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Sporting Activities and Recreational Undertakings among the Jukun People of Nigeria, 1945 to 1990: Traditional Antecedents and Modern Directions

Atando Dauda Agbu
Magaji Peninnah Joseph
Yakubu Aboki Ochefu

Abstract

Sporting activities and recreational undertakings have been part of African way of life for millennia. Prior to the advent of Europeans, Africans had different traditional games, sporting events and recreational undertakings during their leisure time which contributed immensely to their communal, social, physical and economic development. The imposition of British Colonial rule in Jukunland by the early 20th century witnessed the introduction of Western European sporting activities such as football, lawn tennis and other recreational activities like athletics. This paper examines how these modern sporting activities and recreational undertakings contributed to the social, psychological and economic well-being of the Jukun people from 1945-1990. Using a multi-disciplinary approach, the paper interrogates some of the reasons why colonialists imposed their concept of sports and recreation on the Jukun people. Drawing from archival and oral evidence, the paper also shows how the Jukun were able to integrate the various forms of European style sports and leisure with their traditional elements overtime. It concludes that, sports as a critical element of the creative economy, if well harnessed by the Jukun, can cause improvements in not only their physical well-being, but their psychological as well as their social, political and economic well-being.

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Introduction

There are ample evidence that sporting activities and recreational undertakings have enormous social and economic values to a country, a state, a community and a people. There is no sport system in the world that does not have social and/or economic value, but the challenge is maximizing this value. For every resources invested in sporting activities and recreational undertakings there are multiple social and economic benefits such as long-term health benefits, stronger and more secure communities, social cohesion, crime reduction, psychological well-being, improved productivity and employment/income opportunities where participants benefit from developing and improving a variety of skills.

Globally, more and more policy makers are realizing that sports and recreation is more than fun and games. World leaders are increasingly acknowledging that sport and recreation touches virtually every aspect of a nation's ethos, it has proven abilities among others, to bind nations and societies together, to increase sports tourism and contribute to peace and development, to increase social and economic values as well as to enhance healthy and fulfilling lives.

Thus, the commonwealth Heads of Government Working Group in Harare (1995) made the following observation with regard to influence of sport and recreation on society: "It is time that the integral role which sport plays in the process of nation-building is fully recognized. Sport is an investment. It is firstly an investment in the health, vitality and productivity of one's people. It is secondly an investment in their future. The social benefits include an overall improvement in the quality of life and physical, mental and moral well-being of a population". Mandela (2000) observes that "sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire. It has the power to unite people in a way that little else can. Sport can awaken hope where there was previously only despair".

It is consequent on the role and functions of sport and recreation outlined above that, this paper interrogates its contribution on the Jukun society since 1945 when colonial authorities introduced modern sports of tennis and football to them, up to 1990. The paper is divided into sections beginning with the introduction, clarification of basic concepts, origin and development of modern sporting activities and recreation among the Jukun; their contributions to Jukun development; the challenges, suggestions and finally conclusion.

Clarification of Concepts

According to Eco (1994), “Sport is man, sport is society”, emphasizing that sport represents a central cultural place in the mankind civilization. Etymologically, the word sport comes from the Latin word *deporto* meaning to carry around, to deliver and to convey. Its beginning can be traced to the beginning of recorded history i.e. from the days when people organized festivals and various games. In those days, sport was a part of everyday life (Penjak and Karnincic, 2013, p.49). Though there has been much debate over the definition of sport, however there is no universal agreement about the meaning, purpose and organization of sports (Coakley, 2003, p.25). While Banol et’al (2016, p.66) argues that, the sport can be defined as physical action involving competition with challenges by defining certain rules and criteria for determining victory, Minten (2007) adopt the definition of sport in the European sport charter:

Sport embraces much more than traditional team games and competition. Sport means all forms of physical activity which, through casual or organized participation, aim at expressing or improving physical fitness and mental well-being, forming social relationships or continuing results in competition at all levels.

From the foregoing, sport involves physical activities that play many functions in society. Sports have always been involved to support human beings to enhance their command of nature and environment as well as to maintain physical and mental fitness.

Thus, sport not only has economic value, but it is perceived to provide social benefits which include improvements in health and fitness, reduction in anti-social behavior and contribution to quality of life (Gratton and Taylor, 2000). Example of sport include games (traditional and modern) such as football, tennis, wrestling, and athletics and so on. For the purpose of clarity, the paper adopts and defines sport as any activity that requires a significant level of physical involvement and in which participants engage in either a structured or unstructured environment, for the purpose of declaring a winner, though not solely so; or purely for relaxation, personal satisfaction, physical health, emotional growth and development (Survey, 2005) and economic improvement.

Recreation, according to Kraus (2001), was regarded chiefly as a pleasurable and relaxing activity that served to restore and refresh individuals so that they might return to their work with new energy. Today it is understood to be a much more complex phenomenon, with meanings that extend far beyond simple taking part in an activity. The word recreation stems from the Latin word *recreatio*, meaning that which refreshes or restores. Historically,

recreation was often regarded as a period of light and restful activity, voluntarily chosen that permits us to regain energy after heavy work and return to work renewed (Kraus, 2001, p.46). However, considering the limitations of this definition in the modern perspective, based on the fact that many people are becoming more fully engaged, both physically and mentally in their recreation than in their work, recreation can often be defined as voluntary activity that creates a diversion from work. It is a re-energizing, socially acceptable use of leisure time (Mull, Forrester and Barnes, 2013).

Thus, Dada and Ani (2009) sees it as those activities that people do in order to refresh their body and mind. They can be classified into traditional and modern recreation. Recreation is a leisure time experience during which the choices and expected outcomes of participation are left to the individual (Mull, Forrester and Barnes, 2013, p.4). People engage in recreational activities for pleasure and relaxation. Recreation encompasses social, cultural, outdoor, garden, fitness, faith-based, hobby, and sport activities (Mull, Forrester and Barnes, 2013, Pp.4-5). Recreation enhances the physical and socio-economic well-being of the people. Both sport and recreational activities are carried out during leisure time and are thus-leisure activities.

Development of Modern Sports and Recreation among the Jukun

The Jukun people of Nigeria occupy the Benue Valley which falls within the Middle Belt region of Central Nigeria. They are largely concentrated in Taraba State of Nigeria, with their capital in Wukari, the seat of their paramount ruler, the Aku-Uka. A great number of them are found in Benue State, Gombe State, Nassarawa State and Plateau State. There are two contending theories regarding the origin and migrations of the Jukun into their present place of stay. On the one hand is the view that, their world expanded into the Benue Valley from the east moving southward (Palmer 1928, Meek 1931, Sa'ad 1974 and Tamuno 1979).

On the other hand, they expanded from south, moving northward (Greenberg 1948, Shimizu 1971, Erim 1981, Sargent 1999 and Jacobs 2007). Even though this debate is not in the scope of discussion in this article and should be played down, however, it is very important to point out that, by the 17th century, the Jukun were believed to have held sway over the area they occupied now (Sargent 1999, p.232). They evolved a very elaborate but complex political and social life through which the society was stratified. They had leisure time in which they performed social activities such as sports and recreation for fun, pleasure and entertainment. Agbu (2017, p.104) notes that, during their leisure time, the following social activities took place: games, music, songs and dances, accompanied with various types of drumming.

There were thanksgiving festivals among other social activities. These social activities played a vital role in their societal development.

In the area of sport and recreation, they had games such as traditional wrestling called *Anga* which promoted friendship and respect among the Jukun youths; it also promoted inter and intra communal contacts. They also played a game called *Langa*, a physical activity of two competing sides, preparing the youths for combat. There was the *Adzwe*, consisting of two sides of six youths, armed with arrows and spears. Their target was a nut or pumpkin dragged along as the competitors ran after, shooting. These sporting activities inculcated into them how to defend themselves, their communities and their valuables against invading enemies. It also made them resilient and healthy physically and psychologically. Thus it provided them the needed physical and psychological therapy. It contributed to their well-being and enhanced their economic output (Agbu 2017, p.110).

Music, dance, festivals, storytelling and so on were their recreational activities. They played tremendous roles on the Jukun pre-colonial society. Apart from being educative, they inculcated on the Jukun children and youths moral values, norms and cultural maintenance. These activities also contributed to their general well-being physically and psychologically, preparing them for the economic tasks that were to be performed. Nevertheless, new forms of sporting and recreational activities were introduced among the Jukun during the Colonial period. These particularly are the sports of football and tennis; cinema, recreational center and social clubs.

In the late 1940s, the Colonial authority in Wukari Division introduced the tennis game into the area. A lawn tennis court (single) was constructed for their physical fitness and leisure at the present day Little Sunny super market in Wukari (Adamu and Usman 2005, p.201). Thenceforth, Jukun men such as late Manu Adi Byewi, late Usman Sangari, late Jibrin Amfani, Samuel Danjuma Gani, late Danjuma Ahmadu and Jukunson Abama played together with the Colonial officials. Between 1960 and 1990, there was a turning point on the involvement of the Jukun people in the sport of tennis. The number of tennis players grew and the single court was no longer enough for them to play the game at their leisure time and so there was the need for a more spacious place.

Thus, in search for a conducive place, the present Wukari Tennis Club premise was founded along Ibi road, opposite the then Ministry of Works (Adamu and Usman 2005, p.203). A twin-court was constructed in 1967 and it enabled the Jukun tennis players to learn and play for their pleasure and it secured some of them names on the national and international stages.

Such players include late Manu David Bako Agbu, Bulus Hussaini, Mamman Dauda, Musa Bala Habu, Abdulrahman Idi, and Joel Adisoja. On the commissioning of the Wukari Tennis Club in 1967 by the then Aku-Uka Manu Adi Byewi, top Nigerian tennis players such as Mr. Lawrence Awopegba, Mr. Yemisi Allen, Mr. Fidelis Oyogwa, RSM Edward Agori, and Mrs. Iyabo Lawrence Awopegba graced the occasion, it was a big social event. From that period onward, the game of tennis became famous among the Jukun people with many players who played for pleasure, relaxation, fun and economic benefits. Tennis became a very interesting modern sport among the Jukun and through it, some players such as Bulus Hussaini, Joel Adisoja, Abdulrahman Idi went abroad (USA). Ibrahim Sangari notes that:

Some of them even became stars later, not only in the State, but in Nigeria as a whole. As a result of it, Bulus Hussaini came into limelight and later got scholarship to study sport in the United States of America, USA. This had opened the gate for others to follow, and boys, especially those from Wukari are now studying sports in the USA as a result of the noble initiative. It is gratifying to note that, Bulus Hussaini is today the director of sports, Taraba State. I am very proud of him (Adamu and Usman 2005, p.205).

Indeed, Jukun people did exploit in the sport of tennis between 1945 and the 1990s. For instance in 1972, Bulus Hussaini played at the All Nigerian Open Tennis Championship in Lagos; in 1972, Bulus Hussaini became the Benue-Plateau State Champion and in 1973 won the silver and bronze medals during the National Sport Festival in Lagos, in the 18yrs Boys category in doubles and singles respectively.

In 1977 and 1979 National Sport Festival in Kaduna and Ibadan, he won silver medals in the senior men category. In 1980, at the African Senior Championships in Libya, Bulus Hussaini paired with Anthony Momoh and won the African doubles title for Nigeria, and while in the USA, he paired with same Momoh and won the NAIA doubles title in Kansas, Missouri (Agbu, 2017, p.173).

Furthermore, in 1985, Abdulrahman Idi won the singles event during the Under 17 National Sport tagged "Kwara 85". At Abeokuta, during the 16th National Sport Festival, Musa Bala Habu won the singles event (gold). In 1987, Abdulrahman again won the International Tennis Federation (ITF) for 18yrs old of West Africa in Lagos and in 1989, Joel Adisoja gained admission into Livingstone College, USA with full athletic scholarship alongside Abdulrahman Idi (Bulus Hussaini and Joel Adisoja, 2016). In 1993, at the all Federal Government Colleges Games tagged "Azare 93", Agbujoro Agya Agbujoro won the tennis singles boys (gold) and paired with Atoshi

Shekarau to win the doubles boys (Gold). In fact, tennis is accepted by the Jukun people and they performed well between 1945 to the 1990s.

Furthermore, Wukari Tennis Club premise during the period under review was used for other social activities such as corporate meetings, wedding receptions, associations' meetings, birthday parties, and political meetings. This further created sources of income for the locals whenever tournaments were organized and other social activities as highlighted above, (Agbu 2017, p.175). Apart from the sport of tennis, football was also introduced at the beginning among elementary school students in former Wukari Division by the Europeans. In fact, football became generally popular towards the end of Colonialism. After the Colonial administrators had left, the Jukun people took the sport of football very seriously and participated in it competitively. The town team football field was constructed in Wukari in the 1940s and thenceforth, many young men and children in Wukari developed interest in football and it was widely accepted among the Jukun. Ibrahim Sangari notes that:

During my childhood years, one of my past time activity was football. I developed special interest for the game of football right from my elementary school in Wukari. Once it was evening time, nothing could attract my attention again but football. I used to organize football competitions among the youths in my ward, (Adamu and Usman, 2005, p.43).

This was the extent to which the sport of football was accepted among the Jukun during the Colonial period. In the Benue Province Annual Report of 1948, it is noted that:

The Colonial government made grants available for the promotion of games and athletics early in the year and it has been spent largely on the improvement of playing fields and football equipments. Football is still the most generally popular organized game, and in Wukari many young town folks play, as well as government and Native Authorities employees... (NAK/SNP/17/45595, 1948).

Similarly in 1953, football was taken up with a good deal of enthusiasm in Ibi and Takum as well as in Wukari (NAK/SNP/17/5644). These games and other social activities were also introduced among the Tiv and Idoma in the Benue Valley of Nigeria. For instance, football was generally a popularized sport in the whole of the Benue Province in the 1940s and 1950s. For three consecutive times, the Middle School at Katsina-Ala won the Urling Smith Shield between 1946 and 1948 (NAK/SNP/17/45595).

As early as 1960, football teams in Wukari and environs were beginning to emerge and many Jukun youths were beginning to join these teams.

Between 1960 to 1990s, popular football teams that emerged in Wukari include but not limited to: Gondoku, Agyo Likita, Akata, Wukari Town team, Lion team, Golden Rovers, Kwararafa FC, Amfani Babes FC, Wukari United, Black Cats. With the difficulties of acquiring the necessary kits in the 1960s, football teams in Wukari were highly rated by the State Football Association in the 1970s. They played matches for entertainment and competitions. Agbu (2017, p.116) notes that:

Many Jukun boys and men were drawn together in this modern sport, a game in which individual physical and mental skills were far more important determinant of status and potential than pedigree and property. The Jukun football players and spectators took the game of football and transformed it into a highly popular form of recreation that resonated with rivalry and revelry that were and remained a central part of the Jukun modern society.

