper to install and maintain.²³ In the 1950s and 1960s all the power generated in Nigeria was generated by coal and later hydro. We have enough coal and hydro but we abandoned them for gas. Even if we increase our generation capacity today without gas, we will remain in darkness, because we need gas to transmit the power generated.

Comparatively, Libya with an estimated population of 5.5 million people generates 4,600 MW of electricity. South Africa with a population of about 45 million, generates 45,000 MW about 11 times the generating capacity of Nigeria.²⁴the most populous black nations on earth is really embarrassing. Surprisingly, poor planning and inability to bridge the gap between capacity level and current demand thereby causing epileptic supply of power in the country, ²⁵is another major challenge of the power sector.

Inadequate training and retraining of workers in the power sector is another big challenge. As Nigeria's absolute power generating equipment are now being and replaced by better and modern equipment there is no corresponding skilled manpower to operate and maintain the equipment which will lead to more disaster in the power sector.

The exchange rate of the naira to the dollar is also affecting the power sector negatively as the Nigerian currency is weak making it very expensive to import power equipment and spare parts for constant maintenance. There is also the complaint that the current electricity tariff is too low and cannot give the distribution companies profit to expand their customer base. This complaint has been there since the tariff was six naira per unit but currently it is twenty nine naira per unit for the same residential area and that same challenge is there.

The Way Forward

There are various ways of solving the problems of the Nigerian power sector. That is, no single method can solve all the problems, but we must use a combination of methods simultaneously. In the first place, Government should repeal some of the legislation that are not supporting various players to invest in the power sector. Recommendations of presidential commissions seem to be contradictory for example. Onosode's commission of 1981 recommended partial privatization of NEPA. NEPA should only generate and transmit electricity, while distribution, maintenance and sale of electricity should be privatized to reputable companies with proven performance record. But it also recommended that government should be the one to fix electricity tariff for discos to buy from NEPA and tariff for discos to sell to consumers. Such contradictions should be corrected by a modern and universally workable legislation.

Secondly, Nigeria should not depend on one source of generating electricity like gas. It should generate electricity through various sources like in the United Kingdom (UK) where they use coal, gas, hydro, wind, nuclear and solar to generate electricity and send to the national grid. Nigeria

should invest more in wind, solar and hydro generation of electricity as it is environmentally friendly and affordable.

In addition, each state in Nigeria should be asked by a legislation to generate at least 100MW of electricity and send to the national grid and when discos distributes such to consumers and collect money, 20 percent should go to such states' account. This will solve the power problem and improve the revenue base of these states and reduce their over dependence on subvention from Abuja every month. It will also boost economic activities in such states and Nigeria as a whole. Employment opportunity will also be available for small and medium scale businesses.

Furthermore, the power generated should be transmitted through a duplicate transmission line system to its industrial, commercial and residential customers, just like what NESCO uses.²⁷ But the Nigerian national grid has only a single transmission line thereby making it mandatory for the lights to be switched off for any maintenance work to be carried out. While on NESCO's duplicate transmission line, when there is maintenance work to be done on one line, they will switch over the consumer to the other line within seconds without disrupting power supply on that line. This will restore consumer's confidence in the system and when the consumers gets constant power supply they will be willing to pay their light bills and the profit margin of the electricity providers will increase.

Besides, individuals should be encouraged to install solar power in their homes and if the solar gives them more power than they need, they can direct the extra into the national grid and get paid for it. This is the system currently being practiced in the United States of America. This will encourage more electricity generation by different companies, government and individuals adding to the national grid. I have personally installed a 3KV Solar System in my house with seven solar panels on my roof. Each panel has 140 Watts and 12 Volts, with 6 Deep Cycle Batteries, each battery has 2 Volts 500 Ah. Therefore the 6 batteries together will give us 12 Volts,500 Ahs. Then you will need a charge controller base on the capacity of your solar panels. The controller disconnects charging when yours batteries are fully charged to prevent over charging which will destroy the batteries. Today, all over the world people are going solar and you can use solar freezers, solar pressing iron, solar water heaters, and solar air conditioners, etcetera. This will solve the power problems of individual homes and Nigeria as a whole. It is just initial installation cost one needs as maintenance is cheap. Since I installed my solar system six years ago, I have not changed any component and have not spent a dime, but I have been enjoying 24 hours power supply. I sleep with light every day, watch TV

every day, switch on my deep freezer by 8am and switch it off at 5pm with everything inside well frozen.

To conclude, for Nigeria to generate enough power to guarantee 24 hours power supply daily, she needs to use a multi-dimensional approach. That is to generate, transmit and distribute electricity using gas thermal, coal, hydro, nuclear, wind and solar plants. The government, private companies and individuals should all be involved. Individuals can install solar in their homes and channel the surplus to the national grid and get paid, which is what is obtainable in America, for redistribution to others. This will enable small and medium enterprises to thrive, leading to economic growth and development.

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Experiences and Coping Strategies among Internally Displaced Persons' in Idps Camps, Abuja

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Abstract

This study was a survey research aimed at identifying experiences and coping strategies among internally displaced persons in Abuja camps of internally displaced persons. The population for the study was 2531 out of which 150 was selected from four IDPs camps at Durunmi, New kuchingoro, Wasa and Waru that constituted the sample size. Data collection was done with 16 items in the researcher designed titled Survey of IDPs Camp Experience in Nigeria Questionnaire (SIDPCEQ)" which was validated by research experts and NEMA official. The reliability of the instrument was confirmed by test-re-test method with Pearson Correlation Coefficient, which yielded 0.86. From the findings of camp experiences the study established that difficulty in accessing vocational training opportunities in the IDP camps, food allocation that displaced persons receive from government is too small, inadequate accessibility of drinkable water, and lack of income generating sources of the IDPs, The study showed that some of the displaced persons involved themselves in farming in order to provide food for their family, some result to self-medication as a result of limited medical attention in the camps, most parents in the IDPs camps engaged their children into hawking of pure water, groundnut etc. in order to make ends meet. The results revealed that there is significant difference in the camp experiences of respondents based on gender and religion but there is no significant difference based on marital status. Among other recommendations included: Skill acquisition center, schools also provision of social amenities e.t.c.

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Introduction

The concept of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) has gained some attention in several parts of the Africa continent, particularly in war-ravaged and environmentally distressed countries, including Nigeria. In modern armed conflicts, millions of refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs) and other civilians affected by war have been affected by the psychosocial consequence due to the crisis. Many have suffered severe mental distress caused by traumatic experience of having witnessed or been subjected to gross violations of human rights such as killings, torture, sexual violence, family separation and displacement from home. War-affected individuals run the risk of depression, anxiety disorders, post-traumatic stress disorders or other forms of mental distress caused by their experiences.

Similarly, natural disaster such as earth quakes, flooding, drought, epidemic, extreme temperature, insect infestation and storm which can cause massive destruction, can lead to the development of anxiety, depression and post-traumatic stress disorder. Severe mental anguish will sometimes affect an individual's life and community long after the war or the disaster had ended causing continuing instability (UNHCR, 2013).

The plight of internally displaced persons (IDPs) has over the years become a formidable problem of global significance and implications. Around the world, as of the end of 2013, about 33.3 million people were internally displaced due to conflicts and generalized violence. Sub-saharan Africa recorded the highest number of IDPs with 12.5 million, more than a third of global total. Nigeria contributed to the rise with 3.3 million, making it the country with the highest figure both in ECOWAS sub-region and Sub-Saharan Africa (ECOWAS, 2014). In addition to the almost ten million African IDPs uprooted by conflicts, thousands if not millions have been displaced by development projects, land grabbing and natural/environmental disasters, many linked to the effects of climate change (ECOWAS, 2014).

Previous studies (NEMA, 2015) have shown that most of the time more interest is on the resources need of internally displaced persons and not their psycho-social needs such as post-traumatic stress disorder, mental derangement, depression and existential dilemmas. A number of studies have revealed that IDPs suffer significantly more psycho-social challenges than any other.

According Maslow (1978) internally displaced persons have needs to fulfill ranging from biological and physiological needs, security or safety needs, belongingness, self-esteem up to self-actualization at the apex. Kail and Cavanaugh (2010) also said that the ever-increasing numbers pose

enormous challenges to the international community and have even proved capable of sparking tensions in areas and regions that were previously untroubled. Basic requirements like food, shelter, medical care and hygiene; through sheer quantitative needs create huge logistical problems in terms of procurement, adequate and equal distribution. The governments' concerned see themselves in apparently insoluble dilemmas, including those presented by the repatriation of groups of people who fled their home country because of armed conflicts, gross human right violations and other causes of displacement mentioned below. These groups of people are often afraid to return, while at the same time their presence in another region gives rise to insurmountable problems (Adamu, 2012).

Government has primary responsibility in addressing both psycho-social and resources need of internally displaced persons within their borders. Indeed, sovereignty is recognized as entailing national responsibility for ensuring the welfare and security of the people residing within a country's territorial jurisdiction. To this end, government is expected to undertake measures, such as adopting policies and laws, setting up national institutions, allocating resources, and co-operating with International and Regional Organizations as well as Non-governmental organizations, to ensure the provision of assistance, protection, integration and development aid to their internally displaced populations (Conell, 1999).

In Nigeria, Boko Haram insurgents, government counter insurgency activities by the military in the North East, clashes between farmers and Fulani herdsmen, communal and religion violence in North Central, natural disaster such as flood experienced in most states of the country have continued to result in substantial displacement of people in the country. Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) Round 11 Report (2018) stated that, there were an estimated 2,093,030 (over 2 million) IDPs in Nigeria and 54% of this population are children (DTM Round 11, 2018). While majority of the IDPs are in the affected North Eastern States of Nigeria, others have moved to other states across the country including Abuja, leading to establishment of a number of IDPs camps (UNHCR, NHRC, and FEMA, 2015). Displacement generates condition of severe hardship and suffering for the affected population. Not only are this persons displaced, they are also living in terrible condition in camps, exposed to all sort of vices including abduction, rape, exploitation and may be living in camps with little or no access to education.

Victor (2012) defines IDPs as individuals who were forced to flee or leave their homes or residents for reasons associated with armed conflict or natural disaster and who unlike refugees, remain within their own country.

The causal factor of internal displacement of persons in Nigeria has been linked to many unfortunate developments, some of which are natural disaster (which include flood, oil spillage, drought, erosions), clashes between herdsmen and farmers, conflict between government security agents and armed militants, Boko Haram insurgency, election related violence and power control.

If steps are not taken by government to address the challenges hindering access to quality living by displaced persons, the lives of these persons may be trapped in an unending cycle of under achievement and poverty, hence making them vulnerable to being recruited into criminal gang by unscrupulous beings.

Statement of the Problem

IDPs face special difficulties related to violence and abuse, especially in areas of continuing conflict. There is growing recognition among agencies that assistance provision must be linked to protection of IDPs physical security and human rights before and during displacement and during turn or resettlement. Displaced people are often denied a variety of right that can affect their livelihood opportunities. The loss of property rights and entitlements as a direct impact on food security, while denial of work, travel permits and identity documents can deny IDPs access to other entitlements including food (WFP, 2014).

Unfortunately, women and children constitute over 70% of internally displaced populations, and they experience a wide range of health risks. They are extremely vulnerable to physical and mental health problems, and they also have unique health needs. Studies have also reported that women and girls were victims of physical and sexual violence. Women are at higher risk of unwanted pregnancies, unsafe abortions, maternal morbidity and mortality. The negative impacts of sexual violence are significant and long term. These may include physical injuries, sexually transmitted infections including HIV, unwanted pregnancies and mental health effects.

Moreover, IDPs, particularly those affected by conflict, are at a high risk of mental health problems. The commonly reported psychological reactions are post-traumatic stress disorders (PTSDs) in reaction to violence and depression as a reaction to loss (Bukoye and Famolu, 2017). Other types of mental health problems which have been reported are panic attacks and anxiety disorder.

The psychological distress occurring in the post-conflicts enrolment also contributes to harmful health behavior such as hazardous drinking and increased smoking. These behaviours are linked to an increased burden

of non-communicable diseases such as hypertension, chronic obstructive pulmonary diseases and cancers. Despite the increasing numbers of IDPs in African countries and the burden of various health problems in those populations, most studies thus far have focused on specific health problems such as PTSD, depression, malnutrition and infectious diseases.

The Reference Group identifies family separation, safety, stigma, disruption of social networks, destruction of livelihoods, community, structures, resources and trust; and involvement in sex work, as examples of significant emergency induced social problems. Furthermore, grief, non-pathological distress, alcohol and substance abuse, depression and anxiety disorders including post-traumatic stress disorder, are identified as examples of major emergency induced psychological problems. Other mental health and psycho-social support problems in emergencies are classified under humanitarian aid-related social problems (such as overcrowding and lack of privacy in camps, undermining community structures or traditional support mechanisms, aid dependency), and humanitarian aid-related psychological problems (such as anxiety due to a lack of information about food distribution).

It is from the above discussion the researcher intended to examine IDPs camp experience and their coping strategies in internally displaced persons' camp, Abuja.

Purpose of the Study

This study aimed at examining the experiences and coping strategies among internally displaced persons in internally displaced persons camp Abuja. The following objectives were formulated to guide the conduct of the study:

- To examine the IDPS' camp experience in Abuja camps
- To find out the coping strategies of IDPs in Nigeria IDPs camps.
- To examine the difference between the camp experience of the married and unmarried displaced persons in IDPs camps.
- To examine the difference between the camp experience of male and female of Displaced persons in IDPs camps.
- To find out the difference between the camp experience of Muslim and Christians.

Research Questions

In order to achieve the objectives stated above, the following questions were put in place:

- What are the camp experiences of IDPs in Nigeria IDPs camps?
- What are the coping strategies of IDPs in Nigeria IDPs camps?
- Is there difference between the camp experience of the married and unmarried displaced persons in IDPs camps?
- Is there difference between the camp experience of male and female of Displaced persons in IDPs camps?
- Is there difference between the camp experience of Muslim and Christian in IDPs?

Research Hypotheses

Similarly, basic assumptions emanating from the objectives and research questions were made to guide the study:

- There is no significant difference between the camp experience of the married and unmarried displaced persons in IDPs camps.
- There is no significant difference between the camp experience of male and female of Displaced persons in IDPS camps.
- There is no significant difference between the camps experience of Muslim and Christian in IDPs.

Significance of the Study

The significance of this research work is to draw the attention of counselors, government organization and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) alike to the task ahead especially in this area of insurgency and unforeseen displacement as regarding to youth camp experiences and psychological trauma. More also this research work was meant to further enlighten counsellors governmental organization and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) on their responsibilities in providing resource need (such as water, food, and shelters) to IDPs and also provides psychological counselling (on post-traumatic stress disorder, mental derangement, depression stigmatization and existential dilemmas) This study will help counselors better understand the plights of IDPs as well as prescribe and attend to their predicaments having a standard set of contingency plans in place in the affected regions. Such forward planning would improve health outcomes for the displaced individuals and provide more equivalent of care and treatment to those available to others in the country. Good communication and assessment skills are essential in building a rapport with victims and can help counsellors develop a good clinical relationship with the victims and their family.

Methodology

Descriptive survey method was employed for the study. A total of 14526 people living in over 21 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) camps across Abuja (Displacement tracking Matrix, 2018). The Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) camps in Durumi Area 1, New Kuchingoro, Wasa and Waru were purposively selected from over 21 IDPs camps across FCT. Two of the camps – Wasa and Waru are located in rural area while Durumi and New Kuchingoro are located within the town. According to Displacement tracking Matrix DTM (2018), a total population of 2531 live in the four (4) selected Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) camps and a sample of 150 respondents were selected using simple random sampling technique from the camps mentioned.

The Research Instrument

Self-designed questionnaires titled Survey of IDPs Camp Experience in Nigeria Questionnaire (SIDPCEQ) was designed by the researcher and restructured by experts were used to collect data from the target population. The illiterate IDPs children were handled by the research assistant who interpreted the inventories to them.

The questionnaire had two sections, Section A and B. Section A comprised of respondents bio-data (such as gender, name of camp, age, religion, state of origin, living condition, reason for displacement, parents means of livelihood among others). Section B comprised of 16 items which elicited responses on experiences and coping strategies of internally displaced persons. The scoring of the instrument was based on Strongly agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (D) and Strongly Disagree (SD). The instrument's content validity was confirmed by experts in the field of counselling psychology, measurement and evaluation, and two staff of the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) Minna branch for comments and corrections. For its reliability, the instrument was pilot tested on twenty (20) IDPs at Karimajiji camp using test-re-test method. A co-efficient 0.82 was obtained using Pearson Product Moment Correlation Co-efficient (r) at 0.05 Alpha level of significance which was termed to be high enough to justify the instrument's reliability.

Results and Findings

Demographic characteristics of respondents

Table 1

Showing distribution of respondents on the basis of Sex, Age, Religion and Marital Status.

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	75	50%
Female	75	50%
Total	150	100%
Age	Frequency	Percentage
16 – 25years	40	26%
26 – 40years	50	33%
41 and above	60	41%
Total	150	150%
Religion	Frequency	Percentage
Islam	80	80%
Christianity	70	70%
Total	150	150%
Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
Married	75	50%
Unmarried	75	50%
Total	150	100%

Table 1 presents demographic data on the respondents. The table showed that out of 150 respondents, 75 (50%) were males and 75 (50%) were females. The table also showed that, out of the 150 respondents, 40 (26%) were between 16 and 40 years and 50 (33%) were between 26 and 40 years and 60 (60%) were between 41 and above. On the basis of religion affiliation out of the 150 respondents, 80 (53.33%) were Muslims and 70 (46.66%) were Christians. On the bases of marital status, out of the 150 respondents that participated in the study 50 (50%) were married and 50 (50%) were unmarried.

Table 2

Showing the responses regarding experiences of internally displaced persons in camps.

S/N	Statements	N Agree	% Percentage	N S. Agree	% Percentage	Ranking
1.	Lack of income generating source in the IDPS camps	115	77	35	23	4 th
2.	Difficulty in accessing vocational training opportunities in the IDPs camps	138	92	12	8	1 st
3.	Inadequate schools in the IDPS camps	98	65	52	35	5 th
4.	Difficulty in accessing social amenities in the IDPs camps	70	47	80	53	6 th
5.	Inadequate accessibility to drinkable water in the camps	119	79	31	21	3 rd
6.	IDPs camps female adolescents are coerced into sex through false marriage promises, material and financial assistance	65	43	85	57	7 th
7.	Food allocation that displaced persons receive from government is too small	130	87	20	13	2 nd
8.	There is no urgent antenatal care for the pregnant women in IDPS camp.	13	9	137	91	8 th

Table 2: Reveals that item 2 with a percentage of 92 was ranked 1st and it states that there is “difficulty in accessing vocational training opportunities in the IDPS camp”. Item 7 with mean score of 87 was ranked 2nd and it states that “food allocation that displaced person receive from government is too small”. Item 5 with the percentage score of 79 and it states “lack of income generating sources in the IDPS camps”. While item 3 with percentage score of 65 was ranked 5th and states that there is “inadequate schools in IDPS camps”. Item 4 with a percentage score of 47 was ranked 6th and states that “there is difficulty in accessing free social amenities in the IDPS camp”. While item 6 with a percentage score of 43 and was ranked that 7th “IDPs female adolescents are coerced into sex through false marriage promises, material and financial assistance”. A mean score of 9 was ranked 8th in item 8 and it revealed that “there is no urgent antenatal care for the pregnant women in IDPS camps”.

Research Question 2: What are the copying strategies of displaced persons in IDPs camps in Abuja?

Table 3

Internally displaced persons' copying strategies in camps.

S/N	Statements	N Agree	% Percentage	N S. Agree	% Percentage	Ranking
9.	Some of the male displaced persons are engaged in Okada riding in order to meet their financial needs.	120	80	30	20	5 th
10.	Some of the displaced persons resolved into farming in order to provide food for their family.	135	90	15	10	1 st
11.	The displaced persons in the camp have picked petty jobs such as cutting of grasses and cleaner to cope with financial challenges.	105	70	45	30	7 th
12.	Most parents in the IDPS camps engaged their children into hawking of pure water, groundnuts to make ends meet in order.	125	83	25	17	4 th
13.	Some of the displaced persons resolved to self-medication as a result of limited medical alteration in the camps.	100	67	50	33	8 th
14.	Some of the displaced persons resolved to self-medication as a result of limited medical caring the camps.	118	79	32	12	2 nd
15.	Most displaced persons don't go to bed on time as a result of low ventilated nature of their rooms.	111	74	39	26	6 th
16.	Some parents allow their children to be nannies and servants to other people in order to reduce financial burdens.	128	85	22	15	3 rd

Table 3 showed the major camps experiences copying strategies in the IDPS camps as perceived by the respondents themselves. The table showed that some of the displaced persons resolved into farming in order to provide food for their family, some of the displaced persons resolved into self-medication as a result of limited medical attention in the camps, some parents allow their children to be nannies and servants to other people in order reduce financial burdens most parents in the IDPS camps engaged, their children into hawking of pure water, groundnut etc. in order to meet ends meet, some of the male displaced persons are engaged in Okada riding, most displace persons don't go to bed on time as a result of low ventilated nature of their rooms, the displaced persons in the camp have picked petty jobs such as cutting of grasses and cleaner to cope with financial challenges, some of the displaced persons boil their water to avoid water

born disease. The order of importance of these copying strategies of IDPS is revealed in the number of respondents and percentage that responded positively to each of the camps experiences copying strategies. Some combined a number of activities to earn a living such as farming, okada riding e.t.c.

Hypotheses Testing

Hypothesis One: There is no significant difference between the camp experience of married and unmarried displaced persons in IDPS camps.

Table 4

t-test analysis of married and unmarried respondents regarding the camps experiences of IDPS.

Group	No	Means(x)	SD	DF	Cal.t-value	Cri.t-value	Sign level
Married	75	2.84	1.05		-1.424	0.159	0.05
Unmarried	75	2.89	0.96	148			

Table showed that, the calculated t-value of -1.424 is less than the critical t-value of 0.159 . This indicated that, there is no significant difference in the perception of married and unmarried respondents regarding camps experiences of internally displaced persons in Nigeria. Thus, the null hypothesis is up held.

Hypothesis two: There is no significant difference between the male and female camp experience copying strategies of displaced persons in IDPs camps.

Table 5

t-test Analysis of male and female camps experience regarding copying strategies of internally displaced persons.

Group	No	Means (x)	SD	DF	Cal.t-value	Cri.t-value	Sign level
Male	75	3.19	0.817		-6.266	0.000	0.05
Female	75	2.84	0.931	148			

Table 5: Showed that the calculated t-value of 6.266 is greater than the critical t-value of 0.000 . This showed that, there is significant difference in the perception of male and female respondents regarding the camps experience copying strategies of internally displaced persons in Nigeria.

Hence, the null hypothesis was rejected.

Hypothesis three: There is no significance between the camps experience of Muslims and Christians in IDPS camps.

Table 6

Showing t-test analysis of Muslims and Christians regarding the camps experience of internally displaced persons.

Group	No	Means (x)	SD	DF	Cal.t-value	Crit.t-value	Sign level
Muslims	80	29	11.5				
Christians	70	18	6.8	148	-4.25	1.25	0.05

Table 6 showed the analysis of difference between the camps experience of Muslims and Christians in IDPS camps. The table showed that, the calculated t-value of 4.25 is greater than the critical t-value of 1.96. This indicated that there is significant difference between the camp experiences of Muslims and Christians in IDPs Camps in Nigeria. Thus, the null hypothesis was rejected.

Discussion of Results

The finding of this study indicated the degrees of camps experiences of IDPs in Nigeria. The study revealed that the most serious camps experience of IDPs are difficulty in accessing vocational training opportunities, inadequate food allocation that the displaced persons received from government, poor accessibility to drinkable water in the camp, lack of income generating sources, inadequate schools in the camps, difficulty in accessing social amenities in IDPs camp, IDPs camp male adolescent are coercing female adolescents into sex through false marriage promises, material and financial assistance, lack of urgent antenatal care for the pregnant women in IDPs camps. This finding is in line with the findings of Albert (1997) which revealed that unpleasant experiences in IDPs camps is a common phenomenon in most of IDPs camps in Nigeria. It also corroborates with the statement of Adamu (2012) that their presence in another region gives rise to insurmountable problems.

The report in table 3 indicated the copying strategies of displaced persons in IDPs camps. The study showed that some of the displaced persons involved themselves in farming in order to provide food for their family, some result to self-medication as a result of limited medical attention in the camps, most parents in the IDPs camps engaged their children into

hawking of pure water, groundnut etc. In order to make ends meet, some parents allow their children to be nannies and servants to other people in order to reduce financial burdens, some of the male displaced persons are engaged in Okada riding in order to meet their financial need and the displaced persons engaged into petty jobs such as gardener and cleaner in order to cope with financial challenges. This brings to light Abraham Maslow (1978) hierarchy of needs who said IDPs have various needs to meet and this makes them to engage in petty jobs in order to cope. It also holds the view Kail and Cavanaugh (2010) also said that the ever-increasing numbers pose enormous challenges to the internally displaced and the communities in which they are.

Also in this study, three null hypotheses were raised and tested. The first null hypothesis was accepted. There is no significant difference in the perception of married and unmarried respondents regarding camps experience of internally displaced persons. This result is accepted, because both married and unmarried faced the same camps experience according to Victor (2012) who said internally displaced persons are likely to pass through the same experience if displacement is caused by armed conflict. Thus, one may not expect any difference in their perception regarding the solution.

The second hypothesis showed that, there is a significant difference in the perception of male and female respondents regarding camps experience copying strategies of internally displaced persons. This finding agreed with that of Bukoye and Famolu (2017) in their finding confirming their subject (male and female) respondents expressing different responses regarding camps experience copying strategies of internally displaced persons.

Third hypothesis showed that there is significant difference between the camps experience of Muslims and Christians in the internally displaced persons. Again, the current finding was not accepted. However, religions influence beliefs can cause variation in their perception. This finding supports the assertion of WFP (2014) and Walker (2012) that some IDPS are treated specifically while some are handled badly by the humanitarian personnel's based on religious affiliation. Hence religions discrimination by humanitarian staff can cause difference view on the antecedent. This may account for significant difference between the two groups.

Conclusion

In view of the findings of this research work, the following conclusions were drawn. The study revealed generally, that the major camp experiences among others are - difficulty in accessing vocational training opportunities in the IDPs camp, food allocation that the displaced persons received from government is too small, inadequate accessibility of drinkable water in the camp, lack of income generating sources, inadequate schools in IDPs camp, difficulty in accessing social amenities in IDPs camp, IDPs camp female adolescent are coerced into sex through false marriage promises, material and financial assistance, while the least serious camps experiences of IDPS is “no urgent antenatal care for the pregnant women in IDPs camps. The study also showed that some of the displaced persons resolved into farming in order to provide food for their family, some displaced persons resolved to self-medication as a result of limited medical attention in the camps, some parents allow their children to be nannies and servants to other people in order to reduce financial burdens, most parents in the IDPs camps engaged their children into hawking of pure water, groundnut etc. In order to meet ends meet, some of the male displaced persons are engaged in Okada riding in order to meet their financial needs, most displaced person don't go to bed on time, as a result of low ventilated nature of their rooms, the displaced persons in the camp have picked petty jobs such as cutting of grasses and cleaner in order to cope with financial challenges and some of the displaced persons boil their water to avoid water borne diseases are among the major camp experience copying strategy common among internally displaced persons.

There is no significant difference in the perception of married and unmarried respondents regarding camp experience of internally displaced persons. There was a significant difference in the perception of male and female respondents regarding the camps experience copying strategies of internally displaced persons. There was a significant difference between the camp experience of Muslims and Christians in IDPS camps.

Recommendations for the Study

Based on the findings and conclusions the following recommendations were made:

- Training assistance and empowerment should be made available to internally displaced persons in order to make them self-reliance.
- Skill acquisition center should be established in IDPs camps where the victims of displacement can learn skills to reduce dependence on other individuals.

- Seminars should be staged in the churches and mosques to educate religious followers on the need to jettison negative cultural and religious beliefs on IDPs victims.
- Government should provide medical care that will give prompt attention to all that need medical treatment.
- Government should make provision for social amenities, accessible psychological and social services in the IDPS camps.
- Government should deploy some N.power staff beneficiaries who are counsellors to the IDPs camps.

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The Impact of Niger State College of Education Multipurpose Cooperative Society in Poverty Reduction

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Abstract

Poverty is a multifaceted concept. It has no any precise definition. It is however instructive to note that even with the anomalous nature of poverty, its characteristics can be described according to time and space. The geographical space of Niger State is endowed with natural resources. The state is the largest in Nigeria in land mass covering about 86 square kilometers of arable land representing 9.3 percent of the total land area of Nigeria. In the midst of this nature gift, poverty still lingers in the state glaringly noticed in the residential abodes, dressing, household utensils, educational institutions and healthcare services of the majority of the rural dwellers and a significant number of the urban poor. It is against this backdrop that the efficacy of multipurpose cooperative society in poverty reduction was studied using Niger State College of Education as a case study. The findings on the field revealed that a significant number of its members cutting across rank and file owned properties through the cooperative loan facilities which enhanced their sources of income and reduced their poverty among their contemporaries in the state. This study suggested among others that the cooperative society should diversify to invest in small scale manufacturing to further solidify the share capital of its members as a sustainable social security after retirement

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Introduction

Poverty is an age long socio-economic phenomenon that has bedeviled human societies cutting across regions of the world. It is not a peculiarity of one region, even though its characteristics may differ from region to region according to the strength of the prevailing economy of any given region or country. Igbal (2002) conceived poverty as the oldest enemy of mankind. He stressed further that the dreadful monster has widen the gap between “haves and have not” leading to the decline of many empires and civilizations. In this regard therefore, caring for the poor is a sure avenue for establishing peace, progress and prosperity. A prosperous society should be inclined to poverty alleviation essentially because of the dynamism of poverty resulting from the interaction of many factors.

It suffice to say that the poverty situation in Nigeria eludes human imagination given her enormous wealth. Nigeria is so endowed by nature with enormous human, agricultural, petroleum, gas and huge untapped solid mineral resources. Obadan (2001) opined that over three hundred billion U.S Dollars accrued to Nigeria from one resources (petroleum) during the last three decades of the twentieth century, but instead of progressing, she retrogressed to become the 25th poorest country at the threshold of the twenty first century.

It is instructive to note that the poverty situation in Niger State is a reflection of the wider Nigerian society. The state is naturally endowed with fertile land and mineral resources. The fertile land and rich annual rain fall permits the cultivation of most of the Nigerian staple crops. The natural endowments in the state allows greater opportunity for grazing, fresh water fisheries, forestry development and other economic activities

Statement of Research Problem

Poverty is a phenomenon that has risen over the last two decades in Nigeria in spite of the magnitude of the wealth that accrues to her from oil. Given the enormous resources of Nigeria and how it is been shared to the three tiers of government monthly, it is expected that such resources would be mobilized for the provision of infrastructural facilities that can lay the foundation of immediate and future alleviation of poverty for less privilege citizens. It is possible to utilize the resources to build and equipped schools, hospitals and good roads for both urban and rural dwellers. Unfortunately, it is very obvious that over the years, over 85% of people in Niger State both in the rural and urban centers have been unable to meet their basic needs adequately. The income level of the urban poor

and the rural dwellers does not allow them to meet their basic needs sufficiently.

It is in view of the above that this study investigates the workings of Niger State College of Education Staff Multipurpose Cooperative Society and how it contributed in reducing poverty in Niger State.

Objectives of the study

The broad objective of this study is to make a general analysis of poverty in Nigeria narrowing it down to Niger State. Specifically, the research intend among others to:

1. Investigate how Niger State College of Education Staff Multipurpose Cooperation Society was formed.
2. Find out how members contribute to the cooperative society.
3. Examine the benefit that accrues to members from the cooperative.
4. Know how the cooperative reduces the poverty of its members.
5. Also find out whether the public benefit from the cooperative society.

Research Question

This study raised the following research questions :

1. What influenced the formation of Niger State College of Education Multi Purpose Cooperative Society
2. How significant is the contribution of members
3. What positive impact does the cooperative made on its members
4. Has the cooperative raised its members out of poverty
5. Is there any social responsibility of the cooperative to the public

Significance of the study

This study has a number of benefits to all sectors of the Nigerian society and Niger State in particular. In the first place, the study would be beneficial to government policy makers on poverty reduction. Over the years the government has pronounced various poverty reduction policies with implementing agencies but with little or no successes recorded. Such agencies in the past include Directorate of Food, Road and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI, 1986), Better Life for Rural Women (1987), National Directorate of Employment (NDE, 1987), Peoples Bank of Nigeria (PBN, 1989), Family Support Program (FSP, 1994), Family Economic Advancement Program (FEAP, 1997), Petroleum Special Trust Fund (PTF, 1995), National Poverty Eradication Program (NAPEP, 2003), Subsidy Re-investment Program (SURE-P, 2014). As at the time of this study in 2017 President Buhari's government introduced Anchor Borrowers Program

still with mixed feelings. It is in this regard that this study would be a useful tool in the hands of policy makers with a view to genuinely reduce poverty. This study can equally be beneficial to staff of government agencies and nongovernmental organizations that may wish to reduce the poverty of their staff.