In 1986, a Jukun sport lover, Late Manu Joshua F. Agya constructed a modern football field where matches were played and was later bought over by the Wukari LGC and named it after Malam Ibrahim Usman Sangari. That is to say before the 1990s, Wukari already had a standard township stadium called Ibrahim Sangari stadium. Below are the names of some team members of Agyo Likita FC in 1966: Yakubu Dangana, Danji Basunku, Yusuf Agyo, Bala Zhema, Ladan Yamusa, Agya Agbujoro, Danji Agyo, Bala Habu Dogo Amajan Bako, Zhema Agbu, Danladi Aji and Ibrahim Kefas (Bulus Hussaini, 2016).

The football teams in Wukari played matches with football teams both within the State and outside the State. For instance in 1989, the Flying Eagles visited Wukari and played against Kwararafa FC; in 1989, Golden Eaglets also visited and played against Amfani Babes FC. Some players had the opportunity of playing outside Wukari on professional level such as Babayi Rilwanu of Amfani Babes who was recruited and played for Makwada FC of Numan in the defunct Gongola State, and played in the Nigerian National League. Also Tijjani Audu was recruited by BCC Lions of Gboko and played in the challenge cup.

Football was never just a one match of 90 minutes or 120 minutes, but always comprised many matches that were played, performed and celebrated on, around and beyond the football pitch. Through the game, the cultural, social and political dimensions of football became more obvious. Football pitches offered arenas not only for the matches, but also for the production of public spheres and imaginary spaces where social, cultural and political praxis and discourse were created, celebrated and negotiated. Football was thus played on the pitch and beyond (Ballars, 2006, p.326).

Beside sporting activities, recreational facilities were also provided to the Jukun people, particularly between the 1970s and 1990s. Late Jibrin Amfani (2016) notes that, beside the construction of a tennis court by the Europeans in the 1940s, they also organize night clubs at where the present day post office is located in Wukari. On Fridays and Saturdays there were disco dance and drinking at the place in the late hours of the day. Other recreational facilities provided within the scope of the study are the Joshua cinema center which was started in Wukari in the early 1970. The cinema/ films show centers became important expanses for the young Jukun to socialize with other groups and it quickly became an important leisure activity in the Post-colonial era-1960-1990. It became places where the youth relaxed their mind and body after their day's jobs in order to refresh. There were also dancing competition and musical concerts in the Joshua cinema center. In the beginning of the 1990s, football viewing centers starting springing up in and around Wukari, Takum and environs.

By 1990, the Wukari local government council based on the understanding that, recreation would create a well-balanced community whose social, educational, cultural and health needs would be met within the locality of the people of Wukari, Ibi, Donga, Takum and the State generally, established the Atoshi Recreational Center. The center had sporting facilities (both indoor and outdoor sports), and halls for the entertainment, relaxation and pleasure of the people. The center, apart from providing refreshment of their mind and the bodies of the Jukun people and other people that used it, it also became a rallying point where Jukun players and spectators meet to socialize and to exercise themselves, in order to be physically and mentally fit.

The halls were also used for social occasion such as wedding receptions, clubs and associations' meetings, political rallies, birthdays and graduation parties and so on. Agbu (2017, p.181) observes that, it became a rallying point where youths of Wukari and environs met for different social activities not minding their differences, thus, promoting cordial relations among the people. It is important to note that, sporting activities and recreational undertakings among the Jukun between 1945 and 1990 really contributed in their societal development. It had impact on their physical and psychological/ mental well-being as well as their economic and social development.

Challenges and Way Forward

In this era of globalization, it has been acknowledged that, creativity and innovation are driving the new economy. Nations and many organization have embraced creativity to generate significant higher revenue and provide

greater stability into the future. Leisure and entertainment in the area of sport and recreation has developed rapidly between 1960 and 1990. For instance, by 1984, leisure spending in Britain was running at about £36 billion a year, accounting for about eight percent (8%) of Gross National Product (GNP) and the number of jobs in the sector increased by thirty-six percent (36%) in the period between the 1960s and the 1980s (Jones 1986, p.199). The biggest increase was recorded in the public houses, sport, and recreational activities, and the leisure explosion transformed a number of businesses. The creative industry through sport and recreation has really improved the economy of most part of the world (Sheilah 1997; US 2007; Leng 2009; Earnest and Young 2011), yet it is faced with many challenges, particularly in the developing world. Ranging from inadequate sport and recreational infrastructure to low support from both the government and the private organizations, the sport and recreational undertaking among the Jukun suffered serious setback during the period under review.

Consequently, there is the need for maximum cooperation between the government, the private organizations and individuals among not only the Jukun people but Nigeria as a whole in the area of leisure and entertainment particularly in the sport and recreational activities. This would improve the benefit of sport and recreation on the people. It is very imperative to note that there exist a significant relationship between sport, recreation and tourism development. In order to accomplish the desired objective of this sector, both the Federal, State and Local governments in the area of study needs to capitalize rapidly in the promotion of sport and recreation.

There is the need for the total rehabilitation of the Atoshi Recreational Center, Wukari. This would, through the provision of necessary sporting facilities enable the people of the State, the nation, and tourists to have access to exercising themselves. This would reduce stress, depression and anxiety among the people after their daily work, and it would also produce positive dispositions, facilitate social interactions and improve their general physio-psychological well-being and life satisfaction. More recreational parks should be established in the major towns of the Jukun, Taraba State and Nigeria by governments and private organizations. This would generate more revenue through tourism and improve the social, physical, economic well-being of the people.

Furthermore, it is vital to note that, through participation in leisure activities such as modern recreation and sport, the socio-economic base of the people would improve, there would be more job opportunity and the governments would enlarge their revenue generation base. Note that, in the 1990s, the creative economy of the developed countries grew at an annual

rate twice that of service industries and four times that of manufacturing. We have seen how individuals have excelled and became economically buoyant in the sport and recreational undertakings such as the footballers, tennis players, athletes, and so on. The Jukun youths (Males and Females) should be inspired to be involved in these sporting activities and recreational undertakings. Through this, the hidden talents among them would be unearthed and they may find new area of economic emancipation in Europe, America and other developed world.

Conclusion

From the preceding, it has being established that, the Jukun people had sporting and recreational activities even during the pre-colonial period. Such sporting and recreational activities included games, (traditional wrestling, (*Anga*), *Adzwe*, *Langa*, *Vimvin*), music, dances, festivals and storytelling among others. These sporting and recreational activities played tremendous role in their societal development, teaching them moral values and improving their physical and mental well-being. However, Colonialism introduced them into modern sporting and recreational undertakings such as games of football and tennis; clubbing and dancing.

Additionally, in the Post-colonial period, cinema centers and recreational centers were added to their social endeavors and thenceforth, they excelled in these modern sports and recreational undertakings. Nevertheless, without doubt, based on the current development of the creative economy in the modern world, there is the need for serious positive collaboration between the people, the governments at both Local, State and Federal level, together with private organizations in order to harness potential resources laying unexploited among the Jukun people in the area of leisure (sport and recreational undertakings).

Conclusively, sports and recreation plays a key role in the development of Africa. Through its impact on social policy and social integration, sport and recreation can make an important contribution to achieving development objectives in African countries. Sports and recreation are potential for unlocking the social, physical, political, and economic condition of the people. Through involvement in sport and recreational activities, there will be improvement in not only the physical, psychological, social, political and economic well-being of the Jukun people, but the whole of African people. Sport and recreation has the potential to play a much greater role in the development of Jukunland than it did between 1945 and 1990. Luis Hamilton (2010) says, “Not everyone can be world champion, I’ve been very lucky, but sport can make a difference in so many ways. It can give you focus,

team-spirit, responsibility and self-esteem. It really can change people lives”.

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Eurocentric Autobiography, Ethno-Autobiography and the Poetics of African Autobiography

Shittu Ayodeji Isaac

Abstract

Some Eurocentric critics and theorists see the autobiography as the legacy of Euro-American culture and epistemology. They consider other forms of self-narration and autobiography outside of this framework as imitations of Euro-American literary and cultural paradigms. Consequently, most theories of autobiography are defined by Euro-American worldviews, and are used as frameworks for reading self-narrations and autobiographical works from other cultures. In this paper, this position is challenged by describing the autobiography from Africa as the product of African experience and worldview. It is also argued that autobiography is not essentially an individualist or self-aggrandising writing as assumed by Eurocentric and individualist critics and theorists. The autobiography is projected as a cultural product which is useful for the understanding of culture, personality and society. It reflects the context of its production including culture, geography, gender, and the experience and orientation of the autobiographer, which define its ethnography and thus describes it as “Ethno-autobiography”. The poetics of modern or post-colonial “African Autobiography” is defined by the autobiographer’s articulation of the collective memory of African pre-colonial experience and traditions, the colonial experience and traditions and Africans post-colonial realities and condition for the purpose of self-articulation and identity construction.

Introduction

The literature of a people is a representation of the culture of the people and, therefore, is peculiar in many ways. For instance, modern African literature has developed as a response to the far-reaching social revolutions of the twentieth century on the continent of Africa. Both the content and the form concern the dual qualities of literature: the literary merits and the

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interpretation or analyses of literature as historical memory of the society. Some critics refer to this quality as that of “an alternative history”, a social document. As such, the literature in its various forms and genres depicts the peculiarities of the African experience and interrogates this experience. Stemming from this, the autobiography in African is generally different from the autobiography in Europe or America in the sense that the underlying culture and epistemology are different. As a cultural product, the autobiography in Africa reveals the African social structure, milieu, world views and consciousness. Therefore, unlike the notion in some quarter that the genre of autobiography is of Western origin, every culture has its peculiar way of narrating the self and society. This view is buttressed by Reynolds F. Dwight:

Given the importance accorded autobiography for the understanding of culture, personality, and society, it is imperative to study non-western traditions both for their own sake and comparatively. This path of study will highlight previously overlooked aspects of European autobiographies and should provoke new and insightful readings.¹

This paper addresses the questions of the origin of the autobiography, and how culture and consciousness of a people determine the manner in which they tell their story both as individuals and as a community. As a corollary of this, the paper also addresses the peculiarity of the autobiography in Africa and how African history and experience, both pre-literate and modern, define its ethnography. Modern African literature is defined by the interaction of African pre-colonial experience and traditions, the European mainstream colonial traditions and the post-colonial responses to this. Post-colonial autobiography in Africa is the product of contemporary cultural and epistemological perspectives on the self and the society and how the one defines the other.

Eurocentrism and the Question of the Origin of the Autobiography

There are many Eurocentric perspectives and criticism on African history, literature and creative enterprises. These include the notion that Africa did not have drama or history before colonialism and that slavery and colonialism actually civilised Africa and placed it within world history.² The hypocrisy of this view of African history and literature is underlined by Amadou-Mahtar M ‘ Bow in the unequal treatments of African oral traditions and European oral traditions. According to Amadou-Mahtar, while the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were rightly regarded as essential sources for the history of ancient Greece, African oral tradition, “the collective memory of people which holds the thread of many events marking their lives”, was rejected as important sources

for the history of ancient Africa.³ Similarly, there are those who believe that the genre of autobiography is not indigenous to Africa just as they refused to see Africans as capable of creating original cultures. As Amadou-Mahtar further observed, this Eurocentric notion is held despite the fact that these African cultures have actually “flowered and survived over the centuries in patterns of their own making and which historians are unable to grasp unless they forgo their prejudices and rethink their approach”.⁴ Thus these Eurocentric notions tried to make us believe that African creative art is validated only by European literary and cultural paradigms. This is, however, far from the truth. Every culture and society at different stages of its civilisation and development has ways of articulating its realities and experiences and documenting them. This is also true of the genre of the autobiography in Africa.

There are, broadly speaking, two schools of thoughts on the origin of the autobiography in Africa. There is the school of thought that argues that the autobiography is the legacy of British colonialism. The other school of thought disagrees with the first view by arguing that the autobiography, as a sub-genre of creative art, pre-dated the colonial era as seen in various traditional performances and African oral narratives.⁵ In his study of the genre of the autobiography in Nigeria, Oriaku notes that the autobiography (perhaps, in its traditional European sense) is not Nigerian and that it does not have “equivalence in the oral tradition”.⁶ In other words, it is not “an indigenous Nigerian genre”.⁷ According to Oriaku, this genre in African literature is an imitation of the European literary tradition, because “the closest related form to it is the panegyric or oral praise poem which is more of an equivalent to a subject-commissioned biography in Western literature, not auto/biography”.⁸

Oriaku tried to justify this position by arguing that the traditional cultures of Africa are incapable supporting the genre of autobiography because, for instance, they are (believed to be) predominantly egalitarian, communal and as such discourage individualism.⁹ This view is held because of the belief that the genre of autobiography is essentially self-aggrandising and individualist; attributes associated with Europe and as such a legacy of Western colonisation of Africa. According to this argument, colonialism and European cultures and value system influenced Nigerian life and culture and introduced into it individualistic tendencies, which encouraged the emergence and development of the autobiography and other forms of self-narration. This view is used to advance the non-indigenous quality of the autobiography in Africa.¹⁰ While this may be true of the consequences of colonialism, which has reproduced in Africa a pervasive culture of

individualism and social class system, it is not true that this social disposition is essentially colonial or post-colonial.

There has always been class stratification and individualism in Africa from its inception and African pre-colonial history is replete with evidences of individualism and hero worship. However, the notion that the autobiography in Africa is the product of colonialism may be due to the fact that the duo historical experiences of slave trade and territorial colonialism have thrown up several autobiographies. First, the slave trade produced autobiographies like the one by Olaudah Equiano,¹¹ while Western education has radically transformed our literary culture from oral to written form and produced various nationalist autobiographies. Second, the struggles against colonialism have produced such historical figures as Nnamdi Azikiwe, Obafemi Awolowo, Ahmadu Bello, Mbonu Ojike and Anthony Enahoro (all Nigerians) who have written their personal biographies. Similarly, the writing of biographies, autobiographies and memoirs has become the practice of many retired African public servants and former heads of states and according to Oriaku, the post-colonial struggle “has been the subject of not only the war memoirs but also some of the autobiographical novels and poetry”.¹² He argued that the “heritage of colonialism” does not only manifest in the subject matters and themes of these autobiographies but also in the new world view they present. This, he observes, is particularly evident in “a new sense of self, of personal achievement and the relation of self to society”.¹³

While this view is true and defensible, it however, does not rule out the existence of the autobiography and other autobiographical narratives in the pre-colonial oral cultures of Nigeria in particular and Africa in general. In fact, the fact that these above-mentioned writers decided to use the genre of autobiography to tell their stories may have testified to an inherent culture which was only amplified by the immediacy of their experiences and encouraged by the skill of literacy. The question that should be asked, however, is how did Africans express and articulate their “sense of self, personal achievement and the relation of self to society” before the advent of colonialism?

The argument that the genre of autobiography pre-dated colonialism in Africa is interestingly corroborated by Dasyva and Oriaku¹⁴ and Adetayo Alabi.¹⁵ For instance, while describing the origin of the autobiography in Nigeria, Dasyva and Oriaku explain that every society has its own peculiar ways and means by which it chronicles events and experience, both of individuals and that of the community. According to them:

Despite the considerable shift in contextual paradigms that foreground the quill of the non-literate era and the cursor of the twenty-first century, the Nigerian auto/ biography as life-portrait has stuck to and remained faithful to its traditional role of projecting a major personage, as well as archiving and documenting key social and historical events. ...this sub-generic form of literature pre-dates the colonial era, and that most, if not all, forms of Nigerian literature, oral and written, are either steeped in auto/biography or characterized by it.¹⁶

This argument stresses that while written autobiography may be traced to literacy inherited from the West through colonialism, it does not invalidate the existence of the tradition of self-narration in pre-literate and pre-colonial African cultures.¹⁷ According to Dasylya and Oriaku, there are two types of the autobiography, which are traceable to two different origins: (1) the oral or primary autobiography, and (2) the written or secondary autobiography. While the written or secondary autobiography concerns the post-colonial mode of narrating the self, which owes its origin to the Western culture of writing, the former concerns the oral mode of self-expression. As Dasylya and Oriaku observe, the oral or primary autobiography has always existed as an integral part of African oral literary corpus as can be seen in most oral performances such as the epic or heroic (panegyric) poems in which the poet or the epic narrator-poet “consciously inscribes self into the oral text through a self-declarative prologue of personal celebration of identity, physiognomic features, family genealogy, and achievements considered to be unique...” and for the purpose of “celebration of uniqueness and greatness of the subject.”¹⁸

Adetayo Alabi¹⁹ supports this view in his observation that there are various African oral traditions that are cast as autobiography. Although not written, Alabi argues that these oral performances are oral texts that document the experience of the individual performer, notwithstanding the fact that their narrations are situated within the ambit of the collective history and experience of their societies. He identifies these oral traditional autobiographies to include “praise poetry, epic, the hunters’ chant, testimonies, witches’ and wizards’ confessions, as well as the bridal chant, in different parts of Africa.”²⁰ He further notes that some African traditions are inbuilt with the autobiographical dimensions such as the case is with the Yoruba hunters’ chants (ijala) which possess “specialised discourses and counter discourses” peculiar to hunting profession.

According to him, “these hunters’ chants are oral texts about the self”; a genre that is exclusive to hunters and which are performed during various occasions, such as hunters’ festivals, coronation ceremonies, weddings, and

other special gatherings.²¹ Alabi, therefore, debunks the idea that the genre of autobiography is not indigenous to Africa by arguing that the hunter's chant demonstrates the autobiographical qualities of African oral traditions as a genre that pre-dated British colonialism. It also draws attention to the fact that the autobiography is not just about the subject but also an articulation and critique of the social domain.

The criticism of the West's claim to sole origination of the genre of autobiography is not restricted to Africa. Similar view is expressed by Reynolds Dwight²² who sees the idea of European origin of the autobiography as recent and questionable. He notes that European scholars from the late eighteenth through the first half of the twentieth century, including Goethe, Herder, and Dilthey, understood the fact that the genre of autobiography and other autobiographical writings, like every other artistic practices, is a universal genre. He argues that these scholars conceived of autobiographical writings "as a broad category of literary production that encompassed writings from both earlier historical periods and other cultures".²³

However, Dwight notes that in the mid-twentieth century this view was suddenly reversed giving sole origination to the Western world, a reconstruction that Dwight felt was fuelled by "the impending collapse of the colonial encounter and perhaps also by the "threat" of cultural relativism."²⁴ He observed that immediately after World War II, western literary critics stopped to write the autobiography as a literary category parallel to "novel" or "biography," both of which easily admit of cross-cultural and historical comparisons, and began instead to treat it as the exclusive creation of the modern West.²⁵ A very clear instance of the assertions of this new stance was made by Georges Gusdorf in a 1956 article, which has been dubbed as the very foundation of modern autobiography studies. In the words of Georges Gusdorf,

It would seem that autobiography is not to be found outside our cultural area; one would say that it expresses a concern peculiar to Western man, a concern that has been of good use in his systematic conquest of the universe and that he has communicated to men of other cultures; but those men will thereby have been annexed by a sort of intellectual colonizing to a mentality that was not their own.²⁶

These assertions by Gusdorf have been reiterated many times in subsequent works by other scholars such as Roy Pascal. It is in this vein that the French critic, Georges May, conceived of autobiography as not just Western and modern European in origin but as particularly Christian. According to her, the autobiography emerged uniquely within the cultural

influence of Christianity.²⁷ Although popularised by Gusdorf, Pascal, and May, among others, these assumptions have also been expressed in those discrete aspects of the subject, such as childhood memoirs. For example, these critics assume that “the Childhood [autobiography] is a genre which presupposes a sophisticated culture” and as such “inconceivable among primitives; even in the contemporary Third World, it emerges only in imitation of culturally more advanced models.”²⁸

According to this school of thought, such creative endeavour requires a good sense of form and sound intellectual ability to faithfully adapt experience into an interesting literary masterpiece; “It requires a grasp of the epic dimension, and the severe discipline of a controlled rhythm. ... [and] self-knowledge”²⁹ which of only the European mind is capable of.

Autobiography and Individualism

While Gusdorf, for instance, values autobiography (and the individual) as the product of a progressive history, he, however, seemed not to realise or recognise the fact that this textual individualism is local and ideological. Unambiguous about the “us” who are his audience, Gusdorf claims:

The concern, which seems so natural to us, to turn back on one’s own past, to recollect one’s life in order to narrate it, *is not at all universal*. It asserts itself only in recent centuries and only on a small part of the map of the world. The man who takes delight in thus drawing his own image believes himself worthy of a special interest. Each one of us tends to think of himself as the center of a living space: I count, my existence is significant to the world, and my death will leave the world incomplete.³⁰

It is a general assumption that auto/biography is always referenced with an “I.” This assumption is upheld even when there have been efforts to show the “constructedness” of the “I,” or its particular relationships to determinate “not-I’s.”³¹ However, as Kenneth Mostern observed, neither “auto” nor “bio” nor “graph” actually refers to the category of the individual and that “there is no semantic reason to presume that auto reference could not be to a group of people who form a collective subjectivity (“we”).”³² He notes that there are actually collective autobiographies, such as the New York 21’s *Look For Me in the Whirlwind*, have been written.³³

The word “auto/biography” emerged in the nineteenth century with the public depiction of the individuated, private self by Romanticism, and this ideology continues to influence how it is defined. Thus the basic form of the text is the *bildungsroman*, in which the author explains the peculiar circumstances that explain how “he (gender intended) became himself and

not any other self".³⁴ Thus, according to Mostern, "the defining characteristic of critical individualist accounts of autobiography is their accounting for the failure of individualism via the category of the single author."³⁵ Therefore, for the individualist, the 'I' of the autobiography always only refers to itself and not to a collective.³⁶ It can be inferred from this, therefore, that Gusdorf's view about the autobiography is a universalised European individualist's male perspective and it shows that there is something peculiar about western self-histories of subjectivity. Gusdorf's position must be a very important contribution to the discourse on the autobiography and a description of the autobiography as it has been performed implicitly or explicitly by a certain variety of western, primarily male, writers.

There are, however, counter-hegemonic autobiographical narratives, which have already challenged this "pre-given" individualist form. Examples are studies on the use of the autobiography to narrate the lives of women subjects. Rita Felski, for example, coined the term "feminist confessional" to describe the sub-genre of autobiographical writing which presents "the most personal and intimate details of the author's life" in order to create a bond between "female author and female reader".³⁷ Therefore, Kenneth Mostern warns that critics are susceptible to making twin mistake of "assuming that autobiography must reproduce these notions of subjectivity, or of assuming that any text written by a person outside the correct race, nation, gender or class position will inevitably provide a different perspective".³⁸ Therefore, it may be correct to say that Gusdorf's "conditions and limits of autobiography" are wrong. Instead, his description of the autobiography could perhaps be the best description of one perspective on the subject of autobiography, which testifies to the fact that there other perspectives and descriptions of the genre. As Kenneth Mostern further observes, quoting Carolyn Heilbrun,³⁹

That we are always confronted with individualist ideology when studying autobiography is best illustrated with reference to writers whose field of study is narrower than "autobiography" but whose assumptions are as equally individualist as Gusdorf's. Looking at Carolyn Heilbrun on the problems of writing women's "life stories," Arnold Ramparsad's essay on African-American autobiography, or Albert Stone's elaborately multi-ethnic *Autobiographical Occasions and Original Acts* will illustrate, if nothing else, that for the wilful reader *any* autobiography can be read through the framework of an all-important individual subject, regardless of its explicit content.⁴⁰

Another instance is that of Doris Sommer⁴¹ who attempted to break away from the individualism in autobiography by demonstrating the peculiarity of what can be described as a difference genre of life writing, the Latin

American *testimonio* (testimonial). She argued that to read the autobiography solely from the Western individualistic perspective and assumptions will disqualify the *testimonio* from being described as autobiography; “it might be thoroughly inappropriate to use the term ‘autobiography’ at all in thinking about them”.⁴² Sommer explained that the *testimonio* is not just a variant of the autobiography but that this will be the case if autobiography is understood solely from the perspective of Western essentialist critics.⁴³ It is obvious from these reactions that the Eurocentric, individualist and patriarchal descriptions of the autobiography are problematic and do not account for autobiographical narratives in other parts of the world outside Europe and by the female gender. In fact, it is evident that these notions about the autobiography are not a universal European perspective.

Many contemporary critics such as already discussed above see the autobiography as the writing of a collective experience, especially when women’s stories are concerned. The autobiography is seen as useful for the representation of women’s fragmented voices, which have been otherwise silenced under patriarchy. In other words, it can be theorised, taking from Sommer’s idea of collective “self”, that all autobiography includes, in some measure, testimony, that is, the construction of a “we”. This view is supported by Gunnthórunn Gudmundsdóttir⁴⁴ who observed that theoretical perspectives on autobiography and issues of gender, and ethnic minorities stress its suitability for the representation of many contemporary realities and experiences including “questions about our knowledge of the past and the difficulty of articulating our relationship to it.”⁴⁵ The view that the autobiography expresses the relationship of the individual to the communities was also argued by Stephen Butterfield who noted that the view has been demonstrated by black autobiography studies over and over. According to Butterfield, “in black autobiography, the unity of the personal and the mass voice remains a dominant tradition.”⁴⁶ It is a site for socio-political discourses and has become “powerful instrument of cultural critique.”⁴⁷

Ethno-autobiography and the Poetics of African Autobiography

Ethno-autobiography, as a concept, underscores the ethnographic quality of the autobiography. It describes the autobiography as a culturally constituted writing which blends the construction of self and society. According to Jürgen Kremer⁴⁸ Ethnoautobiography is a discourse that exists within various contexts, namely decolonisation, deconstruction of Whiteness, ecology, social world, gender roles, shamanism, and transpersonal psychology. It is a visionary and imaginative process that ground itself in time, place, history, ancestry, and stories of origin and creation.⁴⁹ As a creative and self-

exploratory writing which also includes oral presentation, Ethnoautobiography, is situated within the ethnic, historical, ecological and gender background of the author and involves the “investigation of hybridity, categorical borderlands and transgressions, and the multiplicity of (hi)stories carried outside and inside the definitions and discourses of the dominant society of a particular place and time”.⁵⁰

As a post-colonial writing and discourse, ethno-autobiography deconstructs the centres and creates multiple margins. It deconstructs hegemonic and colonising consciousness and master narratives so as to put an end to racialism, and essentialist identity politics. By the virtue of its coordinates: history, myth, place, culture, and identity, Ethnoautobiography concerns more than the narration of a self; it indicates the interaction of the self with various contexts and interrogates the episteme and discourses of the dominant society of a particular place and time. These qualities define the ethnography of the autobiography.

Basically, the ethnography of literature consists in its articulation of social experiences. In ethnographic narrations social and cultural experiences are put in perspective such that life trajectory reveals social constraints. Since the peculiarity of literature is its appropriation of language uniquely to represent social reality and experiences, it is inherently ethnographic. Ethnography of communication implies that language reflects the reality and peculiarities of its cultural milieu and, “how language embodies the culture, the social and physical environment of the user of the language”.⁵¹ Wole Soyinka describes this kind of literature as the literature of a social vision, “a creative concern which conceptualises or extends actuality beyond the purely narrative, making it reveal realities beyond the immediately attainable...”⁵² It is in this vein, that Attah Aghali described the ethnography of poetry as its ability to portray the observed mindscape,⁵³ a quality described by Sandra L. Faulkner⁵⁴ as the authenticity and social values of poetry; the ability to achieve narrative connectedness, which is evident when readers are able to experience their own realities through the poem they read. Therefore, the ethnography of the autobiography, according to Dasylyva and Oriaku, is demonstrated in its ability to archive and document social and historical events and reflect “the cultural values, aesthetic trends and practices of the people as well as their socio-historical epochs.”⁵⁵ Reed-Danahay compared it to auto/ethnography, a self-reflexive ethnographic writing that represents the ability to transcend the everyday sense of self; “everyday conceptions of selfhood and social life...[which] involves a rewriting of the self and the social”.⁵⁶

Niyi Afolabi describes African autobiography as particularly defined by the African worldview and culture, which are essentially collective and communal within which worldview “it is often out of place to define “autobiography” as the life of an individual since our lives are so interconnected, interwoven and essentially collective”.⁵⁷ In the Yoruba verbal art, for instance, there is usually a collectivization of the personal experience. When the verbal art is, therefore, appropriated into a popular consciousness, there is always a combination of the individual artistic talents with collective memory.⁵⁸ Afolabi describes this as multiple narrations in the African writing and particularly African autobiography, which he calls a “polyvalent autobiography”.⁵⁹ In this case, the autobiography is “double-edged and ambivalent” as it weaves the writer’s culture and collective memory and experiences of their people and society into the narration of the autobiographer’s own life. Afolabi describes this as the “ambiguity” of African autobiography which is defined by the “notion of the “I” as a mask where it is possible to assume many voices and subjects in order to accomplish the people’s mission through collectivized imagination”.⁶⁰ Niyi Osundare underlined this quality of African autobiography when he described his autobiographical poetry as African in essence:

A poet of my category is problematic in terms of autobiography. Because of the kind of culture I was brought up in, I was reared in a collective culture and I was socialized into the collectiveness of the culture itself. In the kind of society we are in, the “I” of the person is also the “I” of the other person. So this configuration of “I”s is really what makes up the society. This is not saying there was no individuality in Africa at the time I grew up. It is just that everybody believed the public fate depended upon personal commitment and personal duty. Now my own birth itself cannot be personal... This is why the “I” becomes just one angle of perceiving a major public issue; it doesn’t personalize the issue all that much, although it doesn’t remove the individual element....⁶¹

It is this quality that defines the uniqueness and ethnography of African autobiography. In essence, as Osundare notes, “African autobiography subverts in some way the expectations we have derived from our knowledge of Western autobiographies.”⁶²

Conclusion

While a genre has recognisable features which all writings belonging to it share, all forms of writing are cultural products and, therefore, carry the imprints of the cultural milieu that produced it. The cultural genes and

aesthetics that distinguish every cultural production are the elements that define its ethnography. Therefore, to study autobiographies involves not only the examination of the cultural construction of personal identity, but also the construction of one's society and culture. African autobiography is essentially African in social vision. It is different from autobiography from other cultural environment not because of the basic features but because of nuances and social realities and history that underline it. It is also distinguished by the use to which it is put.