Furthermore, this study can make a great contribution to the growing literature on poverty and the internal mechanisms of cooperative society. Student researchers and staff of research and documentation departments of public and private organizations can make reference to this study as a guide.

Scope and Limitation of the study

This study focused on poverty reduction using Niger State College of Education Staff Multipurpose Cooperation Society as a case study. The study has made an in-depth analysis of poverty and how cooperative society can be veritable tool in reducing poverty. Niger State College of Education Staff Multipurpose Cooperation Society was chosen because of the significant successes it recorded in solving the material needs of its members.

Methodology

This section dwells on methodology which is an important aspect of research. This study would not have been completed without the collection of necessary data in respect of the topic under investigation. It is in this regard that data for this study were gathered from secondary sources. The sources include official documents of Niger State College of Education Cooperative Society and printed materials of the library such as books, journals, magazines, newspapers and electronic materials of the internet.

Review of Related Literature

This section is centered on the review of related literature to further enhance the understanding of readers. It is in view of the above that the concepts of poverty and cooperative were reviewed.

The Concept of Cooperative Society.

Cooperative has been given a number of definitions. The International Cooperative Alliance (ICA) at the Centennial Congress and General Assembly in Manchester in 1995 sees cooperatives as “an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common social and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly owned and democratically controlled enterprises”.

However, in a more simpler way, the International Labour Conference defines cooperatives as “an association of persons who have voluntarily joined together to achieve a common end through the formation of a democratically controlled organization, making equitable contributions to the capital required and accepting a fair share of the risks and benefits of the undertakings in which members actively participate” Thus ,cooperatives are based on the value of self help, responsibility, democracy, equality, solidarity, honesty, promotion, caring for others as well as owners and users of its services among others.

The purpose of the cooperative is to provide greater benefits to the members such as increasing individual income or enhancing a member's ways of living by providing important needed services. The cooperative for instance may be the vehicle to obtaining improved markets or providing sources of supplies or other services otherwise unavailable if members acted alone. The cooperatives most effectively service their members by working together locally nationally, regionally and globally for the sustainable development of their commodities.

Cooperatives are voluntary organization without gender, social, racial, political or religious discrimination. They are democratic organizations controlled by their members who actively participate in management decisions and policies.

Overview of Poverty

It is not easy to discuss the concept of poverty because of its multifaceted dimensions. For instance, Ajakaiye and Adeyeye (2001) have suggested that thoughts on appropriate conceptualization of poverty have a long history. From the analytical perspective, the concept can be traced to medieval England when laws for the poor were codified and the pioneer empirical studies on poverty carried by Booth in London and Rowntree in New York. Accordingly, Rowntree's work published in 1901 was the first to develop a poverty standard for individual families based on nutritional intake and other requirements such as food, shelter and clothing's.

In consonance with the multidimensional nature of poverty, Townsend in Ajakaiye and Adeyeye (2001) redefined poverty not just as a failure to meet minimum nutrition or subsistence level, but rather as a failure or inability to keep up with the prevailing standard in a given society. According to him, it is not enough to be availed with just minimum nutrition, but a society needs to go beyond that to include enough food, good shelter, efficient and sufficient medical facilities hence the need to broaden the

concept of income poverty to a wider set of basic needs including those provided socially.

This is what informed the submission of Malurnfashi (2008) that poverty is a naked reality that can be objectively assessed even though it is felt subjectively. It is ranked the oldest among social problems that can be traced to the early organization of human society. With epochal changes resulting to various modes of production in human society, the society became divided into slaves and slave owners, feudal lords and serfs, capitalists and proletariat as encapsulated by Malumfashi. He is of the view that, these divisions further translated into have and have not or rich and poor. The rich are better opportune, privileged, well educated and adequately sheltered with access to efficient and sufficient health facilities that make them healthier and above all having social security. While the poor on the other hand have to content with deprivation, depression, squalor and diseases. These are the major pull and push factors that influenced the mobility of labour to areas where they can work to ameliorate their sufferings.

Rahnema (1990), Okunmadewa (2001) conceives poverty as multidimensional, because the number of the poor and the perceptions of poverty may be as many as there are human beings. Rahnema stressed further that

The indicators of poverty that qualifies one to be poor cut across country and language. The same indices can qualify anyone under the sun to be called poor. The list is not only limited to the weak, the hungry, the sick, the homeless, the landless, the cripple, and the beggar, not only the mad, the prisoner, the enslaved, the fugitive, those on exiled, but also all the losers of the world including millionaires after the crash of stock exchange, the fired executive and the artist who finds no buyer for his work. (1990:9)

Poverty as Deprivation

It is however important to note that Robert McNamara's visit to Africa and the realities of hardship he saw on the continent gave him a new outlook to the concept of poverty. His eloquent speech to the Board of Governors of the World Bank in Nairobi Kenya in 1973 focused more attention on poverty and its elimination. McNamara (1973) said,

Last year I began a discussion with you on the critical relationship of social equity to economic growth. I emphasized the need to designed development strategies that would bring greater benefits to the poorest

groups in the developing countries particularly to the approximately 40% of their population who are neither contributing significantly to economic growth nor sharing equitably in economic progress. Despite a decade of unprecedented increase in the gross national product of the developing countries, the poorest segment of their population have received relatively little benefit. Nearly 800 million individuals-40% out of a total of two billion survived on income estimated in U.S purchasing power at 30 cents per day in conditions of malnutrition, illiteracy and squalor. They are suffering poverty in absolute sense.(McNamara, 1973: 1)

Poverty in Psychological Perspectives.

Psychology is mainly concern with the frame of the mind. It is scientific study of the mind and how it influences behaviour. In the context of poverty, the psyche of human person is affected where he feels rejected, excluded, inferior or deprived as a result of complete absence or inadequate material resources.

It is sequel to the above psychological perspective that, the World Bank Report of 2000, Obadan (1997), and Salami (2000) supports the point of view that sees poverty beyond income, consumption and education. Rather it includes risk and vulnerability, voiceless and powerlessness. The same report asserts that the poor particularly in the rural areas are often exposed to highly fluctuating incomes, although it is sometimes possible for poor households to move in and out of poverty. This fluctuating movement of the rural dwellers in and out of poverty result largely from natural or climatic conditions that from time to time affects their production which is basically confined to the extractive or primary level of the economy.

Schumacher in Salami (2000) look at the work opportunity of the poor when he said are so restricted that they cannot work their way out of misery. They are underemployed and when they do find occasional work, their productivity is low. Some of them have land, but often too little. Many have no land and no prospect for getting any. However, this conception of low productivity of the poor may not be true in the context of the Nigeria poor. It would have been more befitting if the author said because of the low caloric intake the productivity of the poor is low. The Nigerian poor is hard working in spite of his hard conditions. Given an enabling environment, he will do more in terms of proficiency of labour.

Findings and Discussion

Niger State College of Education Multipurpose Staff Cooperative Society and Poverty Reduction in Niger State

Niger State College of Education Staff Cooperative Society is a child of necessity. It came on board as a response to the economic hardship experienced by the staff of the college as a result of the reforms brought about by the military regime of Muhammadu Buhari and his deputy Tunde Idiagbon in 1984. Poverty as usual is the inability to satisfy the basic necessities of life adequately. At that era of military regime, essential food commodities eluded the staff of the College which was a reflection of the situation in wider Nigerian State.

The birth of the cooperative society of the college around 1984 was a short term palliative measure to cushion the effect of the prevailing hardship then by immediately providing succor to members through the distribution of food items and other household needs.

According a document of the cooperative society (2017) the college cooperative society transformed from its initial palliative thinking to a formidable strong asset based cooperative society through the singular selfless efforts of Mallam Adamu M. Jebba with other thirteen committed lieutenants. Between January to August, 1999, their effort yielded fruits. Against this backdrop, in September, 1999, the present Niger State College of Education Staff Cooperative Society came on board with fourty four founding members. Given the benefits enjoyed by the founding members, the membership began to grow until it reaches one thousand and eleven members as at October 2015.

In the words of Jebba (2017)

The membership strength grow steadily as profitable schemes are being introduced. Some of the schemes include long term loan, emergency loan, special emergency loan, sales of wide varieties of items like food grains, electronics, plots of land, motorcycle, GSM handsets, computer desktop and laptop sets, building materials etc.

The Cooperative Land Allocation and Poverty Reduction

The socio-economic profile of Nigeria published by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 1996) defines poverty as lack of resources to consume certain bundles of goods and services. Such goods and services could be considered as objective minimum which include basic necessities such as food, shelter, and clothing. Gong by this definition of poverty, it is sufficient to state that the Multipurpose Cooperative Society of Niger State College

of Education has made a significant impact in reducing the poverty of shelter of its members and by extension also enhanced the income of its members whose plots of land were developed for rent age.

Plots of Lands Allocated to Members

S/N	No. of Plots	Size of Land	Location	Amount Per Plot	Year of Allocation
001	20	100X50	Sauka Kahuta	N90,000	2001
002	50	100X50	Brighter Schools	N75,000	2002
003	23	100X50	NECO Computer Site	N160,000	
004	61	100X50	Opposite Shango	180,000	2007
005	40	100X50	Beside Sauka Kahuta Primary School		

Source: Filed Work 2017.

Members obtain loans from the cooperative and built their plots for residential purposes where the staff are presently residing with their families at the locations mentioned in the above table. This cooperative venture has solved their housing needs and thereby reduced their poverty of shelter. On the other hand, some members built their plots for the purpose of rentage through which they generate annual income with which they solve other daily needs of their respective families and other dependents.

It is worthy of note that apart from the plots of land purchased by the cooperative and distributed to the members at an affordable rate, members also obtained loan from the cooperative and purchased lands in different location of the state for different economic ventures. To ease the process of building personal abodes and rented appointments for members, the cooperative society is in the concluding stage of molding blocks for members on request and payable on installment basis. Added to the above, the cooperative society also sale building materials to her members at affordable price.

Furthermore, the executive members of the cooperative society are collaborating with the Niger State Civil Servants Cooperative Union to initiate the construction of three bedroom flats. The cooperative society is at the verge of signing a Memorandum of Understanding with a private developer to facilitate the achievement of this objective.

Cars and Keke Napep Scheme

From the information gathered from the field, the cooperative society initiated the sales of cars and keke Napep to its members. It was gathered from the field that over one hundred cars were distributed to various categories of members. Some members used these cars for commercial transport schemes that generate income for them. Some members interviewed attested to the fact that the income generated from this transport services assisted them greatly when ever salaries are not forthcoming. In similar vein, junior staff collected Keke Napep which they used for intra-city transport services and get returns daily, weekly or monthly basis depending on their arrangement with the operators.

Through this transport scheme, some members have acquired land in different locations in Minna and at their country homes. Through the proceeds from this scheme, they build houses on such plots of land while some are still under construction. Some members have attested that their families daily consumption needs were met from the money realized from the Keke Napep transport services. School fees and family health bills were also paid with ease.

Innovative Schemes and Transactions

Since inception in 1999, the executive has initiated innovative schemes geared towards the economic and social enhancement of members, their immediate families, host community and indeed the less privileged in the society. Some of this schemes include:

Savings Scheme:- Under this scheme, each member is mandated to contribute a convenient amount on monthly basis as his savings towards retirement, securing of loan and other personal needs.

Loan Schemes:- At the end of the first financial year 1999, the sum of N1,020,000:00 was granted as loan to 37 members under our long term loan scheme. However, as at the end of the 14th financial year in December 2014, over 1000 members benefited from the long term loan scheme payable over 2 years. Lots of members benefitted from short term loan scheme, payable in four to six months.

Sales:- The executive of the co-operative society always ensures that all major festivals like Ramadan, -id-el-fitr, id-el-kabir, Xmas, and Easter are ushered in with major sales. The sales includes grains like rice, maize, Guinea corn, Millet, Red oil, Vegetable oil, Ground oil, Semovita, and beverages like Bornvita, Milk, Sugar, etc. Similarly, the society also initiated the sales of ram to commemorate Id-el-kabl. The society expended over sixty million naira on sales every year.

Similarly, the society also offers a special sales of electronics, Jincheng motorcycles, Dunlop tyres, building materials, Handsets, computer systems/ laptop in collaboration with reputable dealers in the state.

Share Capital:- The capital base of the society as at December 2017 stood at N140,353,245.79.

Car/Kekenapep Scheme:- The co-operative society initiated sales of Car/Kekenapep in the year 2013. To date, over 100 Cars/Kekenapep have been purchased for members. The most recent was the flag off distribution of 52 Cars/Keke napep to our shareholders on the 21st of October, 2015.

Provision of Shelter:- The executive also initiated a special land scheme in the year 2001. Under this arrangement, a committee was set up to look into the shelter needs of our members. To date, the committee has acquired and sold over 200 plots to members. Some of the plots are located at:

Contribution to the Less Privileged: As part of the end of year celebrations, the exco annually organized visitation to various less privileged homes in Minna. The following are some of the centres visited previously:

- i. **Leprosarium Centre, Chanchaga Minna:** Assorted food items, like bags of rice, maize and chemicals were donated to this centre on three occasions.
 - ii. **General Hospital, Minna:** Donations in the form of cash gift was given to accident victims at the general hospitals during the 4th & 5th financial year.
 - iii. **Orphanage/Old People's Home:** The society has visited this home on 3 occasions. Baby's food, bags of rice, beverage and detergents were given to the home.
 - iv. **School of Handicapped, Minna:** The society has donated several bags of rice, maize and detergents to the school.
 - v. **Nigerian Prison, Minna:** Bags of Cement, mats, and food grains were given to the inmates at the new Prison Minna.
 - vi. **Contribution to our Host Community; i.e C.O.E, Minna:** As part of our contribution to the college, we have made the following effort to assist the college:
 - vii. **Road Rehabilitation:** In January 2002, the road linking the second gate, School of Arts and Social Sciences, Languages to the female Hostel was rehabilitated by the Cooperative Society.
- The following year, precisely in February 2013, a wireless public address system for use at the lecture rooms, seminar/workshop and students orientation programme was donated-to the college.

- Donation of copies of Advanced Learner Dictionary to each of the best graduating students during the 19th-23rd convocation at the college.
- Textbooks, writing materials, buckets, cups and brooms were donated to the staff school of College of Education, Minna.
- Medical drugs were also donated to the College Clinic.
- The life of one of our students, a physically challenged (handicapped) undergraduate student of Usman Danfodio University C.O.E, Minna Campus, was also touched when we paid his school fees for the academic years of 2005 and 2006.

Consultancy Services

The executive has trained new co-operative societies within and outside the state. The Niger State College of Education Multi Purpose Cooperative Society has become a point of reference to other co- operative societies. Indeed, the society's secretariat is a research centre for student and other co-operative societies. The most recent is a two day retreat on Fundamentals of Running a Successful Cooperative Society on 21st and 22nd October 2015.

Conclusion

The data gathered from the field revealed the magnitude of the benefits that accrues to the members of the college of education staff cooperative society and how their poverty to a larger extent was alleviated . A considerable number of the multipurpose cooperative society members own their private living abodes besides those used for the purpose of rent age. A significant number of the staff own luxurious automobiles depending on their choice and salary grades. This study therefore concludes that Niger state college of education, minna staff multipurpose cooperative society has contributed immensely towards the reduction of poverty in Niger state. However, in spite of this giant stride, a lot is still left to be desired by the members of the cooperative society. It is against this backdrop that the recommendations below were made.

Recommendations

Given the facts gathered on the field and analyzed in this study, the following recommendations were made :

- The cooperative society should stop limiting herself to only loan advancement to members and diversify to invest in manufacturing ventures that can increase the shares of members and thereby enhance their income.

- The cooperative should assist members to purchase shares in profitable private limited companies within and outside Nigeria.
- Junior staff should be educated on the type of loan to collect and also be guided on its utilization
- The executive members should always live above board
- The cooperative should open her doors for non staff of the college whose source of income is ascertained and can be tracked from his organization or from his bank

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Effectiveness of Mass Media in Improving Girl Child Education for National Development in Nigeria

Dunkrah Adedoja Owobamirin

Abstract

The Federal Ministry of Education and United Nations Fund (UNICEF) have been the campaign for Girl child education in Nigeria as to eradicate poverty, related human privation as well as achieving sustainable National development. This paper examines the effectiveness of mass media in promoting girl child education for national development in Nigeria. It discusses the concept called Girl child education. This paper looked at the causes and impact of girl child on socio economy and national development in Nigeria. This paper contends that the mass media should allocate more time of educative programmes for promoting girl child enrollment in schools in which the parents will not be in fear of insecurity. It is recommended that the government should sponsor programmes in relevant broadcast media that promote girl child education.

Introduction.

Alongside the other main estates which are the executives, the judiciary and the Legislators the agents of mass communication are generally regarded as the fourth estate of the realm. It is very difficult for the mass media to thrive without the society. The society and the government need the mass media to progress in respect of the media providing them with information, education and entertainment. The mass media act as link between the government and the governed.

Section 22 of the constitution of the Federal Republic, 1999 (as amended) chapter II on fundamental objectives and directives principles of the state policy explain the obligation of the mass media thus:

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“The press, radio, television and other agencies of the mass shall at all times be free to uphold the responsibility and accountability of the government to the people” (1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria)

In Nigeria, education of the girl child has not received serious attention as a result of parent's materialist concept of education that is the belief that a girl child will eventually marry and leave the family with whatever material benefit derivable from her education to her husband's home. Parents would rather prefer to invest in the education of a male child.

Education is a human right that should be given to all human beings. Research has shown that schooling improves productivity, health and reduces negative features of life such as child labour. Education is a basic human right.

The girl child is the bedrock and the future of any nation aspiring for National development. However she has continued to be the subject of rejection, marginalization and deprivation.

According to UNESCO (2012) Education is a veritable tool utilized by economically and socially marginalized adult and children in achieving freedom from poverty and participate fully as citizen. UNESCO also report that about 90million children are not in school, majority of them are girls (source). Most girls do not have access to education despite the fact that it is a right. Okere, Nzewi and Njoku (2008) identify child labour, poverty and lack of sponsorship, quest for wealth, bereavement, truancy, broken home, engagement of girl children as house helps act as clog in the wheel of girl's access to education.

Abdulahi in Maduagwu and Mohammed (2006) states that the importance of education in the life of an individual cannot be over emphasized central to the most basic problems facing the girl child is her access to qualitative education this is because without education, the realization of socio-economic and political rights becomes impossible.

The concern of this paper is the crucial issues which are serious impediments toward self realization of girl child in Nigeria. This paper examines critical role of the mass media in combating the problems faced by girl child.

Conceptual Clarification.

It is important to clarify the three important concepts which are pertinent to the understanding and explanation of this paper. The concepts are mass media, child education and National development.

Mass Media

Mass media has been defined variously by scholars of mass communication among which mass media is referred to as a collective means of communication by which general public or populace is kept informed about the day to day happenings in the society. The media is also said to be an aggregation of all the communication channels that use techniques of making a lot of direct personal communication between the communicator and the public. The word “mass” means organs of channels. Hence mass media is a collection of organs of communication and information dissemination that reaches out to a large number of people. The information circulation is not only confined within members of the public but the media also serves to coordinate the information flow between government and the public and vice versa.

David (2009) opined that the programmes by the mass media had the biggest impact on increase awareness. That the mass media is able to keep people informed and updated and create public opinion on matters affecting the government.

Iwokwagh (2009) noted that the mass media act as a mirror that reflect society and as a result serve a gauge for measuring the level of social, political and economic development in the society.

However, from the foregoing definitions, mass media is the modern means of giving information to a large number of people. It includes radio, television as well as printed matters comprising of Newspaper, magazine, comic, booklets, cinema and other means of communication which are basically used for the followings:

- Information dissemination,
- Education, and
- Entrainment of the society as well as serving as multiplier of resources of knowledge and information (Isiaka 2005)

Akindele and Lamidi (2001) opined that apart from these traditional functions, the mass media also perform the following functions:

- Surveillance of the environment,
- Correlation and co-ordination of facts,
- Persuasion,
- Transmission of social heritage, and
- Opinion molding

Girl Child Education

The girl child is a female child that has not reached the age of adult. During this period, a young girl is under the care of the adult who may be parents, guardian or elder sibling. The development of any society is accepted as an instrument to power, prestige, survival, greatness and advancement for men and women. The United Nation report (2001) adopted the universal declaration Human Right which stipulates that everyone has the right to education which shall be free at least in the primary level. Also the national policy on education emphasizes that there should be equal right for all citizen.

However Osinulu (1994) lamented that girl child is discriminated against in terms of education and given out to marriage early thereby denying her the required competence for national development.

National Development

National development refers to a situation whereby people of a particular nation, state or country harness the resources at their disposal with a view of having a meaningful development. Better still, National development is a situation whereby we can adequately harness our diverse human and material resources with a view of benefiting maximally from such resources. It is also a situation where people of different cultural and linguistic background especially in a multilingual setting such as Nigeria, where values and sentiments are put aside to work together towards national development. Therefore, for any meaningful national development to take place it is obvious that mass media plays a meaningful role.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical frame work of this paper is based on the Agenda-setting theory. The theory was proposed by Maxwell McCombs and Donald L. Shaw in 1972/1973. The theory basically state that the mass media through frequent coverage of issues determine what the dominant discussion would be. The agenda setting theory states that mass media have large influence on audience by their choice of what story to consider news worthy. The agenda setting theory tells us what to think about and then, the public get interested from that and begin to have their own opinion. Media agenda are issues that are discussed in media such as the newspaper, radio and television. What people think about in the society is based on the information conveyed to them through media. Through frequent, meaningful and responsible coverage of the importance of girl child education in Nigeria, the media can sensitize the public on the issues affecting girl child and

attract attention to embrace girl child education.

Critical Issues in Girl Child Education

Scholars of different ideological beliefs have been giving reasons for the neglect of girl child education in Nigeria. Mohammed in Maiduagwu and mohammed (2006) attributed the cause of neglect of girl child in Nigeria as:

Economic Factor:The harsh economy condition of Nigeria as resulted in scarce resources. As a result of this choice has to be made between whom to send to school. Most often, it is the girl child that remains at home. Due to poverty a girl get withdrawn from school so as to help supplement family income through giving out as house help, hawking, working on farm so as to support the family. In some cases the girl child are sent unto early marriage because of the huge bride price as a result such girls often fall victims of VVF as a result of immaturity. The low economic status of the rural and urban poor have resulted in many families withdrawing their female children from school to give room for their male counterparts,

High Cost of Education: The decline in economic activities since early 1980s has made education a luxury to Nigerians. Often parent could not afford to send all children to school and since daughter have assumed responsibilities in the home she is the one not to attend school.

Lack of Priority to Early Child Education: One way to combat neglect of girl child education is to invest in education that target out of school children. This could guaranty national security and national development. The leaders should summon political will and evolve new strategies that could increase all Nigerian children enrollment at primary school level.

Colonial Policies: At the beginning of colonialism and Christianity,rigid ideas about gender perception were imposed on the Africans mind. The woman's role has come to be limited to sexual and commercial labour, satisfying the sexual needs of men, working on fields, carrying loads, making babies and preparing food for the family to mention but a few. This has since provided the spring board for women's education imbalance in Nigeria.

Political Factor: This is yet another factor that contributed to neglect of girl child education in Nigeria. Despite Nigeria's signatory to different international conventions of the right of the children generally, so far, little has been achieved this is a result of lip service and lack of political will to implement policies by the government.

Asemah (2013) stressed that the importance of girl child education cannot be over emphasized in any society. No nation could attain meaningful socio-economic and political greatness without focusing on both intellectual

and mental development of girl child because they are the future of the society.

Effect of Neglect of Girl Child Education on National Development in Nigeria

According to Stronquist (2000), he opined that politically, the girl child is relegated to the background in the society. They are in most cases under-represented in the decision making because of the notion that a woman's place is in the kitchen.

The problem also compounded by the girl child's deficiency is education qualification .

Moreover, in Nigeria the following are the effect of neglect on the country as a whole.

- Corruption
- Poor leadership
- Poverty
- Slow national development
- Lack of sense of belonging to the nation
- Insecurity
- Threat to overall economic development

Role of Mass Media in Encouraging Girl Child Education for National Development

The mass media have a very important role to play in the promotion of girl child education in Nigeria for national development. Asemah (2011) opined that the mass media are agents of social change and they bring positive attitudinal Chang in the audience. They set agenda for the people to follow in the society. They act as the eyes, ear and voices of the people drawing attention to abuse of power and human rights. Through their work, they encourage government and organizations to effect changes that will improve the quality of people's life.

The mass media expose the plight of girl child caught up in circumstances beyond their control, abused or exploited by adult through the following means:

- **Surveillance Role:** According to Daramola (2001) surveillance means keeping close and watches over something or someone. In other words it involves gathering and reporting news of happening in the community. This has to do with collective process which media, government and

public influence what issues are considered to be very important. This function place a demand on the media to cover, analyze and report impending danger. It is also the process of collecting and distributing information about local, national and international happenings. Example is information the role played by state governor's wife in promoting girl child education in their various states.

Josephat (2008) opined that the surveillance function of the mass media presupposes that the mass media are the eyes and ears of the public. The mass media provide information and alert the heterogeneous audience of change that take place around them. The media in discharging their surveillance function, usually scout round the environment bringing news of social, economic, political and national development that are treat to national stability.

- **Correlation Role:** This is the core of mobilization in favour of girl child education. This act provides information to the society which is used in opinion molding and attitude adoption. The law of correlation states that media should relate news and various happening in the society to the individual's life and environment. This is done through by raising awareness of girl child's right and responsibilities and ensuring that children's right are promoted and protected. Report on failure and neglect on the part of the parent should also be made
- **Awareness Creation Role:** The mass media create awareness on importance of educating girl child. Example of awareness programme is specific programme such as " I need to Know by NTA " .
- **Agenda Setting Function:** This function helps in understanding the effect of mass media content on individual or target audience. The agenda setting function of the mass media reveals that the media does not only make the audience learn factual information about public affair and what is happening around the world but also learn how much importance to attach to issue from emphasis placed on them by the media. It entails giving much attention to issues that have to do with girl child education. In doing so, the mass media raise the consciousness of the people and influence them in taking precautionary measures that will encourage girl child education for national development.

Constraints of Mass Media in Improving Girl Child Education in Nigeria

The followings are the constraints of mass media in improving girl child education for national development in Nigeria:

- Poor remuneration
- Security threat
- People's reluctances to provide accurate information on
- Profession violation issues

Linkage between Mass Media and Girl Child Education

The media have a very important role in the promotion of girl child education in Nigeria. The media are agents of social change that can bring positive attitudinal change in the society. The importance of information to social engineering cannot be over emphasized. There cannot be national development without education. Based on extensive research, and comparison of various schools of thoughts, mass media to a large extent has been used effectively to improve girl child education in Nigeria.

Conclusion

Education is seen as a powerful instrument through which national development can be attained. Education in this sense has no gender or sex attachment. This is because the type of development referred to in this paper required corporate participation of members of the society, men and women alike. The fact remains that the task of nation building and national development demand that all hands should be on deck in order to initiate ideas, make plans and participate in actual implementation for maximum contribution towards national development in technology and positive outcome.

Both sexes should equally be interested in science, technology and arts subjects. The above claim shows the relevant of both sexes in national development. This is why gender equality and women empowerment continue to be central theme in global treaties, covenants and declaration because they are now acknowledged as important to people centered development road map. As a matter of fact challenges such as poverty, early marriage, sexual abuse, sexual violence, religion, culture among others confront the girl child education. The mass media have a crucial role to play in promoting girl child education.

Recommendations

- The government should embark on programmes of job creation, skill acquisition on poverty alleviation empowerment and capacity building programmes so that parents could send both male and female children to school.

- Government should sponsor programme in relevant broadcast media that promote girl child education.
- The mass media should allocate more time of educative programmes for promoting girl child enrolment in schools in which parents will not be in fear of insecurity.
- The mass media should massively promote girl child education in Nigeria.
- Government should provide free education to its citizenry so that children of the poor could have access to quality education since poverty remain one of the largest barrier to access education.
- Professionalism in journalism is important to keep media practitioners abreast with trend in mass media used in encouraging girl child education.
- Girl child should be empowered through deliberation policies to transform their lives.
- Government should properly equipped the media with state of the art facilities to enable them carry out their agenda setting function and watch dog function effectively.
- Practitioners should adhere strictly to laid down professional and ethical standards to avoid adulteration and prejudice reports.

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An Archaeological Consideration of Ngaji Irrigation Farming System, Fika L.G.A, Yobe State

Hassan Disa Hussaini

Abstract

Ngaji swamp is located about 6-15 kilometres away from Gadaka, Fika Local Government area of Yobe State. This swamp serves as a source of water for irrigation farming since the domestication of the area. In the past, people used “Jigo” for watering plants and use local plants solutions as pesticide on crops and vegetables among others. Oral interview, ethnographic study and consultation of written records were the key methods used in this research. This paper examines the role of Jigo in the evolution of irrigation farming system and other important aspect of the traditional pesticide among others in Ngeji.

Introduction

Ngaji swamp area is widely known with the seasonal farming by both indigenous locals of the area and other people coming from neighbouring towns and states in search of fertile land and fadama areas. The locals known to the area are mostly the Chadic language family that include Ngamo, Bole, Karai-Karai, Ngizim (Seidensticker, 1987 and Disa, 2016) and few Fulani's who become part of the locals as a result of intermarriages and other social contacts. But the Majority in the area are Ngamo and Karai-Karai people who have more towns and villages located across the swamp. Ngeji swamp is named after different villages situated few kilometres away from the water body which include Meri, Balde, Goru Aba, Mala, Baba Nomau, Mubi, Tinja Mazam, Goru Wayo, Baba Dala, Gadanau, Dagauda, and Baba-Yelli among many others (Isa). Irrigation farming is the most common practice in the area because of the water body. There is no agreement among the locals of the area on when Ngeji was founded but

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majority believed that the water body was domesticated since before the establishment of Gadaka and Fika over 150 years ago (Shua'ibu). Fika is the major area occupied by the Bole people and Fika LGA's headquarters located about 9km southwest away from Gadaka the major centre of Ngamo people in the area.

The major source of Ngeji water is Gongola valley which drained into the river through Ngalda and Nafada (Heinrich, 1994). Other sources include tributaries running down from some of the historic hilltop settlement sites found in the area, which include Gudi, Daniski, Ndokto Fara and Ja among others (Disa, 2016). Others are water body running from villages and farmland into the swamp area. In the past, the water body was wider than what it is today in terms of volume and size, but because of the global warming the water body has shrink and reduced in size. In terms of dry season farming today, people have to dig a shallow ditch to get water for watering plants and vegetables among others.

Before the coming of Europeans and introduction of some mechanised equipment for Agricultural purposes such as water pumping machine, a local device known as *Jigo* in Hausa was used for collecting of water from the river to the farm beds through a channel known as *Doki*. This device was widely accepted and used for watering plants most especially during dry season and early rainy season periods where rain was low. *Jigo* was very tedious and hard to operate, but with the introduction of pumping machine people discarded the old tradition of *Jigo* and accepted engines for easy operation and use. It takes 2-3 people's labour force to operate *Jigo* and control the movement and allocation of the water to various beds

Method of Study

This research adopts three of the basic methods of archaeological research which include oral interviews, ethnographic study and consultation of written documents as earlier mentioned. Oral/personal interviews were conducted on different occasions both on the field and through phone conversations. Ten people were administered with unstructured open-ended questions, 5 on the field while the remaining five were interviewed in Gadaka and Potiskum. This was to allow them express their minds about what they know about Ngeji farming systems without restricting their knowledge of the farming. Their age ranges between 19-80 years and one of them was a retired civil servant who has been into farming activity since before his employment into the civil service. Only two women were selected of the ten informants, this is because of the scarcity of females into the farming system.

Participant observation as a method of conducting ethnographic study was also adopted and used in this research work. It involves the researcher participating in the activity of fetching or drawing water from its source to *doki* using Jigo. Consultation of written records was another method, adopted by consulting published and unpublished documents from archaeology reference library, Northern Historical Research Scheme (NHRS) all in Ahmadu Bello University Zaria. Other documents were consulted from personal libraries for guide and references.

Geographical Information of the Study Area

Ngeji swamp is located just about 6-15km west away from Gadaka, Fika Local Government Area of Yobe State, Nigeria (see fig. i).