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Geographic Information System Analysis of Fatal Road Crashes in Nigeria, 2006-2014

H. O. Adebayo
W. O. Otun
A. O. Dina

Abstract

Fatal Road Crashes are a global concern because of the frequencies of deaths, injuries and material losses experienced by countries as a result of the menace. The significance of its effect to individuals, societies and nations at large calls for investigation. This paper examined the spatial pattern and concentrations of fatal road crashes among the thirty-six (36) states in Nigeria including Abuja over a period of eight (8) years. The data used in this study were mainly sourced from IFRA-Nigeria working papers series, No.35 of 28th November, 2014. The longitudes and latitudes of the fatal road crashes locations were also captured. The road crashes data were evaluated in ArcGIS version 10.1 environment. Queries and Kernel Density Estimation (KDE) were used to determine the road crashes hotspots, Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP) and Accident Point Weightage (APW) formula was used to rank the road crashes hotspots. The study revealed that, 15,090 lives were lost to fatal road traffic crashes within the period of study. The study recommends among others, the deployment of road safety officials to the accident belt, strict enforcement of safety belts and helmets, and periodic road maintenance.

Introduction

Transportation is the most dynamic activity in nearly all the developing countries of the world because of its impact on the economic growth and development, spatial expansion of cities, social interaction, industrial location, flow of information and political integration (Rodrigue, 2009). Onakomaiya (1980) defined transport as the movement of people, goods and facilities. Transport influences the quality of life in the society as there is hardly any aspect of development which does not involve transport. Lord Luggard

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(1922) once asserted that the material development of Africa might be summed in one word "Transport". The prospects in some economy can be attributed to their level of transport infrastructure development. Transport aids the movement of people, goods and services from one point, an origin to another, the destination for social or economic purposes.

Oyesiku (2002) opined that the function of transport in cities is to enable goods and services move from a point of demand to that of supply between various buildings within a locality and from one place in the city to another. A good transportation network expands economic activities by improving accessibility and facilitates movement of goods including agricultural commodities in all the nooks and crannies of the country. According to Oni and Okanlawon (2010) transport is the cornerstone of civilization. In Nigeria, activities in the areas of transportation development began during the colonial period. It is however necessary to state that Nigeria transport system, right from inception were poorly designed and were unable to scale up to meet greater demand, a design flaw which causes traffic congestion on roads, overstressed railways, faltering airfields and mass transport blind spots, (Igwe, Oyelola, Ajiboshin and Raheem, 2004).

Most public transportation was undertaken with rail transport, way back in Nigeria. The eventual collapse of railway made city passengers to depend solely on road system throughout the country making commuters movement now shifted to public road transportation, (Lounge, 2011). Public transportation services are mostly provided by the private sector through such means as motorcycle, taxis, mini buses, cars etc. The 19th century industrial revolution resulted in some fundamental changes in the transport sector and provided more flexibility of movement, speed and timing. Since then, there has been an upsurge in both human and vehicular motor movement, a situation that has also resulted in more fatal road accidents. The international Road Federation, Geneva Programme Center reported that approximately 2.4 million people have died in road accidents across the world, with a yearly record of 1.3 deaths and daily record of 3,000 deaths.

The worst hit are middle-income countries, a circumstances confirmed by World Bank Global Road Safety by reporting that 1.2million die yearly from road traffic accidents especially in low-to middle –income countries(Favour,2014). Most African countries fall within the middle-income category and thus are worst hit by fatal road accidents. A study by Chen (2010) show that the fatality rate in African countries ranges from 10-fold to more than 100-fold that in the United States. Also, Lagarde, 2007, reported that Africa has an average rate of 28.3 per 100.000 population road traffic mortality compare with 11 in Europe. Sub-Saharan African Transport Policy, in its

report, quoted an increase of road fatalities in Africa by 350% between 1990 and 1998. Concerns about the rising incidence of fatal road accidents compelled stakeholders, including the United Nations (UN) Assembly, into seeking means to curb road fatalities. On 11 May 2011, the UN adopted the period 2011-2020 as the UN Decade of Action for Road Safety, within which all efforts will concentrate on stabilizing and then reducing global road traffic fatalities by 2020. Following the declaration by UN in 2011, the Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC) in Nigeria set out to adopt and domesticate the UN action plan by developing a number of programmes suitable for every road users in the country.

Despite integrated efforts towards reducing fatal road accidents, Nigeria still remains one of the worst hit countries. With a human population of about 167 million, a high level of vehicular population estimated at over 7.6 million, a total road length of about 194,000 kilometers(comprising 34,120km of federal, 30,500km of state, and 129,580 km of local roads) (Sumaila et al, 2013), the country has suffered severe losses to fatal car accidents. Its population density varies in rural and urban areas at about 51.7% and 48.3% respectively and translates to a population-road ratio of 860 persons per square kilometer, indicating intense traffic pressure on the available road network. Undoubtedly, this immense pressure contributes to the high road traffic accidents in the country (FRSC 2012).

Nigeria is ranked second-highest in the rate of road accidents among 193 countries of the world (Agbonkhese et al, 2013). The WHO adjudged Nigeria the most dangerous country in Africa with 33.7 deaths per 100,000 populations every year (WHO 2013). According to their report, one in every four road accident deaths in Africa occurs in Nigeria. The WHO survey and the FRSC report of 5,693 fatal road accidents in 2009 leave no doubt about the dangerous situation on Nigerian roads. Based on the aforementioned, it is obvious that the rate of road fatal accidents occurrence is a complex phenomenon not only in terms of its diverse causes but also on the nature of its occurrence and effects on lives and properties. As a result of wide variety of road safety activities and measures, level of occurrence of road fatal accidents in most industrialized countries is falling. But in developing countries and Nigeria in particular. Due to this reason, research into causes and control of road fatal accidents would be a matter of continuous interest until the 'menace' could be kept under control. Hence there is an urgent need to analyze the trend and pattern of road fatal accidents so as to minimize it. These accident database are usually in the form of excel format that allow the use of statistical methods. Geographical Information System (GIS) has been identified as an excellent system for storing and managing these types

of data and also as a potential tool for improving fatal road accident analysis (Adebayo, 2015).

One of the reasons is that it provides an efficient system of linking a large number of databases and also provides a spatial referencing system for reporting output at different levels of aggregation (Adebayo, 2015). Since road crashes is spatially distributed in nature, use of Geographic Information System (GIS) will provide the capability to store, update, retrieve, compare and spatially display data (Li, 2006). GIS allows Hotspot map to be electronically generated from a well-designed road crashes database and can also produce rankings of high-road crashes locations based on either total road crashes occurring or rates.

The advancements in Geographic Information System (GIS) can be put to effective use in road crashes analysis. In addition to promoting linkage between various types of data and maps, GIS is able to visually display the results of analyses thus enabling sophisticated analysis and quick decision making. Also GIS makes analysis less time consuming and less tedious. Thus GIS offers platform to maintain and up-date accident record database which can be used for further analysis (Deepthi and Ganeshkumar, 2010). Therefore, the aim of this paper is to develop a fatal road crashes information system in Nigeria between 2006 and 2014 by centralizing the fatal road accidents data and other related data on a GIS platform. To achieve the above objective, two (2) specific research questions were addressed in the study:

1. What is the nature of the geographical distribution of fatal road crashes among the Nigerian states in the period from 2006 to 2014?
2. Where are the hotspots of fatal road crashes among the thirty- six states in Nigeria?

Study Area

Nigeria is located in West Africa between latitudes 4°N and 14°North of the Equator and longitudes 2° 20'E and 14° 30' east of the Greenwich Meridian and borders Niger Republic in the North, Chad in the North East, Cameroun in East and Benin Republic in the West. To the South, Nigeria is bordered by a large span of Atlantic Ocean. With a total land area of 923,768 square kilometers. Nigeria is made of thirty-six (36) states and a federal capital territory (FCT) which are grouped into six geopolitical regions; North Central, North East, North West, South East, South South and South West. There are 774 constitutionally recognized Local Government Areas (LGAs) in Nigeria.

Data Source and Processing

The data used for this study was sourced mainly from IFRA-Nigeria working papers series, number thirty-five (35) of 28th of November, 2014, shown in table 3, 4, 5 and 6 below. The map of Nigeria used was acquired from Federal Ministry of Lands and Survey, Ibadan, Oyo State. The map was scanned and processed using Corel draw 12 into GIS environment. Georeferencing of the map was done using the tie-points method. Digitization was carried out to create spatial data from the existing hard copy of map of Nigeria using the application of Arc GIS 10.1 by the process of on-screen digitization. States boundaries of the study area were digitized as polygon features. Similarly, Microsoft excel was used to build the report from IFRA-Nigeria working papers series, number thirty-five (35) of 28th of November, 2014 and was exported into the GIS environment via the spatial analyst tool of Arc GIS 10.1. Geographic coordinates of the fatal road crashes locations were also captured (table 1). The ArcGIS software version 10.1 was used to map the number of fatal road crashes in order to visualize its spatial patterns. A series of maps for fatal road crashes was produced for each of the years within the study period.

Data Analysis

Hotspot Analysis

The Kernel Density Estimation in ArcGIS 10.1 was utilized in mapping the fatal road crashes hotspots among the states. Kernel Density Estimation provides an estimate of the proportion of total fatal road crashes that can be expected to occur in any given map location. It works by first overlaying an area of interest with a fine rectangular grid. It then calculates an estimate of the density of accident in each grid cell which is based on a weight function - the kernel. The kernel is a function of specified shape and bandwidth (or search radius). The Kernel Density Estimation is given by the equation below (Deepthi and Ganeshkumar, 2010):

Where $f(x,y)$ is the density estimate at location (x,y) , h is the search radius

$$f(x,y) = \frac{1}{nh^2} \sum_{i=1}^n K\left(\frac{d_i}{h}\right)$$

(bandwidth or kernel size), n is numbers of observations (total number of accidents), K is the kernel function and d_i is the distance between the location (event point) (x,y) and location of the i th observation. The mean and standard deviation of the Kernel Density Estimation was used to determine the hotspot and also a digital map was generated, where the intensity of fatal road crashes is represented by continuous surfaces. Lighter shades were used

to represent locations with a lower fatal road crashes density, while darker shades represent locations characterized by the highest fatal road crashes.

Ranking of Accident Hotspots

The ranking of the fatal road crashes hotspots was done by weighting the nature of the accident (fatal, severe and minor) using the Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP) and the Accident Point Weighting (APW) was calculated using the formula below:

$$APW = X_1W_1 + X_2W_2 + X_3W_3$$

Where X_1 , X_2 and X_3 are the expected number of degree of fatality (very high, high and low) and W_1 , W_2 and W_3 are the corresponding weightage and shown in table 2 below (Trough and Sekhar, 2011).

Table 1: Corresponding Weightage
Consistency Ratio= 0.30

	Very High	High	Low	Weight
Very High	1	5	9	0.7
High	0.20	1	9	0.25
Low	0.11	0.11	1	0.05

$$\text{Where } APW = 0.7X_1 + 0.25X_2 + 0.05X_3$$

Table 2: Geographic Locations of the fatal road crashes.

Table 3: Yearly breakdowns of fatal road crashes among Nigerian

State	Latitude	Longitude
Abia	7.5247 ⁰ E	5.4309 ⁰ N
Akwa-Ibom	7.8722 ⁰ E	4.9300 ⁰ N
Adamawa	12.438 ⁰ E	9.3250 ⁰ N
Abuja	7.3986 ⁰ E	9.0765 ⁰ N
Anambra	7.0068 ⁰ E	6.2758 ⁰ N
Bauchi	10.0807 ⁰ E	10.6371 ⁰ N
Bayelsa	5.8987 ⁰ E	4.8678 ⁰ N
Benue	8.8363 ⁰ E	7.3508 ⁰ N
Borno	12.9789 ⁰ E	11.5097 ⁰ N
Cross- River	8.6601 ⁰ E	6.1670 ⁰ N
Delta	5.8987 ⁰ E	5.5325 ⁰ N
Ebonyi	7.9593 ⁰ E	6.1780 ⁰ N

Edo	5.8987 ⁰ E	6.5438 ⁰ N
Ekiti	5.3103 ⁰ E	7.6656 ⁰ N
Enugu	7.3517 ⁰ E	6.6095 ⁰ N
Gombe	11.1617 ⁰ E	10.2464 ⁰ N
Imo	6.9209 ⁰ E	5.5212 ⁰ N
Jigawa	9.7233 ⁰ N	12.4460 ⁰ N
Kaduna	8.1339 ⁰ E	10.1590 ⁰ N
Kano	8.6601 ⁰ E	11.7574 ⁰ N
Katsina	7.6114 ⁰ E	12.5139 ⁰ N
Kebbi	4.0695 ⁰ E	11.6781 ⁰ N
Kogi	6.5783 ⁰ E	7.5619 ⁰ N
Kwara	4.5624 ⁰ E	8.9848 ⁰ N
Lagos	3.5408 ⁰ E	6.5233 ⁰ N
Nassarawa	8.3088 ⁰ E	8.5705 ⁰ N
Niger	5.3940 ⁰ E	10.2155 ⁰ N
Ondo	4.8936 ⁰ E	6.8959 ⁰ N
Ogun	3.2584 ⁰ E	6.9098 ⁰ N
Osun	4.5624 ⁰ E	7.5876 ⁰ N
Oyo	3.4196 ⁰ E	8.1196 ⁰ N
River	6.9209 ⁰ E	4,8581 ⁰ N
Sokoto	5.3940 ⁰ E	13.1177 ⁰ N
Plateau	9.7233 ⁰ E	9.2351 ⁰ N
Taraba	10.9807 ⁰ E	7.9869 ⁰ N
Yobe	11.7068 ⁰ E	12.1871 ⁰ N
Zamfara	6.2376 ⁰ E	12.1844 ⁰ N

states

State	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Total
Abia	-	28	12	3	1	5	57	42	5	153
Adamawa	-	-	54	10	39	13	30	12	2	160
Akwa-Ibom	3	17	-	3	5	8	26	22	7	91
Anambra	36	22	30	78	98	35	69	96	28	492
Bauchi	23	17	69	24	65	124	88	76	19	505
Bayelsa	1	30	19	4	-	3	3	34	10	104
Benue	19	51	12	66	18	68	40	48	4	326
Borno	-	21	13	45	17	12	18	18	11	155
Cross River	34	21	54	10	10	10	6	26	18	189
Delta	44	82	181	39	184	44	62	112	50	798
Ebonyi	2	3	5	4	5	1	3	21	7	51
Edo	47	88	164	196	11	208	85	210	120	1,129
Ekiti	-	20	11	4	8	8	24	21	11	107
Enugu	-	5	2	40	61	44	27	35	30	244
FCT	48	80	159	120	198	134	87	162	58	1,046
Gombe	20	15	19	24	40	27	5	23	-	173
Imo	26	21	71	33	17	14	20	30	7	239
Jigawa	1	24	23	14	6	10	13	32	37	160
Kaduna	43	186	24	32	28	17	48	50	18	446

Kano	36	16	31	102	49	48	13	50	28	373
Katsina	36	80	8	64	52	121	50	83	10	504
Kebbi	11	-	1	10	36	38	3	43	7	149
Kogi	33	70	58	208	172	89	86	64	56	836
Kwara	39	29	34	50	34	21	47	43	22	319
Lagos	212	260	306	148	236	156	68	119	74	1,579
Nassarawa	4	64	12	29	2	7	10	19	20	167
Niger	21	18	40	37	94	70	13	51	48	392
Ogun	82	95	87	105	92	86	227	182	28	984
Ondo	67	81	59	34	148	106	53	20	15	583
Osun	13	88	75	14	9	27	29	28	27	310
Oyo	177	23	41	77	59	114	67	107	53	718
Plateau	4	9	31	33	18	32	10	40	-	177
Rivers	43	97	51	11	55	15	174	30	-	476
Sokoto	8	44	38	12	46	8	28	19	32	235
Taraba	5	9	20	11	5	1	5	6	6	68
Yobe	6	36	38	13	62	88	40	50	78	411
Zamfara	17	52	25	22	24	27	18	37	18	240
Total	1,161	1,802	1,877	1,729	2,004	1,839	1,652	2,061	964	15,090

Source: IFRA-Nigeria working papers series, number thirty-five (35) of 28th of November, 2014

Table 4: Summary of fatal road crashes in Lagos per LGAs (June 2006-May 2014)

State	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Total
Abia	-	28	12	3	1	5	57	42	5	153
Adamawa	-	-	54	10	39	13	30	12	2	160
Akwa-Ibom	3	17	-	3	5	8	26	22	7	91
Anambra	36	22	30	78	98	35	69	96	28	492
Bauchi	23	17	69	24	65	124	88	76	19	505
Bayelsa	1	30	19	4	-	3	3	34	10	104
Benue	19	51	12	66	18	68	40	48	4	326
Borno	-	21	13	45	17	12	18	18	11	155
Cross River	34	21	54	10	10	10	6	26	18	189
Delta	44	82	181	39	184	44	62	112	50	798
Ebonyi	2	3	5	4	5	1	3	21	7	51
Edo	47	88	164	196	11	208	85	210	120	1,129
Ekiti	-	20	11	4	8	8	24	21	11	107
Enugu	-	5	2	40	61	44	27	35	30	244
FCT	48	80	159	120	198	134	87	162	58	1,046
Gombe	20	15	19	24	40	27	5	23	-	173
Imo	26	21	71	33	17	14	20	30	7	239
Jigawa	1	24	23	14	6	10	13	32	37	160
Kaduna	43	186	24	32	28	17	48	50	18	446

Kano	36	16	31	102	49	48	13	50	28	373
Katsina	36	80	8	64	52	121	50	83	10	504
Kebbi	11	-	1	10	36	38	3	43	7	149
Kogi	33	70	58	208	172	89	86	64	56	836
Kwara	39	29	34	50	34	21	47	43	22	319
Lagos	212	260	306	148	236	156	68	119	74	1,579
Nassarawa	4	64	12	29	2	7	10	19	20	167
Niger	21	18	40	37	94	70	13	51	48	392
Ogun	82	95	87	105	92	86	227	182	28	984
Ondo	67	81	59	34	148	106	53	20	15	583
Osun	13	88	75	14	9	27	29	28	27	310
Oyo	177	23	41	77	59	114	67	107	53	718
Plateau	4	9	31	33	18	32	10	40	-	177
Rivers	43	97	51	11	55	15	174	30	-	476
Sokoto	8	44	38	12	46	8	28	19	32	235
Taraba	5	9	20	11	5	1	5	6	6	68
Yobe	6	36	38	13	62	88	40	50	78	411
Zamfara	17	52	25	22	24	27	18	37	18	240
Total	1,161	1,802	1,877	1,729	2,004	1,839	1,652	2,061	964	15,090

Source: IFRA-Nigeria working papers series, number thirty-five (35) of 28th of November, 2014

Table 5: Summary of fatal road crashes in Edo per LGAs (June 2006-May 2014)

LGAs	No. of Deaths
Akoko-Edo	46
Egor	1
Esan Central	12
Esan North-East	10
Esan South-East	1
Esan West	20
Etsako East	19
Etsako West	24
Iguegben	4
Ikpoba-Okha	23
Oredo	419
Orhionmwon	33
Ovia North-East	176
Ovia South-West	286
Owan-East	5
Uhunmwonde	50
TOTAL	1,129

Source: IFRA-Nigeria working papers series, number thirty-five (35) of 28th of November, 2014

Table 6: Summary of fatal road crashes in FCT (Abuja) per LGAs (June 2006-May 2014)

LGAs	No. of Deaths
Abaji	212
Abuja Municipal	344
Bwari	39
Gwagwalada	182
Kuje	1
Kwali	248
TOTAL	1,026

Source: IFRA-Nigeria working papers series, number thirty-five (35) of 28th of November, 2014

Results and Discussions

Fatal road accidents is a national calamity though the frequency and intensity varies from state to state. Figure 1 to 9 show the spatial distribution of fatal road crashes from 2006 to 2014 with Lagos state(212 deaths) and Oyo state (177deaths) recording the highest number of deaths followed by Ogun state (82).

Abia, Adamawa, AkwaIbom, Bayelsa, Borno, Ekiti, Enugu, Jigawa, Nasarawa, Plateau, Sokoto, Taraba and Yobe recorded the lowest ranging between 0 and 8 deaths. According to figure 2 below, Lagos (260 deaths) was ranked the highest in 2007 followed by Kaduna state (186 deaths) with Adamawa,Ebonyi ,Enugu, Kebbi, Plateau and Taraba recording the lowest.Equally, Lagos State had the highest rate of fatality in 2008 with 306 deaths, 148 in 2009, 236 in 2010 respectively (see figures 3, 4 and 5 below) while Edo State had the highest fatality in 2011 with 208 deaths(see figure 6 below). Ogun State (227,182) recorded the highest in 2012 and 2013 respectively.(figure 7, 8 and 9). Lagos state has the highest number of fatalities on the National level with 1,579 , followed by Edo with1,129 deaths and Abuja(FCT) with 1,046..On the other hand, Ebonyi (51 deaths), Taraba (68 deaths) and Akwa-Ibom (91) recorded far fewer fatal road accidents.