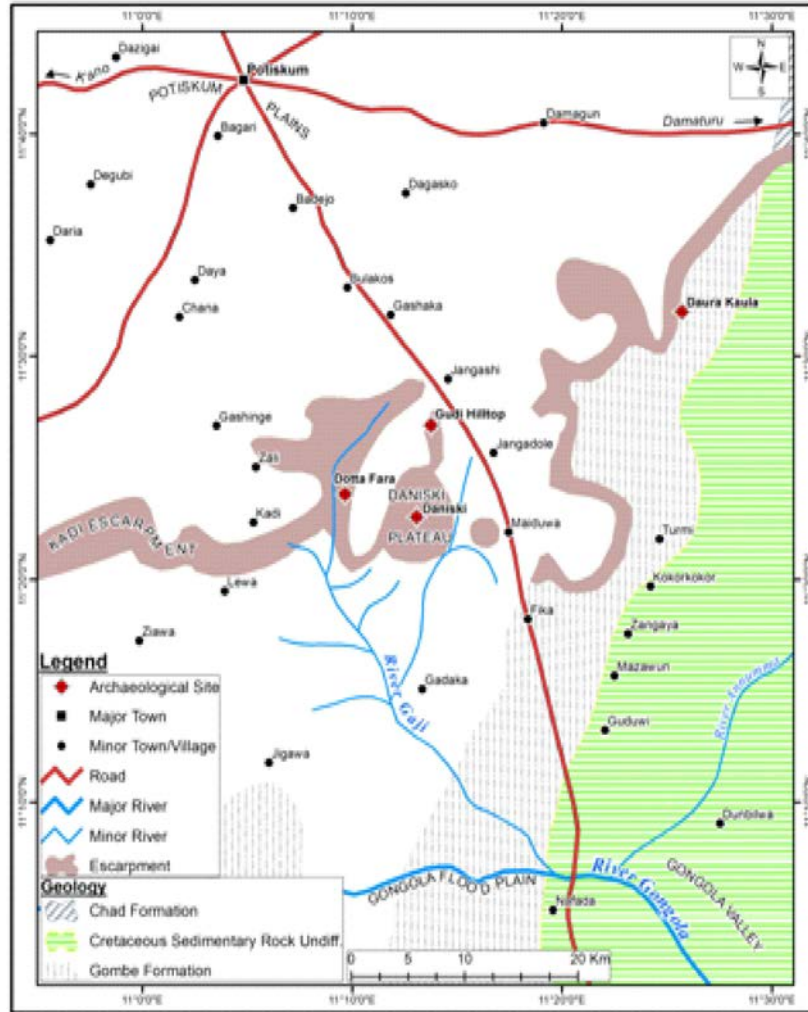


Figure 1: Topographical and Geological Map of the Study Area
 Source: Adopted and modified from Heinrich, J. (1994)

The length of the water body is roughly estimated to be around 20 to 30km, situated between Gadaka and some villages bearing Ngeji names which lie from the North to south where it connects to the river Ngalda. Some of the villages were said to have been established as a result of Ngeji water body and access to water for daily needs. The vegetation cover of the area is typical Sahel savannah highly influenced by human activities

(Nigeria; physical settings, 2013) with thick variety of economic and wild trees, shrubs and grasses among others along the water body (see plate i). Trees in the area include Royal palm, Mango, Baobab, Cashew, Orange, Lemon, and Guava, among many others. Shrubs include *Ruman rafi*, *Yema*, and *Bado* among others.



Plate I: Vegetation Cover

Jigo and its Role

Jigo is a simple improvised instrument meant to fetch water from its source to beds or farms, through the means of an operator or someone who is very conversant with its techniques. Two standing poles in vertical positions fixed into the earth are used to support a horizontal pole where the fetcher *Kwarya* is tied to one end and pendulum *Gwaina* to the other end as a counter balance (see plate ii).



Plate II: The Jigo

The pole that holds these *Kwarya* and *Gwainwa* is fixed with a small stick to provide more balance and easy work. The calabash serves as a container for fetching the water and it is most at times big enough for pumping a good quantity of water within short period of time. *Gwainwa* known as pendulum for balance is made of clay and very heavy that assist the operator to draw out *Kwarya* full with water from the water body. See plate iii showing *Kwarya and Gwainwa*



Plate III: Kwarya and Gwaigwai

On the other side, *Doki* is constructed or built adjacent to the *Jigo* where the water flows into the various farms and beds. The distance between the *Jigo* and *Doki* is not up to 0.5m. It is constructed with mud and royal palm placed on the mud channel and supported by the neem sticks (see plate iv). The water is first pour onto the bark of royal palm not directly on the mud to avoid erosion. According to oral informant (Haruna) a rag is first placed on the stem of the royal palm tree to protect the calabash from cracking or destruction, since constant contact between the calabash and royal palm stem can lead to a damage and destruction overtime.



Plate IV: Doki

Ngeji Farming System

There are two farming systems that are practiced by the people of the area which include rainy and dry season since time immemorial. All these were determined by the alluvial nature of the soil influenced by other plants and grasses. In the dry season or period, a dependable Ngeji water source supports vegetable growth suitable to the land such as onion, tomato, garden eggs, pepper, okro, cabbage, carrot, and spinach among others. Tubers such as cocoa yam, and cassava, are also grown and harvested in large quantities in the area. Other plants include sugarcane, wheat, rice, and economic trees which grow and harvested in both dry and rainy season such as Mango, Orange, lemon, guava, pawpaw, pear, and cocoa among others.

Both mix and single farming were practiced by these people up to date, which allow them to plant one or two different types of plant on one bed. Each bed is measured 7.5 feet and in one area or location about 7 by 7 beds are found known as full farm locally called *rabin ciki* in Hausa. In some cases, half farm is cultivated by a farmer called *rabin ciki* in Hausa

which is 7 by 3.5 beds. Each bed is measured 1m by 1m in length and breath. Below are the analyses of these beds; Plate V is showing a bed with mix plants containing onion, spinach, and pepper.



Plate V: A bed with mix plants

Traditional Pesticide and its Application

Local plants such as Neem *Maina* tree leaves and *Garafunu* are used in the past as Pesticide. These leaves are grinded together and mix with water in a container, mostly calabash and supply to the leaves of vegetables and crops. Broom locally called *tsintsiyan laushi* which is another local plant found in the area is served as a sprayer. This method has a serious impact to their plants in protecting and controlling pest on farms in the past. All these plants are still very medicinal to the contemporary people of the area. It cures stomach and skin problems. Ashes are also used in protecting plants against any attack by insects. Specifically, it was not disclosed to this research of which type of plants provides better ash for this purpose. The powder is sprayed on the plants for proper control and disinfection of the plants. The introduction and coming of western education has totally changed

people's view of using this method of disinfecting crops which requires low or no amount of money.

Discussion and Conclusion

Ngeji farming started as a family affair where children inherit the knowledge of the activity with the farms and its trees or plants from their parents. According to (Haruna) he inherited the farming activity from his father who descended from Gudi abandoned hill-top settlement site. He further claimed that they do not buy seeds and seedlings from the market because of the low-quality yield of the improved variety. Farmers in the area prefer to raise their seeds in an improved way or adopt the traditional ones inherited from their parents and siblings. People did not settle permanently in the Ngeji water bank in the past because of the harmful flies and insects that were responsible for human and animal lives over time. This was later taken care of and controlled by the colonial administrators who fumigated the entire area. With this effort by the colonial administrators, people established temporary huts in the area as seen in form of mounds and scattered stone tools and potsherds. Oral information gathered about the mounds were not sufficient to conclude on the identities of those who settled there and from where they came until further investigation is centred directly on that. However, according to (Yahaya) some farmers now sleep in the area at night to protect their crops from the threats of monkeys and other animals, which have posed the most serious menace to the Ngeji farming system.

Women and children are seen as another pillar in promoting the Ngeji farming system by assisting their husbands in the planting and harvest of vegetables and some economic trees such as mango, guava, sugarcane, lemon, and oranges among others. According to (Hauwa) she only visits the farm to assist her husband for some minor work as well as harvesting vegetables when customers are expected or available to buy their products. She further claimed that she has been involved in it since her marriage to her husband Mal. Haruna a Shoe Shiner.

The use of Jigo was seen here as the best techniques of irrigating land in the past devoid of extreme labour and less time consuming. According to (Langawa) the knowledge of Jigo was introduced to the area by the Hausa people who have been specialists in irrigation farming. The word Jigo is a Hausa word which simply means a leader or something worth of example to follow. Before the coming of these Hausa's to Ngeji, the indigenous people of the area only planted crops that are highly drought-resistant such as pearl millet (*Pennisetum glaucum*), and Sorghum (*Sorghum*

bicolour) among others as well as some economic trees with few vegetables such as pepper, salad, and tomato. According to (Bala) the exercise is seen as highly demanding by the children of now-a-days who would not participate in its use but have opted for the new inventions by the Europeans in terms of introduction of new pumping machines and other agrochemicals used in the farms.

Despite all the various claims by the oral informants that the knowledge of Jigo was introduced into this area of Lake Chad region by the Hausa people of Kano and Jigawa, Kahlheber (2011) reported the use of this technique of irrigation farming system among the Saharan people of southern Lake Chad basin. Over a period of time, people adopted the techniques because majority of rural dwellers of northern Nigeria at large depends on agriculture, albeit limited or low rainfall quantities affect the potentiality of good yield or harvest more especially in the core Sudan savannah zones (Kahlheber, 2011). This technique was used to draw water from shallow wells of about 2-4m close to the river bank for irrigating farms just as in the case of Dhekli system of irrigation. This system operates just like the Ngeji Jigo where a rope and bucket are tied to a pole with a heavy object as a counterbalance at the other end to draw up water for irrigation.

With the advent and coming of mechanised Agricultural farming equipment's people have it easier to venture into the services unlike in the past that people only engaged into that as a family business. According to (Umar) water pumping machine is the most efficient systems of irrigation today in the area that helps people use water economically without wastage with good control. Because of this people have now discarded the use of Jigo which is evidently seen and investigated by the researcher. Only one Jigo was seen in Ngejin Balde that is still in use in the entire Ngeji area. This new innovation brought by the western countries led the people of Ngeji to be involved deeply into dry season farming as well as introducing new products to the area. According to (Langawa) more people are now depending on Ngeji economically for their daily survival and plants like cocoa, cocoa nut, pear, and many other imported plants and trees are grown today in Ngeji.

Conclusively, archaeology as a study of past human life ways through their left behind materials and immaterial culture, this paper was able to examine the role of Jigo and some tradition ways of farming in Ngeji area. Jigo was basically used to draw water from its source to the farm beds through a channel known as *doki* which is built close to the Jigo. Traditional way of disinfecting pest and insect was also examined to documents how

the people of this area uses their immediate resources in day to day activities. Finally, we have seen the influence of Hausa people in transforming Ngeji farming system over the time.

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The Contributions of United Nations Development Program (UNDP) on Promoting Democratization in Nigeria's fourth Republic: A Reflection of Elections

Suleiman Mohammed Evuti

Abstract

International development agencies play pivotal roles and are important actors in promotion of democratization process, with specific interest on support for elections in developing countries like Nigeria. In this regards, there has been an upsurge of support by these agencies in Nigeria's democratization process especially the united nation development program (UNDP). This research appraises the contribution of UNDP on the democratization process in Nigeria, specifically examining the support for the 2011 and 2015 elections. Elections are globally recognized as the basis of any democratic process. Free, fair and credible elections are the cynosure for representative democracy. They provide legitimacy for democratic governance. However the post electoral violence of 2011 and the build up to the 2015 General Elections generated intense apprehension about the cooperate existence of Nigeria, against the backdrop of hate speech campaigns by political parties, to this end Nigeria received enormous assistance from international development partners particularly the UNDP through the DGD1 AND DGD11 program to support, monitor and ensure credibility of the electoral process. The research review relevant literature regarding democracy, democratization, elections and democratic governance in Nigeria. Also look at the impact of UNDP in strengthening electoral management body (INEC), political institutions and civil society organizations. the research further adopt the democratic theory as it theoretical framework where the research finds among other things that the enormous support garner from UNDP not only strengthen the EMB but boost the credibility

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of the electoral process and thereby concludes that the contribution of UNDP in the democratization process in Nigeria is significantly encouraging and help uplift the promotion of the country's electoral democracy.

Introduction

Slightly over two decades ago, Africa reverted to multi party political dispensation after years of single party dictatorship and military regimes. The struggle that was christened the second liberation began in 1989 following the collapse of the soviet union and gain prominence in 1992 when most African countries repealed constitutional provisions that had entrenched single party regimes (Felix, 2011).

It's on this guise of the third wave of democratization that Nigeria reverted to multi party political dispensation after years of military dictatorship. Nigeria however, has been facing challenges of political stability since the political independence in 1960. The challenge of nation building and overall development at various fronts of national life has remained unattainable task due to innumerable factors that have beset her since the first military intervention in January 15th 1966.

The post independence Nigeria political landscape has been highly unstable, it created (military regimes and promoted primordial sentiment) political environment where it's impossible to create political leadership that would be acceptable countrywide (EU observer mission, Nigeria 2003). By 1999 at the return of civilian rule, Nigeria had been ruled by military regimes for its first 39 years of independence (Catherine and Akubo, 2016). In the event, the political scene becomes highly unstable to the extent that democratization becomes a mirage in the political reconstruction of the country after colonial domination.

Moreover, the first military coup of July 1966 that brought in Aguiyi Ironsi obstructed the parliamentary republic of 1963 and a counter coup of August 1966 which brought in Murtala/Obasanjo regime that culminated in the birth of the second republic in 1979 and its eventual disruption by the military junta of 1983 that brought in Gen. Muhammadu Buhari. The Buhari/Idiagbo regime came to an abrupt end when Gen. Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida took over the mantle of leadership in August 1985 as the first military president which became an unending transition programme that breathe life into the aborted third republic. The Gen Sani Abacha regime came about after the palace coup that ousted the Shonekan regime in 1993, 'an event that serve as catalyst for emergent of irresistible civil

society organizations such as civil liberty organization (CLO) and energized the nongovernmental organization (NGO's) to become very prominent in their quest for return to democracy and the continued pressure from development partners on the insistence for respect for fundamental human rights and institutionalization of democratic regime in Nigeria' (Habu,2009). In compliance with the internal and international pressure for a return to democratic regime the Abacha regime instituted a transitional programme with establishment of five major political parties, although the regime came to an end with the demise of the presidential candidate of the said five political parties (Abacha himself). The Abdulsalam Abubakar regime of 1998-1999 completed the transitional programme initiated by Gen. Sani Abacha by handing over political power to an elected civilian president in a disputed and controversial electoral process that was managed by the military boys in May 29 1999 (Jega, 2007) which symbol the return to democracy and the beginning of fourth Republic.

Since the inception of democracy in 1999, Nigeria has held five general elections (1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015). The electoral value has declined consistently except the 2011 and 2015 general elections that have enjoy considerable measure of credibility (Catherine and Aduko, 2016). The decline in the electoral process has been attributed to the years of military regimes that has impeded the development of civilian political leaders and hampered the emergence of democratic culture.

Nigeria has been characterized by political turbulences. The return to civil rule marked a new beginning of establishing a sustainable democratic system, although not without serious political and institutional problems.

Democratic system by conceptualization can be seen as a way by which power is exercised in ways that respect the integrity and needs of everyone within the state (Ali, 2016). It is the exercise of authority with inclusiveness and accountability that is enshrined through credible electoral system (World Bank, 2003 cited in Ali, 2006). Liberal democracy emphasis the need for free fair elections, comprehensive fairness of political competition, public freedom of speech, press, association, information, popular participation, responsiveness of elected officials, political equality among citizens and the control of rulers by the ruled; the capacity of state to function in the service of public good (Ali, 2016).

However, the above element of liberal democracy posed great challenges to the democratization process in Nigeria. In it various manifestation in the parliamentary system of 1st republic, and the presidential system of second, third and the fourth republic, democratization has been confronted by

many ills (Ali, 2016). In the words of Elaigwu (2011) these ills include abuse of political power, and human rights, lack of respect for rule of law, massive electoral malpractices, lack of transparency and accountability.

More so, after prolong military rule characterized by the wanton violation and regression of the political, economic, and social rights of the people, re-democratization process begun in 1999 and elicited renewed expectations for the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria (Eghosa 1999 as cited in Catherine et al 2016). Even though, the fourth republic has endured so far with periodic elections. Building and consolidating democracy is a complex process; elections are only a starting point. But in the words of Annan, (as cited in Catherine et al 2016) if there (elections) integrity is compromised (as they sometimes are in Nigeria) so is the legitimacy of democracy.

Significantly, the entrenchment of a culture of electoral integrity, which is now most desirable for deepening democracy in Africa, is being emphasized. African countries have slowly but steadily embraced democratization; in many countries elections are now held periodically, and regularly. However, the necessary and desirable task of deepening democracy has been hampered by the recurring deficit of electoral integrity (Jega, 2017). In the early phase of transition to democracy in Africa, in the era of the so-called 'Third Wave' of democratization, which commenced in the 1990s, some theorists postulated that regular and periodic elections are sufficient indicators of democratization and maturity in democratic development (Lindberg, 2006 as cited in Jega, 2017).

This assumption, however, is now increasingly contested, with mounting evidence being adduced, which prove that without electoral integrity, regular and periodic elections merely represent the formalistic trappings of democracy, while the substantive aspects such as accountable leaders, good governance and economic development are being systematically eroded and undermined (Jega, 2015).

As Jega (2017) succinctly capture the trappings of democratization in Africa to reads that Electoral integrity, votes cast by the electorate would not count, mandates would be bought or stolen, the "elected" officials become irresponsible and unresponsive to the needs and aspirations of the electorate, and electoral outcomes not only face crisis of legitimacy, but the entire agenda and processes of democratization become unstable and conflict ridden. Until and unless there is electoral integrity, for example in the manner in which an electoral management body (EMB) discharges its roles impartially, competently and professionally; election procedures are transparent and accountable; citizens, as legally registered voters turnout to exercise free choice and their choices actually count; democratization would

be devoid of its desired substantive attributes of popularly elected and accountable leaders, who deliver on their electoral promises and who nurture and entrench the quality of government, in terms of harnessing public resources to address the fundamental needs and aspirations of the citizens. In the event, the effort to achieve democratization process in Nigeria certainly needs the support of development partners (DP) to strengthened the capacity of the electoral management body (EMB), political parties, civil society engagement, the security, the judiciary as well as the legislative body. This is pertinent for a developing state facing political and economic instability in the management of her democratic process.

The focus of this study is therefore, to assess the impact of United Nations development program (UNDP) in the democratization process during 2011 and 2015 general elections in Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework

The democratic theory as propounded by Joseph Schumpeter has been adopted as framework of analysis. Schumpeter (1954) has propounded a more modern theory of democracy base on what has been widely agreed to as the liberal view of democracy.

Going by this theory, for a system to be called democratic, the rulers should be chosen by the ruled or their representatives. By this role, one of the essential functions expected by the electorate in a democracy is that of producing the government. Schumpeter argue further that once this has taken place, the democratic voter is expected to respect the political division of labor by leaving decision or issue in government to the leaders whom they have elected (Schumpeter cited by lively, 1975). Lively (1975) also posit that democracy is a mechanism by which the political system maintains its equilibrium.

As a concept, democracy is a system of government characterized by the participation of the people through their freely elected representative, by which the recognition and promotion of the basic rights of citizens, including the rights of vulnerable groups such as the minorities (Omotola 2008). This basically has to do with the ability of the people to control decision making in line with. Osaghae (1994) who argues that the central thing about democracy is to ensure that power actually belong to the people. In this paradigm Dahl (2000) pointed out two divisions of democracy that, democracy in theory (as an ideal, goal, aim or standard) and in practices. The basic liberal democratic ideal is that individual liberty is best formed by democratic political orders that treats all citizens as equals before the

law and is governed by the law, with its limit on how the state may treat its citizens and on how citizens may treat one another.

Liberal democracy is a liberal political ideology and a form of government in which representative democracy operates under the principles of classical liberalism. Liberal democracy is a form of government. It's a representative democracy in which the ability of the elected representative to exercise decision-making power is subject to the rule of law, and usually moderated by a constitution that emphasizes the protection of the rights and freedoms of individuals, and which places constraints on the leaders and on the extent to which the will of the majority can be exercised against the rights of minorities.

This democratic liberal perspective tends to advocate and usually characterized by tolerance and pluralism; widely differing social and political views, even those viewed as extreme or fringe, are permitted to co-exist and compete for political power on a democratic basis. Liberal democratic perspective argued extensively on the foundation to which democratic society can be fully engage in the maintenance of her principles of equality, equity, and representation by this instance periodic election where groups with different political views have the opportunity to achieve political power.

The term liberal democracy does not imply that such a democracy must follow the political ideology of liberalism. It is mostly a reference to the fact that the initial framework to modern liberal democracy was created during the age of enlightenment by philosophers advocating liberty. Liberal democratic theory is popular for it advocates on the ground that democracies should usually have universal suffrage, granting all adult citizens the right to vote regardless of race, gender or property ownership. These rights might also have some kind of qualities proclaims such as registration procedure to be allowed to vote. The elections should be free and fair, the political process should be competitive. Political pluralism is usually define as the process of multiple and distinct political parties. In this guide, this framework of analysis sees constitution often as a limit on the authority of the government.

Getting "institutions right" can be argued to be crucial for the liberal development project, because institutions set the "rule of the game" and offer services, choices, incentives and constraints to internal as well as external actors. Reforms of institutions are deeply political, and the power allocated will necessarily reflect the vision of what kind of development is desired, hence it must be questioned "who" decides what institutions are desirable and how much power should be allocated. Although the Post-Washington Consensus advocates democracy where 'the people' can decide,

democracy is clearly restricted to certain sorts of democratically elected governments that will comply with the neoliberal development project (khan 2002, cited in Niels S.2008).

Under this circumstance, the question of democracy-liberalism-development relation as a theory acquires a new significance and urgency for the development of third world countries since the 1980;s (Sylvia, 2002). In line with this, Robert Dahl argues that political liberalism requires a provision for participation of all in the political activities through the formulation and advocating of credible political alternatives (Dahl, cited in Sylvia, 2002). It is further maintained that the present state of human evolution, a liberal and democratic system is an important precondition for development geared human wellbeing (Gogfrey, 2011).

That democratic and economic advancement of the society requires a decisive and effective policy implementation through the democratic framework as a result of the effectiveness under the political imperative to increase social welfare spending and an environment for the liberal democracy to facilitate equal distribution of wealth. As Friedman contends (1973) that political freedom rests on economic freedom base of competitive political environment. Elster (1994) has argued that to be credible and effective, recommitment requires democracy. The promises of a ruler are much more credible if there is a well-established procedure for throwing the ruler out of office for failure to keep those promises. "To be effective, power must be divided." This is a central theme of much of the recent work on liberal democratic theory.

However in the applicability of democratic theory there is needed to look at the nature of institutions that exist to guarantee peoples participation in governance. The absence of these institutions can undermine peoples support; engender insecurity, instability and reversal of democratic gains (Diamond, 2002 as cited in Bappah, 2014). The theory further promote new legal and institutional frameworks as developed to safeguard and promote new values such as peace, security, democracy ,good governance ,support for elections ,human rights in the newly democratized societies to ease their pursuit of freedom (Bappah, 2014).

Liberal democracy in particular, is about representation and political parties are the organizing avenues and agents for representation (Jega, 2015) for electoral process to be deem sufficient for political participation. In corroborating this perspective, Momoh (2013 as cited in Alli, 2015) support that political party is a body of organized individuals whose ultimate aim and goal is to contest for governmental power through the instrumentalities of elections. While it should not be mistaken that the mere existence of

political parties presupposes that a society is democratic or otherwise, however, competitive and periodic elections have come to at least define the character of liberal democratic theory. Political parties under a liberal democratic perspective are expected to help deepen democracy by managing and presenting candidates for elective office in a competitive electoral process

Literature Review

Democratization

Democratization as a process is gaining a foothold in Africa, poorly conducted elections have posted remarkable constraints, with dire consequences for stability, regime legitimacy and good democratic governance, especially in countries with complex diversities (such as Nigeria). Increasing the scope of electoral integrity has therefore become central to the concern for democratization process in Africa (jega, 2017).

Scholars have variously explained democratization. However, its basic tenets are everywhere the same and well known also. Basically it connotes a process of movement from authoritarianism to a stable democracy. Osaghe, (1995:5) equates democratization to transition to democracy as “a political process because it basically has to do with the transformation of the state and the political society.

Osaghae (1995) further stress that democratization is a “process of establishing, strengthening or extending the principles mechanism and institutions that define a democratic regime”. He further elaborates on this assertion, when he opines that two points could be inferred. One, that democratization is relative, incremental and phased. Two, that democratization is variegated in nature, calling for caution not to analyze it as a blanked process. The validity of this exposition, particularly in the African context can hardly be contested. It attests to the fact that democratization is a term used retroactively after certain thresholds have been crossed (schatzber, 1997). Similarly, democratization has been seen as a political movement, from less competitive (or nonexistent) political rights, from weak (or non-existent) autonomous associations to more numerous associations in civil society (potter, 2000:368).

Nevertheless, democratization emphasizes the relevance of good governance in the democratic process as well as other certain forces (political rights autonomous civil society) that could strengthen the process (Huntington, 1996). It is instructive to note that a democratic regime, being the ultimate goal of democratization operates on certain fundamental principles. It is reasoned that the extent to which democratization establishes these elements may provide the basis for evaluating its success or otherwise.

Democracy

The most popular conception in the current discourse on democracy is liberal democracy. Which can be summarized in the words of Omano that: Despite the fact that scholars might have emphasized different aspects of it, there is a general consensus that “liberal democracy has some basic principles, namely: Citizen participation (meaning choosing their leaders) equality, political tolerance, accountability, transparency regular free and fair elections, economic freedom, a bill of rights, the separation of the powers of the executive, the legislature and the judiciary respect for human rights, a multiparty system the rule of law” (Omano, 2005:7)

The relationship between elections and democracy is considered to be so strong that some scholars have argued that all democratic variables revolve around elections (Almond 2004 as cited in Omotola 2014). It is in this parlance that many scholars have in the Schumpeterian tradition attempted to reduce democracy to elections. For these scholars democracy is best defined in terms of electoral politics and the institutional parameters that underpin them (Omotola, 2014).

Moreover, many look at the basic characteristics of a democracy from two points of view: from that of the individual citizen, and from that of the political institutions through which the values of democracy are realized in a particular social context. In the briefest possible way, we can offer a preliminary definition of democracy in these terms: A democracy is a polity in which collective decisions (laws, policies, and procedures) are the expressions, direct or indirect, of the preferences and choices of the collection of equal citizens of the polity (see Huntigton and Jorge 1975). Democracy thus pertains to the self-rule of a politically constituted social group—a state or provincial authority, or a city or town. Several elements distinguish a political group from other forms of association: the fact that the political unit is empowered to coerce its members through the collection of taxes, restrictions on the use of property, and the imposition of regulations and laws; and second, that the authority of the unit does not depend upon the continuing voluntary consent of the individual for the exercise of its authority. The citizen may sometimes vote with his or her feet (by departing the jurisdiction); but while resident within the jurisdiction of the political unit, the citizen can be compelled to act according to the laws, policies, and decrees of the political authorities. And laws have the invariable characteristic of restricting freedom; that is, they inevitably work to prevent people from acting on choices they otherwise would have made (Huntigton, 1975).

Democracy is a system whereby the whole of society can participate, at every level, in the decision-making process and keep control of it. Its

foundation is the full observance of human rights, as defined by both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Vienna Pacts and Declaration of 1993. And the promotion of those rights and the respect of differences and of freedom of speech and thought are indispensable preconditions for democracy.

There can be no democracy without an independent judicial system and without institutions that guarantee freedom of expression and the existence of free media. The power to legislate must be exercised by representatives of the people who have been elected by the people. Laws must be implemented by legally responsible individuals, and the administrative apparatus must be accountable to the elected representatives. In this respect, the holding of free and fair elections by universal suffrage is a necessary, though not in itself sufficient, precondition for the existence of a democratic regime (Boutros, 2003).

In short, democracy can be defined as a political system that is capable of correcting its own dysfunctions. But a true democracy cannot be restricted to this institutional framework alone. It also needs to be embodied in a culture, a state of mind that fosters tolerance and respect for other people, as well as pluralism, equilibrium and dialogue between the forces that make up a society. In the same line Wakili and Jega (2005) also contend that, it is the placement of greater emphases on the personal liberty, popular sovereignty and representative government which entrenched check and balances to reduce or to a greater extent eliminate arbitrariness. For Oddih (1996), Democracy is a form of government as well as a way of life, goal, ideal, and philosophy which guarantees freedom of majority and rights of the minority. The World Book (2001), maintains that democracy has certain tenets which includes: free elections, majority rule, participation of political parties, unimpeachable judiciary and parliament.

Writing on democracy, Lisphart (1977), believes that a prerequisite for durable and stable democracy rests on the ability of elites in plural societies to co-operate and achieve social homogeneity and political consensus. By so doing, according to him, the centrifugal tendencies inherent in plural societies are mitigated and counteracted.

Conceptualizing democracy is a difficult task. This is because democracy has been so subjected to contradictory operationalization as it has become fashionable for regimes and states to claim to be democratic, even when they are not. The popular view of democracy is the position of Abraham Lincoln, which sees democracy as government of the people by the people, and for the people. Harvey and Harvey (1989) see democracy as a concept that involves among others, "setting affairs according to known rules of

government, toleration towards minority views, regular elections, freedom of speech and above all, observance of rule of law”.

Kolawole (2004) believes democracy is not the absence of military rule nor it is necessarily the presence of civilian administrators, but a situation where political actors and institutions of state are oiled in democratic values, norms and ethos. In this respect, the impact and effects of democracy must permeate all the strata of society and governance. Franceschet defined democracy according to three basic requirements, non violence, political participation and control, and political equality (Franceschet, 2009).

Diamond et al. (1989: 6-7) views democracy as a system of government “that meets three essential conditions meaningful and extensive competition among individual and groups, especially political parties, for all effective positions of government power, at regular intervals and excluding the use of force, a highly inclusive level of political participation in the selection of leaders and policies, at least through regular and fair election, such that no major (adult) social group is excluded; and a level of civil and political liberties; freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom to form and join organizations-sufficient to ensure the integrity of political competition and participation”. Essentially, democracy is a system that enhances popular participation and fundamental human rights.

Basic for democracy in human society Post (1905:3) declared;

We hold these truths to self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by the creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, government and institutions must respect electoral process.

Election

Elections have meaning for most people only in a democratic context because they lead to the choice of decision makers by the majority of citizens. Elections and democracy are therefore inextricably linked (Jibrin, 2009).

Elections have been identified as an indispensable foundation of democracy. As a concept, an election is primarily a contest among groups, mainly political parties. Elections have been seen as institutional mechanism that implements democracy by allowing citizens to choose among candidates or issues. An election is a modality of freely choosing representatives and democracy. Essentially therefore, elections have to do with the process of choosing a person or a group of people for a position, usually by voting (Omotola, 2014:6)

Ujoh (2004:1) further observes that Election is a procedure that allows members of an organization to choose representatives who will hold positions of authority within it. The above description emphasizes the ideas of popular choice making and representation. Ideally, these constitute the essence of election in contemporary democracies. Moreover, jiddere (2015) contends that owing to a lack of an ideological learning, politicians relegate the interest of the electorate behind their personal greed and engage in political horse-trading and deal making with the electoral process through the process of electioneering.

According to Gwinn and Norton, (1992), election is the formal process of selecting a person for public office or accepting a political position by voting. They added that an election is one of the means by which a society may organize itself and make specific formal decisions, adding that where voting is free, it acts simultaneously as a system for making certain decisions regarding the power relation in a society, and a method for seeking political obedience with a minimum of sacrifice of the individual's freedom. The essence of election is freedom of choice.

For Eya, (2003) election is seen as the selection of persons for offices by ballot and making choice between alternatives. Eya refers to electoral process as the system adopted in the selection of persons for political offices. He further sees electoral frauds or malpractices as improper, illegal, deceitful or immoral behaviors and conducts which vitiate free and fair electoral process. This definition is instructive in the context of this discourse.

Electoral Support And Analysis Of Findings

The essence of democracy assistance in Africa over the last two decades has primarily focused on election assistance. In the past, electoral support has generally taken the form of; development of civic education materials; support to domestic election observation group; deployment of international observers; civic/voter education, procurement of electoral materials among others. Over reliance on electoral support has generally been premised on the conviction that election is synonymous with democracy. An analysis of past elections in Africa however point to the fact that periodic elections are not by themselves a guarantee for sustainable democracy.

While many countries in Africa have faithfully held elections as provided for in their constitutions and legal framework, electoral outcomes have not translated into sustainable democracy. Indeed in certain instances, electoral results have been used to legitimize authoritarian regimes; examples abound across Africa that vindicate this claim; since the advent of competitive

politics, elections in Zimbabwe which are referred to as “a continuation of war of liberation through the polls” by Booysen and Toulou (2009:629) have been manipulated to perpetuate the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) in power. The elections in 2000, 2005 and 2008 elections are classical case in point. the same can be said of Kenya where following the repeal of Section 2A of the Kenyan constitution in 1991 that introduced multi party democracy, the 1992 and 1997 elections did not reflect the aspirations of Kenyans but instead perpetuated the dominance of the incumbent Kenya African National Union (KANU) regime. The same can be said of elections in 2003 and 2007 in Nigeria as it has been described as the weakest in terms of public legitimacy.

To a larger extent, electoral assistance also reflects the general thinking of most development partners which is event/activity based approach. The tendency of this approach is to render assistance to high profile one off events with the potential of wide publicity and coverage. While in the short term such an approach may meet certain set objectives, the spate of literature suggests that such efforts are not sustainable (Anstey 2006, Otieno 2007, Chiroro 2010).

There is no gainsaying that in the post election periods in Nigeria before the 2015 elections, the enthusiasm demonstrated by the development partners in the pre-election period in the Nigeria has simply waned. The consequence of this has been a reversal of gains made in the promotion of democratization process as the election of the 2003 and 2007 was marred with electoral flows with conflict and cross violations of human rights while governance institution are either enfeebled or non-existent at all. The state of the electoral affairs in Nigeria calls into question the vaunted success and transition to democracy in 1999.

The stakes that accompany the electoral process especially the cost of winning or losing elections has led to a new development namely electoral and political conflict. Increasingly, electoral conflict is fast emerging in Africa as a new area of conflict and a new manifestation of intra-state conflict. Over the last decade countries in Africa have witnessed electoral violence with far reaching ramifications. Soon after , as soon as President Good luck Jonathan was announced the winner of the elections the announcement of results in 2011 general elections, Nigeria degenerated into violence of unprecedented proportion that claimed many life and destruction of property of unknown value and created tension over the cooperate existence of Nigeria.

UNDP support to elections in Africa started in the year 1990s with the re-introduction of multiparty politics throughout much of continent. At

this time many experimenting with multiparty competitive elections for the first time and thus lacked the experience to manage such processes to the satisfaction of all stakeholders. Newly created political parties in particular did not have the resources to compete on equal basis with the ruling parties. Under this condition, ruling parties often tended to abuse or unduly from incumbency privileges (for example 1999, 2003 and 2007 general elections in Nigeria). In most instances, elections were managed by state instructions which lacked independence, professionalism and at times, the financial and material resources to conduct credible election. (UNDP Report, 2013)

Countries throughout Africa and around the globe are working to build democratic institutions and improve electoral processes in order to meet their citizens' aspirations for democratic governance and advancing human development, many African countries have made substantial progress in recent years in consolidating democratic practice through improving the electoral process. In support of these efforts, UNDP has actively pursued its mandate to assist in improving electoral processes, for the past three decades, UNDP has actively pursued its mandate to assist in improving electoral processes. (Interview data)

For the past three decades, UNDP has been actively supporting elections all over the world, both in countries in transition from authoritarian rule and in stable democracies. During this period, UNDP assistance for elections in Africa has grown. In addition to government institutions, support has extended to civil society, the media, political parties and parliaments. The development and adoption of the 'electoral cycle approach' to assistance by UNDP and its partners has sought to ensure support for all phases of an electoral process--before, during and after Election Day. (UNDP Report 2015)

For reference purpose the impact of UNDP towards promotion of democratization process especially through improving electoral process has been documented and report after every elections, the 2011 and 2015 elections significantly serve as a midwife for democratic consolidation in Nigeria this is because the electoral empire and political institutions received large shuck of support from development partners such as UNDP to the extent that critical minded Nigerians were force to entertain fear of political domination. (Interview data)

Ultimately, the quality of any elections is the responsibility of national authorities and the credit for successful elections belongs to national actors, including electoral management bodies (EMBs) political parties, media, civil society and an engaged citizenry; all have vital roles to play. UNDP has contributed by marshalling resources, providing expertise and promoting

sound principles and best practices. Often, such support has made a crucial difference in the quality of the recent past electoral process of the 2011 and 2015 general elections. (Interview data)

The above argument is corroborated when Jega (2015) argues that post election violence in 2011 was very unfortunate and constitute a big blemish on the overall outcome of the elections hence the 2015 elections were grounded with pre-during and post elections security measures and supported heavily by development partners (such as (UNDP) DGD1 and DGD11 programs) to ensure that the vote count and the elections result is respected (Daily trust 15, July 2015)

In the previous elections in Nigeria the absence of independent media and dependent judiciaries, as well as the paucity of vibrant civil society, meant that electoral malpractices often went unnoticed and unchallenged during what has been called “elections without democracy”. Against this background, UNDP and development partners considered providing support to improve electoral institutions and electoral processes was a key to fostering democratic consolidation and human development as justify in the recent elections in Nigeria. An UNDP programme has promote professional electoral administration and inclusive public participation as fundamental elements of elections that had led to stable and legitimate governments premised on the will of the people. This is considered essential for sustainable development, human security and respect for human rights and the rule of law. (NBA Report 2015)

Broad Area of UNDP Electoral Support in Nigeria

There are major broad areas of UNDP strategic intervention in electoral assistance in Nigeria which includes:

- Institutional capacity-building for EMBs
- Enhancing civic responsibility and citizen participation
- Providing strategic planning and guidance
- Coordinating international support and mobilizing resources
- Electoral training to lawmakers and stakeholders
- Logistical support

The types of interventions listed reflect the evolution of UNDP assistance from an event-based approach to a more holistic approach. The early years of election support tended to target critical activities for Election Day such as voter registration and polling day activities. This has evolved into a more comprehensive approach that supports activities during the

pre-electoral Period, on Election Day and in the post-election period. This has been particularly true for UNDP support for 2011 and 2015 elections in Nigeria. (UNDP report 2015)

Conclusion

Giving the significance of credible elections in promoting good democratic governance, international development agencies particularly the UNDP committed themselves to providing financial and technical assistance towards improving electoral process with a view to raising the quality of democratic governance in Nigeria. One of the major initiative formed by development agencies is the Democratic Governance for Development (DGD 1) and (DGD 11) to cover the 2011 elections and the 2015 elections respectively (Abdullahi 2015 cited in Alli,2015). The project was introduced to provide technical and financial assistance to political institutions and civil society organization towards the promotion of credible election in Nigeria. The electoral process is characterized by many activities and challenges. The electoral management body, in all these, often does not do it alone, it thrives on effective collaboration and assistance from international body agencies, the build up to the 2015 General Elections created an enabling environment for the commission to effectively harness the enormous resources that abound in these organizations. Their assistance in no small measures contributed to easing the technical, financial, logistical, operational and administrative challenges associated with the conduct of elections in a large electoral environment such as Nigeria. (INEC, Report 2015)

The organization and conduct of elections are significant aspect of democracy and democratization process. It can be contend that the conduct of elections and the credibility of the electoral process determine the efficacy of democratic sustainability. It's in this paradigm that the impact of development partners such as UNDP in the management of elections as it relates to the support giving towards the electoral activities has been assessed. The UNDP has been playing a significant role in ensuring the successes for elections in Nigeria particularly the 2011 elections that was cover with DGD 1 project and the 2015 elections that was cover with the DGD 11 project within the mainframe of United Nation Development Program. Their financial commitment, monitoring evaluation and other initiatives has help in guaranteeing the credibility of elections, sharpening the process of democratization and boosting the confidence of the people towards electoral democracy in Nigeria.

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Role of the Nigerian Government in the Implementation of New Partnership for Africa's Development Objectives (2001-2010)

Mamman Saba Abdulkadir

Abstract

This paper is an attempt to assess the response of the Nigerian Government to the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in relations to the objectives of good governance, poverty reduction, and peace and security agenda from 2001 to 2010. Failed state theory is used in the paper. The failed state theory argues that it is the country leaders' lack of good stewardship that has been responsible for the pervasive poverty, insecurity, corruption and unemployment that the countries in the continent have been experiencing. The importance of this paper lies in the findings which revealed that the Nigerian government had failed to fully implement NEPAD's APRM objectives of good governance, poverty reduction, peace and security programmes since inception in Nigeria in 2001. The paper was based on data collected through in-depth interviewing and focus group discussion (FGD), as well as the use of both primary and secondary sources. In analyzing the data, a systematic qualitative approach was adopted. In conclusion, for NEPAD's APRM to remain viable, a formidable and well defined policy engagement is required. It is also suggested that commitment and political will of the leaders as well as adequate resources are needed.

Introduction

In the early part of 1960s, the future of Africa was very bright, especially that most countries were gradually gaining political independence from their respective colonial masters. But today as we enter the new millennium, the various countries of the continent are among the poorest

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in the world. For instance, while South East Asian countries have been steadily developing and economically transforming, such as Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan, African states have lagged behind. As a result of the continent's predicament, the late Ghanaian president, Kwame Nkrumah in 1960, advocated African political and economic integration, given the marginalization, economic underdevelopment and political instability, the continent suffered in the early years of the 21st century (Imobighe, 1980). In addition, Nkrumah also advocated the establishment of an African High Command. This strategic advocacy was perceived by many African leaders then as a distant dream. While at least to some, it was seen as a good idea it was still something believed for future intellectual debates and indeed there were lots of such debates in the continent. However, several years after the advocacy what was then regarded as an ideal was transformed into concrete reality following the emergence of the New Partnership for Africa's Development, (NEPAD). NEPAD today has become not only a vision for the continent but also a strategic policy, socio-economic development programme/framework for an African Union (AU), for Africa's renewal.

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) which was unanimously adopted in July, 2001 at the OAU Summit in Lusaka, is therefore, the latest attempt by African Leaders to chart a new direction for the socio-economic development of Africa. Prior to NEPAD, Africa in the early years of the 21st century had suffered a number of problems. For instance, (*African Economics*2002:11) revealed that Africa today is the poorest continent in the world and there seems to be little hope on the horizon for the majority of African Nations. In addition, the international Human suffering index (IHSI) that was developed by the Population Crisis Committee (PCC) in Washington D.C. USA further revealed that, 90 percent of the countries with the highest level of human suffering in the 1990s were located in Africa.

New partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) was therefore adopted by the African Union Heads of State as a strategic Policy frame work for Africa's renewal and re-birth, which is aimed at 'eradicating poverty' and "Placing African individually and collectively on a path of sustainable growth and development and at the same time, to participate actively in the world economy and body politic" (Muhibbu-Din, 2010).

Prior to NEPAD, Africa had experimented with over 30 development programmes, all of which suffered implementation challenges that resulted in their failure to achieve sustainable development for the continent. A critical factor for this failure remains very poor governance culture,

characterized by, amongst others, the lack of political will to diligently implement well-conceived programmes and projects. Furthermore, the idea of introducing NEPAD was also informed by the fact that an indigenous African approach (IAA) to problems peculiar to Africa is required after the socio-political and economic realities of the continent had defied several developmental plans, which were said to be alien to Africa or being drafted by experts and institutions that fail to appreciate the peculiarities of the continent. Examples of such development initiatives that have failed included World Bank-led strategic partnership with Africa, Lagos plan of Africa, IMF, Japan-led Tokyo Agenda for Africa, ECA-led Global Compact with Africa, African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa (UNNADA) and a host of others.

Figure 1.1 Logo of NEPAD



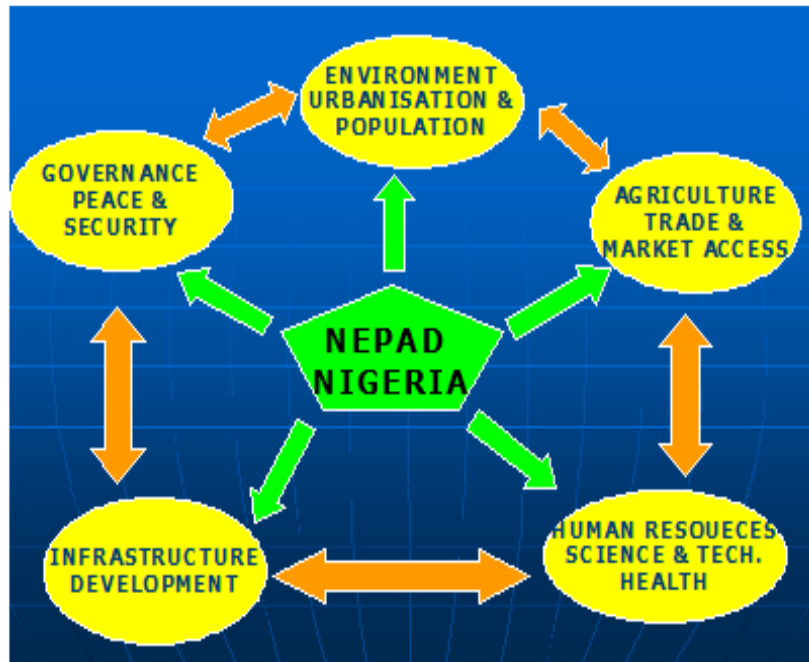
Source:NEPAD Nigeria 2001.

Since its inception in 2001, 'NEPAD Nigeria' has been involved in various programmes as stipulated in its document or towards achieving the goals and objectives of NEPAD in Africa in general and in Nigeria in particular. As earlier indicated, this study is an attempt to assess how Nigeria kept faith with NEPAD's APRM objectives of good governance, poverty reduction and peace and security agenda. It is imperative to note that the

establishment of 'NEPAD Nigeria' was influenced by adherence to the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 57/7. The federal government of Nigeria therefore established 'NEPAD Nigeria' as an institutional mechanism in the Presidency to be responsible for domestication and implementation of NEPAD programmes in the country.

A number of Action Plans have been developed in Nigeria based on the above objectives. NEPAD Nigeria has developed its programme and structure in line with the NEPAD programme clusters as shown below. The study however, focuses only on one cluster area: Governance, Peace and Security.

Figure 1.2 NEPAD Programme Clusters



Source: NEPAD Nigeria, 2002.

Statement of the Problem

Nigerian societies before the introduction of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) were inundated with the acute problem of underdevelopment, which was expressed in decaying infrastructure, poor health conditions, corruption, insecurity and above all - pervasive poverty,

resulting in youth violence, political instability and other social problems. All of these could be attributed to poor governance, which has manifested itself in Nigerian political spectrum over the years. The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) programme was introduced, using African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) as an instrument to promote good governance in the country.

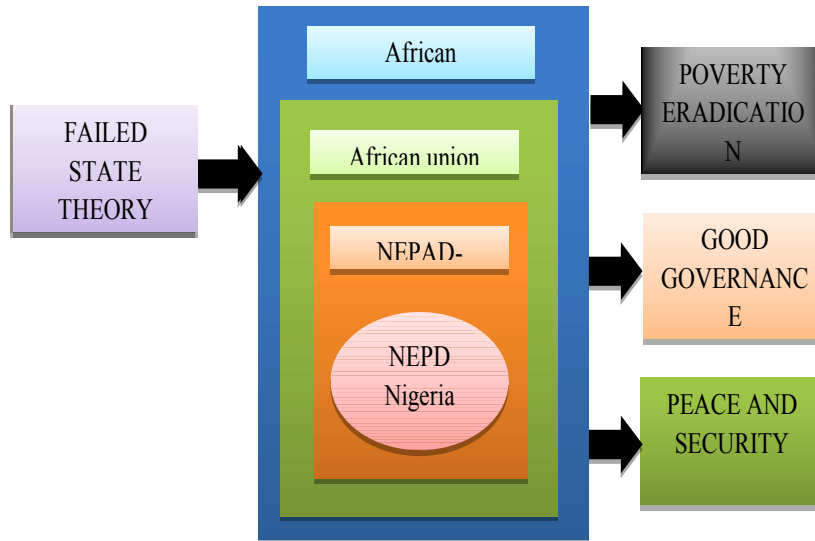
This paper therefore aims at assessing the activities of NEPAD's African Peer Review Mechanism programmes in Nigeria, specifically, to assess how Nigeria has responded to the NEPAD's APRM documents of good governance, poverty reduction, peace and security agenda. To what extent have NEPAD activities been implemented in Nigeria? How effective has the implementation process been? What factors have aided or impeded the implementation processes? How achievable are they?

This paper therefore, intends to identify how Nigeria keeps fate with the implementation of NEPAD's APRM objectives of good governance, poverty reduction and peace and security from 2001 to 2010. The paper is motivated by the twin problems of poor governance, pervasive poverty and insecurity that have become problematic in Nigeria over the years. In spite of the huge amount of budget on security in Nigeria, the rate of insecurity is increasing on a daily basis in the country. Has Nigerian government fully implemented or responded to the NEPAD documents on security, poverty reduction and good governance during the period under review?

Conceptual Framework

The diagram below shows the link between the theory and the presentation. The failed state explains the basis upon which conceptual framework is built. The conceptual framework further confirms that the failed state theory reveals the failure of African leaders in their bud to discharge public functions.

Figure 1.3 Conceptual Framework



Source:Field work, 2012.

Conceptual Clarification

One of the major problems in social sciences is the definition of concepts. There is no universal definition of terms in any field of study. Concepts or terms mean different things to different people as well as in different circumstances and different periods of time. Clarification therefore provides the readers the opportunity to grasp and understand what these terms stand for and their relevance that underpins consistency in any research work. The need and significance of clarification of certain key terms in social sciences cannot be over emphasized. Therefore, operational definitions of some concepts or terms for this presentation are provided. This is to give a clearer comprehension and understanding of the paper. The definition of terms and concepts which are given special meanings is required in any valid academic discourse. However, the special meaning must be within the context of the topic investigated. We have therefore defined the various terms below.

(**Note:** Italicized sub-headings indicate personal definitions of selected concepts/terms throughout this sub-section.)

Emerging Conditions

These can be defined as the new evolution with inherent multiple determinant variables of high-impact tendencies that may weigh against, or enhance the implementation process of NEPAD both in the short, medium, and long terms. The concept of *Emerging Conditions* is a critical condition inherent both in the internal African political, socioeconomic, and leadership environments, and the external dynamics in relation to NEPAD.

New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)

In broad terms, NEPAD is a homegrown development initiative intended to address the problems that have bedeviled Africa and largely oriented from an international partnership characterization for the purpose of promoting political, socio-economic development and regional economic integration of the continent in the 21st century. New Partnership for Africa's Development is therefore a holistic and integrated sustainable development initiative for the renewal of Africa in partnership with the West.

Implementation Process of NEPAD

This can be defined as the mechanics, a systematic process or plan of action to operationalize or put into effect a programme, a decision and a system to achieve particular objectives or a set of objectives of NEPAD.

ECOWAS-Economic Community of West African States: a sub-regional organization to enhance economic growth in the region.

SADCC or South African Development Coordinating Committee is a sub-regional organization to boost growth and development in the region.

CPA or Cairo Plan of Action is a development initiative aimed at assisting African countries.

JTAA or Japan-led Tokyo Agenda for Africa, an initiative to assist Africa.

LPA or Lagos Plan of Action - a plan to help Africa.

GSP - Generalized System of Preference.

SAP - Structural Adjustment Programme to revamp economic problems in Nigeria.

APRM-Based Document This refers to the basic document on the APRM, outlining the founding philosophy, principles, standards and operational stages that underpin the workings of the Mechanism in APRM member countries, as well as setting out the new approach to governance in Africa. It was adopted at the 6th Summit of NEPAD Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee, held in Abuja on 6th March, 2003.

African Peer Review (APR) Forum Otherwise known as Committee of Participating Heads of State and Government, this is the assembly of African Heads of State and Government representing member countries of the African Union that have voluntarily acceded to the APRM protocol. The Forum's primary responsibility is to regulate the APRM processes and organization, and for exercising the constructive peer dialogue/persuasion required for the success of the APRM. The Forum, accordingly, meets periodically to undertake the peer-review of member countries, and consider reports of implementation of members' Programmes of Action.

APRM

The African Peer Review Mechanism is an instrument for governance monitoring and evaluation system developed by the African Union (AU) through its New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). Member states of the African Union are encouraged to voluntarily go through this process by thoroughly and objectively assessing their governance and developing ways of dealing with the weaknesses in governance.

Development Partners

Organisations, especially Agencies of the United Nations, the European Union and other international bodies that seek to partner with Africa, through financial contributions, capacity building, and other means, in the latter's pursuit of development.

Monitoring Instrument

A data collecting tool or format, deployed alongside the log frame, for the field monitoring of NPOA projects.

National Framework for Monitoring and Evaluation

This is a document of the National Planning Commission that contains general guidelines for a coordinated monitoring and evaluation system for Nigeria. It is a project governance tool that aims to establish for Nigeria a results-oriented, evidence-based monitoring and evaluation system, properly linked with the national budgetary process.

Theoretical Framework

In any academic discourse, there exist various levels of analysis upon which a study can focus. These levels include the international, state systems, international organizations, regional and sub-regional organizations as well as domestic groups. Because the focus of this paper is on NEPAD and its

assessment in Nigeria the level of analysis is that of state systems and failed State Theory is adopted.

Failed State Theory

The Failed State Theory states that country leaders time and again neglect stewardship of the public good in favour of zero-sum political games and accumulation of personal and family wealth. It is important to note that the Failed State Theory does not have a single authority or proponent like other traditional theories. However, scholars such as Robert Rotberg, William Zartman, Fukuyama and Roland Pennock have been identified as champions or authorities of Failed State Theory. Robert, (2004), for instance itemized the following as the major features of a failed state:

- a) ...states are typified by deteriorating or destroyed infrastructures. Metaphorically, the more potholes (or main roads turned to rutted tracks), the more a state will exemplify failure. As rulers siphon funds from the state coffers, so there are fewer capital resources for road crews, equipment, and raw materials.
- b) The bureaucracy has long ago lost its sense of professional responsibility and exists solely to carry out the orders of the executive and, in petty ways, to oppress citizens.
- c) The military is possibly the only institution with any remaining integrity, but the armed forces of failed states are often highly politicized, devoid of the esprit that they once demonstrated.
- d) When a state has failed or is in the process of failing, the effective educational and health systems are privatized (with a resulting hodgepodge of shady schools and questionable medical clinics in the cities), or the public facilities become increasingly decrepit and neglected. Teachers, physicians, nurses, and orderlies are paid late or not at all, and absenteeism increases.

A failed state is a state which fails to provide basic social utilities to its citizens, such as portable drinking water, good health conditions, provision of infrastructural facilities, few among others. Ironically, the major responsibility of any democratic set up is to provide the above-named utilities which are basic in nature, but states in most of the Third World countries have failed to provide such utilities. They have also failed to provide peace and security, sound and dynamic economy, bright future and opportunity for all.

Methodology

This part discusses the methodology used in this paper. The section also presents a detailed research design and approach adopted. Method of data analysis as well as sources of data gathering is presented in the section.

Research Design

Since the paper is an attempt to assess an existing phenomenon - government performance - to understand the perception of the people about a particular programme, the adoption of a qualitative approach is considered appropriate. Neumann, (2000) asserts that, to understand and describe how social phenomena occur in a particular setting, necessitates the grounding of research within the interpretative social science paradigm. Another reason for the choice of NEPAD with emphasis on its implementation objectives of good governance, poverty reduction, peace and security, a focus as a single case study was considered because of time frame. The reasons itemized above influenced the decision to present the paper based on a single case study.

Another consideration for the adoption of a qualitative approach is the nature of flexibility the method offers while conducting exploratory research. More importantly, a qualitative method does not only allow for the gathering of detailed information but it also ensures free expression of divergent views.

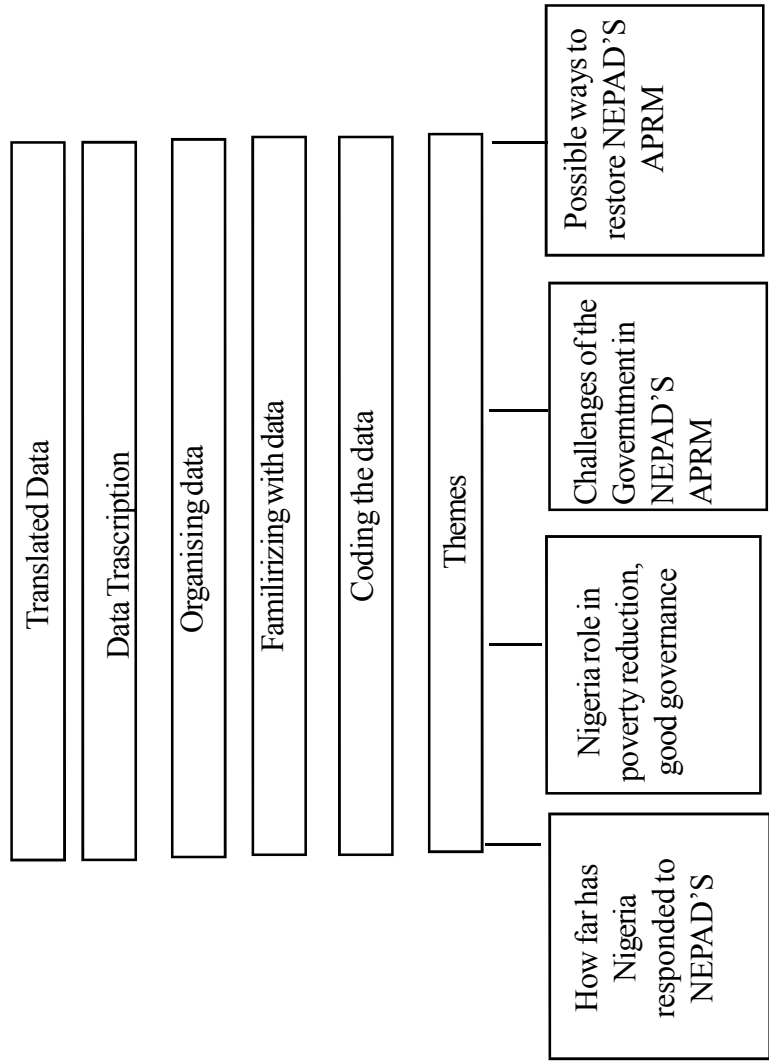
In reporting qualitative findings, case studies are suitable. The strategy of this study is to assess NEPAD within the context of Nigeria. Nigeria therefore is used as a case study of the activity of NEPAD- which involves 54 African countries. A qualitative study is selected in the paper because of the nature of the research questions which often start with how, what or why and the phenomenon to be studied.

Method of Data Analysis

According to Bogdan and Bilken, (1992), data analysis is the process of systematically searching and arranging the interview transcripts and field notes that the researcher accumulated to increase his own understanding of the informants and this has enabled the researcher to present what he has discovered to others. Analysis in this study therefore involved collection of data, organizing, breaking them into manageable units, identifying what

is important, what is to be learnt, synthesizing them, and deciding what to tell other people. The summary of the data analysis process is in shown in Figure 1.4.

Figure 1.4 Process of Data Analysis



Source: Field Work 2012.

First and foremost, the analysis began by transcribing the whole data collected through individual interviews, focus group discussions and notes taken during the interview sessions. Each individual interview was transcribed immediately and kept in a separate file. The second stage was the data organization. Here, the researcher organized all the data collected into sections that could be easily identified and retrieved. This process involved sorting out the data by context, date and individual interviews which were coded from Number 1 –18 to preserve the confidentiality already assured to informants that their names would not be published in the report. In addition, information gathered through semi-structured interview and focus group was labeled as SSI (Semi-Structured Interview) and FGD (Focus Group Discussion) respectively. The next stage is known as the familiarization stage. This involved reading and re-reading the data to avoid duplication of information supplied by the informants. The researcher read the entire data collected over and over again, making summaries and memos before the actual analysis.

After familiarizing with all the data collected, the researcher then began the process of coding the data. Open-coding system was used in identifying patterns that were later grouped according to meanings they made to a particular research question. The final stage was when the researcher redefined the concepts into specific category. By and large, the entire data collected during the whole exercise of the interview was categorized under the research questions, as shown in the figure above.

Data Presentation and Analysis

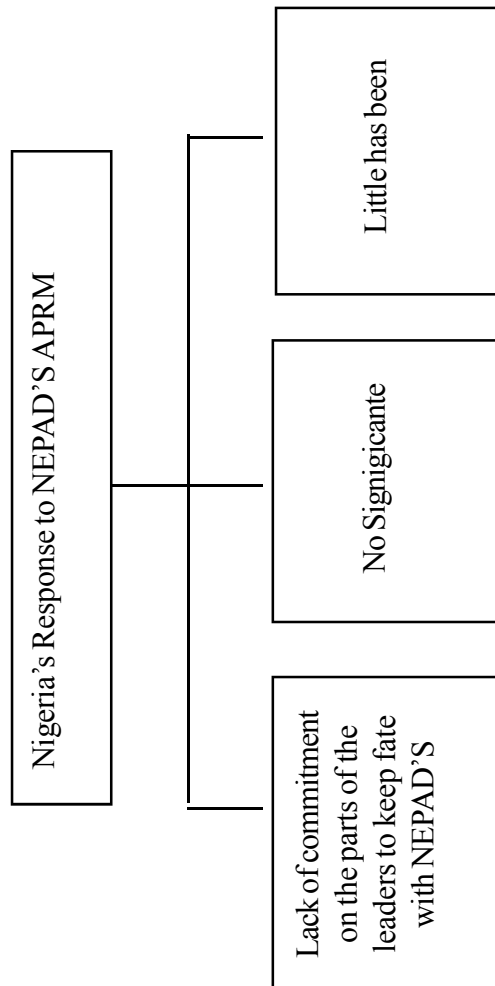
Data collected in this paper essentially emanated from both primary and secondary sources. Given the nature of the topic under review, the majority of the informants who responded to the research questions were experienced personalities.

Research Findings

This section presents the findings of the paper on the basis of the five research questions. With regard to the first research question, “**How far has Nigeria responded to NEPAD’s African Peer Review Mechanism programme?**” the informants are of the opinion that the government has not fully responded to NEPAD’s APRM objectives in Nigeria since its inception in 2001. The findings of the paper revealed that lack of commitment on the part of the leaders to keep fate with NEPAD’s programmes has affected the implementation process. As a result, little has been achieved in this respect. However, from the interviews, interviewees/

informants expressed hope for positive change about the attitude of African leaders in general and Nigeria in particular towards achieving NEPAD's APRM objectives.

Figure 1.5 Nigeria's Response to NEPAD's APRM programmes



Source: Field Work

With regard to the second research question, “**What role does Nigeria play in the NEPAD's APRM programme in terms of poverty**

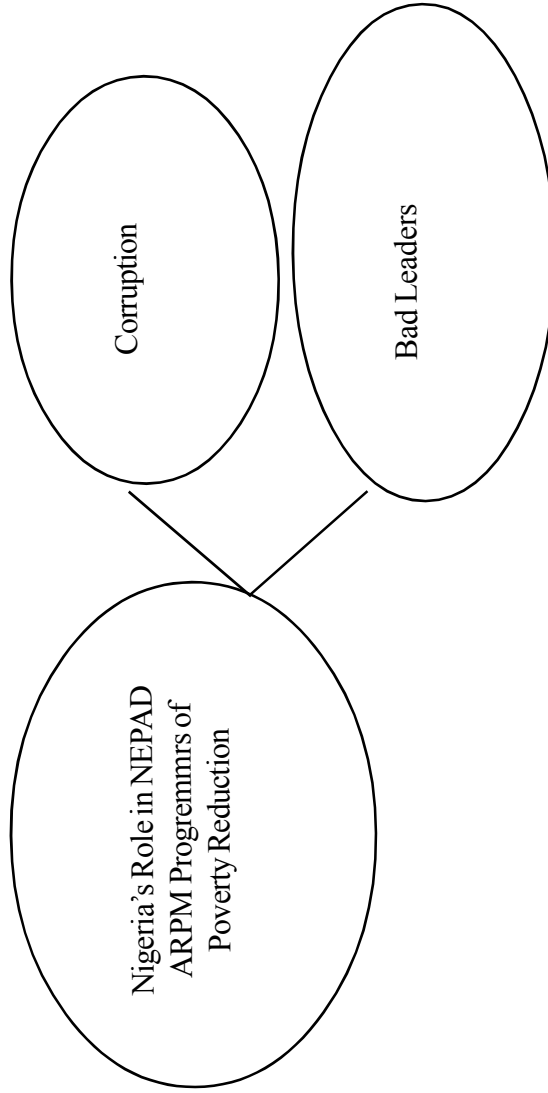
reduction, peace and security and good governance?” The findings from interview and focus group discussion revealed that corruption and bad leaders are the key factors responsible for the failed attempt by Nigeria to play its role in NEPAD's APRM objectives in terms of poverty reduction, good governance, peace and security. It has been observed that, Government alone cannot handle the issue of security in the country. The security issue is everybody's business not the governments alone. It is a collective effort of both the government and the governed that can guarantee security in Nigeria.

Nigeria's role in NEPAD's APRM programmes of poverty reduction

Bad leaders

Corruption

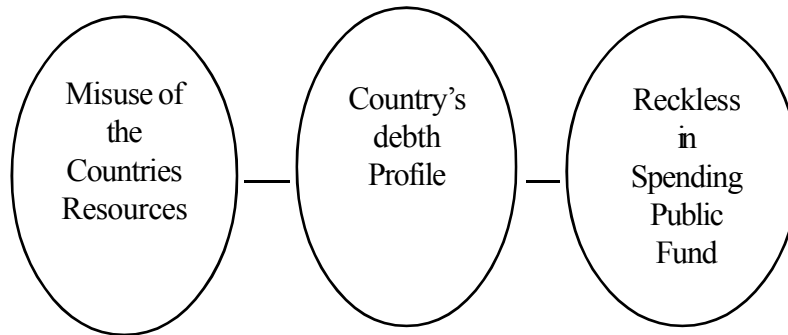
Fig. 1.6 Nigeria's Role in NEPAD ARPM Programmes of Poverty Reduction



Source: Field Work 2011

With regard to the third question, “**Does the government have the capacity to respond to the implementation of the NEPAD’s APRM programmes?**” the majority of the informants agreed that the government has the capacity given the resources Nigeria is endowed with. However, the misuse of the country’s resources in a proper manner and couple with the country’s debt profile, government is very slow to respond to the implementation of the NEPAD’s APRM programmes. Political leaders as well as government officials are very reckless in spending public fund. Some sees public fund entrusted upon them as nobody resources.