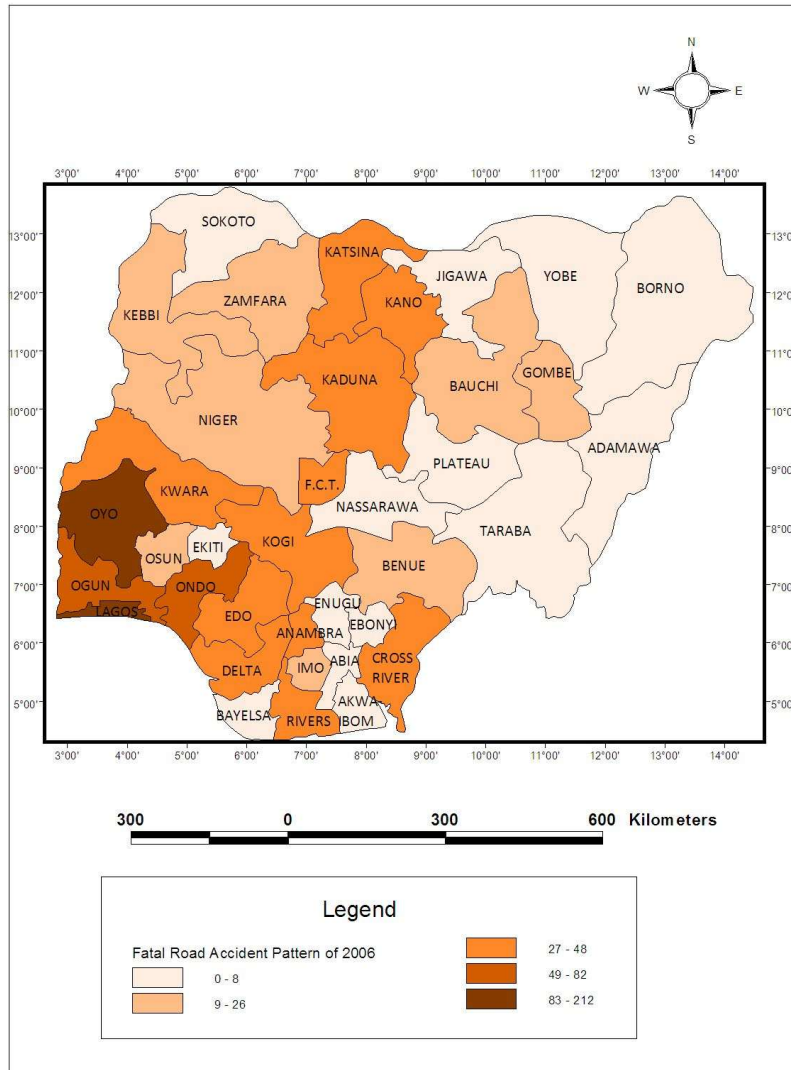


Figure.1: Fatal road Crashes in 2006 derived by Kernel Density Estimation

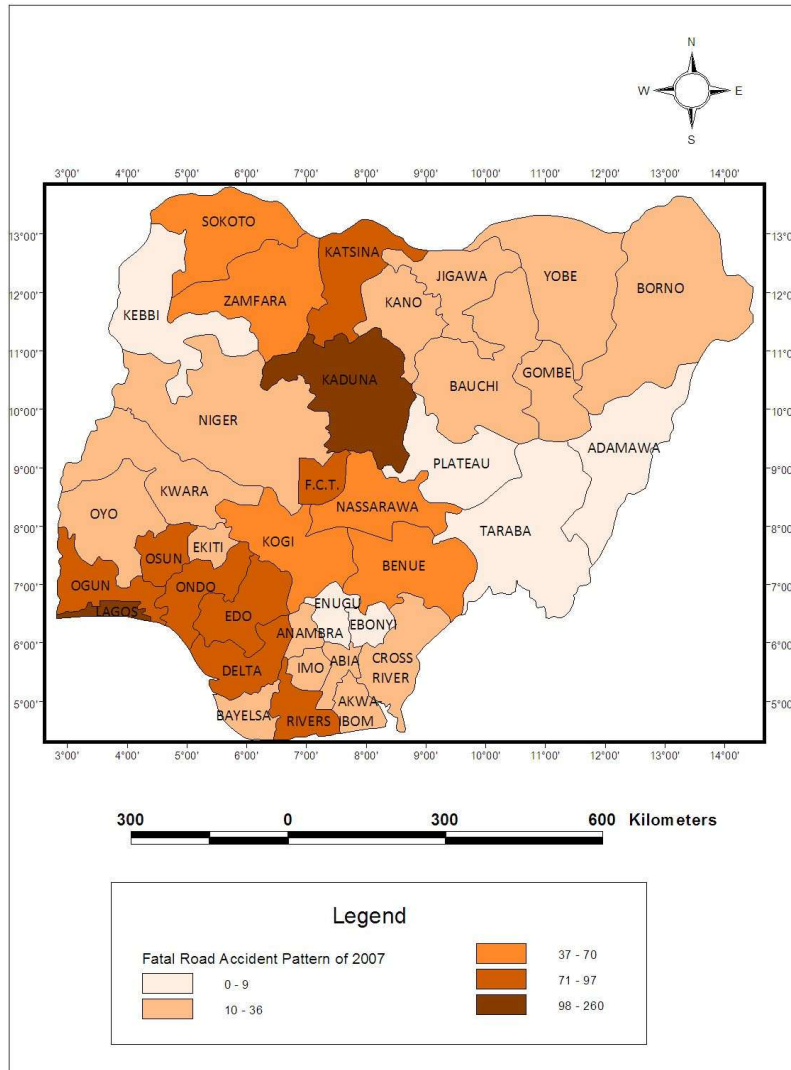


Figure 2: Fatal road crashes in 2007 derived by Kernel Density Estimation

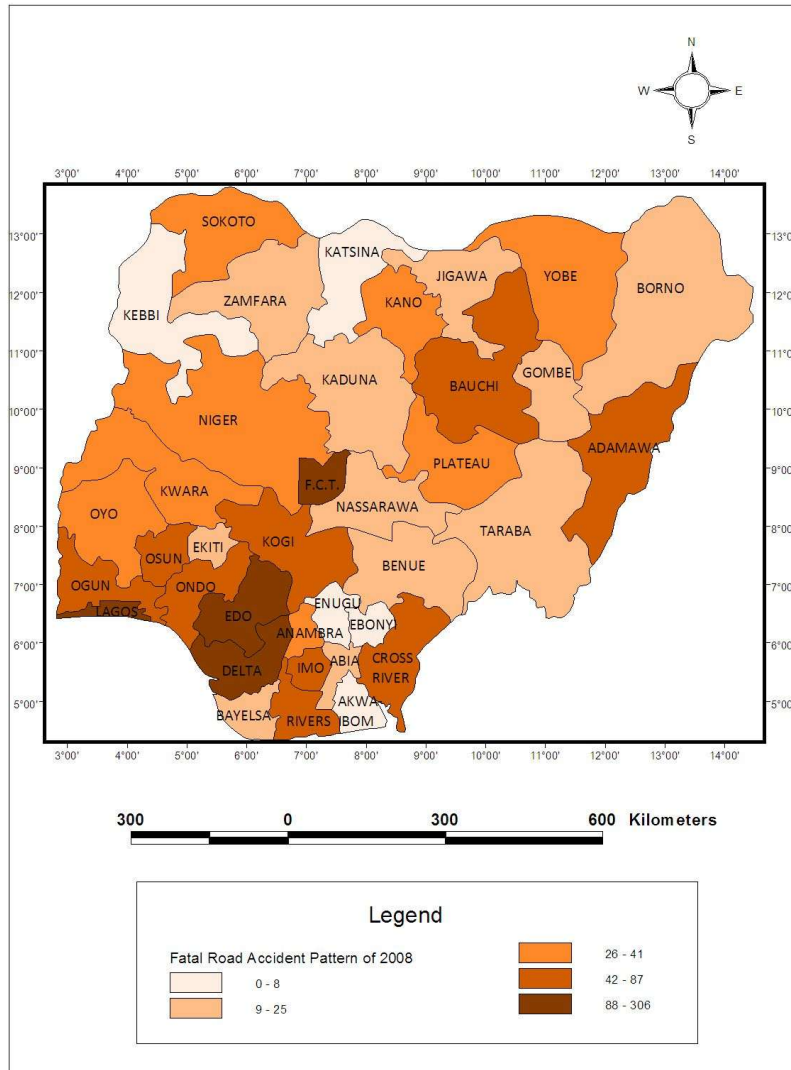


Figure 3: Fatal road crashes in 2008 derived by Kernel Density Estimation

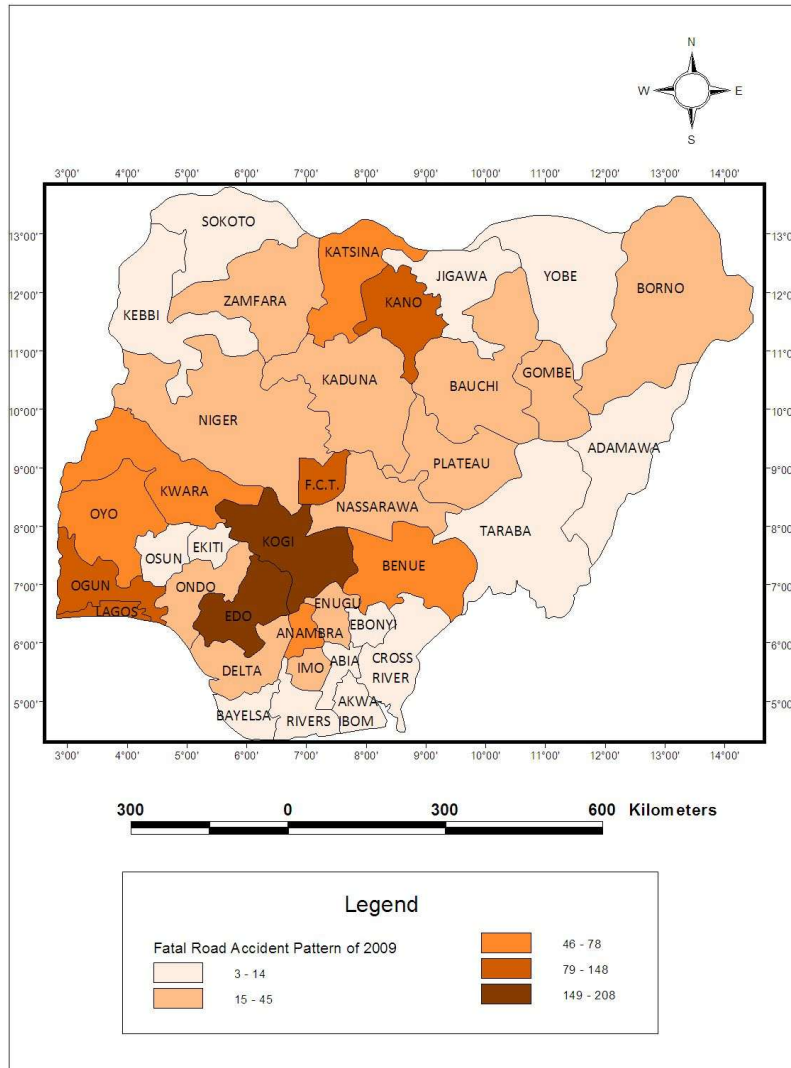


Figure 4: Fatal road crashes in 2009 derived by kernel Density Estimation

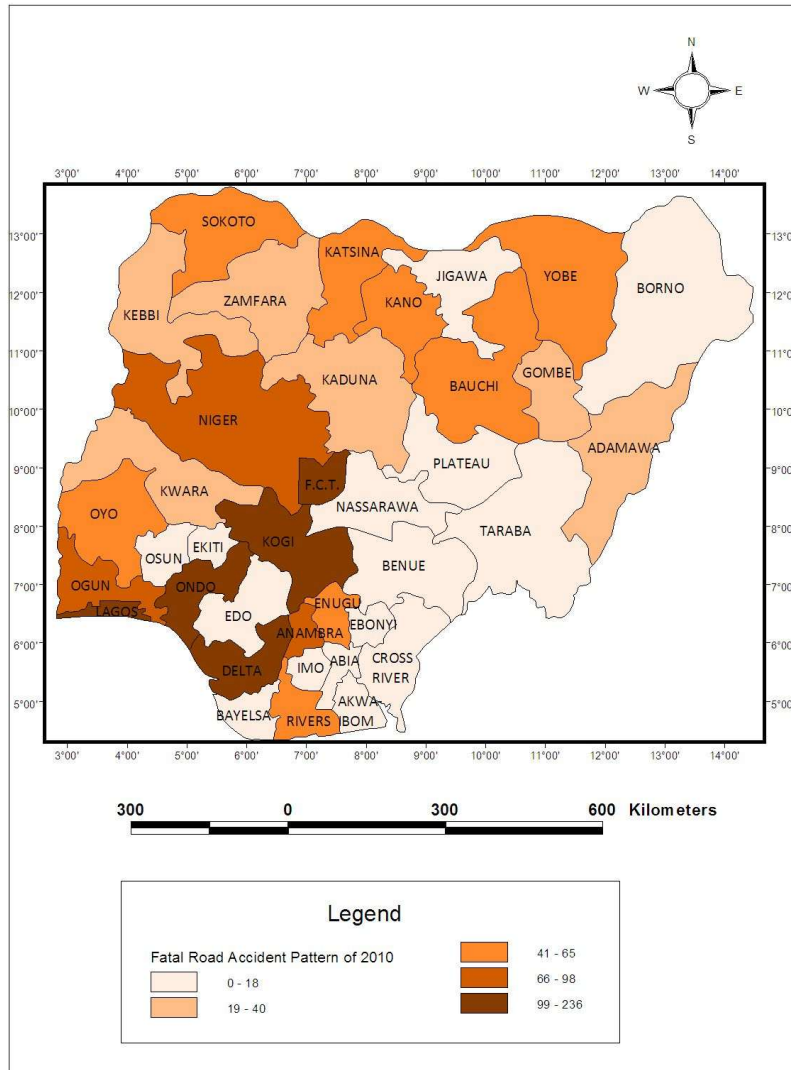


Figure 5: Fatal road crashes in 2010 derived by Kernel Density Estimation

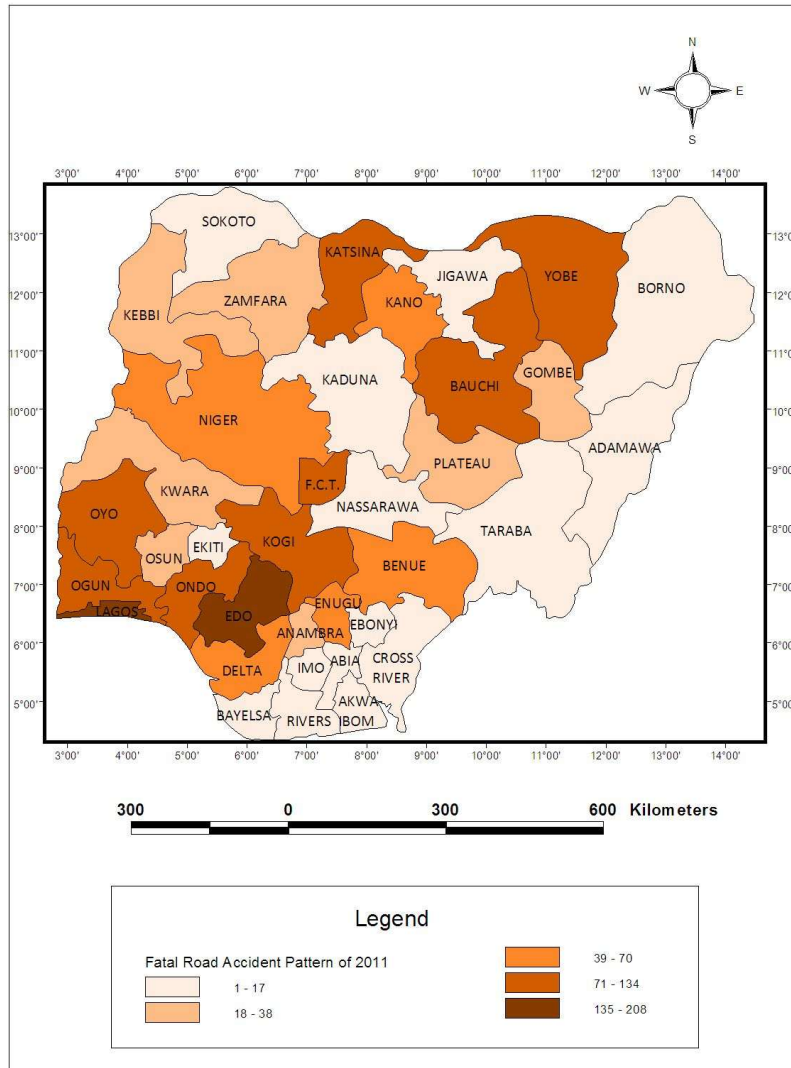


Figure 6: Fatal road crashes in 2011 derived by kernel Density Estimation

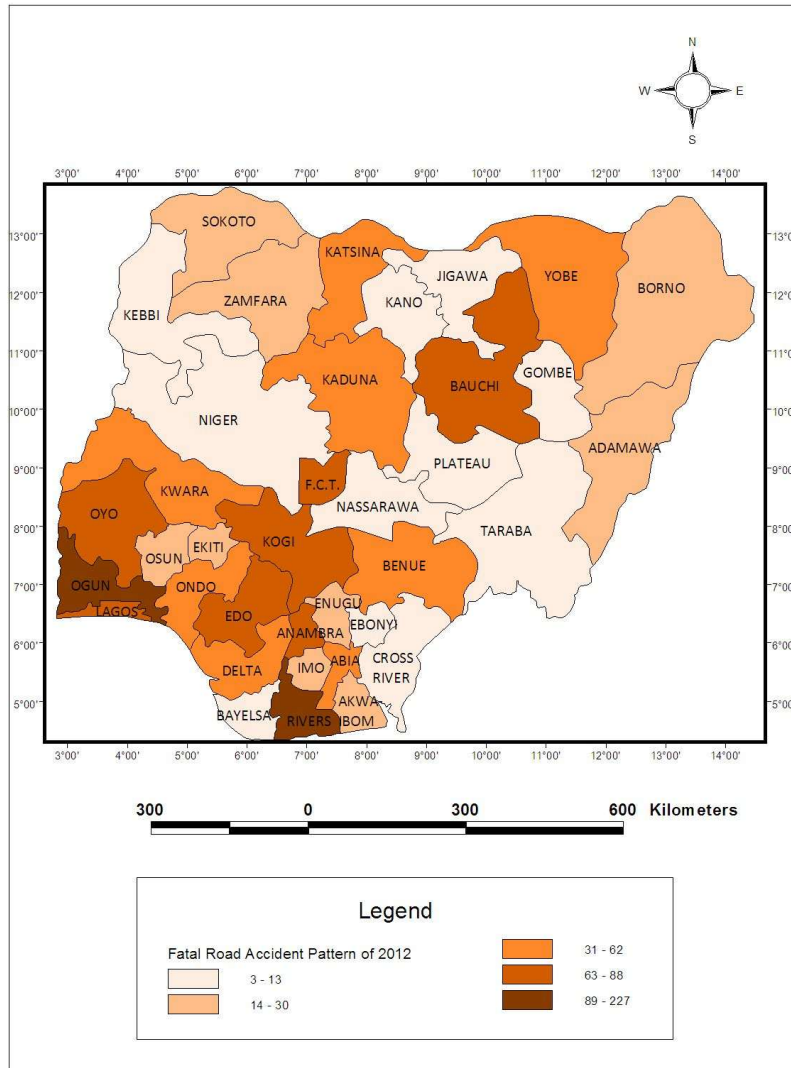


Figure 7: Fatal road crashes in 2012 derived by Kernel Density Estimation

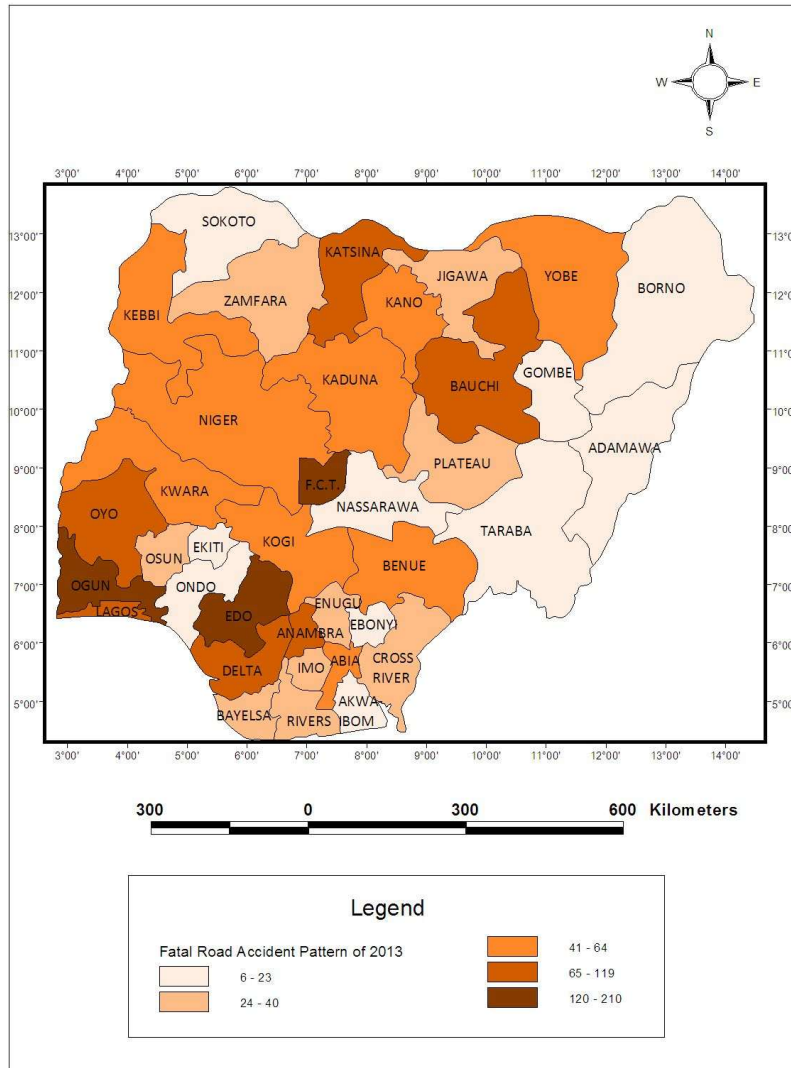


Figure 8: Fatal road crashes in 2013 derived by Kernel Density Estimation

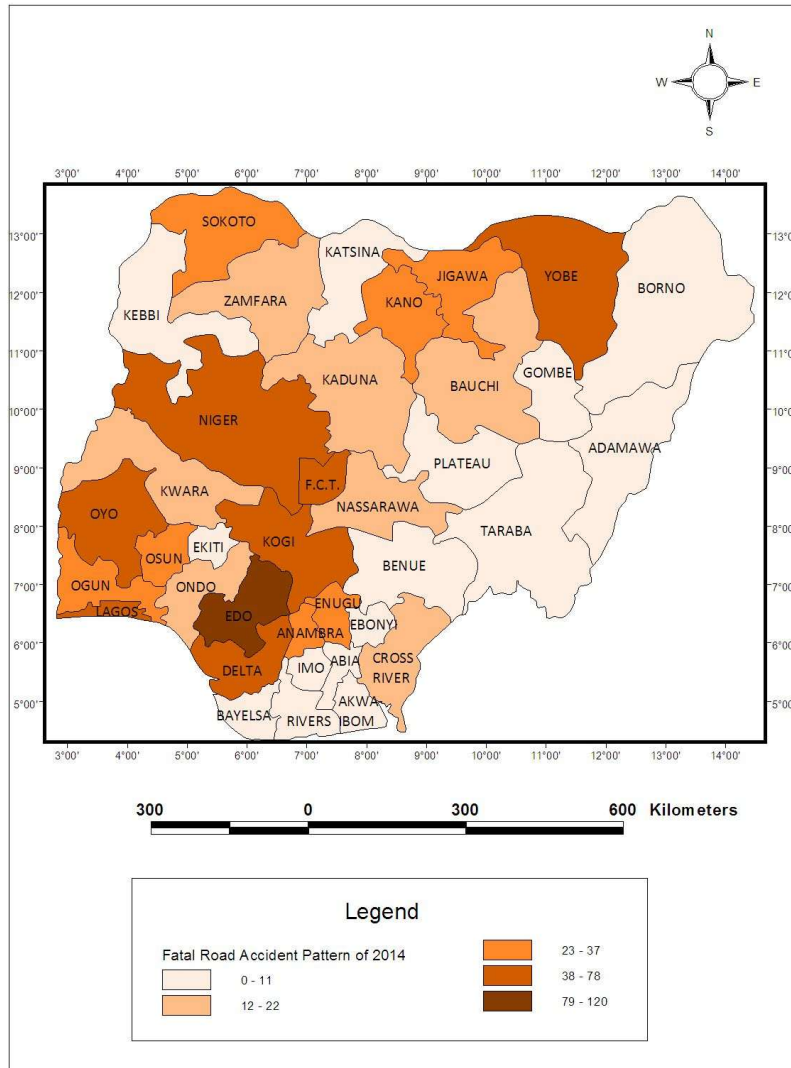


Figure 9: Fatal road crashes in 2014 by Kernel Density Estimation

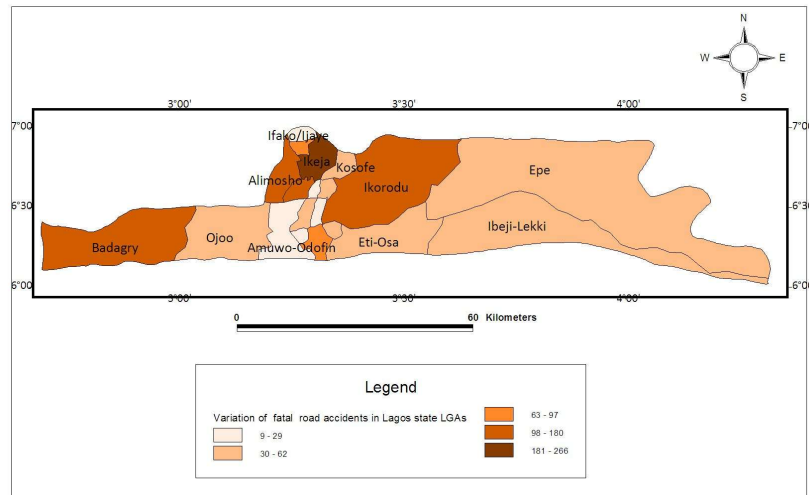


Figure 10: Fatal road crashes per LGAs in Lagos derived by Kernel Density Estimation

Figure.10 shows that Ikeja (266 deaths) in Lagos state recorded the highest number of deaths from fatal road accidents within the period of study. Most lives were lost in the Ikeja axis of the Lagos-Ibadan Expressway (Ukoji, 2014). Oredo (419) LGA in Edo state was ranked the highest with Benin-Ore-Lagos Expressway remaining the most dangerous route in the state while Abuja Municipal (344) had the highest number of fatality.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study has examined the spatial pattern of fatal road crashes among the Nigerian thirty-six states including Abuja, over a period of eight (8) years using GIS techniques. The distribution of fatal road crashes among the thirty-six (36) states and the FCT (Abuja) shows that Lagos State recorded the highest number of deaths within the period of study except for June, 2014 and closely followed by Abuja (FCT) and Edo State. Mapping of fatal road crashes by LGAs of the three hotspot states mentioned above shows that variations exist with more deaths recorded in Ikeja (Lagos), Oredo (Edo) and Abuja Municipal (Abuja).

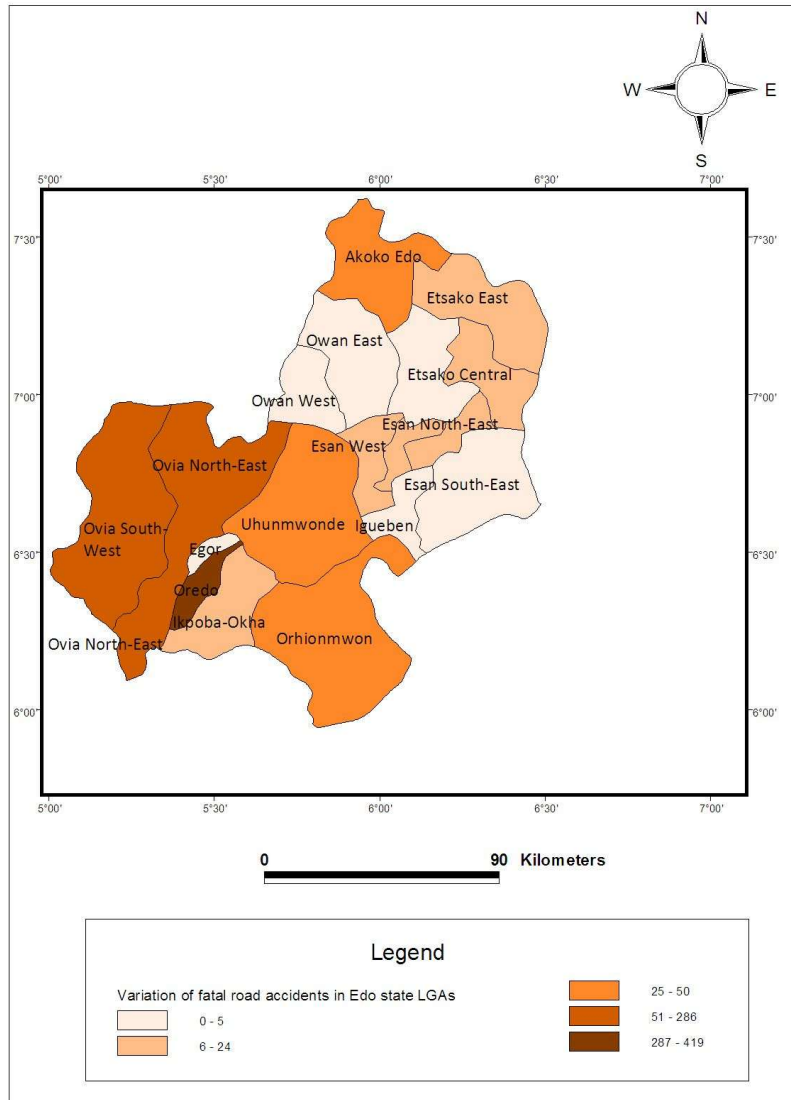


Figure 11: Fatal road crashes per LGAs in Edo derived by Kernel Density Estimation

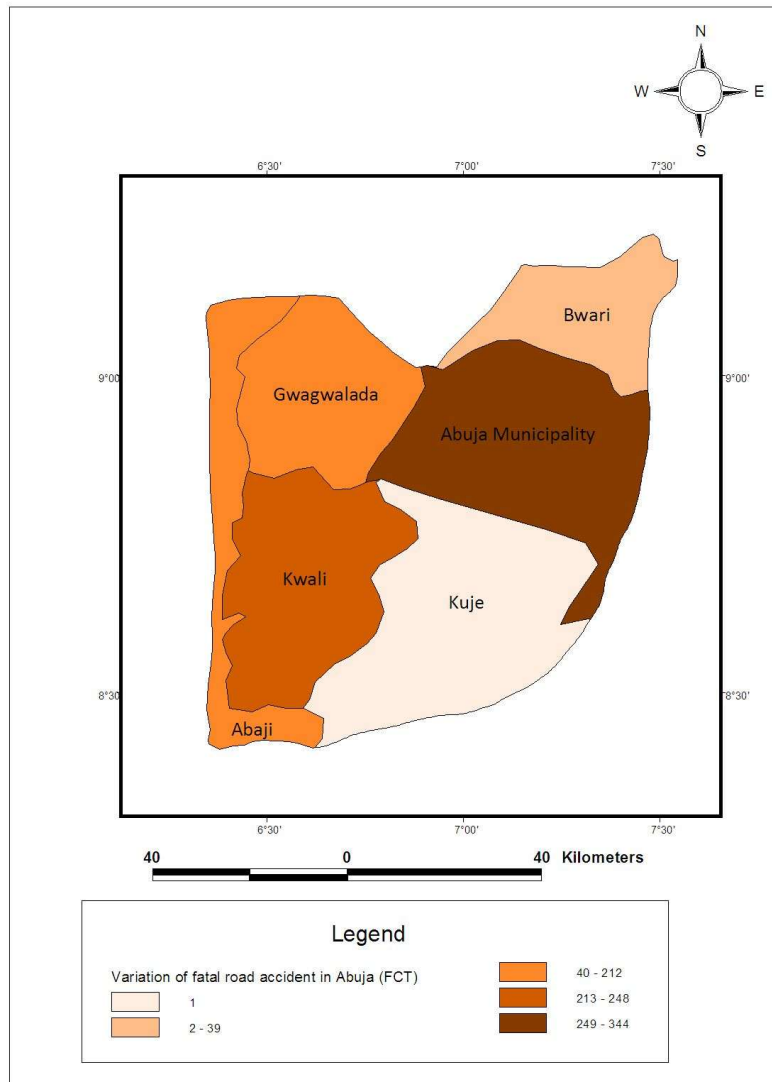


Figure 12: Fatal road crashes per LGAs in Abuja derived by Kernel Density Estimation

This paper equally showed that GIS Technology is able to handle road traffic crashes analysis and can also facilitate spatial data sharing within transportation agencies, department and other related government agencies. As the results are given graphically in map format, it is easy to interpret

results. However, in order to reduce this menace, there are needs for installation of speed limit in vehicles across the country, road infrastructure such as road signs, bridges, street light etc. should be adequately maintained, and if possible, improved upon. Road safety education among others should be organized within a framework of lifetime across the thirty-six states in Nigeria including Abuja by using aggressive public information campaigns.

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An Evaluation of the CBN Cashless Policy in Nigeria: Security of Money and Investment

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Yaquub Muhideen Abiodun

Abstract

This study accessed the impact of the CBN cashless policy on security of money and investment. The move to use electronic cash has its own challenges, which in Nigeria appeared to be accentuated by the perennial problems of inadequate physical and social infrastructure. The introduction of the cashless policy in Nigeria therefore throws up questions that bother on the impacts of the cashless policy on issues such as security of public fund and investments and ultimately the general problem of safely moving money from one terminal to the other. The study employed the survey research design and the simple random sampling technique was used. Questionnaires were administered; the data collected were presented using frequency table and Chi-Square statistical analysis was used to test hypotheses. The result from analysis showed that the CBN cashless policy has a direct positive with security of money and investment in Nigeria. The study recommended that much needed to be done in terms of deliberate effort toward the deployment of biometric data capturing machines and the use of superior internet security software to further strengthen security of money and investment in Nigeria's economy.

Introduction

Nigerian financial sector has witnessed a growing shift from cash – based economy to cash – less economy. The move is fast becoming a top priority for government, NGOs and companies focused on expanding financial access. Gabriel (2012), noted that recent statistics show that nearly 2.5 billion people (almost half the world's adult population) do not have access to formal financial services. Without basic payments and savings accounts, money is often kept I cash under the mattress then moved around from person to person, drastically increasing the risk of theft or loss. Even a task as simple as paying bills – in person and via cash can be unsafe, costly and time –

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consuming. The implications of this financial exclusion are significant and far reaching, reinforcing the cycle of poverty and slowing economic progress.

Information technology plays an important role in bringing about sustainable development in every nation. Without an optimal use of information technology, no country can attain a speedy socio – economic growth and development. According to Ademola (2012), “The future of all business, particularly those in the service industry lies in information technology. In fact, information technology has been changing the way companies compete. Banks are companies engaged in banking business. Their future is, therefore, linked to the pervasive influence of information technology”. Information technology is more than computers. It encompasses the data that a business creates and uses as well as a wide spectrum of increasing convergent and linked technologies that process such data. Information technology thus relates to the application of technical processes in the communication of data. It is beyond doubt that information technology can help reduce transaction costs for banks, which will translate to lower prices for services to customers. Information technology for banks takes different forms. The forms as we can see today include:

- a. Computerization of customer’s accounts and account information, storage and retrieval;
- b. Deposit and withdrawal through Automated Teller Machines (ATMs); and
- c. Networking to facilitate access to accounts from any branch of the bank.

Other forms include bio – metrics used in finger – printing and identification which should dispense with the use of passwords or Personal Identification Numbers (PINs) in the initiation of transaction by customers. The use of the internet and websites to handle a host of services that go beyond traditional financial services which is increasing among banks is also a product of information technology. All these come with their tons of challenges especially in a developing nation like ours. Ikenna (2015) puts it thus, it was therefore hardly surprising that the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) introduced the cashless policy in Nigeria in order to ensure that banking services get to everybody and offers all platforms for empowerment that will change the way people transact businesses and living generally in Nigeria.

A cashless economy is an environment in which money is spent without being physically carried from one person to the other. The first issue in the cashless economy is the issue of electronic purse. This is electronic information that is transmitted to a device which reveals the information

about how much a person has stored in the bank and how much he can spend.

The policy, it is claimed by the makers, will enhance the integration of our economy as presently 78.8 percent of the country's rural populations are largely unbanked. According to the CBN, this policy, when fully implemented therefore, will drive Nigerian's huge informal economy which is driven by small scale farmers, traders, craftsmen and other types of small and medium sized businesses and eventually integrate it into the nation's formal economy.

Financial experts and businessmen alike have argued that the move to use electronic cash, commonly dubbed "Cashless" however, has its own challenges, which in Nigeria; appear to be accentuated by the perennial problem of inadequate physical and social infrastructure. However, as the financial institutions have implemented such things as debit cards, credit cards, internet banking, etc, it has slowly brought society into the acceptance zone whereby another step could be taken. Without society being able to understand the pros and cons of electronic cash, the full benefit of the cashless society may never be realized.