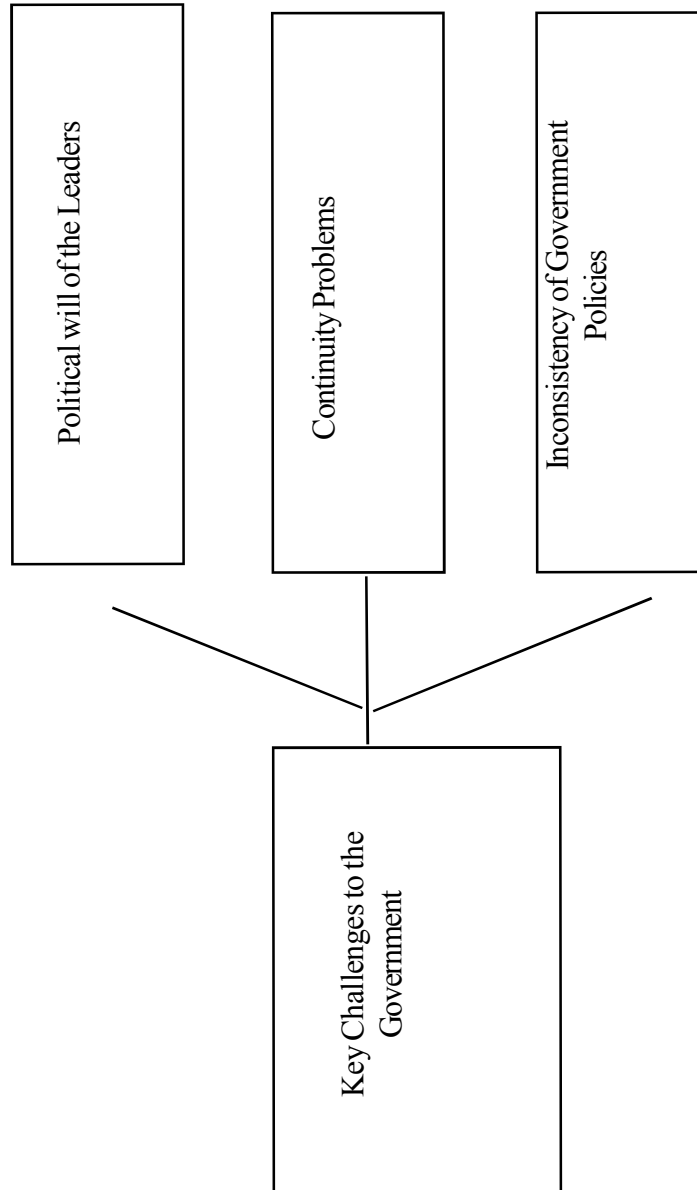
Figure 1.7 Government’s capacity to implement NEPAD



Source: Field Work, 2011

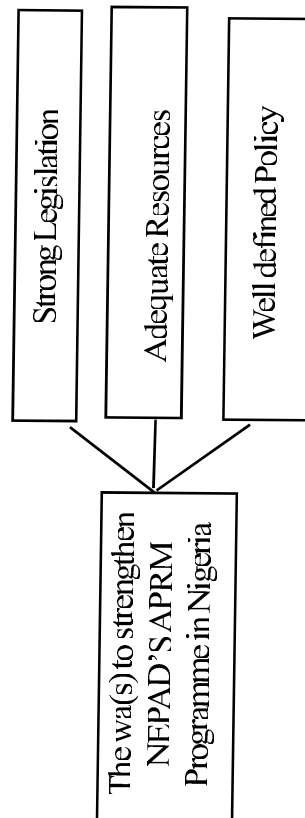
With regard to the fourth research question, “**What are the key challenges to the government in the implementation of NEPAD’s APRM in Nigeria?**” the majority of the informants maintained that corruption, lack of funds, lack of political will of the leaders, continuity problems and a host of other factors have been identified as the key challenges to the government in the implementation of NEPAD’s APRM agenda in Nigeria. Consequently, it can be said that “the inconsistency of Government policies towards the implementation of NEPAD’s APRM programmes is also a key challenge to the government in the implementation of NEPAD’s APRM in Nigeria.

Figure 1.8 Key Challenges to the Government



The last research question, **“What are the possible way(s) to strengthen NEPAD’s APRM programmes in Nigeria?”** the answer is that if NEPAD’s APRM is to remain viable, strong and reliable, a formidable and well-defined policy engagement is required. It is also found that for NEPAD’s objectives to be fully implemented, commitment and political will of the leaders as well as adequate resources are needed. In addition, a strong legislature is required to prevent corruption and abuse of power so that NEPAD’s APRM can be vigorously implemented.

Figure 1.9The way(s) to strengthen NEPAD’s APRM programmes in Nigeria



Source: Field Work 2011

Discussion

Studies revealed that majority of Nigerians are not fully aware of NEPAD as a development initiative. Osuntokun, (2002) posits that many people, including people in academia and the media do not know what NEPAD is all about. In addition, NEPAD is not widely accepted by many and therefore considered to be a closed system that has shut its doors against stakeholders such as academics, technocrats, civil society organizations, students, and other service providers. Some African states are disenchanted since they were not consulted at the formative stage of the initiative in 2001.

A survey conducted by the *Guardian* newspaper in Nigeria revealed that “it can be assumed that most Nigerians are not aware of the existence of the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD)” (*The Guardian*, 4-9-2002:8). The survey polled 1,200 respondents from 24 states of the federation across the six geo-political zones. Out of this, 600 respondents, or 50% answered “No” to the question “Have you heard about the existence of NEPAD?” while 426 respondents (35.5%) said they had heard about NEPAD and 169 respondents (14.1%) offered “No comment”. There were five (0.4%) invalid responses. The poll showed great regional disparities on awareness of NEPAD, with 61% of respondents from North Central, 59.5% from South-West, 46% from North-West, 45% from South -East and South-South while 43.5% was from North-East claiming ignorance of NEPAD.

From the above analysis, one can see clearly the high level of ignorance about the activities of NEPAD in Nigeria. Even the former president of Nigeria, President Olusegun Obasanjo, admitted that Nigerians were ignorant over NEPAD’s existence in Nigeria. Ukiwo, (2002), added that “high level of ignorance over the existence of NEPAD in Nigeria is worrisome as Nigeria is a foremost salesman and chair of the NEPAD Implementation Committee. This poor awareness is also worrisome because the profiles of the respondents as shown in Tables 1.10 and 1.11 indicate that they were predominantly literate predominantly belonged to the professional ranks and should under normal circumstances be aware of such policies.

Table 1.10 Level of education attained by respondents

Level of Education	% of Respondents
Bachelor degree	39.7%
Professional Qualifications (ACA)	19.8%
GCE /WASC	17.8%
Masters degree	11.6 %
First school leaving certificate	4.0 %
Doctorate degree	2.8 %
Other specified degrees	4.4 %

Source: Field work 2011

Table 1.11 Occupational backgrounds of respondents

Occupation	% of Respondents
Civil servants	30.7 %
Professionals	15.6 %
Artisans	3.4 %
Military officers	2.9 %
Traders	4.6 %
Contractors	3.8 %
Housewives	2.5 %
Farmers / fishermen	1.1 %
Religious leaders	3.3 %
Casual workers	2.8 %
Other specified occupations	4.1 %

Source: Field work 2011

Ukiwo, (2002), posits that “It could be safely concluded from the above that the majority of Nigerians are not aware of NEPAD since even the predominantly literate sampled population is not aware of NEPAD.

Conclusion

This paper is an attempt to assess the response of the Nigerian Government to the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) in relations to the objectives of good governance, poverty reduction, and peace and security agenda from 2001 to 2010.

From the paper it was discovered that corruption is a huge challenge in the management of the public space in Nigeria. It is the core crisis of governance, the establishment of a stable democratic order, rule of law,

development and the welfare of citizens. Political corruption expressed either in the form of stealing public resources on the basis of access to state power or through money politics to subvert the will of the people has been there since independence. But the prevalence has increased during the period under review. An assessment of corruption in Nigeria shows that the rate is still very high.

The paper was based on data collected through in-depth interviewing and focus group discussion (FGD). Primary and secondary sources of data were used. While primary data were collected through interviews and focus group discussion, the secondary data were obtained from books, journals and reports. In analyzing these data, a systematic qualitative approach was adopted. The analysis of the data was carried out by transcribing the whole data collected through individual interview, focus group discussion and notes taken during the interview session.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are made based on the findings of the paper:

1. For NEPAD's APRM to remain viable, strong and reliable, a formidable and well defined policy engagement is required. In other words, a set of grounded guidelines as a legitimate document is required as the mandate within which strategic decisions for implementation of programmes are based.
2. For NEPAD's objectives to be fully implemented, commitment and political will of the leaders needed. The idea of good governance and quality leadership is required which represents the highest refinement and best requirement of any democratic government.
3. Furthermore, NEPAD should have a specialized organ charged with the responsibility of implementing its programmes. The organ should be manned by a combination of talents, skills, and expertise of personnel grouped and harnessed into a holistic and multi-sectoral implementation organ. The specialized organ should be directly under executive management, a board, and appointed figures from the office of the president or head of state. The specialized organ will be able to effectively and efficiently organize, monitor, plan, budget, staff, direct, coordinate, evaluate, and report on the implementation of NEPAD's activities periodically.
4. To create awareness about NEPAD's activities, its programmes and documents should be translated into indigenous languages and dialects to keep the communities informed and ensure participation in the

NEPAD's activities. This enlightenment campaign can only be achieved through National television programmes, radio stations, conferences, sporting activities and billboards advertisements.

5. For NEPAD to function effectively and efficiently, an African Central Bank should be established. The primary responsibility of the proposed Bank would be, planning economic activities on the continent and to coordinate trade and monetary reserve, and harmonize monetary and fiscal policies as a move to introduce a common regional currency and exchange rates control, towards the creation of an African Monetary Zone for regional economic integration.
6. Nigeria's development needs active leadership that will turn visions into policy actions. This is one of the greatest impediments facing African countries. Nigeria should therefore strengthen democratic institutions; involve the citizens in active decision-making process, and empower all segments of society, including civil society, communities and households, in the political and development processes. Political leaders and other stake holders should embark upon serious concerted efforts to improve both economic and political governance. This call entails, for instance, those countries which have been peer reviewed should implement recommendations contained in the reports of the NEPAD'S African Peer Review Mechanism which Nigeria is signatory. After all this is what NEPAD's APRM has come to rescue in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular.

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APPENDIX A**Interview questions and prompts for semi-structured interview with key informants****Section 1**

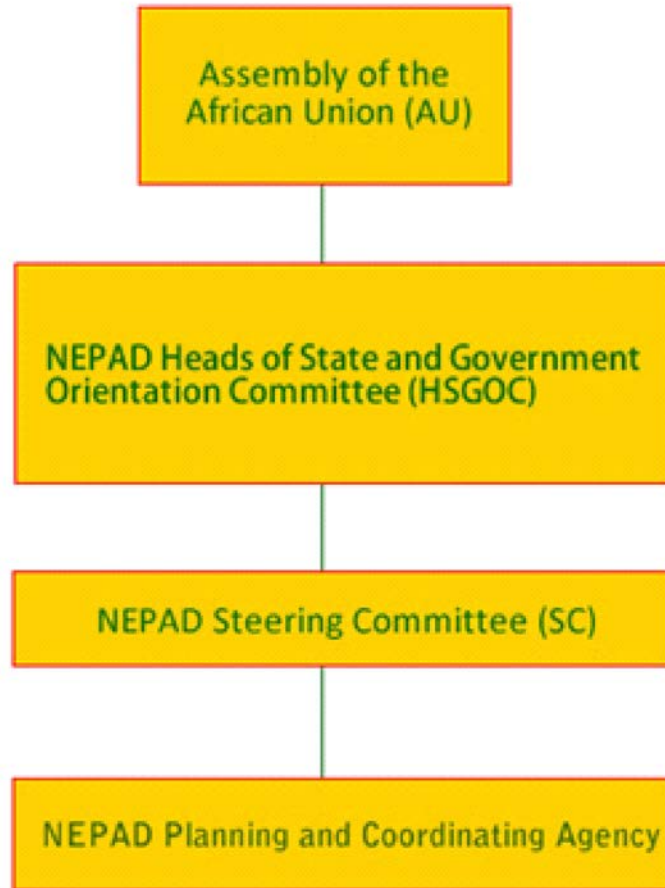
1. Name.....
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4. Occupation.....
5. Educational background.....

Section 2: Main Research Questions

1. How would the activities of NEPAD's African Peer Review Mechanism programmes be assessed in Nigeria?
2. How Nigeria has responded to the NEPAD's APRM documents of good governance?
3. To what extent has government of Nigeria kept fate to the NEPAD's APRM objective of poverty reduction?
4. To what extent has government of Nigeria responded to the NEPAD's APRM objective of peace and security agenda?
5. To what extent have NEPAD activities been implemented in Nigeria?
6. How effective has the implementation process being?
7. What factors have aided or impeded the implementation processes?
8. How achievable are they?
9. What are the key challenges of the government in the implementation of NEPAD's APRM in Nigeria?
10. What are the future prospects of NEPAD's APRM programmes in Nigeria?
11. Are African leaders committed to the NEPAD's APRM documents?
12. Is there any legislation to institutionalized NEPAD's APRM documents?
13. To what extent have the citizens of Nigeria understood the existence of NEPAD?
14. Does NEPAD have independent budget or fund?
15. What are the possible way(s) to strengthened NEPAD's APRM programmes in Nigeria?

Appendix B

The diagram below shows the current governing structure of NEPAD:
Governing Body of NEPAD



Source: NEPAD-NIGERIA, 2001.

The Role of ICTs in Accessing Agricultural Inputs in Rural Areas of Niger State, Nigeria

N. S. Usman

I. T. Salihu

I. S. Umar

A. Umar

J. J. Pelemo

S. Jubrin

A. I. Loko

Abstract

The level of effectiveness of ICT in accessing agricultural inputs in rural areas for optimum production has been bedevilled by some constraints and this limit its utilization and its effectiveness. It is in line with this ugly situation that the study seeks to examine the effectiveness of ICT in accessing agricultural inputs by rural farmers. To achieve the objectives of the study, multi-stage sampling technique was employed to select a total of 181 respondents for the study. Interview schedule and questionnaire were used for data collection. Data collected were analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics. Results of the study showed that majority (53.6%) of the respondents were youths. The results indicated that 72.9% of the respondents acquired some level of western education. The study revealed that 98.9% of the respondents were aware of radio as ICTs gadgets for accessing agricultural inputs information in the study area. Radio (100%), mobile phones/handsets (96.7%), television (93.4%), internet (50.3%) and personal computer (19.9%) were the types of ICTs gadgets used by farmers for accessing agricultural

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inputs in the study area. ICTs were perceived to be effective in the followings aspects: increased access to sources of information about agricultural inputs, made markets for agricultural inputs more efficient and enhanced farmers welfare and increased the efficiency of markets by decreasing risk and uncertainty of agricultural inputs. Some of the constraints which the respondents faced in the study area includes; poor power supply (100%), poor network reception (96.7%), low level of education of farmers on how to use ICTs (95.6%), and broadcasting of radio/television programme at odd hours (86.7%). Furthermore, the result of correlation analysis indicated that household size ($r=0.215$), years spent in school ($r=0.221$), years of ICT usage ($r=0.334$) and annual income ($r=0.188$) had positive relationship with the use of ICTs in accessing agricultural inputs information. Also, correlation analysis showed significant relationship between ICTs gadgets used ($r=0.441$) and level of effectiveness of ICTs. Therefore, it was recommended that more rural ICT infrastructural facilities should be provided and improved to boost reception of communication gadgets. Also, it was advocated that farmers in the study area should be trained on how to use ICT facilities for sourcing of weather information for farming activities to reduce risks and uncertainties.

Introduction

The major challenge to Agricultural development in Nigeria and other Africa Countries has been the low level of Agricultural Information exchange among the different stakeholders in agricultural sector (Agwu *et al.*, 2007). This could be attributed to limited access to current and relevant information in the form of primary document and machine readable database as well as poor documentation, storage and retrieval techniques. Though in Nigeria, the most widely used means of communication nowadays that has wider coverage is the mobile communication network popularly called Global System Mobile (GSM). The introduction of GSM in 2001 marked the positive contribution of telecommunication to socio-economic activities of the people and also made information easier for many Nigerian households (Hassan, 2012). The emergence of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) in the last decade has opened new avenues in knowledge management that could play important roles in meeting the prevailing challenges related to sharing, exchanging, and dissemination of knowledge and technologies (Nnadi *et al.*, 2012).

In Agriculture, the mobile phone holds the axe in the application of modern ICT to disseminate information to farmers on where and how to access

agricultural inputs in order to make useful decision when planning their farming activities. However, there is an overwhelming influence and having realized the positive roles of ICT as a powerful resource in every agricultural enterprise, the immediate past Government of Nigeria mandated the Agricultural Transformation Agenda (ATA) to incorporate the use of ICT (use of hand phones) for distribution of fertilizer across the nation known as e-wallet system under the Growth Enhancement Support Scheme (GESS) through private fertilizers and inputs distribution companies. Strast and Daniel (2004) revealed that many farmers believed that the internet provided useful background information on key agricultural topics at a time which was more convenient than via other media.

To a large extent ICT will help to bridge the communication gap created by geographical barriers thus ensuring effective dissemination of agricultural technologies and this could ensure accurate and timely information dissemination to farmers. ICTs especially mobile phones, offer faster and cheaper means for interaction.

According to Balogun (2000), the timing, quality, presentation and source of information have been known to play a vital role in agricultural communication especially on small communities. Hence, effective knowledge and information dissemination mechanism is critical for an effective ICT services delivery. As such, it is worth to note that how ICT gadgets could serve as a viable avenue for accessing agricultural inputs thereby increasing farmer's productivity and translating into economic growth and improve livelihood status amongst rural farmers in Niger State, Nigeria.

The study will also provide an insight on the role of ICT as an effective mechanism for agricultural inputs distribution and dissemination of qualitative information to rural farmers for a well informed decision making processes. It is based on foregoing; the research seeks to examined the effectiveness of ICT usage in accessing agricultural inputs by rural farmers in Niger State, Nigeria.

While, the specific objectives are to describe socio-economic characteristics of the respondents in the study area, determine the level of ICT awareness in the study area, determine the types of ICT gadgets available in the study area, examined the types of ICT gadgets used in the study area and determined the effectiveness of various ICT usage in accessing agricultural inputs in the study area.

Methodology

The study was conducted in Niger State which is located between latitude 8 22 N and 11 30N and longitude 3 30 and 7 20E. The area is characterised

by wet and dry season with an average temperature of 27C to 34C, annual rainfall of about 1000mm-1500mm and covers a total land area of 74,244Km which is about 8% of Nigeria's total land area. To achieve the study objectives, Multi stage sampling technique was employed, the first stage was simply random selection of One (1) Local Government area from each agricultural zone of the State which is made up of three (3) zones, further random selection of four (4) rural areas from each Local Government area was carried out and Yamane (1976) principle of sample frame and respondents was applied to select respondents from each of the selected rural areas and Local Government area. A total of 181 respondents were interviewed with the used of well-structured questionnaire to elicit data from the respondents. The data were collected in 2015, descriptive and inferential statistical were used to analyse the data.

Results and Discussion

Socio- economic Characteristics of the Respondents

Age is the duration of human existence from birth to the day of collection of this data. It is often said that experience increases with age and the older a person is on a profession like farming, the more experienced he or she becomes. The result in Table 1 shows that about 53.6% of the respondents were within the age range of 21-40 years, while 43.1% of the respondents were above 40 years. The mean age of the respondents was 39 years which is an indication that majority of the respondents were active young adults. This implies that the innovativeness of the respondents in the study area can be greatly enhanced, because of the disposition of this age category to agricultural news and innovation. Salau and Saingbe (2008) reported that age has significant implication for ICTs utilization as elderly people might be less interested in the use of hi-tech innovations especially in seeking for agricultural inputs and may prefer oral and printed information channels which are less efficient. Similarly, Illyasu (2009) reported that age has negative correlation with the use of new technology which implies that as the age increases the tendency to use ICT for seeking agricultural information decreases. Hence, younger and middle age farmers are likely to use the ICT gadgets in accessing agricultural inputs than the older farmers. Table 1 shows that 16.6% of the respondents had primary education, while 33.1% of the respondents had secondary education. Similarly, 16.6% of the respondents had National Diploma (ND) or Nigeria Certificate in Education (NCE). Furthermore, 3.3% of the respondents were educated up to first degree level, while 13.6% of the respondents had Master degrees. On the other hand, 27.1% had quranic education. Based on the result, it

can be inferred that the respondents are fairly educated and this may likely affect their ability to utilize ICT facilities especially the internet to seek for information on agricultural inputs. Umar (2013) was of the view that the more educated the respondents are, the more likely they would have more insight into the comparative advantage of using ICTs gadgets in accessing agricultural inputs.

The result in Table 1 indicates that 38.1% of the respondents had between 1-5 years' experience in using ICT gadgets, while 57.5% of the respondents had between 6-10years experience in using ICT gadgets. More so, 2.8% of the respondents have been using ICTs for more than 15 years for accessing agricultural inputs. The higher the number of years in the use of ICT gadgets the more versatile the farmer becomes in the use of ICT gadgets. Hence, farmers with more years of experience are more likely to adopt the ICTs to seek for information on agricultural inputs (Yakubuet al., 2013).

Table 1: Socio-economic characteristics of respondents in the study area (n=181)

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Age (Years)		
11- 20	6	3.3
21 – 30	43	23.8
31 – 40	54	29.8
>40	78	43.1
Mean = 39		
Total	181	100.0
Educational qualification		
Primary certificate	30	16.6
Secondary certificate	60	33.1
ND, NCE.	30	16.6
Degree/ HND	6	3.3
Masters degree	6	3.3
Quranic	49	27.1
Years of ICT experience		
1-5	69	38.1
6 – 10	104	57.5
11– 15	5	2.8
>15	3	1.7
Mean = 6		
Total	181	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2015.

Level of awareness of ICT facilities

The result in Table 2 shows the distribution of respondents according to their level of awareness of ICT facilities. The result reveals that nearly all the respondents (98.9%) were aware of radio as an ICT facilities for accessing agricultural inputs. Also, 93.9% of the respondents indicated that they were aware of handset/mobile phones facilities in the study area. This result agrees with the findings of Umar and Jibrin (2015) who reported that access to radio was higher compared to any other ICT for farmers who reside in rural areas. It further reveals that 44.2% of the respondents were aware of television facility. This implies that majority of the respondents had awareness on the use of ICT gadgets and this is likely to enhance their utilization of the gadgets to access agricultural inputs in the study area. On the contrary, the results indicated that 95.6% of the farmers were not aware of flash drive facility but 4.4% of the respondents agrees that they were aware of the facility. While, 94.5% of the respondents were not aware of internet/websites facility. Similarly, 92.2% of the respondents revealed that they were not aware of computer facility for accessing agricultural inputs in the study area. Awareness of the potentials of ICTs is a critical element for its development and utilization (Agwu and Chah, 2007).

Table 2: Distribution of respondents based on level of awareness of ICT facilities (n = 181)

ICT facility*	Aware		Not aware		Ranking
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	
Radio	179	98.9	2	1.1	1 st
Handset/mobile phone	170	93.9	11	6.1	2 nd
Television	80	44.2	101	55.8	3 rd
Computer	13	7.2	168	92.2	4 th
Internet/website	10	5.5	171	94.5	5 th
Flash drive	8	4.4	173	95.6	6 th

Source: Field Survey, 2015.

*Multiple Responses.

Types of ICT gadgets available in the study area

Availability means things you can get/buy or find readily, freely, publicly, or generally available for use and these things may be resources or facilities. The result in Table 3 reveals the distribution of respondents according to the types of ICT gadgets available in the study area. The result shows that all (100%) of the respondents indicated that radio signals, which ranked 1st were available. This result collaborates the findings of Arokoya (2005); and Umar and Jibrin (2015) who reported in their studies that access to radio was higher compared to any other ICT for farmers who reside in the rural areas. Furthermore, 96.7% of the respondents claimed to have mobile phones\handsets signals which ranked 2nd, while 93.4% of the respondents indicated they received television signals. Also, 50.3% of the respondents indicated that internet facilities were available for use to access agricultural inputs. Furthermore, 19.9% of the respondents indicated that they owned a computer while 9.9% of the respondents stressed that they had flash drive.

Table 3: Distribution of respondents on types of ICT gadgets available in the study (n = 181)

Types of ICT gadgets available in the study area	Frequency*	Percentage	Ranking
Radio	181	100.0	1 st
Mobile phones/handsets	175	96.7	2 nd
Television	169	93.4	3 rd
Internet	91	50.3	4 th
Personal computer	36	19.9	5 th
Flash drive	18	9.9	6 th

Source: Field survey, 2015.

*Multiple responses.

Types of ICT facilities used for accessing agricultural inputs

The result in Table 4 shows the distribution of respondents according to the type of ICT gadgets through which agricultural inputs were accessed. The results reveals that majority of the respondents' accessed information

on agricultural inputs through radio (96.7%). Also, 93.4% of the respondents each accessed agricultural inputs information through personal handsets and television. On the contrary, the result also indicated 90.1% of the respondents could not access information on agricultural inputs using personal computer while only close to half (49.7%) of them acknowledged accessing agricultural inputs through internet/website facilities. The above findings indicate that radio, mobile phones and television were the major sources of information on agricultural inputs in the study area. This can be associated with the e-wallet project i.e fertilizer and seeds distribution mechanism through SMS alert platform. Gelb *et al*, (2009) observed that the use of ICTs in the transfer of information has significantly influenced the transfer and management of agricultural information as well as production efficiencies and integration within the agricultural sector. The higher percentage for radio in accessing information by farmers may be attributed to its availability and good understanding of the message due to the fact that most information are processed and transmitted in local dialects of the farmers. Furthermore, the result in Table 4.5 also revealed that all (100%) the respondents did not use CD/plates in sourcing for agricultural inputs in the study area. This finding is supported by Ahmed and Mohammed (2012) who stressed that most rural farmers do not use VCD or DVD to obtain various agricultural information.

Table 4: Distribution of respondents based on types of ICT gadgets used for accessing agricultural inputs in the study area (n = 181)

Types of ICT gadgets *	Used		Not used	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Computer	18	9.9	163	90.1
Personal mobile phones	169	93.4	12	6.6
Internets/websites	90	49.7	91	50.3
Radio	175	96.7	6	3.3
Television	169	93.4	12	6.6
Flash drive	36	19.9	145	80.1

Source: Field Survey, 2015

*Multiple Response

Effectiveness of various ICT facilities used in accessing agricultural inputs in the study area

The result in Table 5 reveals that radio was most effective ICT facility used for accessing agricultural inputs in the study area ($\bar{X} = 3.01$). It implies that majority of the farmers uses radio to access information on agricultural inputs in the study area, for the reason that radio signal is readily available and cheaper compared to other ICTs. Also, the result indicated that handset/mobile phone had a mean value of (=2.82 which was the next most effective ICT facility after radio. This was followed by television (=2.69), computer (=2.12), internet/website (=1.22) and flash drive (=1.14) respectively.

Table 5: Effectiveness of various ICT facilities used in accessing agricultural inputs in the study area n=181

ICT facility	VE (3) freq(%)	E(2) freq(%)	NE(1) freq(%)	WS	WM	Ranking
Radio	179(98.89)	2(1.11)	—	541	3.01	1 st
Handset/mobile phone	159(87.85)	12(6.63)	10(5.52)	511	2.82	2 nd
Television	140(77.35)	25(13.81)	16(8.84)	486	2.69	3 rd
Computer	90(49.72)	23(12.70)	68(37.57)	384	2.12	4 th
Internet/websites	3(1.66)	34(18.78)	144(79.56)	221	1.22	5 th
Flash drive	2(1.11)	21(11.60)	158(87.29)	206	1.14	6 th

Sources: Field Survey 2015.

Keys

WS= Weighted score

WM= Weighted mean

VE= Very effective

E= Effective

NE= Not effective

Constraints to Utilization of ICTs in Accessing Agricultural Inputs Information by Farmers.

The result in Table 6 shows the constraints associated with the utilization of ICTs in accessing agricultural inputs information. As indicated in the

table, the respondents were faced with the constraints of poor power supply (100%), poor network reception (96.7%), low level of education of farmers on how to use ICTs (95.6%) and broadcasting of radio/television programmes at odd hours (86.7%) which ranked 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th respectively. The findings therefore indicate that the major constraints hindering the utilization of ICTs in accessing agricultural inputs in the study were poor power supply, poor network reception and low level of education. Poor network hampers e-wallet fertilizers and seeds distribution system in Nigeria (Edu, 2012).

Table 6: Distribution of respondents based on constraints to utilization of ICTs in accessing agricultural inputs information (n = 181)

Constraint*	Frequency*	Percentage	Ranking
Poor power supply	181	100.0	1 st
Poor network reception	175	96.7	2 nd
Low level of education of farmers on how to use ICTs	173	95.6	3 rd
Broadcast of radio/television programmes at odd hours	157	86.7	4 th
High cost of ICT gadgets	42	23.2	5 th
Lack of technical know- how	36	19.9	6 th
Lack of supportive government policy and legislation on ICT	36	19.9	6 th
Lack of physical access to ICT facilities	24	13.3	7 th
Inadequate access to ICT facilities	18	9.9	8 th
Some ICTs are too expensive	6	3.3	9 th
Inadequate training	6	3.3	9 th

Source: Field survey, 2015.

***Multiple responses**

Conclusion

From the finding of the study, it can be concluded that majority of respondents were youths and most of them were married with an average family size of 8 and low level of education. The level of awareness of ICT

facilities is high in the study area. Radio, mobile phones/handsets and television were the major ICT gadgets available, through which agricultural inputs such as agricultural information, seeds/seedlings and fertilizers were accessed by farmers in the study area. The major sources of information on agricultural inputs were ADP offices, relations/friends and cooperative societies.

The extent of application of ICTs in acquiring agricultural inputs information was high in terms of seeking for information on new agricultural inputs. The major constraints associated with the use of ICTs in accessing agricultural inputs information were poor power supply, poor network reception, low level of education of farmers on how to use ICTs, broadcast of radio/television programme at odd hours and lack of physical access to some ICT facilities in the study area.

There was significant relationship between household size, years spent in school, years of ICT usage and effectiveness of using ICTs in accessing agricultural inputs information. Similarly, there was relationship between effectiveness of ICT gadgets and extent of ICTs application to access agricultural inputs information by farmers in the study area.

Recommendations

- i. Some ICT gadgets e.g handset/mobile phones, television and radio increased farmers access to agricultural inputs. Therefore, it was recommended that more rural ICT infrastructural facilities should be provided and improved to boost reception of communication gadgets for accessing agricultural inputs in the rural areas.
- ii. There should be consistency in government agricultural inputs distribution policy such as e-wallet project. While Data capturing of farmers should be a continuous exercise to take care of new farmers who wish to register.
- iii. Radio and television information spread faster and have wider geographical coverage. So it is recommended that jingles on agricultural inputs should also be processed into local dialects of target audience and aired at prime time.
- iv. Farmers in the study area should be trained on how to use ICT facilities for sourcing of weather information for farming activities to reduce risks and uncertainty.
- v. Improved education through training and capacity building on the use of ICT; adequate power supply and improved network coverage which can increase the utilization of ICTs for sourcing agricultural inputs information should be provided in the study area.

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The Nigeria Nationhood: Issues on Development since Colonial Period

Baba Yahaya

Abstract

The paper examines issues in Nigeria since the colonial period that mar the success of nationhood, Nigeria in colonial period was faced with series of challenges that sketched the bulk of difficulties facing Nigeria up to date. It is on this premise that the paper examines such challenges and suggests ways forward for Nigeria Nationhood by identifying the stages of development Nigeria underwent before, during and after its creation. The paper discussed what led to the rise of Nigeria as nation from the collection of different ethnic groups, describe the roles of early patriotic Nigerians and non-Nigerians who see to it growth as a nation.

Introduction

Two major concepts contained in this paper are Nation and Nationhood – Nation refers to a people of a distinct geographical/political entity who associated in customs, language, common origin and history.¹ This definition did not suggest that Nigeria is a nation as it comprised many people with diverse cultures that were merged together for economic and political purposes by British colonialist. Meanwhile. This made Awolowo in 1948 to describe Nigeria as a mere geographical expression. In a separate definition, nation is seen as a large group or collection of people with common characteristic attributed to them- including language, tradition, mores (customs), habitus (habits) and ethnicity.² By comparison, a nation is more impersonal, abstract and overtly political than ethnic. This definition favoured the situation that bound Nigeria as a nation.

Nationhood on the other hand is seen in the feeling of belonging to a nation and sharing a common boundary. It relatively encompasses a large group of people organized under a single, usually independent government.

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Nationhood includes building a nation that involved a very long process, cutting through major phases from early beginnings, the weaving together of several people into a single unit, fostering harmonious living together of people to emerge as a nation that will be well known internationally.³What we are saying here is not the absence of nationhood in Nigeria but lack of its good foundation that will erect its structure for Nigerians to be moved into the deep sense of togetherness which is truncating the development and nation building.

The political entity known today as Nigeria did not emerge overnight. It took years to evolve in its present form and shape. It was not that the land, forest, natural endowment was not there; there was indeed a population engaged in various political and economic activities. But for a long time, these God-given gifts were not incorporated into what is now Nigeria, with well-defined political boundaries. Let's not fail to realize that there were communities in the area now known as Nigeria, living either independently of one another, but more largely in contact with one another by way of trading, religion, wars, festivals, peaceful co-existence, immigration, and marriage.⁴ They separately organized political systems that suited their ways of life. This ranged from the small-city-state of the Ijaw of the Delta to the elaborate ones among the Yoruba and the Fulani Caliphate.⁵ The Europeans claimed that African's horizons were limited, so also was the extent and scale of their contacts. Thus, these kinds of Eurocentric assertions were debunked by Afrocentric views because of the nationalist feelings and high level of interactions.

Nigeria under Colonial Power.

The menace of the incoming groups from Europe gave birth to colonialism. Their activities, for good or for ill, contributed to the early beginnings of Nigeria's evolution into a political, economic and social entity that served the European purpose. Their (European) traders constituted the first incoming of the groups whose role contributed to laying the foundation of the Nigeria nation. Those competing in trading were mainly French, German and British that were limited to the coasts.⁶ But they were not contented with merely staying at the west coast awaiting the native middlemen traders for raw materials. Their desire was to push into the hinterland, trade directly with the local people, and avoid the middlemen. But the middlemen and people of the interior violently resisted this which resulted into clashes and British traders appealed to their home government for protection against the local peoples. In the 1830s and 1840s when the British had taken a stand not to move into the West Africa interior, so as

not to add to its commitments overseas.⁷to protect its subject's lives and properties, the British government in the late 1840s sent consuls to protect British traders and the local people. The consuls were diplomats empowered to make commercial treaties that became legal basis of British influence had been established along the coast, using British laws and system to settle disputes. This pattern was to be reinforced by British commercial activities permanently.⁸

As British interests increased along the coast and towards the hinterland, to avoid rivalry from other Europeans traders Britain at Berlin conference of 1884 was allotted Nigeria. in an effort not to share the area with rival Europeans between 1890 and 1910 all the existing kingdoms in Nigeria area were brought under British control. Thus, a large area covering, people of diverse culture were melted under the influence of conquest and fostered the beginning of national integration which laid the foundation for thenationhood.⁹The conquest and establishment of British influence encouraged, merchants to settled down for trade bringing in manufactured goods in exchange for the local materials. Such as; groundnut in the north, cocoa, palm oil, rubber and timber in the west, palm oil from the East. Multi-nationals like the UAC, opened up commercial stores in strategic places to facilitate trade. The ports were built in Lagos and Port Harcourt. The western railway system's construction started from Lagos in 1896 reached Jebba on the Niger by 1912. It later got to Minna and extended to Kano in 1911. The eastern line began from Port Harcourt in 1910 and reached Enugu in the 1920s, this line beard off to Jos Plateau. These promoted the spread of ideas, fostered wider contacts among indigenous people to enable European traders and administration operated effectively. Roads were also established to carry out day-to-day administration.¹⁰

The country was divided into 3 units, the Lagos protectorate, the south and the northern protectorates each with a commissioner with the governor resident in Lagos. This period is important to nationhood for the following reasons.¹¹Nigeria became a colony and was to remain so until 1960. It imposed the present boundaries, which has remained with minor adjustment since Nigeria identity was imposed. Its various people were confined to British enclave and contact was expanded. A Civil service feature that lasted to today began. The export-import patterns of the economy, which are still there, began. The early division of Nigeria into small¹² units for easy administration, which reached an advanced stage with state creation was started. Yet, this time opened the seeds of agitation against British; towards self-rule, which was lost by British conquest and colonization could be regained. It can then be said that by 1910, some of the major features

for which Nigeria as a nation was to be known had laid

This was the pattern of the economy for the next 60 years. Nigeria's capital was Lagos, which was also the seat of many big commercial houses; it housed the biggest library and was the city of clerks with the highest concentration of schools. Lagos also remained the terminus of the western railway and the leading Harbor in Nigeria. The infrastructure for railways was to provide facilities for greater movement and contact among the people and fasten colonial economy growth. British commissioners were in charge of the government. But unfortunately for Nigerians, these structures were laid to remain permanently. It was in the next phase of the explanation that more developments followed which consolidated the gains of this present phase, to the emergence of the said Nigeria as a nation.

The amalgamation brought the two areas together into a single country. It is worth recalling the activities of the architects of this scheme, particularly, when today you hear of people shouting at important occasion; one Nigeria. It is obvious that when the colonialists merged the indigenous in their political entity, it revolved around creating conducive atmosphere for their economy and for this reason they went ahead to spread their tentacles by studying Nigerians' psychology and as well used the lesson against Nigerians. One of the schemes introduced was the indirect rule - the indirect rule system of administration featured in the North. It emphasized the principle of indigenous Administration but by practice, it was the use of indigenous rulers over their subjects by the British, because of the values observed to be attached to leaders in the north. It operated differently in the south where educated men were appointed into offices, this by interpretation is the planting of European's agents among the indigenous but it was tagged the beginning of Nigerianisation¹³

Although, this induced the feature of Nigeria as a sovereign entity which led to the periods of constitutional evolution between 1922 and 1939 respectively.¹⁴ These constitutions introduced elective representation and the second introduced the participating of Nigerians in decision-making the process with the appointment of Nigerians into executive council.¹⁵ The setback in this journey to nationhood, however, is that the elective principle was confined to Lagos and Calabar. There were no representatives from the interior sitting down side by side with the Lagos and Calabar politicians, debating the affairs of their country. This was the task for the future as the country moved gradually nearer to its attainment of nationhood.¹⁶

Nigeria since Independence

History of Nationalist movement in Nigeria, like in any African country, predated to an earlier time when the Europeans' arrival started demanding for more than just a trade and by extension culminated into colonialism; as a result of this, the indigenous people started demanding for the political freedom and franchise. This became necessary because of the policy and economic domination by the colonial administration. The nationalist movement in Nigeria was led by the early-educated people. Besides the political and economic factors, educational and cultural factors also contributed to the rise of nationalism in Nigeria.

In the struggle for independence, students' union, trade union, ex-servicemen and the newspaper played very vital roles, connecting with the movement of, some individuals such as Herbert Macaulay and others who played prominent roles as the nationalists.¹⁷

Besides the efforts and pressure being exerted on the colonialists to grant freedom to the people of Nigeria by the Nigerian freedom fighters, other external forces also helped in mounting pressure against imperialism and colonialism. Such external forces include; U.N.O, Black organizations in America, Socialist Opposition Parties in Europe and in India. The various organizations put pressure on Britain to grant independence to their colonies.¹⁸

The nationalist feelings which geared to fight for one goal despite cultural differences should be made to continue to guide us in our struggle for unity and identity but unfortunately, reverse became the case

It is important to note here that even though in Nigeria each region tried to preserve its own identity they were aware of their ultimate goal of getting independence for the nation. They learnt to sink their differences and to see wisdom in the contributions of each other in the journey for independence. Therefore, minor differences and personal sentiment were not allowed to divide them, as is the case today. However, this impartial struggle helped Nigerians to influence the various constitutional changes that occurred in Nigeria from 1945 to 1960. These, constitutions were; the Richard's Constitution (1946), Macpherson's constitution (1951), Lyttelton's constitution (1954) and the independence constitution in 1960.¹⁹

It worth noting that the rapid constitutional changes arose from the dissatisfaction of the struggle by the Nigerians for more uniformity in the relationship of the various sectors within the central government and the need for greater Black participation in the government of the country. The British, no doubt capitalized on the different social-cultural backgrounds of the people, because the leaders kept in mind their common goal; they

still forged ahead, despite some disagreement. The independence constitution of Nigeria is a binding force and the leaders have ensured that amendments of the constitution are only done with the clear majority decision and that there is no attempt by any section to secede. This is to enable the people to live together as a nation. It is therefore responsibility of every Nigerian to contribute to the unity and survival of Nigeria by respecting its constitution, and not to undermine it.²⁰

One would have expected that with the above oneness struggles by Nigerians in struggle for independence, the dream of nationhood will become a reality – one would have hoped for a stronger tie among Nigerians devoid of fears and suspicion but unfortunately, it appears that Nigerians entertained more fears and suspicion among their brothers after independence. The question here can be, WHY? The answer is not farfetched from the fact that Nigerians missed the initial goal which they fought for as minor differences and personal sentiment are not allowed to divide them.²¹

The Thoughts of Hope for the Nigeria Future

Attempts were made by Nigeria government at one time or the other to stabilize these skirmishes among which was adoption of presidentialism during the second republic to correct the structural mistakes of the unsuccessful first republic. Because the federal government in the first republic was relatively weak, a stronger form of government (especially in the executive arm) was adopted to foster the building of a stronger, more united Nigeria. The presidential constitution provided for a chief executive²² who has to be a symbol of unity through his being nationally elected and by his being above partisanship, once elected. The constitution also provided for effective control of government by building into the system, a set-off checks and balances among the organs of government. Cooperation and compromises were to be the hallmark of the relationship among the organs. The system failure does not necessarily make it unsuitable for the Nigeria. It could be argued that the failure of both the parliamentary and the presidential systems could be attach to the problems in the people themselves (the leaders and followers) and their inadequacies in the different roles played in the political process and nation building.

Instead of Nigerians to explore the potentials in the presidential system of government in other to facilitate the development of a strong Nigeria nation; politicians and some other influential Nigerians were busy either looting the public fund or misappropriating the use of offices just to meet up with their selfish and personal interest, Corruption then gained ground such that it became endemic to the fabric of Nigeria societies. In fact, even

though Nigerians have refused to conduct themselves toward the country's development aside of their personal interest, this attitude can be counted among the lift Nigerians made from colonial subjugation.

At this point, few opportunists have suppressed the less privileged ones and subjected them to abject poverty, involving the have not to participate in election rigging at the gratification of peanuts and collection of bribery for even free services from public offices. The orientation was generally negative; the politicians and the military personnel who support to work for Nigeria and Nigerians' development were finally working against the country.

Another incident that eroded the scene of Nigeria government was military coup d'état: The history of coup in Nigeria dated back to 1966 when first republic government was over thrown; the first military coup d'état was carried out by a group of army majors on 15th January 1966. This brought Major General Johnson Thomas Aguiyi- Ironsi into power and became Nigeria's first military head of state on January 17th, 1966.²³ Many factors were listed by this government to support the rationales behind their claims for the coup among which were lack of strong and united nation, inter-regional conflicts, civil disorders, corruption and personality conflicts in the military. But a clear view had shown it that it was nothing but an act of brutality conducted by a region against other regions in order to have a taste of power too. Because the same government who raised accusing finger on the past government was not free of the same allegations, it ended with the killing of prominent Nigerians who would have being the national asset. For example, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto, the Premier of Northern region; Chief Samuel Akintola, the Premier of Western Region and Chief Okotie Eboh, Federal Minister of Finance and lots of others who could have been consulted by subsequent generation in terms of difficulties.

The aftermath of this ideology dragged the country into the unforgettable incident of civil war between 1967 – 1970, with many lives being lost. As lessons are not learnt some group of person; are still threatening the peace of the country after so many years of the civil war, just to seek for unnecessary recognition. This is absolutely regional and personality incline; it has nothing to do with national development nor will it encourage nationhood.

Subsequent coup that occurred in the country was that of General Yakubu, Jack Dan – Yumma Gowon (1966 - 1975), General Murtala Rufai Ramat Mohammad from 1975 until his assassination on 13th February 1976 and was succeeded by General Olusegun Obasanjo (1976 -79), General

Muhammadu Buhari (1983 – 85), General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (1985 -1993) after escaping many coup attacks among which was that of Gideon Orkar's attempt. He was followed by General Sani Abacha (1993 - 98) who over threw the interim government headed by Chief Earnest Shonkan, then followed by General Abdulsalami Abubakar (1998 - 1999) who ceremoniously handed over to the democratically elected government on the 29th may 1999. Although, remarkable achievements were carried out by the military government, that promoted national development, the military also had their failures in terms of lack of experience in governance, intolerance, reckless spending, and overstaying in government. Its then obvious that, we can only prevent military coups if we conduct free and fair elections, reduce corruption and resist unwelcomed coups. Thus, refuse to be used by politicians as political thugs and thuggery, rigging and both pre and post electoral violence.

Generally, it is obvious that nation building is a process of bringing diverse groups together to develop their common land: Political Parties and party formation is a concrete means through which this goal can be achieved but in Nigeria party formation since the colonial period has been problematic. The regional representation embedded in the parties was a clear indication to disunity hence regional interest are the major pathfinders of the parties formation not the nation at large, The parties and party formation had been following ethnicity pattern and in turn stood as a bottle neck to nationhood; between 1944 and 1951, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroon (NCNC) was the only nationally organized party. However, as time goes on, other political parties notably the Action Group (AG) and the Northern People Congress challenged the dominance of the NCNC. Consequently, people with the same language and probably of the same region formed their separate political parties. In the East, Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe led the NCNC, the AG became the party of the people in the western region and the NPC became the Northerner's party. As a result, NCNC became the Igbo man's party, the AG was termed the Yoruba man's party and the NPC was referred to Hausa/Fulani man's party.²⁴

Nigerians since then claimed to be one but not and promote parochial interest to gain people's support from grassroots. They give it regional meaning so that it can look like the country is marginalizing the region which they need to fight for. Therefore, development is hindered, the government is pulled back and the feelings of togetherness faded out. Civil administration and population size were among the factors seen as constraints on nation building. The civil administration had been characterized by internal political crisis. There are complaints that power is concentrated in the North. These

are what generate into a position of national crisis. The population size of Nigeria (over- population), which support to be national asset coupled with its multi-ethnic nature has been used to affect nation building. For these reasons, one programme or the other had been launched in Nigeria by the civilian and military government in order to attained nationhood. While some were frustrated others did not live to see the light of their dreams. During General (Rtd) Obasanj oregime, he declared the Operation Feed the Nation. This programme concerned itself with the country's economic problem and saw agriculture as the keyto our economic development. When Alhaji Shehu Shagari was in government as the president of the second republic of Nigeria, he launched the Ethical and Green Revolution. During the tenure of Buhari/Idiagbon, War Against Indiscipline (WAI) was also launched. The principle behind WAI campaign was to give the nation a better and more purpose sense of direction. It was also launched to arest moral decadence and other vices which included lack of faith, lack of commitment and corruption. A comprehensive programme was designed to mobilize all citizens of the nation to eradicate all forms of indiscipline. These included reckless driving, jumping of queue, buying or selling of chieftaincy titles, drug trafficking, and smuggling.²⁵Others were rumour mongering, spraying of money at parties, ostentation living, idleness at work, coming late to work, closing roads for parties, dumping refuse on the highway, urinating in the public, spitting on the floor, and many other related anti-social activities.

WAI, therefore, was designed to mobilize the young and old, those in private and the public sectors and the entire citizens in general to join the battle of achieving a new national direction. Towards this end, various avenues were used to combat indiscipline in the society. Among them were mass media, Government information series, community leaders, trade union leaders, religious leaders, women organizations, youth organization and so on. This national crusade was launched by the then Chief of Staff Supreme Headquarters, Brigadier Tunde Idiagbon but unfortunately, this laudable programme that would have helped in shaping Nigerians for sustainable development was discontinued by the subsequent governments. This by implication triggered corruption.²⁶

Babangida's National Orientation Movement (NOM) was also not left out. In 1987, Decree 31was promulgated establishing the Directorate of Social Mass Mobilization for Social Justice, Self-Reliance and Economic and Recovery (Mamser).The programme was launched at the national stadium, surulere, Lagos on Saturday 25thJuly 1987 by General Ibrahim Babangida.²⁷

Primarily, MAMSER was launched to act as a constitutional basis for effective implementation of their political transition Programme. This was the urge to inculcate in Nigerians the right attitude in order to develop a new social, political and economic order. MAMSER'S aim was the eradication of all the bad features of our past behaviors such as disharmony, dishonor, distrust, and dies-service. Also, MAMSER aimed at inculcating in the entire citizen the value, habits, and orientation that will lead to a self-reliant civic society in which justice, tolerance, commitment and reasonability will prevail. To carry out these duties effectively the Directorate for Social Mobilization, the coordinating organ that was to take care of all the activities was established. It was composed, empowered and structure at the local Government, state and federal levels. The nation directorate focused on the following programmes namely, Mass Mobilization for social justice and Economic Recovery, Political Education and Mass Education. The DFFRRI and NDE are some of the agencies established to achieve the goals of MAMSER. Better life for rural women Programme was also introduced by Mrs. Maryam Babangida. As previous Government programmes were dumped by this regime so the subsequent ones dumped it programmestoo.²⁸ The Family Support Programme (FSP)²⁹ was also introduced by Mrs. Maryam Abacha. It was designed and launched in 1994 by the then First Lady of Federal Republic of Nigeria during the late General Sani Abacha's regime. The family support program (FSP) was established to cater for the social and economic environment in Nigeria so as to improve the structure and expand the scope of the Better life programme which was launched by Mrs. Maryam Babagida (wife of General Ibrahim Babangida). FSP was designed to embrace women in rural and urban areas and consciously extend the benefits to men and the entire family. The policy is on the role of the entire family in national development. The FSP believes that the family and kinship are the basic units of addressing the current national needs. The focus of the FSP is on health, education, women in development, agriculture, child welfare, youth development destitute and other underprivileged. The implementations of these programmes are actualized through the existing structure in government and the Non-governmental organization (NGO'S). For proper implementation of programmes, the ministries of women affairs, health, and youth development have been effectively brought into coordination.

Summary/Conclusion

In a nutshell, issues in Nigeria have taken many dimensional means, it rendered itself difficult for understanding but it's obvious fact that Nigerians are the number one problem. This paper examined that, Nigeria nation has suffered Europeans mastermind it development in favour of British development – every colonial development in Nigeria fetched the British more advantages even at the detriment of Nigeria and Nigerians. The machinery laid down by colonialists is actually pulling Nigeria back but Nigerians had on the other hand refused to learn from the experience of the past, few individuals have decided to use political and public offices to loot the nation's fund. In this vein, Nigerians are rather celebrating looters as legends. The few legends who intend to emphasis achievements and developments are either killed, silenced or frustrated. Such is illustrated in the number of the presidents brutally killed, silenced or discontinued from their developmental plans for nationhood.

Furthermore, Nigerians have chosen to gain from Nigeria instead of Nigeria gaining from them as a country; that is why all avenue to assess public funds are preferred by Nigerians. The juicy parastatals and ministries are always rushed. When they couldn't gain the chances, they interpret their personal failure to be a regional failure and by extension national failure. This is a major tool they also use for national disintegration; it is worth noting that Nigerians only claim to be one in most cases not because they really mean what they said but because of what they are gaining from the government. All these had closed their eyes toward the nation building. In the early history of Nigeria, toward the nationhood it was clear that Nigerians of then struggled for one Nigeria where they buried their differences this is a great achievement by Nigerians. But since after that, I wish the spirit of these early Nigerians can forgive the present Nigerians and their attitudes today. Therefore, series of coup d'état staged in Nigeria were characterised by brutality, political parties' formation were personalised as it is given regional inclination instead of national meaning. Nationalism in the past Nigerians was a commendable factor that brings Nigeria to light but afterward suffered individualistic tendency in the hands of some leaders and their advisers. Thus, when the term Nigerians is mentioned, it encompasses all the citizens irrespective of class, age, gender, religion and even the ethnicity. Everybody is a stake holder just like General Mohammed Buhari has once said that 'We have no other country than Nigeria so we must all stay and salivate it together'

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The Position of Africa in the New World order and the Challenge of Development

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Abstract

Africa's position in the unfolding world order has recently become a subject of considerable attention. The political, economy and social life of Africa has undergone tremendous changes throughout recent history; from the colonial to the independence era, Africa's plight has always been decided by the existing global political system. This paper however examines the rise of the new world order, the position and plight of Africa under the new world order. In carrying out the study, the researcher employed the use of secondary forms of gathering data, and also the presentation of findings was based on descriptive and analytical methods of historical reconstruction. In the course of the study, it was found that, the new world order had forced the economic, political and socio-cultural situation of African countries into more severe hardship. However, the research states that since globalization has become a reality, Africa should gain from it, and should seek the renewal of identity and channel an endogenous development alternative to protect its identity which is fast going into extinction. The paper concludes that, African countries must fight the fight of unity and act together to build themselves a bright future and determine together on what that future will be.

Introduction

The nation state is the basic unit of old world order politics, which is sometimes called the Westphalian System, after the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648.¹ The treaty marked the effective end of the Catholic Church's legal and political domination of much of Western Europe, because the Church had dominated Europe for about 1300 years.² However, the New World is

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one of the names used for the Earth's Western Hemisphere, specifically the Americans (including nearby islands such as those of Caribbean and Bermuda). The phrase "new world order" was clearly used in connection with American former President Woodrow Wilson's global ideas just immediately after World War 1, during the formation of the League of Nations. The First World War had been justified not only in terms of United States (U.S.) national interest but in moral terms i.e. "to make the world safe for democracy." After the war, Wilson advocated for a new world order which transcended traditional great power politics, instead of emphasizing collective security, democracy and self-determination.³ Also, the phrase was used by scholars in retrospect when assessing the creation of the post-World War II set of international institutions: The United Nations (UN); the U.S. Security alliances such as NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization); the Bretton Woods System of International Monetary Fund and the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development; and even the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan were seen as characterizing or comprising this new order.⁴

The Rise of the New World Order

The origin of the contemporary world order generated debates among scholars especially those of political and historical creed. Scholars such as Schmidt, Stephen and Rendwick as cited by Adeyemi, traced its foundation from post first world war Wilsonian idealistic engagement of international order.⁵ To this group of scholars, the United States signified her intention to help re-define a new world based on the U.S. perceptions of freedom and peace. While the position appears challengeable, the fact that the United States played primary and mediatory role in post first world international peace arrangement must not be understated. This in itself could be seen as a declaration of its emergence in the international arena.⁶

Another group of scholars such as Brecht, Harris, Kent, and Rhydat as also cited by Adeyemi, saw its foundation in the Cold War era. This position is also debatable depending on belief, context of discourses and intellectual learning. However, it is difficult to deny the fact that the United States was already a fully blown political, economic and military power during this period. The divisions of the global political space into two ideological blocks with one under the United States "imperial control" speaks volume of her willing emergence as a global power. The other, the WARSAW, was under the control of the former Soviet Union. By 1990, the Cold war had ended, leaving behind its vestiges and the triumph of the United States Neo-liberal culture with which the United States desires to engage the world.⁷

According to Adeyemi, one of the scholars, Stephen, whose position is insightful, traced the foundation of the United States rise to global control to 1938 which was the eve of the Second World War. While this position contains its own merits, the historical lucidity of his argument conveyed the colourfulness of his submission. However, all the submissions above help to understanding the United State's activities and efforts at enthroning or globalizing the values which became a reality in 1990's.⁸

In September 1990, President Bush in his address to a joint session of the United States Congress set out in details the culture of the New World Order under the U.S hegemony. He declared "The New World Order imposes a responsibility on the United States. The New World Order does not mean forfeiting our interests; it in actual fact describes a responsibility imposed on us by our success.... What makes us America is our allegiance to an idea that all people everywhere must be free."⁹The connection between this declaration and the ancient imperial philosophy of "Monroe Doctrine" (a doctrine or policy that warns European nations that the United States would not tolerate further colonization or puppet monarchs) of the United States is clear.¹⁰ Thus, the structure of US hegemonic leadership is in the process of being defined, its two central props are preserving international stability and leading a worldwide movement for democracy. The first entails law; achieving it requires ceding to the UN sufficient sovereignty for common action. The second deals with support for democratic revolutions across the globe.¹¹ Both forms of interventionism, according to Ted Carpenter, has quoted by Gilbert Khadiagala has shown, 'are based explicitly and implicitly on the belief that with the decline of the Soviet Union, the United States is the sole remaining superpower and can order events in the world without fear of effective opposition'.¹² Whatever the case may be, the New World Order emerged from the debris of the cold war.

Africa's Position in the New World Order

Africa is the world's second-largest and second-most-populous continent. With about 1.0 billion people, it accounts for about 15% of the world's human population.¹³ The continent is surrounded by the Mediterranean Sea to the north, both the Suez Canal and the Red Sea along the Sinai Peninsula to the northeast, the Indian Ocean to the southeast, and the Atlantic Ocean to the west. The continent includes Madagascar and various archipelagoes (a group of islands), it comprises 55 sovereign countries and nine non-sovereign territories,¹⁴ and two de facto states that are basically their own entities with no special rights or recognition and the Continent is made up of approximately 11.7 square miles and has about 22% of the

world's land mass.¹⁵ Each country in Africa is independent, but as a whole Africa is a very poor continent. Africans are faced with widespread poverty, ill health, and lack of educational opportunities. HIV/AIDS and malaria are two of the deadliest diseases that have ravaged many African countries, of recent, Ebola and Lassa fever, leaving orphans and extreme poverty in their wake. In addition, many governments are corrupt, and foreign aid sent for various projects may not end up where it was designated.¹⁶

Before the inception of the New World Order, African countries had the luxury of choosing to align themselves with any of the two major superpowers. However, with the end of the Cold War and the emergence of the United States as the sole superpower, African countries had no choice but to align with the United States. The economic power of the dominant institutions, i.e. World Bank and International Monetary Fund and the dwindling of economic aid from the Soviet bloc were chiefly responsible for this.¹⁷ The US emergence as the sole super-power in the world, given the absence of any countervailing force, earned her the possibility to act as the sole decisive determinant of the structure and content of the system of international relations. This meant that, at least, no major world development would take place without her involvement.¹⁸ With regard to Africa, given her relative weakness in the context of the global balance of power, this meant that: she had to pay particular attention to the views and wishes of the US, careful to accommodate her policies and programmes to the positions adopted by the US; and, she lost the possibility to do her best to defend her independence by using the bargaining power provided by the fact of the competition between the US and the Soviet Union to win her support and allegiance.¹⁹ It was as a result of this that the former Tanzanian President, Benjamin Mkapa, as cited by Adeyemi, stated that, "...The way things are going, we in Africa will soon have no image beyond geography, no identity besides colour and no decency except flags... Worse, we will end up compelling to do the Master's urging in the neighbourhood".²⁰

The above statement only took cognizance of a great issue that bordered on the existence or extinction of the identity of the black race. It may be a consummation of a historical cultural predation of imperial absorption of the remnants of African's image and imaginaries. His position implies the fears of cultural identity and geographical inviolability that underlines the problem of globalization.²¹ From the mid-19th century, African economies were increasingly reworked to meet the needs of industrial Europe, and virtually all economic infrastructures were geared toward the export of Africa's raw materials to Europe. Economic transaction and communication

between neighboring states stopped if they were ruled by different colonial powers. African manufacturing was discouraged, and even banned, if it was likely to compete with the interests of European manufacturers.²² Indigenous African industry dwindled, and Africa was forced to import virtually all of its manufactured consumer goods. This was the economic system that Africa inherited at independence. More so, with the positive political developments of the late 20th century, many African governments have been unable to improve their peoples' standards of living. The foundation of Africa's disadvantaged position has been its economic role in the world trading system.²³

In addition, making Africa even more dependent, the prices paid for its exported raw materials were set in the major financial markets of the world: New York City, London, Paris, Frankfurt, Hong Kong, etc. The prices on African commodities rose and fell according to the needs of the industrial world, bearing no relationship to the costs of production or the economic needs of Africa. The full implications of this were powerfully demonstrated during the energy crisis of 1973.²⁴ As oil prices quadrupled, the Western world went into recession and African commodity prices fell. Although North African oil producers benefited, sub-Saharan Africans were not yet oil producers on a significant scale and they too suffered from the hike in oil prices. The industrial world paid less and less for African commodities, while at the same time demanded higher and higher prices for its manufactured goods, which Africans needed to import. In this way, Africa helped subsidize the industrial world's economic recovery while most African countries live in debt, poverty, corruption, and political instability, from which they have spent decades trying to recover.²⁵

Since the 1980s, the industrial world's financial tools, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), have proposed solutions to Africa's chronic indebtedness. These solutions have been based upon the economics of developed country, however, rather than upon the specialized needs of developing countries. They have directed African development plans to increase raw material exports, in order to generate the foreign exchange to pay back Africa's debts.²⁶ But as Africans export more coffee, for example, the price of coffee falls. Thus, Africans work harder and receive less for their efforts. The ultimate goal of the IMF and World Bank has been to enable Africa to pay its debts rather than to enable Africa to develop the self-sufficient ability to compete on equal terms with the industrialized world. They have succeeded in their goal: Africa pays back more in debt servicing than it receives in direct aid. But this means that governments

have less to spend on health and education, leading to falling living standards.²⁷ In addition, the prevailing thinking about development today sees globalization, as not just an indicator of the New World Order, but as a matter of life and death for less developed countries.

The New World Order is not making the world less diverse and more equal. A growing but still small part of the world's population is becoming more similar in what it eats, buys, wears and thinks.²⁸ More and more people across the planet have become increasingly exposed to the amenities of the global marketplace, although mostly as permanent window-shoppers and silent spectators. This is the situation of Africans; Africa was simply invited to a contest for survival without perfectly understanding or controlling the rules of the game.²⁹ However, African leaders are striving to establish regional and continental trading groups to strengthen their position in the global market. As a result of these, African leaders have tried many initiatives from 1960s to the recent period in order to free themselves from the problems of underdevelopment, such efforts can be seen clearly in: Organization of African Unity (OAU) founded in 1963; the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) for West Africa, which was established in 1975; Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) formed in 1994; the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) established in 1983, for Central Africa; the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) established in 1989;³⁰ Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa, 1980; Priority Programme of Economic Redressing of Africa (PPERA) adopted by OAU in 1985; the 1991 Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community (AEC); the New International Economic Order and New African Initiative (NAI) in Lusaka, Zambia, established in July 2001 which was later renamed the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD);³¹ and in 2002 they inaugurated the African Union (AU), an organization intended eventually to establish a common economic market and political union across the entire continent. Achieving this goal, which would make Africa a formidable world power, remains Africa's primary task for the 21st century.

Conclusion

The subjugation and structural incorporation of Africans into the 'predatory' global order appears unstoppable, and the culture and identity of the African personality seems to be eroding. The New World Order tends to make Africa even more dependent as the economic, political and socio-cultural situation of African countries face severe problems.

Globalisation is a reality, in which Africa's response to it will shape the future of the continent. It is therefore imperative that, the African Continent should revisit the issue of strengthening the African Union Commission and all other relevant AU structures, including the NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development), to ensure that they have the capacity to successfully reposition Africa in a shifting and uncertain global order. Furthermore, Africans have to face the reality that, nobody but Africans can and should take responsibility for its renaissance towards which the people aspire. They have to act together to build themselves a bright future and think together about what that future will be. Africans must mobilise themselves to respond to the challenge starkly posed to them by the New World Order, which demands that they should not merely proclaim their right to self-determination, but indeed act to determine their destiny.

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Birthing a Federal Capital Territory for Nigeria, Naming and Consolidation: The Role of Suleja, 1976-1991

Muhammad Awwal Adamu

Abstract

Following the Federal Military Government's resolve to establish a new Federal Capital Territory for Nigeria in 1976, Abuja (now Suleja) was posed to play a crucial role in the establishment and development of the new capital territory. Understandably, since 1976, there has been a growing literature on various aspects of the development of the new capital territory, Abuja. However, these literatures paid little or no attention on the role played by Abuja (now Suleja) in the birthing, naming and consolidation of the new capital territory. This provides the stimulating impulse for this paper. It brings to the fore the critical role played by the former Abuja to the establishment and development of the new capital territory.

Introduction

The town of Suleja formerly known as Abuja played a pivotal role in the establishment and development of the new Federal Capital Territory from 1976 to 1991. Laying on latitude 9 degree North and Latitude 7 degree East¹, Abuja, the present Suleja is located almost at the centre of Nigeria.² It is bordered on the North by Izom in Gawu Babangida Local Government Area, to the West by Lapai Local Government Area and to the South and East by the new Federal Capital Territory (FCT). The factor of centrality is one of the critical factors for relocating the nation's capital from Lagos to the vicinity of Abuja.

In 1976, when the Federal Military Government concluded plans to establish a new capital territory for Nigeria, Abuja Local Government Area ceded about 75 per cent of its territory to the establishment of the FCT.

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Similarly, Abuja town, the Headquarters of Abuja Local Government Area was used as a Development Base or launching ground for developing the new capital territory, in 1976, the Federal Military Government promulgated Decree number 6, which among other things established the Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA) as its agency responsible for the design, construction and management of the new capital territory. Three years later in 1979, Abuja town made another costly sacrifice when it also relinquished its age long name to the Supreme Military Council to name the new capital territory. Since then, the former Abuja was renamed Suleja, so named after the then Emir Alhaji Sulemanu Barau. Thus, the plan for the development of the new capital territory was executed from Abuja town (now Suleja) which continued to serve as an “unofficial satellite town” for the FCT, providing accommodation to some civil servants, contractors, skilled and unskilled labourers.

The Establishment of the new Federal Capital Territory

Following the promulgation of the Decree that established the FCT in 1976, the need to make the capital city and the rest of the territory habitable became paramount to the Federal Military Government. Consequently, the Federal Military Government appointed Mr. Mobolaji Ajo Adeogun and Mr. Ime Ebongas the Chairman and Executive Secretary of the FCDA respectively to oversee the development of the new FCT. It is worthy to note that the new Federal Capital Territory was excised from three States. These were Niger, Plateau and Kwara states respectively. These states were otherwise known as the mother states of the FCT.³ Of the three states, Niger State was made to forgo the largest part of its land for the establishment of the FCT about 79 per cent. (See Table 1 for the mother states of the FCT).

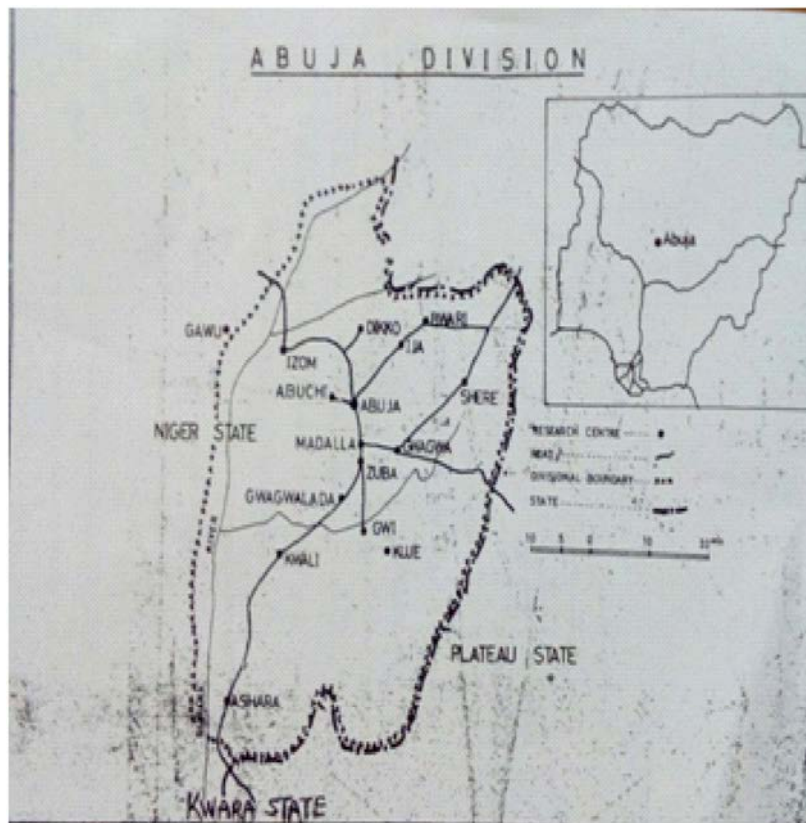
Table 1: Total land area contributed by the three states for the establishment of the FCT

State	Area in Square Kilometers	Percentage of Total
Niger	6,328.40	79.11
Plateau	1,313.40	16.42
Kwara	358.20	4.47
Total	8,000.00	100

Source: Abuja: The New Federal Capital of Nigeria, The Research and Management Information Service Division FCDA, in Collaboration with Dr. S. I. Abumeri, 1985, Pp. 23-24

In Niger State the areas excised to establish the FCT were parts of Lapai and Abuja Local Government Areas respectively. Of all the areas excised, Abuja L. G. A. was the most hit. It is worth noting that by 1976, Abuja Local Government was in charge of the political affairs of five out of the six districts that later became part and parcel of the FCT. These were Gwagwalada, Kwali, Kuje and Bwari. Karu and Abaji districts were under Keffi and KotonKarfelocal Government Areas of Plateau and Kwara states respectively. (See Map of Abuja Local Government Area before the establishment of the FCT in 1976)

Map 1: Showing Abuja Local Government Area before the establishment of the FCT



Source: JummaiAbubakar (1976), "The Coming of the Zage-zagi and its Effects on Gwari and Kororelationship in the 19th century", B. A. Project, Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria.

The area surrendered by Abuja was nearly four-fifths of the Abuja Emirate.⁴ By conservative estimate, out of the 79.11 per cent of land contributed by Niger State, Abuja Local Government Area contributed 75 per cent, while Lapai Local Government Area contributed the remaining 4 per cent.⁵ Clearly therefore, the territorial extent of Abuja Local Government Area drastically reduced. It was reduced to a backyard of the FCT.

Barely three months after the establishment of the FCT, Mr. Mobolaji Ajose Adeogun visited Abuja town in May, 1976 and informed Emir Sulemanu Barau that more investigation and feasibility studies of the FCT would be conducted and the town would form the operational base for the FCDA.⁶ This clearly shows that the Abuja authority was foretold that the town would subsequently play an active role in the development of the new FCT.

The first stage in building a new capital on a relatively virgin site was to conduct various forms of surveys to determine the nature of the area where building structures for offices, houses and other infrastructure like roads, bridges and sewages could be constructed. Therefore, the FCDA decided first to carry out an extensive survey of the new territory with a view to, among other things, determine the site for building the capital city. It became glaring to the pioneer Chairman and Executive Secretary of the FCDA that they lacked any coherent knowledge of the new territory. As such they saw the need to invite a home-grown expert who would gather and lead a team of scientists to survey the new territory. The duo therefore invited Mr. Akin Mabogunje to lead a team of scientists to survey the new territory and provide useful information on three main issues, namely; the ecological condition of the new territory, the number of people to be displaced out of the prioritized areas and the range of their assets and compensation to be paid.⁷ As Mabogunje argued, the knowledge of the surveys would be instrumental in planning for the infrastructural needs in the new city and also in providing a basis for informed prognosis on the initial population of the new capital city as well as the pattern and rate of its future growth. Mabogunje further asserted that the ecological survey was aimed at collecting information on the topography, terrain, land use, flora and fauna, soils, geology, hydrology, settlements and disease vectors in the new FCT itself.⁸ The data collected would not only be useful in the location of the capital city within the FCT but would also provide the basis for taking decisions on the city's form, structure and the location of several amenities and facilities leading to the production of a Master Plan.

It is worth noting that after its establishment, the FCDA started operating from its office at the State House, No. 11, Marina, Lagos,⁹ where it

commenced preparation for all the preliminary works in the new capital territory. As the leader of the teams, Mabogunjewas initially traveling by road from Lagos to Abuja town. In order to ease the stress of the journey at times, he joined flight from Lagos to Kaduna and then from Kaduna he travelled by road to what he called “the near wilderness that was then the new Federal Capital Territory” on a weekly basis.¹⁰With the passage of time, it became clear to Mr. MobolajiAdeogun, the Commissioner for Special Duties and also the pioneer Chairman of the FCDA that it would be a herculean task to develop the new territory from Lagos. Therefore, Mr. Adeogun began to think of relocating to a community near the new territory. At that time, Abuja was the only town near the new capital territory with some existing infrastructure that could be used as a launching ground for the development of the new territory. Thus, by June, 1976, the FCDA began discussing with the Niger State Government. The FCDA chose to approach the Niger State Government because Minna, the capital of Niger State, which was a distance of 160 kilometers to the new capital territory, was the nearest to the site. In addition, Minna had a functioning railway which linked it to the port of Lagos. The railway could be used for logistics from Lagos to Minna and from Minna to the new capital territory by road. Jos and Ilorin, the capitals of Plateau and Kwara states respectively were far away from the new territory. While the distance from Jos to Abuja was 310 kilometers, the distance from Ilorin to Abuja was 496 kilometers. Therefore, in order to ease the stress of the journey from Lagos to Abuja, Mabogunje travelled to Minna on behalf of the FCDA to meet with the then Military Administrator, Commander MurtalaNyako with some requests thus:

In order to progress this project, and therefore the early commencement of our many preliminary surveys and studies inside the territory, we shall require the immediate lengthening and strengthening at our expense, of the Minna airstrip and require your immediate planning permission for this. We shall also require the cooperation of your State and that of the Railway Corporation for the provision of a marshalling area close to the Minna Railway station.¹¹

At the end of their discussion, Governor MurtalaNyako assigned Mallam Muhammadu Awwal Ibrahim, the Permanent Secretary, Special Duties in the Cabinetoffice to Mabogunje.¹² From 1976-1979, Mallam Awwal Ibrahim, being a member of the Abuja ruling house assiduously worked with the FCDA.¹³ Specifically, Mallam Awwal Ibrahim

took Mabogunje to the Niger State Ministry of Land and Housing in search of an assistant to help Mabogunje carry out his assignments. Mallam Awwal Ibrahim also took Mabogunje to the then Emir of Abuja, Alhaji Sulemanu Barau to discuss the nature of his assignment with him.¹⁴ This was when, in addition to ceding its substantial land, Abuja town began to play a pivotal role in the development of the new territory. Mr. BawaBwari of the State Ministry of Land and Housing, a town planner was initially assigned to help Mabogunje in executing his assignment. However, due to his busy schedules, BawaBwari was dropped and another town planner, Mr. Jonah Bawa, of the same Ministry was picked to work with Mabogunje.¹⁵ Other staff of the Niger State Government who were transferred to the FCDA to assist in the development of the FCT included Alhaji Usman Halilu and Alhaji Abdullahi Ma'aji.¹⁶ These people worked tirelessly for the development of the new capital territory. For example, from May to June 1999, Alhaji Usman Halilu was appointed as the Permanent Secretary, Federal Capital Territory Administration (FCTA).

Upon the request of the Federal Government through the Executive Secretary of the FCDA, the Niger State Government, having contacted Abuja Local Government officials, permitted the Authority to use Abuja town as a launching ground. In order to accommodate the team of scientists in Abuja town, the Executive Secretary of the FCDA initially decided to order for a set of four large portacabins from the United States of America. But because of the problems associated with importation, the portacabins could not arrive on time. By the time they finally arrived, the team of surveyors had completed their assignment.¹⁷ Thus, the procedure for acquiring the portacabins became an exercise in futility because they were not used by the team of surveyors. However, the portacabins were stationed at the hill top near the steal water treatment plant. They were used as offices by some staff of the FCDA before the construction of the FCDA Field Base.

While the portacabins were being awaited, the Executive Secretary of the FCDA sought for the assistance of the pioneer Secretary of Abuja Local Government Council, Alhaji Abdullahi Ladan to secure accommodation for their staff. Consequently, Alhaji Ladan rented two houses at Dawaki belonging to one Alhaji Musa Gboyega,¹⁸ a Yoruba migrant entrepreneur in the town. The first house is a one-storey building which was occupied by the FCDA Field Station Manager. The second building which comprised of twelve rooms was the residence of the various teams of surveyors.¹⁹ These were the first rented properties by the FCDA in Suleja, where they lived and commuted to and from the capital city. By

1979, the FCDA rented another one storey building at Dawaki junction by the Kantoma bridge also owned by Alhaji Musa Gboyega, which served as the first FCDA Secretariat. Alhaji Abubakar Koko, the first Executive Secretary of the FCDA (1979-1983) had his office in the building. In that same year, a government building at the GRA near the former NTA Abuja served as the residence of Alhaji Abubakar Koko. The FCDA also rented other properties in different parts of the town for its junior staff. (See Appendix III) These rented accommodations were used by the FCDA up to the end of 1979 when it completed building its Field Base opposite the State Low Cost housing estate.

The need to get somebody who could serve as a Manager to the FCDA Field Station again took Mabogunje back to the Emir who recommended late Mallam Haruna Tanimu, an indigene of Suleja to Mabogunje.²⁰ The station manager was responsible for transport and accommodation of the FCDA staff, employing local staff and recruiting local labour for the various teams. Similarly, the station manager also acted as the public relations officer for both the Emir's office and the Local Government Council.²¹

Thus, between 1976 and 1978, various teams of surveyors were accommodated in Abuja town from where they conducted their various fieldworks in various parts of the territory. They would leave their base in Abuja town in the morning and return in the evening.

The significance of the ecological studies conducted did not only enable the surveyors to prescribe where to site the new capital city but also to get the Federal Government to revisit its decision to evict all the populations within the territory, pay them compensation and to relocate them outside the territory.²² This issue of relocation and compensation was to later generate heated arguments as the indigenous population claimed they were ejected from their legitimate homes and poorly compensated.

At the end of their assignments, the ecological teams recommended to the FCDA parts of the Gwagwa plains as the most suitable part of the new territory for building the new capital city.²³ The Gwagwa plains rise from an elevation of 305m in the west to 610m in the east. This created the possibility of concentrating the bulk of the city in land with elevations from 1,200 to 1,700 feet thereby capitalizing on climatic advantages of higher altitudes.²⁴ The team further recommended that only this part of the territory should be cleared of its population, the rest of the areas should be put on hold until when it became necessary.²⁵

After the ecological survey was conducted and a site for building the capital city was recommended to the FCDA, the preparation for a Master Plan for the territory began. The members of the FCDA responsible for

the Master Plan were Mr. Mobolaji Ajose-Adeogun, Commissioner/Chairman, Alhaji Abubakar Koko, Executive Secretary, Mr. Susan Adoba, Dr. T. M. Aluko, Dr. Umar Benna, Dr. J. O. N. Eze, Mr. Justice Owen Feibai, Dr. Ajato Gandonu, Mr. Alhassan Idoko, Alhaji Shuaibu Na'ibi and Prof. M. O. Oyawoye.²⁶ Interestingly, one of the members, Alhaji Shuaibu Na'ibi, was a prominent figure in Abuja town and the then Madawakin Zazzau Abuja, who co-authored the book "A Chronicle of Abuja" with Alhaji Hassan, the then Dallatun Zazzau Abuja. As a member, Alhaji Shuaibu Na'ibi represented the Emir of Zazzau Suleja in the FCDA.²⁷ This was another instance of the active role played by Abuja town in the development of the new capital territory.

In preparation for the Abuja Master Plan, Mabogunje made concerted efforts to ensure that home-based planners secured the contract for the Master Plan. But the Federal Military Government favored contracting the plan to foreign experts. Thus, in October 1976, the Federal Military Government through the FCDA placed adverts abroad for international planners to bid for the contract to draw a Master Plan for the territory. Sequel to the adverts, several foreign planning firms bided for the contract in which eighteen were short-listed for interview.²⁸ At the end of the interview in June 1977, the FCDA awarded the contract for drawing the Master Plan to a consortium of planners from the United States of America, known as the International Planning Associates (IPA).²⁹ The IPA was a conglomeration of three independent organizations based in different cities in the United States that came together to bid for the Master Plan.³⁰ In their quest to ease the work of the planning firm, in addition to the guidelines given to it, the FCDA also handed over to the contractors all the data of the ecological teams gathered between 1976 and 1978 to develop the Master Plan for the capital territory and its regional grid.³¹ The International Planning Associates prepared the Master Plan in eighteen months between June 1977 to February 1979.

While the IPA was drawing up the Master Plan, Mabogunje was also conducting census of the economic assets of the inhabitants of the new territory. To enable the Authority source for workforce for the exercise, Mabogunje again visited the Emir and Chairman of the Abuja Local Government Council.³² The duo assisted the FCDA with a large number of applicants from Abuja and its environs who were subjected to a one-day training program. At the end of the training exercise, the best applicants were selected to serve as enumerators and supervisors.³³ The enumerators visited the various villages and farms and conducted census of the various households, farms and economic assets of the inhabitants of the new

territory. The supervisors on their part did not only supervise the enumerators but also ensured accuracy of the census.³⁴ This was another instance in which the people of Abuja town and its environs assisted the FCDA with the needed manpower to develop the new capital territory.

Early in 1978 before completing the ecological survey, the then Military Head of State, General Olusegun Obasanjo visited the new territory to assess the level of work done. According to an informant, among those who went out to the border between Abuja town and the new territory to give a warm welcome to Obasanjo were the FCDA staff, the team of the ecological and some staff and people of Abuja town.³⁵ This visit was historic in the annals of Abuja town as the second Military Head of State, the first being that of General Yakubu Gowon in 1972. During this visit, Obasanjo applauded the sacrifice and commitment of the people of Abuja town in particular and Niger State as a whole to the establishment and development of the new territory. He reiterated the support of the Federal Military Government to upgrade some of the town's basic infrastructure, such as roads, hospitals, electricity and water equipment. An informant who was present during the visit informed us that Obasanjo categorically pledged to construct a dual carriage way to link the new capital territory with Minna through Abuja town.³⁶ Unfortunately, almost four decades after the establishment of the FCT, the Federal Government could not fulfill its promise to the people of Abuja town and the Niger State.

On 15th February, 1979, the International Planning Associates submitted the Master Plan to the FCDA through its Executive Secretary, Alhaji Abubakar Koko. The submission of the master plan enabled the FCDA to commence developing the capital city. But since the site for building the capital city was virgin, it became imperative for the Authority to construct a temporary office in Abuja town to accommodate its entire workforce, including those who were to come from Lagos. In order to secure a site for the proposed Development Base, Mr. Mabolaji Ajose-Adeogun, the Commissioner for Special Duties and the pioneer Chairman FCDA, wrote a letter to the Military Governor of Niger State, Commander Murtala Nyako, requesting him to assist the FCDA to secure a suitable site for the Development Base. (See Appendix I)

Through the Emir of Abuja, the Niger State Government secured a 50 hectares land at the outskirts of Abuja town to the FCDA. The land was a farmland belonging to the people of Dawaki and Unguwar Kabula who used it for rainy and dry season farming. The stream of Kwamba which naturally divides the site into two sections passes through the Field Base and empties its waters into the Iku River. In order to acquire the site, the

FCDA contacted the Niger State government with a request to construct its temporary Field Base. The FCDA paid N30, 000 as compensation to the entire land.³⁷ This amount was considered to be grossly inadequate by the former owners of the land considering the vastness of the land and the economic trees planted therein. Apart from the inadequate compensation, most of the former owners of the site had to grapple with the problem of securing a new site for farming. As a result of this problem, some of the people ended their farming career.

The FCDA awarded contract for building the Field Base to a foreign registered company known as Wimphy.³⁸ Some local construction companies were also awarded contracts for some minor works at the site. One of these local companies, according to an informant, was Techno Engineering Company.³⁹ Similarly, some prominent personalities in the town supplied sand and also assisted in recruiting labour on site. These included Alhaji Halidu Adamu MaiShanu (HAM), Alhaji Lokoja and Alhaji Kuspa.⁴⁰ By 1980, the FCDA completed the construction of a spectacular Field Base in 1980.⁴¹ The FCDA requested the Niger state cabinet office to appoint an accounting officer at the site to oversee finance related issues. Consequently, the cabinet office appointed the pioneer Secretary of Abuja Local Government Council, Alhaji Abdullahi Ladan as the FCDA accounting officer while serving as the Secretary of the Abuja Local Government Council.⁴² Thus, while the edifice was completed, Alhaji Abdullahi Ladanequipped the offices with furniture and other office equipment. Similarly, He also acquired different brands of vehicles for the secretariat.⁴³ According to most of our informants, Alhaji Abdullahi Ladan was a prudent administrator who judiciously used the funds entrusted to him for the purpose of the FCDA Field Base.⁴⁴

For four years, between 1979 and early 1983, the FCDA Field Base in Suleja town was a beehive of activities, where contracts for various construction works at the capital city were awarded. The edifice served both as office and residential accommodation for the entire staff of the FCDA. A two block storey building was constructed which served as the Secretariat. The first Minister of the FCT, Mr. John JatauKadia, the Executive Secretary of the FCDA, Alhaji Abubakar Koko and other high ranking officials of the Authority such as the Directors of Land and Survey, Agriculture, Engineering and Administration had their offices at the secretariat. Similarly, houses were constructed for the Minister and the Executive Secretary, other high ranking officials and the lower cadre of staff.⁴⁵ In addition to offices and houses, the FCDA also constructed recreational facilities for its staff. These included a staff canteen/Club

house, swimming pool, lawn tennis, basket and volley ball pitches. The FCDA also constructed the School of Nursing and Midwifery at the Field Base. At the end of 1979, the FCDA Field Base in Suleja had an estimated 3,000 workers made up of expatriates and Nigerians.⁴⁶

Majority of the unskilled labourers who worked with the various construction companies in the capital city equally lived in rented houses in Abuja town due to affordable accommodation and the proximity of the town to the capital city. Others who could not secure accommodation within the town lived in the communities at the outskirts such as Rafin-Sanyi, Kwankwashe and Madalla. The earliest construction companies such as Dumez, Julius Berger Nigeria Limited and P. W. Nigeria Limited provided long buses to commute their labourers to their respective sites at the capital city in the morning and take them back in the evening. Thus, the first four years (1979-1983) could be regarded as the period for laying the foundation of the capital city, which was planned in Suleja town.

From 1979 onwards, Suleja town became the center of attraction to diverse groups of people from virtually all the States of the Federation and beyond. In addition to the FCDA Field Base workforce, contractors, skilled and unskilled labourers as well as economic migrants settled in the town. Thus, the population of Abuja town, which in 1976 was estimated to be 10, 608 rose to 13, 795 in 1979.⁴⁷ Since then, the population of the town continued to increase, thanks to the establishment of the FCT. (See table 2 for Population Growth of Suleja (Selected Years))

Table 2: Population Growth of Suleja (Selected Years)

Year	Population	Basis of Data
1976	10,608	Niger State Estimate
1979	13,795	Niger State Estimate
1983	17,990	Niger State Estimate
1987	62,580	Niger State Estimate
1991	108,561	National Census Figure
1996	154,606	National Census Figure
2006	216,578	National Census Figure

Source: Alhaji Sa'ud Ibrahim, Head, National Population Commission (NPC), Suleja office, Local Government Secretariat, 2017.

The above table reveals that Suleja town has been witnessing steady increase in population since the establishment of the FCT. It is also glaring from the table that the population of the town geometrically increased as from 1987 reaching its peak of 216,578 in 2006. Thus, the siting of the FCDA Field Base and its proximity to the Federal capital territory was the most important factor for the population growth of Suleja.

Apart from the FCDA workforce of 3,000, some of whom came from their former offices in Lagos, other people migrated to Abuja town as a result of the opportunities offered in the labour market. Yet others migrated to the town because of prospects of profitable commercial activities. Suleja town also hosted the temporary office of the Federal Capital Territory Administration (FCTA) also established in 1980 office in Dawaki from where it coordinated its activities in the capital territory.⁴⁸ Similarly, in the early 1980s, some agencies and parastatals of the FCT also established their temporary offices in Suleja town, from where they provided services to the inhabitants of the FCT. For example, in 1982, the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) Channel 5 was established and commissioned in Suleja by the then Senate President, Joseph Wayas on behalf of President ShehuShagari located at the hill top east of the town.⁴⁹ In the same year, the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) also established its temporary office near the old NEPA office along Sulemanu Barau road.⁵⁰ The location of these media offices in Suleja town promoted Federal Government's policies and created awareness about the activities of the Federal Government through its agency, the FCDA, in developing the new capital territory. In addition, through the various programmes they broadcasted, these media outfits promoted peace and enhanced inter-group relations among the diverse groups of people in the FCT. It is important to note that even though these media outfits were intended to serve the inhabitants of the FCT, the inhabitants of Suleja were also beneficiaries. Suleja, being the headquarters of Suleja Local Government Area of Niger State, was not provided with radio and television booster stations by the State government. The inhabitants of Suleja relied on the FCT media outfits temporarily located in the town for news about happenings within the FCT, Nigeria and the world at large as well as entertainments such as local and international movies, music and adverts. With these media outfits in Suleja, the inhabitants were better informed with happenings in the FCT than happenings in Niger state.

It is worthy to note that private organizations were also not left out in taking advantage of the siting the FCDA Field Base in Suleja town. Between 1980 and 1983, private organizations also sited their offices temporarily in

the town for their businesses. For example, between 1982 and 1983, the UTC, CFAO and SCOA established their respective Motor Garages for sale of vehicles and maintenance.⁵¹ These motor garages were patronized mostly by the new immigrants who relocated to the town from Lagos and other parts of the country.

With the acceptance of the Master Plan in February, 1979 construction works in the capital city began in earnest. From the Field Base in Suleja, contracts for the construction of the new phase of buildings in the capital city were awarded to various construction companies. Staff of various departments and units of the FCDA commuted daily from Suleja to the capital city to supervise the construction works.⁵² By 1983 significant progress in construction works had been made in the capital city.

For the next 10 years starting from 1983 to 1991 when the temporary offices of the FCT relocated to the capital city with the seat of the Federal Government finally moving from Lagos to the new territory, Suleja continued to play the role of unofficial satellite town to the FCT. Its proximity and easy accessibility to the capital city, attracted most of the federal civil servants who came from Lagos and could not secure accommodation in the capital city secured it in Suleja town. Others resolved to move to the town due to the historic role the town played between 1976 and 1983. What further attracted the influx of people to Suleja was the existing infrastructure like electricity, portable water, and access road to the capital city, schools, hospitals and clinics.

Naming and Consolidation of the FCT

The new capital territory existed for close to three years without a name. From 1976 to 1979 it was known as the Federal Capital Territory only. During this period, the FCDA was pre-occupied with conducting ecological, geological and demographic surveys with a view to ascertaining, among other things, the location of the new Federal Capital City and the preparation of a master plan for the territory. It was only after these issues were squarely addressed that the Federal Government began contemplating on what name it should give to the new capital territory.

The task for the search for a name for the new capital territory was given to the FCDA early in 1978.⁵³ The Board of the FCDA, in its quest to find a suitable name, following the example of some new capitals abroad, such as Dodoma, the new capital of Tanzania, Canberra, the new capital of Australia, Brasilia, the new capital of Brasil, New Delhi, the new capital of India, Islamabad, the new capital of Pakistan, set up a panel. The panel was chaired by Justice Fiebai Owen with a mandate to find an appropriate

name for the new capital territory. The panel swung into action by requesting the general public to send memoranda and suggestions on the subject matter. Before the expiration of the deadline it set, the panel received memoranda from the general public and collated suggestions contained in newspapers in the form of feature articles or letters to the editors of some national dailies.⁵⁴ Among the names suggested to the panel were Gurara, Gwari and Koro. While Gwari and Koro were the dominant ethnic groups in the FCT, Gurara is the name of the most important river in the FCT which traverses its entire western part from north to south. The Gurara River also extends to the vicinity of the Suleja Emirate with a water fall, a distance of about 40 kilometers away from Suleja town. In making its recommendations, the panel was guided by the prevailing wisdom at the time of naming states and other institutions after physical features such as rivers and other important landmarks.⁵⁵ In the series of meetings it held, the panel scrutinized the various names suggested and recommended Gurara to the Board of the FCDA. It is most likely that the panel resolved not to recommend the name of any of the largest ethnic groups in the territory such as Gwari and Koro in order not to cause any agitations by the other ethnic groups in the future.

After the panel submitted its recommendations to the Board of the FCDA, the Supreme Military Council took a rather different decision. It thus appeared that the panel's assignment ended in futility, as its recommendations were swept under the carpet. The Supreme Military Council was disposed to naming the new capital territory Abuja, but it did not want to call it the New Abuja so as to avoid confusion. The decision of the Supreme Military Council to opt for Abuja may not be unconnected with the role played by Abuja town which ceded the largest portion of its land to the establishment of the new capital territory. Thus, the Supreme Military Council chose Abuja and not Gurara which was recommended by the panel. Abuja, which had also been the capital of the Abuja Local Government Area since 1976, dated back to 1828. Before the Supreme Military Council opted for the name Abuja, it contacted Colonel Oni, the then Military Administrator of Niger State and informed him of its decision to adopt the name Abuja.⁵⁶ In a swift response, Col. Oni informed Emir Sulemanu Barau that the Federal Military Government wished to name the new FCT, Abuja and if the Emir agreed, the people of Abuja should get a new name for their town because the Federal Government did not want to have two names, i.e. old Abuja and new Abuja. The Emir thanked the Governor and requested him to give him time to discuss the issue with his Council Members. The town of Abuja was thus faced with two daunting

tasks: relinquishing its age long name and finding a new, suitable and acceptable one. Sequel to the Federal Government's appeal, the Emir discussed the matter with some of his Council members, such as the Madawakin Zazzau, Alhaji ShuaibuNa'ibi, the Galadima, Alhaji ShuaibuBarde and the Wambai, Alhaji AliyuBisalla who unanimously suggested to the Emir that the town be named after him, i.e. Suleja.⁵⁷Suleja was the combination of the first four letters of the name of the incumbent Emir, Sule and the last two letters of the name of the founder of the town, Ja. The Emirate Council members argued that relinquishing the name of Abuja to the new capital territory will forever remind the entire people of the town, particularly the Zage-zagi of Sarki Abuja, the founder and first Sarki of the town. In other words, using Abuja as the name for the new capital territory was a way of immortalizing Sarki Abuja, the founder and first Sarki of Abuja and also an honour to the people. Alhaji Sulemanu Barau donated one of his paraphernalia, the Horse Rein as a symbol of relinquishing large part of his territory in 1976 and the name of his town Abuja in 1979 to the Supreme Military Government.⁵⁸By 1979 therefore, the town had existed for 150 years. Unfortunately, Alhaji Sulemanu Barau could not live beyond 1979 to see the developments his town witnessed after the sacrifices it made to the Federal Government. He died in 1979 after a protracted illness in a hospital at Zaria, Kaduna State and was succeeded by Alhaji Ibrahim Dodo Musa, the seventh Emir of Suleja.

After the Suleja Emirate Council agreed to cede its former name to the Federal Government, the Supreme Military Council officially named the new Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.⁵⁹In order to give the name Abuja a legal or constitutional backing, section 3(5) of the Amended 1979 Constitution states thus: "The Federal Capital Territory shall be Abuja which shall be as defined in part II of the first schedule of this Constitution."⁶⁰ Several attempts were made by some people who did not know the historical evolution of the name Suleja to corrupt the name by giving it different connotations like Sule-ja (meaning Sule the red), Sulai-ja (meaning red coin) and Sule-ija (meaning Sule of Ija), Ija being two separate settlements formerly under Abuja Local Government, one inhabited by the Gbagyi and the other by the Koro. However, these attempts were not successful. Until fairly recently, some people from core Hausa villages, towns and cities in the northern part of Nigeria have been referring to Suleja as Abuja or vice versa. Some have called the town by the two names combined, i.e. Suleja-Abuja.

Describing the role played by the former Abuja in a poetic form, the late General MammanVatsa had this to say:

Abuja was my town
but the nation asked for her.
I kept her and then gave the name to our nation.
Suleja is now my town
and Abuja our town.
I once owned Abuja
but now Abuja owns me.⁶¹

Consolidation of the FCT

In order to begin work in the 256 square kilometers Gwagwa plains identified by Mabogunje's team as the site for the capital city, the FCDA identified the indigenous people inhabiting the site for compensation and relocation outside the capital city. For example, the inhabitants of Wuse were relocated to the new Wuse in the present day Tafa Local Government Area of Niger state. Similarly, the people of Gawu were also relocated to the New Gawu in the present day Gawu Babangida Local Government Area of Niger State. The next stage after evacuating the communities was to clear the site for construction work to begin. After the site was cleared, the FCDA constructed housing infrastructure and accommodated the federal civil servants who came from the Ministries of Defense, National Planning, Finance, Justice and Internal Affairs in Lagos.⁶² Those who could not secure accommodation in the capital city settled in Suleja town from where they commuted to the capital city. By the end of 1982, most of the development in the area termed "Accelerated District", which was to house some 22,000 residents had been completed, with proper sewage and waste disposal system,⁶³ thanks to the efforts of President Alhaji ShehuShagari, who favored speedy development of the capital city. Without the efforts of Shagari, the development of Abuja and the entire territory would have been slower than it happened.

The FCDA equally made provision for other infrastructural services for the comfort of the occupants of the first phase of houses. The FCDA provided an elaborate network of transportation system in the capital city. It began with road then later airport and a proposed railway system. The various sections of the capital city were linked with each other through the provision of a good road network. From 1979 when road construction began to the early 1980s, a total of about 183 kilometers of roads had been constructed within the Abuja Municipal Area Council.⁶⁴ Thus, by the

early 1980s, the capital city was not only linked to the other parts of the territory by road but the entire country as well as Suleja. To access the capital city and the territory by air, the construction of the Abuja Airport located 45 kilometers west of the capital city, which commenced in 1979, was completed in 1982 and named NnamdiAzikiwe International Airport.⁶⁵

The social and economic life of the inhabitants of the new city was boosted by the FCDA, through the support it received from the Federal Government. Thus, in 1979, the FCDA provided electricity to the first phase of houses in the capital city, which included Wuse and Garki. A consortium of consultants was commissioned to prepare a general electricity distribution study. The firm proposed a total of four 330/158 KV sub stations, twenty two 132/33 KV sub stations and a 30megawatts gas turbine plant. This became one of the sources of power supply to the new capital city. With anticipated population of 3.10 million,⁶⁶ the consortium also proposed the provision of 300 megawatts gas turbine plant to serve as a stand-by source of power to the capital city.⁶⁷ It was expected that electricity generation and distribution to the various parts of the FCT would not be a problem when these projects were completed. These projects were not completed until 2001 when the Katampe Sub station was established.⁶⁸ However, the establishment of the Katampe sub-station did not mean the end of electricity problem in the capital city and the territory at large. From 2010, the capital city and the rest of the territory began to witness shortage of power due to the problem from the national grid and also as a result of increase in the number of subscribers.

Next in importance to power supply is water. The FCDA considered the provision of quality water supply to the inhabitants of the capital city and the territory at large. From the two principal rivers Jabi on the northern section of the city and Usuma in Bwari, the FCDA constructed dams to supply pipe-borne water to the inhabitants of the capital city. Thus, in 1979, the FCDA constructed the Jabi water scheme for the inhabitants of the capital city.⁶⁹ In the course of developing the capital territory, additional water schemes were provided to complement the Jabi water scheme. Thus, in 1987, the FCDA constructed the Lower Usuma dam in Bwari to complement the Jabi water scheme.⁷⁰ With the completion of these water schemes, the inhabitants of the capital city and some part of the territory began to enjoy portable water supply.

In the area of education, in 1986, the FCDA established the Education Department of the FCT to provide educational services to the residents of the capital city and the territory at large. Consequently, the FCDA constructed a number of primary and post-primary schools in the capital

city, such as Garki, Wuse, Asokoro and Maitama to cater for both the children and wards of the people moving into the territory from various parts of Nigeria and the indigenous population. Similarly, other public educational institutions were established at the Area Councils such as Gwagwalada, Kwali, Abaji, Kuje and Bwari.

In the health sector, the FCDA realized the importance of provision of proper health care facilities to the residents of the capital city and the entire territory. Thus, from 1980 to the 1990s, the FCDA established hospitals, such as Wuse, Maitama and Asokoro General Hospitals. Others were constructed at the satellite towns, such as Gwagwalada, Bwari, Kuje, Kwali and Abaji.⁷¹ In 1999, the National Hospital Abuja was established under Decree 36 of 1999 with 850 bed-spaces as National Hospital for Women and Children. It was commissioned by General Abdussalami Abubakar on 22 May 1999 and renamed the National Hospital Abuja on 10th May 2000.

In order to provide the residents of the new capital territory with modern buying centers, from 1979, the FCDA began to construct modern markets and shopping centers in strategic locations in the capital city and elsewhere in the territory. These modern markets and shopping centers operated on daily bases to enable the residents do their shopping at any time of the day. Some of these early modern buying centres in the capital city included the Wuse Modern market and Areas I and II shopping centres. Other services were provided by the FCDA in the capital city. These included communication services such as postal services and comprehensive digitalization of the telephone and telex exchange from the former analogue system, the first to enjoy such service in Nigeria among other privileges in the communication sector.⁷²

The capital territory was also provided with proper banking services. By 1985, some banks established their branches and began operation in Wuse and Garki in the capital city. These included the Bank of the North, Union Bank and First Bank.⁷³ These banks also established branches at the Area Councils of the FCT, such as Gwagwalada, Abaji, Kuje, Kwali and Bwari.

The provision of the aforementioned basic infrastructure marked the consolidation of the capital city and the entire territory. The period from 1979 to 1985 also marked the implementation of the Abuja Master Plan. During this period, the FCDA exercised a great deal of caution in the implementation of the Master Plan. However, this is not to say that the Master Plan was implemented in its entirety. There were distortions here and there at minimal level.

After much development in the provision of housing and office accommodations as well as other critical infrastructures in the capital city in 1983, the various FCT establishments, agencies and parastatals temporarily sited in Suleja relocated to their respective permanent sites in the various parts of the city and the territory. For example, at the end of 1985, all the senior and junior staff of the FCDA Field Base in Suleja relocated to the new FCDA Secretariat at Area Eleven and their housing accommodation. The relocation of the FCDA to the capital city further facilitated the development of the capital city and the territory at large. Henceforth, the development of the FCT was coordinated directly from the FCDA Secretariat in the capital city.

As the FCDA relocated to the capital city, the fate of the former FCDA Field Base in Suleja came to the fore. In 1985, the Suleja Local Government had taken control of the Field Base but they were forcefully ejected by the officers of the 313 Battalion of the Nigerian Army.⁷⁴ Between 1985 and 1990, the Armies were later joined by staff of the Presidency, Ministry of Education, Legion members and some civilians. From 1985 to 2007, that was a period of 22 years after the relocation, the former FCDA Field Base remained outside the control of the Suleja Local Government. Thus, the earlier promise by the FCDA to hand over the edifice to the Suleja community after they relocated to the capital city remained a mirage. This was a serious setback to the people of Suleja and the Niger State government who intended to use the entire facilities at the Field Base for the development of Suleja.

The Suleja community made concerted efforts to take possession of the edifice but to no avail. For example, in 2005, the Galadiman Zazzau Suleja, Alhaji Rabi'uIshaq complained to the then Minister of the FCT, Mallam Nasir el-Rufa'i, about the status of the Field Base.⁷⁵ In a swift response, on 23 December, 2005, the former Minister wrote a letter to the Secretary to the Government of the Federation, informing him of the status of the Field Base in Suleja and the need to ask the occupants to vacate and allow the full takeover of the former Field Base Suleja by Niger State. The combined efforts of the Suleja community and Nasir el-Rufa'i did not yield any positive result.

In another spirited drive to take control of the former FCDA Field Base Suleja, following an information that the Presidential Implementation Committee on the sales of Federal Government Property included the former FCDA Field Base Suleja on list of Federal Government properties to be sold, on 11th April, 2007, with the support of the Emir of Zazzau Suleja, Mallam Muhammad Awwal Ibrahim, the Suleja Development

Association (SUDA), wrote a letter to the then President and Commander in Chief of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, GCFR. In the letter, SUDA reminded President Obasanjo that it was under his regime as the Military Head of State in 1977 that Mr. AjoseAdeogun, the then Commissioner for Special Duties and pioneer Chairman, FCDA, wrote a letter dated 11th August, 1977 that the Field Base in Suleja when constructed will be used for 3-4 years after which it will be handed over to the Niger State Government as the Authority's contribution to the community development in the area as a sign of appreciation of the cooperation of the State. (See Appendix III) The Suleja Development Association copied the then Honourable Minister of the FCT Nasir el-Rufa'i. Less than a month after he received the copy of the letter SUDA wrote to Obasanjo, precisely on 2nd May, 2007, the Honourable Minister, Mallam Nasir el-Rufa'i, wrote another letter to President Olusegun Obasanjo in support of the letter SUDA wrote to President Obasanjo on the status of the FCDA Field Base Suleja. El-Rufa'i also pleaded with President Obasanjo to remove the FCDA Field Base Suleja from the mandate of the Presidential Implementation Committee on Sale of Federal Government Property in keeping with the pledge by the Federal Government of Nigeria in 1977 to do same and also to approve the handover. These efforts yielded fruitful results, when on 30th of October, 2007, the Federal Government through Alhaji Modibbo, the then Honourable Minister of the FCT, handed over the Field Base to Suleja community through the Niger State Government.⁷⁶ This means that the edifice was handed over to the community after 30 years instead of the 3-4 years the FCT pledged to hand it over. Clearly therefore, without the concerted efforts by the Suleja community particularly the incumbent Emir, Mallam Muhammad Awwal Ibrahim, the Suleja Development Association under the able leadership of its President, the Galadiman Zazzau Suleja, Alhaji Rabi'uIshaq, the FCDA Field Base Suleja would have remained outside the control of the Suleja Local Government. Having grabbed the ownership and control of the former FCDA Field Base, the Suleja community under the leadership of the incumbent Emir, the Galadima, Rabi'uIshaq and other stake holders pleaded with the management of the Niger State University, Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida University, Lapai (IBBUL) to site one of its faculties in the edifice. The Niger State Government rebuilt the fence of the Field Base and also constructed a mighty gate.

The next FCT establishment to relocate out of Suleja was the Federal Capital Territory Administration (FCTA). But unlike the FCDA which relocated to Area Eleven in the capital city, the FCTA relocated to

Gwagwalada satellite town in 1983, where it operated for a period of two years. The relocation to Gwagwalada was due to the exigency of the time, when the Civilian regime of Alhaji ShehuShagari favored the speedy development of the capital city and the entire territory. After operating for two years in Gwagwalada, the FCTA relocated to its main office in the capital city in 1985.⁷⁷

Other FCT agencies and parastatals also relocated out of Suleja to their respective locations in the capital city after the completion of their various building structures. In 1985, the Nigerian Television Authority NTA Abuja Channel 5 relocated to its main building in Area 10 in the capital city.⁷⁸ In the same year, the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) relocated to its office in Gwagwalada. The School of Nursing and Midwifery located at the Field Base also relocated to Gwagwalada satellite town in the same year. Most of the workforce of FCDA and the various parastatals and agencies moved into the housing accommodation provided for them in the capital city. Others who could not secure accommodation in the capital city remained in Suleja where they commuted to and from Abuja daily.

By the end of 1983, the Civilian regime of Alhaji ShehuShagari, which accelerated the development of the new capital territory, was toppled through a coup d'état by the Military. General MuhammaduBuhari became the Head of State. General Buhari thus spearheaded the development of the new capital territory for a period of eighteen months.

By 1985, the Buhari regime was toppled by General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida who, in addition to the development of the capital territory, began spirited efforts to transfer the seat of the Federal Government from Lagos to Abuja amidst strong opposition. For example, the late Chief ObafemiAwolowo is said to have strongly kicked against transferring the seat of the Federal Government. In 1991, General Babangida, took the bull by the horn and transferred the seat of the Federal Government from Lagos, the former capital to Abuja, fifteen years after the establishment of the FCT. Without the efforts of General Babangida, the new FCT would have remained an abandoned project. The city of Lagos would have remained Nigeria's Seat of Government. From 1985 when Babangida took over to 1991 when the Seat of Government was successfully transferred to Abuja, Suleja continued to attract influx of peoples from all walks of life. These included the low and middle income earners in the federal civil service, staff of various parastatals and agencies and the private organizations and the economic migrants. Thus, Suleja began to play the role of an unofficial satellite town of the Federal Capital Territory.

Conclusion

This paper examined the role played by Suleja in laying the foundation, consolidation and naming of the new FCT, Abuja from 1976 to 1991. The paper observed the dynamics of the politics and policies of the Federal Government to that effect. The paper also showed that it was after that the government was able to recover from the initial shock of development that attention was shifted from Suleja to the new capital city in particular and the territory at large. Due to these developments many people and establishments had their housing and estates for their teeming workers in Suleja.

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The Colonial State and Emergence of Kaduna as Capital City, 1913-1917

Vivian Patrick Inyang

Abstract

This paper examined the colonial administration of Kaduna from 1913-17, through focusing on the development of Kaduna. Kaduna, being a colonial creation was under Zaria Province, prior to British incursion had a political organised system of administration under the direct authority of the Emir, the British after establishing their rule, transformed this system of administration from a pre-colonial to colonial administration, and within the colonial administration of inherited pre-colonial situation, became dominantly a direct administration at the capital territory that attracts all the provinces of northern Nigeria. The study argues that the establishment of colonial administration in the area was faced with problems which led to boundary re-adjustment, organisation and re-organisation of political jurisdiction due to the nature of administration established in the area. The methodology used two principal sources broadly categorized as primary and secondary sources and adopted a qualitative approach. The findings of the study revealed that due to the nature of colonial bureaucracy in the area, the administration which was established in Kaduna was a direct system. Yet there was still evidence of indirect rule system in the area, coupled with the fact that the colonial administration was exploitative in nature. The policies adopted by colonial bureaucrats separated the people, and failed to establish and harmonise a corporative relationship among the natives, with the further segregation and administrative control of the area, it led to alteration of indigenous political system found in the area prior to British colonial rule.

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Introduction

The paper focuses on how Kaduna was administered, prior its declaration as the capital city of Northern Nigeria and the roles the colonial bureaucrats played in the administrative development of Kaduna. The paper gives a vivid picture of the various groups that participated in running the affairs of the town, the native authority system seated at Zaria, yet controlled the affairs of some part of Kaduna Capital Territory, (KCT), which involves two levels of colonial administration, first the central and direct administration under the Governor, then the created districts administration under the Zaria province, administered by the Emir of Zazzau, head of the Native Administration. The chapter therefore analyzes and discusses these various groups of administrative structure present at this period, this is in order to see whether they worked hand in hand, or contrasted each other's views, in relation to who governed what in Kaduna. Furthermore the emergence of Kaduna as the paper of northern Nigeria will also be discussed in brief as it contributes the take off point of this paper, in other to understand the motive behind the establishment of Kaduna as a capital city of northern Nigeria. This paper does not intend to tackle the vast and complex problems of colonial administration in northern Nigerian, rather, it only seeks to fill in the few gaps left by earlier studies and also discuss the early history of administration in Kaduna area in brief chronology.

Emergence of Kaduna as Capital of Northern Nigeria

On 1 January 1900, at Lokoja the flag of the Royal Niger Company was brought down and the Union jack of Great Britain was hoisted in its place under the leadership of Lieutenant Colonel Frederick D Lugard, the High Commissioner.¹ The British conquest and occupation of Nigeria has been well discussed by earliest writers of the region, therefore emphasis will not be made as regards to it.² The territory that today constitute the country Nigeria was, prior to the beginning of this century (1900-1960) occupied by various degrees of independent ethnic groups and politics. The area which this study is concerned is northern Nigeria, there were to a large extent politics at the local level in area covering the Sokoto caliphate the Sheikdom of Borno, the Igala kingdom, the Jukun States. Large ethnic groups like the Gbagyi, the Igbira, the Idoma, the Tiv, and many other smaller ethnic groups were at varying stages of their political formation. The Southern part of the country emerged at the latter part of the century large political ethnic groups such as the Alafinate, the Benin Kingdom, the city states of the Niger delta and minor ethnic groups like the Igbo, Efik, Ibibio, Ogoja, Urhobo at varying stages of their political development.³ All

of these communities at one point or the other developed their cultural, social as well as political life in relationship with each other. According to Kwanashie, over time, the relationship with each other varied sometimes, peaceful, competitive and antagonistic.⁴ In spite of the idea to form a definite political administration in the country, it was not fully achieved not until the coming of the British colonialist in the region who made sure the entire region came under one political administration. Thus, the British administration provided for an administratively and politically distinct North within the Nigerian polity in which the present day Kaduna is located.⁵

Many have written about the emergence of Kaduna as a capital city, ranging from town planners, Geographers, political scientist, historians among others, and reasons given as to why the town became the capital city of the then Northern Nigeria. The essence of this emphasis is not to buttress what other have said already, rather to highlight and fill the loop holes against the background and reason the city became the capital of Northern Nigeria. Capital cities emerged as a result of colonial creation for reasons which they alone found very attractive, for instance, Makurdi which became a colonial creation in 1912 developed as a result of the small settlement of Uke traders during 1912.⁶ In the same vein, Jos became an urban city in 1912 under the supervision of C.L Temple, the establishment of Jos was founded to facilitate the exploitation of the Jos mines.⁷ According to Kantiyok, Kafanchan became an urban center with the presence of railway station, which pass through Manchok to Jos was recommended by the Railway officials and Engineers in 1926. Kafanchan Junction was chosen as a meeting point for the east and west lines.⁸ Eze point as to why Enugu became a capital city is not farfetched from others mentioned above. As he brings home this point that the importance of Enugu started in 1918 when it was declared as a second class town on account of the mine town being linked with a railway in 1916 (the Bitumen Coal in Udi). And since 1929, Enugu (the Coal City) has played the role of a capital city in Nigeria.⁹ The city recorded massive influx of immigrates in the likes of European, Asian, African as well as local and international trading companies, and businessmen as a result of the mining activities, which gave the town a new look.

In the case of Kaduna, it is also similar to those discussed earlier. Its development as a capital city from 1913 is a direct product of colonial administrative policy. However, reasons for the change of capital from Zungeru to Kaduna were based on a whole lot of considerations. Kaduna been free from the activities of emirates like Sokoto, and Kano attracted the choice as the capital of Northern Nigeria. According to late Sir Ahmadu Bello who states that, "Kaduna being in the middle of almost uninhabited

bush would have been ideal for the purpose of becoming a capital city”¹⁰ Yisa is of the view that when Lugard first visited Kaduna he fell in love with the vast land, and wrote to the then Emir of Zazzau, requesting to transfer his headquarters from Zungeru to Kaduna, the Emir who never welcomed the idea, had no option than to agree with Lugard. Couple of months later, Labourers and equipment started moving into Kaduna, houses were built basically colonial residents.¹¹ Another point of call is the evidence of railway which pass through to Kano. Earlier before the choice of Kaduna, Kano and Zaria was considered by Lugard, but because he simply wanted to avoid the capital being in the same place as the natives, decided to opt out for Kaduna been totally free from the activities of the inhabitants. Although Jos was chosen on account of the weather condition but lack of accessibility to the main parts of the region made Kaduna to be chosen.

Other capitals such as Lokoja (1900-1902), Jebba (January 1902 - September 1902), and Zungeru (September 1902 - January 1917) were chosen based on similar factor as that of Kaduna which include communication, water, transportation, availability of water and climate.¹² Bako, in discussing the choice of Kaduna, buttressed that Lokoja was abandoned as a capital early in 1901, considering the health and safety of colonial officials.¹³ According to Lugard, moving the capital out of Lokoja became necessary in other to avoid the rocks and mosquitoes, most importantly Lokoja became unhealthy for the Europeans.¹⁴ Jebba which became the next capital was soon abandoned because it proved to be unhealthy and dominated by mosquitoes, another reason was because the region produced little for exportation. Zungeru chosen because of its strategic location in the northern region, which with the vast land therein also lacked a political system strong enough to question the British settlement in the area. Zungeru which served its purpose was soon abandoned as others and according to Percy Girouard the acting administrative Head of Northern Nigerian said:

...the situation in Zungeru did not change in spite of the measures taken to keep down bush...it is certainly a trying and depressing situation as Zungeru was excessively hot with its environment infested with mosquitoes...¹⁵

Kaduna shares obvious affinities with towns in Africa, which are also products of colonialism (Exploitation and domination). The quest to seek for a place free from indigenous activities which Oyedele call “Virgin land” and the exploitation of cash crops which was abundant in the Zaria region.

We see here how the core-periphery is been practice, in that the surplus derived from Zaria region which was booming economically during the colonial period, was used to develop the core which is Kaduna at the expense of the periphery. The fact that Kaduna during this period was not as developed as Zaria, but was chosen because of it's absent from native activities.¹⁶ Lugard, cautious of the fact that Zaria was already dominated by the affairs of Zazzau, decided to use the area as a major source of their raw material, in other to develop the a suitable administrative center.

Against the background mentioned, it will be concluded that Kaduna made the capital was based on a whole lot of considerations and recommendation of key characters like Dr H. Andrew who visited Birnawa in 1913 as the sanitary officer. He was of the view that the condition of the area was more suitable than that of Zungeru as a place of residence for the Europeans.¹⁷ From the above discourse, it is quite clear that the dominant factors that recommended Kaduna as the capital were political, geographical and strategic. Politically there was the need to avoid the emirates as the need for a site where they can fully be in control of indigenious activities. Centrality as well as communication and transportation network were relevant in military and strategic considerations of the choice. Lugard reason for the choice of Kaduna was:

I recommend therefore, that the capital should be moved to the point where the railway having reached the top of the plateau at altitude of over 61 meters, again crosses the river Kaduna at 921 kilometers from Lagos. The climate here is invigorating, the soil is good and adapted for vegetable and flower gardens, the water supply pure and inexhaustible, and the site is within 1km of the great trade center of Zaria.¹⁸

Existing studies upholds Lugard reasons for the relocation of the capital of Northern Province, as stated above but consideration was made to the fact that the buildings at Zungeru were losing shape and possibly inure much expenses in repairing the buildings which were already in bad shape, so it was necessary to transfer the headquarters of Northern Nigerian Government to Kaduna. The monthly maintenance of Zungeru requires much money and it will be economically and materially unwise to remain in Zungeru when there is so much to be gained by moving to Kaduna.¹⁹

The Northern Nigeria Central Administration

As at December 1899, when Lugard took over the administration from the Royal Niger Company, the union flag was hoisted in place of the

company's at 7:20 am at Lokoja, 1 January 1900.²⁰ Even after Lokoja became the capital of the northern region, Lugard wasted no time in sending out survey parties to examine the northern part of the country especially north of the Niger, between the river Kaduna and eastern highlands of Bautshi.²¹ Following the report given to Lugard by Mr Wallace, Lugard took advantage of the fact that the representatives according to him were of ethnic groups whose country the new administrative centre would be located, came bringing presents to seek the protection of the Europeans in 1899 and these ethnic groups were eager to welcome the Europeans. Lugard ceased the opportunity to send in survey parties to observe the northern region for a better center. Lieutenant-Colonel Morland took large of one party with a fighting force in case of resistance and hostilities from the Emirs of Bida, Zaria and Kontagora, Lugard's instructions was to "survey the course of the Kaduna as far as Ghierko, together with the country to the east towards the Gurara River".²² His party among several others was instructed to avoid violence and use every possible means to win the confidence of the people whose territories they trespass.

The evolution of central administration in northern Nigerian began with the conquest of the area, shortly after the conquest of Sokoto, Borno and other areas, the British established provinces with the residents, reporting to the governor. The residents receives reports from various provinces, in which by the end of the year a report is written and sent to the High commissioner in person of Lugard which he then send to the secretary of state for the colonies. An instance below where Lugard wrote a report to the secretary of the state for colonies for the year ending 1902, this simply indicates the process of central administration in northern Nigeria.

F. Lugard to Mr. Chamberlain.
September 2nd, 1903.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit my Annual Report for the year 1902, and, since the events (in connection with the campaign against Kano, & co.) which were in progress at the end of the year have extended over the first part of 1903, I have ventured to include this period in the report in order to avoid as far as possible breaking off in the midst of an incomplete narrative. This Report was written on my way home last May, and I very greatly regret the delay which has occurred in submitting it. This has been due to the fact that I have awaited replies to certain queries I had sent to Northern Nigeria. These replies have not yet reached me, but I feel I can no longer defer the submission of the Report.

I am, & C.,
F. D. LUGARD.²³

Long before the British took over the administration of the place called Nigeria, certain kinds of administration was flourishing in the northern, eastern and western kingdoms. The north, which is the focus of our study, existed a feudal system of government which the northerners adopted and certain powers was vested on the head of the administration know as the Emir.²⁴ The northern society was a complex one; it was heterogeneous in structure, but varied in size, language, people and culture, race and religion. The traditional forms of government in Northern Nigeria outside Hausaland varied widely, though many areas of the predominantly pagan Middle Belt were to varying extents integrated into the administrative superstructure of the northern emirates. The institutions of traditional local government in the Kanuri area of Bornu and the Nupe area were similar to the emirates of Hausaland. In the Middle Belt the system of traditional government varied from divine kingdoms to the non-centralized communities of Tivland. Shortly after the British conquest of Nigeria, there was a need for a central administration in which the entire country can be administered from. There was now the need for a central location suitable enough for the running of the day to day affairs of the country (reasons stated earlier) after much search and a decision was reached, Kaduna became the choice of Lugard and was made the capital of Northern Nigeria in 1917. The entire country was been administered after the 1914 amalgamation, from Kaduna which was the seat of the Governor General, the issue of taxation, development, administration was all controlled from Kaduna.²⁵

The Northern Nigerian central administration was headed by the Governor General, who was in control of the administration of Nigeria in terms of health and others, they made provision for the establishment of medical department, administrative, professional, higher technical and clerical, training of staff, both government and native administration, for all branches of medical and health services, research, experiment and investigations.²⁶ The Governor's control over the administration of Nigeria was achieved in two ways. The first was the government secretariat located in Lagos and organized into a number of departments which were represented in the headquarters of the constituent, the second medium in which the governor used was the appointment of officers appointed to run the colonial government at the provincial level, and were called Residents.

The nature and the essence of colonial urban administration is seen as the application of the principles of indirect rule. In this connections, the administrative control of indigenous towns involved strengthening the powers of Emirs in the northern region and their councils under the close supervision of the residents. Since Lugard and his lieutenants observed

that they could not do away with the indigenous ruling class without tremendous cost of men and money, to avoid all problems, Lugard decided to adopt the position of the already existing native authority system to continue playing their roles in the Northern Province. The native administration headed by the Emir, replete with the native treasury, native courts systems, a bureaucracy, police and prisons. Under the new system of indirect rule the protectorate of Northern Nigeria was divided into provinces, and later divisions. A division was under a district Officer (D.O) and a province under a Resident. The District Officer who supervised the Emir was responsible to the Resident while the Resident was in turn responsible to the High Commission who was in charge of the Entire Protectorate.

The hierarchy of the colonial state in Zaria province was headed and run by the Resident as the chief implementing power with relative jurisdiction on policy initiation at that particular provincial level. Following the Resident were the District Officers (D.Os) and their Assistant District Officers (A.D.Os) responsible for the number of districts approved in the province, and the other Native Authority officials. The Emir (*Sarki*), District heads (*Hakimai*), Village heads (*Dagatai*), the Ward heads (*Masuunguma*) and other supporting staff to these aristocrats constituted the Native administration responsible for carrying out all work and implementing all laws enacted and designed for implementation by the British government to the full satisfaction of the state. This meant that the form of relationship built between the Resident, D.Os and A.D.Os on the one hand with the emir, district and village heads as in the case of the province also obtained at the protectorate government level initially under the High commissioner and later Governor General with the Colonial office in London headed by the British Under Secretary of State who was reporting to the British parliament and the Crown. This hierarchy of the ruling class constituted what was referred to as the colonial state that served as the main instrument of all laws and policies for the creation and entrenchment of the colonial economy in colonial Nigeria. This can be further understood from the bulk of colonial records which have been serving as sources for carrying out research work on the various aspects of colonial history in Nigeria. At the highest level of the colony, the colonial reports were compiled and sent on annual basis to the British parliament for a general assessment and review of the colonial administrative policies in line with the prevailing needs and aspirations of the metropolitan political economy.

The native administration did not have any sovereign power at all. It merely implemented only those political and economic decision made by

the governor through the Resident, its Chief functions being mainly tax collection, recruitment of labour and policing the area. Lugard's definition of indirect rule as cited by Turaki is thus:

The cardinal principle upon which the Administration of Northern Nigerian was based upon what has been commonly called "indirect rule" viz., rule through Native chiefs, who are regarded as an integral part of the machinery of Government, with well-defined powers and functions recognized by Government and law...²⁷

Temple view of indirect rule gave a comprehensive explanation of the word which states:

By indirect rule I mean a system of administration which leaves in existence the administrative machinery which had been created by the natives themselves, which recognizes the existence of Emirs, Chiefs, and native Councils, native courts, pagan courts, native police controlled by a native executive, as real living forces... by which Europeans influence is brought to bear on the native indirectly through European officers-political, police, etc. and by which Europeans keeps himself a good deal in the background, and leaves the mass of native individuals to understand that orders which come to them emanate from their own chief rather than from the all-pervading white man.²⁸

The definition by Temple is self-explanatorily, it explains the whole process and ways in which the indirect rule was practiced in northern Nigeria. It was out of the philosophy of indirect rule system, that native administration was developed. It is obvious that the system of indirect rule introduced by the British made use of some emirate leaders, however, Sirajo opines that the impression that the British did not only leave the indigenous administrative institutions of the Emirate intact but reinforcing it is not totally true.²⁹ This is so because according to Abubakar:

The Emir under the British were in many ways different from their 19th century predecessors, firstly, they had little power. The entire new Emir installed by the British had to swear the oath of allegiance in the name of Allah and the Prophet to "well and truly serve his Majesty and his representative the High commissioner" to cherish no treachery and Disloyalty in their hearts to obey the laws of the protectorate (derived not from the Sharia) and lawful commands of the High Commissioner and His Residents.³⁰

It is only fair enough we say that the indirect rule system was not really an indirect system rather, a more direct system of colonial rule, when criticizing this system, Tugwell view was that “Indirect Rule is direct rule by indirect means”.³¹ This is true because the Emir and the Chief whom the British claimed were now at the aim of affairs were not given any power to discharge their duties buy mere responsibilities.

Provincial Administration

A province is a single entity under the control of the Resident in charge. It is divided into “Divisions” under district officers responsible to the resident.³² The emirate of Zaria, for which the N.A. had responsibility, was located in Zaria province during the colonial rule. Just as the northern Nigerian central administration was not proven effective anymore, Lugard saw the need for the region to be govern in piece mill and soon the provincial administration was established in other to get full and total control of the vast land therein. However, the whole idea of a provincial administration was not initiated by Lugard even if today he takes the credit for it, as he was the first High Commissioner of northern Nigeria, one could easily make the mistake of alluring the idea of provincial administration to him. Hannah has shown that the introduction of indirect rule actually pre-dated Lugard.³³ It cannot, however, be denied that it was under Lugard’s leadership that indirect rule became a dominant colonial philosophy in Nigeria.

In July 1898, the Marguess of Salisbury set up a committee to look into the best form of British administration in the Nigerian area, the committee however, recommended that the country be divided into two provinces: the “Soudan” which will incorporate the whole northern region, and the “Maritime” for the entire southern area, they further recommended that each province be overseen by a governor under the direct supervision of the colonial officer.³⁴ It is therefore clear that Lugard was not the architect of provincial administration, but as soon as he became the high commissioner of the northern region, he emerged as the major exponent of the provincial administration in the region. It is only going to be exaggeration to say that any decision of colonial history of northern Nigerian will be compete without reference to Lugard. In-charge of a province was the Resident who was directly under the control of Lugard, the most crucial aspect of the Resident’s role was his relationship with the native population within the province. He was expected to govern this people with the assistance of a few other administrative officers through a system called indirect rule.³⁵ Administratively each province was placed under the control of a Resident while the Divisions were under the supervision of District officers.

The District Officers exercised indirect control over the Emirs who were in-charge of the Emirates, the districts offices in turn were assisted by a number of Assistant District officers (A.D.Os.) the duties of the (D.Os) cumulatively ranges from political to economic, (tax assessment, promotion of agricultural and industrial development to the maintenance of law and order, alongside the construction of facilities for the division in which he resides). The success of the provincial administration rested on the good working relationship between the residents and the N.As this relationship which has been surmounted by the indirect rule system.³⁶ Not-with standing, the residents still uses caution in other to get total compliance from the indigenous people but an instance whereby the Emir is non compliance the resident uses stronger measure in which in most cases can lead to removal or exile of the emir.³⁷ for instance, the direct involvement of the provincial administration in the Zaria N.A. to remove the Sarki Ruwa from his administrative post due to negligence of duties.³⁸ Captain Orr, resident of Zaria province, in his report of the year ending 1905-6, stated that the emir of Zaria, during one of the Sallah, addressed his people on the necessity to obey the government with loyalty and that the headmen should refrain from acts of oppression, he further buttered that the past years had increased his confident in the Emir, and he had been able to hand over many responsibilities to him. One fundamental remark that the emir told his head-men was that the "Resident's words are his words".³⁹ Yahaya was of the view that the provincial administration and the N.A. formed a strong political coalition that controlled the society during much of the period of indirect rule in northern Nigeria.⁴⁰

However, this coalition he believes began to crumble in 1950.⁴¹ In every emirate of northern Nigeria, the success of the British Provincial Administration depended on the good working relationship that existed between the Resident and the Emir. Matters affecting the society were indirectly carried out by the Resident through the Emir, who was responsible for the direct administration of the indigenous people.⁴²

Conclusion

The examination of the emergence of Kaduna from 1913-17 has shown how the administration process started gradually, by first the conquest of the area and the establishment of a central administration, which was basically set out to achieve their economic interest in the region. It is quite obvious from our analysis in this paper, that colonial administration which was imposed in northern Nigeria, was influenced by the economic interest of the British such as the establishment of a central administration, provincial

administration which led to the establishment of the Native authority system, using the emirs to relate to the locals. We have also examined that despite the fact the Emir was the sole authority of the N.A., the colonial state therefore consisted of the hierarchical order of colonial ruling agents from the Village and District headsmen to the Emir at the Native Authority level then to the District officers, their assistants under the Resident. They were in turn responsible to the Regional Governors, to the Governor General then to the Secretary of State for Colonies in London. Following this pattern of appointment, the British took full control of the administration of the district with the Emir merely serving the errand position. Since his appointment, he had no power to appoint or remove any of his officials without approval of the Resident and the Governor General. This paper has however, addressed the gradual formation of administrative system in Kaduna in its formative years 1913-17.

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