The move to use electronic cash, dubbed "cashless" however, has its own challenges, which in Nigeria appeared to be accentuated by the perennial problem of inadequate physical and social infrastructure. The introduction of the policy in Nigeria therefore throws up questions that bother on the impacts of the cashless policy on issues such as security of public fund and investments and ultimately the general problem of safely moving money from one terminal to the other.

Another worry is those of inadequacy and undeveloped nature of basic infrastructures such as the ATM terminals, POS terminals, unreliable internet, consistent power failure, underdeveloped mobile money system and the inept attitude of employing cheap and untrained labour, all of which can lead to loss money and huge investment crash. Cases abound of how businesses and individuals have either lost money or huge investment opportunities due to problems associated with failures of gadgets used in the cashless system to respond appropriately or timely. Thus, money lose due to trapped credit card, overpayment or underpayment, debiting without withdrawal or transfer, money lossed to fraudsters/hackers and "yahoo yahoo" boys as they are known, the challenge of money laundering, and the issue of lack of confidence in the system by investors due to poor infrastructural/structural development. These security factors among others have made investors and individuals skeptical about the security of their money and investment.

The following research questions are formulated to guide this study.

- i. Does the Central Bank of Nigeria cashless policy promote the security of money and investment in the Nigeria economy?
- ii. What are the securities challenges facing the cashless policy of the Central Bank of Nigeria in Nigeria?
- iii. What are the measures taken by Central Bank of Nigeria to ensure the security of money and investment in a cashless-based economy like Nigeria?

Objective of this study is to assess the CBN cashless policy in Nigeria with focus on security of money and investment. The main objectives are as follows;

- i. To assess whether the Central Bank of Nigeria cashless policy has promote the security of money and investment in the Nigeria economy.
- ii. To find out some of the security issues facing the cashless policy of the CBN in Nigeria.
- iii. To identify the measures taken by the CBN to ensure the security of money and investment in a cashless-based economy like Nigeria.

The following hypothesis was formulated to guide the study.

Ho: The CBN cashless policy has significant effect on the security of money and investment in Nigeria.

Hi: The CBN cashless policy has no significant effect on the security of money and investment in Nigeria.

Literature Review

A cashless society has been defined by many scholars and many explanations have also been given in defense of the cashless society that has greeted our society today.

According to Raymond (2012), cashless society is a culture where no one uses cash, all purchases being made are by credit cards, charge cards, cheques, or direct transfers from one account to another through mobile banking. The cashless society here refers to the widespread application of computer technology in the financial system.

Ademola (2014), argued that electronic cash is a system which allows individuals to purchase goods or services in today's society without the exchange of tangible cash. The term money still exists, but it is more in an electronic form than previously. Electronic cash is a term becoming more acceptable as the world makes a shift towards a cashless society. Since the 1960's governments and financial institutions globally have made slow, but steady steps towards the goal of a society without cash. The cashless system

is a more convenient method of payment, and a method of preventing crimes all the way from the robbery of cash from an individual to the extent of money laundering by crime syndicates and cash stockpiling at home by corrupt government officials.

The case may conveniently be made that the future of all businesses, particularly those in the service industry lies in information technology. In fact, information technology has been changing the way companies compete. Banks are companies engaged in banking business. Their future is, therefore, linked to the pervasive influence of information technology Kosoko, (2013).

George Etomi (2015), noted that information technology is more than computers. It encompasses the data that a business creates and uses as well as a wide spectrum of increasingly convergent and linked technologies that process such data. Information technology thus relates to the application of technical processes in the communication of data.

George Etomi (2015), also mentioned, information technology can help reduce transaction costs for banks, which will translate to lower prices for services to customers. Information technology for banks takes different forms. The forms include:

- a. Computerization of customers' accounts and accounts information storage and retrieval;
- b. Deposit and withdrawal through Automated Teller Machines (ATMs); and
- c. Networking to facilitate access to accounts from any branch of the bank.

Michael (2016), further forms include bio – metrics used in finger – printing and handwritten identification which should dispense with the use of passwords or Personal Identification Numbers (PIN) in the initiation of transaction by customers. The use of the internet and websites to bundle a host of services that go beyond traditional financial services which is increasing among banks, is also a product of information technology in banking.

Raymond (2012), stressed that among other things, the cashless policy will save the banking system the cost of printing, distributing and handling large volume of cash. It is estimated that over 70 percent of cash in circulation in the Nigerian economy exists outside the formal banking system. It has been argued that cashless policy has cost implications for the economy. Physical cash has life span; it gets destroyed easily. This means government spends a lot of money replacing cash with new ones. If cash is not in the formal system, it can't be used for lending, but if an aggregate is known, that is, how much money is available to kick – start the economy, it makes lending and production easier.

The cost of funding is also said to be high because the amount in circulation is not captured in a synthesized manner. Part of the reason the CBN is introducing the policy is to reduce the cost of funds by making sure that a significant amount of the capital around is captured in the formal system. With this, when the law of demand and supply sets in, there will be enough cash to lend to individuals, corporate bodies as well as small and medium scale enterprises. If the apex bank gets the cashless policy right, therefore, it will be a major driving for business in the years to come in Nigeria. This should be of interest to business owners. The cashless policy is also believed to be a step towards curbing money laundering in the financial system Cisar, (2003)



Sources: David, I. E (2013). Conceptual and Analytical View on Investment

The term investment is alien to many today. Many also wonder what happens to the security of their money and investment in the face of the CBN cashless policy. What investment options are available in a cashless economy?

According to Ikenna (2014), Investment implies the production of new capital goods, plants and equipments. John Keynes (2012), refers investment as real investment and not financial investment. Investment is a conscious act of an individual or any entity that involves deployment of money (cash) in securities or assets issued by any financial institution with a view to obtain the target returns over a specified period of time.

Target returns on an investment include: Increase in the value of the securities or asset, and/or regular income must be available from the securities or asset. David (2013), looked at different types or kinds of investment which are shown in the diagram above and discussed in the following points.

1. *Autonomous Investment*

Investment which does not change with the changes in income level, is called as Autonomous or Government Investment. Autonomous Investment remains constant irrespective of income level. Which means even if the income is low, the autonomous, Investment remains the same. It refers to the investment made on houses, roads, public buildings and other parts of Infrastructure. The Government normally makes such a type of investment.

2. *Induced Investment*

Investment which changes with the changes in the income level, is called as Induced Investment. Induced Investment is positively related to the income level. That is, at high levels of income entrepreneurs are induced to invest more and vice-versa. At a high level of income, Consumption expenditure increases. This leads to an increase in investment of capital goods, in order to produce more consumer goods.

3. *Financial Investment*

Investment made in buying financial instruments such as new shares, bonds, securities, etc. is considered as a Financial Investment. However, the money used for purchasing existing financial instruments such as old bonds, old shares, etc., cannot be considered as financial investment. It is a mere transfer of a financial asset from one individual to another. In financial investment, money invested for buying of new shares and bonds as well as debentures have a positive impact on employment level, production and economic growth.

4. *Real Investment*

Investment made in new plant and equipment, construction of public utilities like schools, roads and railways, etc., is considered as Real Investment. Real investment in new machine tools, plant and equipment purchased factory

buildings, etc. increases employment, production and economic growth of the nation. Thus real investment has a direct impact on employment generation, economic growth, etc.

5. *Planned Investment*

Investment made with a plan in several sectors of the economy with specific objectives is called Planned or Intended Investment. Planned Investment can also be called as Intended Investment because an investor while making investment make a concrete plan of his investment. This simply means that before investing in any project or market the investor has defined what his investment is intended to achieve and what space of time the investment is expected to mature. The investor has a clear direction as to why he/she is embarking on such investment. In this type of investment, the investor understudies and understands the risks of such investment.

6. *Unplanned Investment*

Investment done without any planning is called as an Unplanned or Unintended Investment. In unplanned type of investment, investors make investment randomly without making any concrete plans. Hence it can also be called as Unintended Investment. Under this type of investment, the investor may not consider the specific objectives while making an investment decision. The investor does not border to state in clear terms the goals of the investment neither does he take time to state what the investment is intended to achieve. It also means that unplanned investor does not take out time to consider how the cashless policy will impact on his investment. All security factors affecting the cashless policy are not considered before investing or putting money into a project.

7. *Gross Investment*

Gross Investment means the total amount of money spent for creation of new capital assets like Plant and Machinery, Factory Building, etc. It is the total expenditure made on new capital assets in a period. Thus, gross investment is the total amount spent on goods in order to produce other goods and services. This simply implies that people consider the entire amount of money or investment they can afford to put into a business or project in a cashless economy for the sake of generating more money or asserts. The degree of safety and certainty will go a long way in determining how much money or investment (gross investment) they will be willing to put in.

8. *Net Investment*

Net Investment is Gross Investment less (minus) Capital Consumption (Depreciation) during a period of time, usually a year.

It must be noted that a part of the investment is meant for depreciation of the capital asset or for replacing a worn-out capital asset. Hence it must be deducted to arrive at net investment. Net investment is the increase in productive stock. Net investment considers depreciations and is calculated by subtracting depreciation from gross investment. Investment refers to the amount invested in purchasing financial assets. This means that the investor looks at what will come to him as an addition for putting his money or resources into a particular business or transaction considering also the risk or benefit that may crop up due to the CBN cashless policy. Hence, upper most in the hearts of investors is, "how will the cashless policy enhance or hamper, increase or decrease, deplete or multiply my money and investment". Therefore, net investment in this context for any customer or business person is, "increase in the value of assets or securities". Hence, it is about the conviction that given the cashless system, there will be guaranteed increase in investment (net investment).

Security when it relates to investment or money, simply refer to the satisfaction and anticipation based on prediction that there will be good returns on investment or to the threats one may expose his/her money and investment to due to the activities of fraudsters, yahoo. Yahoo boys or mismanagement by banks. This is the primary motivator to every investor. Hence, the guaranteed safety of money when put into a business is what that investor looks out for before investing time and resources in any venture. Louis I., (2012).

Abdul M. (2009), describes security of money as the speculative evidence that one will not likely lose money in a particular business proposal. It is sometimes anchored on some economics factors as well as government policies and market factors. Michael (2016), further stressed that security is the degree of resistance to, or protection from, harm. It applies to any vulnerable and/or valuable asset, such as a person, money, investment, dwelling, community, item, nation, or organization. Hence, the security of money in the context discussed here is the instinct that money and investment can be directed toward a project or transaction for immediate or future benefits. It is the quality or state of money or investment being secure. Hence, the issue of security of money and investment is paramount when it comes to doing any business especially in a newly birth cashless economy. Investors want to be sure that they are not exposed to colossal risk. They want minimal risk so as not to crash out of business.

According to Afy (2013), in finance and investment when people talk of the security of money and investment what comes to mind is the system upon which an existing business or an economic activity is built. It is the guiding factor for many investors. Hence, the assurance that they will not lose their money is in most case the trigger for investment. Many people believe that one should not put their money in a leaking pause, same goes for investors who also believe that one should not invest an amount they cannot afford to lose.

Gabor (2008), puts it simply, security of money is safety, protection, and guarantee that an asset put into use will generate more assets for the betterment of economic lifestyle of the investor. He argued that no real investor will put their money in any business that has no reliable and sustainable system for security reasons. Thus, the expanded theory on the security of money and investment.

It is important to examine the impact of the cashless policy on security of money and investment. The first issue in the cashless economy is the issue of electronic purse. Fears have been expressed that the cashless policy will lead to loss of money and crashed investment. On the other hand, there is the argument that the cashless policy will ensure the safety of money and guarantee returns on investment. Looking at the two sides to this, one cannot but attempt to assess the impacts of the cashless policy on the security of money and investment.

David (2013), opines that in line with Nigeria's vision 2020 goal of being amongst the top 20 economies by the year 2020, an efficient and modern payment system, like the CBN's cashless policy is positively correlated with economic development, and is a key enabler for economic growth through the provision of a safer business environment for all investors.

Morealso, Ikenna (2013), argues that system would also reduce the cost of banking services as well as the high cost of cash along the value chain, thereby driving financial Inclusion by providing more efficient transaction options and greater reach.

According to Ikenna (2013), the Apex Bank's analysis shows that only 10 per cent of daily banking transactions are above N150,000, but the 10 per cent accounts for the majority of the high value transaction. This suggests that the entire banking population subsidizes the costs that the tiny minority 10 per cent incurs in terms of high cash usage. In addition, the policy would curb the risks associated with using cash. Since, cash encourages robberies and other cash-related crimes. It would also reduce the loss incurred in the case of fire and flooding incidents.

Femi (2014), said the cash-less policy would reduce inefficiency, corruption, leakages, money laundering; amongst other cash related fraudulent activities. For the government, it would aid increased tax collection, greater financial inclusion and increased economic development.

According to the Inter-Switch Executive Director of Payment and Solutions, Mr. Charles Ifedi, "I see this as a very good initiative and hope that at the end of the programme we all will be able to adopt electronic payment in Nigeria and in government." Why the Delay?

According to the Inter-Switch Executive Director of Payment and Solutions, Mr. Charles Ifedi, despite its huge benefits, it still beats the imagination of Nigerians why this initiative of the Apex bank is yet to be consummated by the public. This is attributed to numerous reasons.

In the words of Raymond (2012), the advent of ATM and other electronic means of transaction saw a rise in the activities of hackers and Advanced Fee Fraudsters (419). Most of them have dispossessed many bank customers and the public of their hard earned money.

Stakeholders still ponder on the security of this system, which should be top among the scale of preference of the CBN in ensuring that this policy thrives. The Apex Bank should not be oblivious of the infrastructural decay in our society, where epileptic energy challenges remain unsolved in spite of our lip service. Furthermore, the problematic Point of Sales (POS) terminals and incessant network down-time has also cost businesses and investments lots of fortune and hindered the execution of this initiative. Nigerians, also wonder whether the policy is a burden or relief as long queues are still noticed at banking halls and at some offsite ATM locations and they speculate what the situation would be when the policy is fully imbibed in the country.

Though, daunting as the challenges may seem, the recent grant of N79.5 million (\$510,000) by the United States Trade and Development Agency (USTDA) to banks for the establishment of a Data Recovery Centre (DRC) to fortify and protect e-payment transaction in the country is timely and commendable .

The issue of data security, lack of public trust, low rate of public awareness, unreliable IT infrastructure etc are few of the many worries people share about the cashless policy. How to win the trust of users becomes the paramount issue for the promoters of the cashless policy hence, the need to look at ways of guaranteeing security of money and investment of the beneficiaries of the cashless policy.

César (2013), outlined the measures necessary for guaranteeing the security of money and investment in a cashless economy as discussed below.

i. Network Connectivity and Communications

Due to vast number of people using the cell – phones, Telcoms (Telecommunications Companies) pay more attention to voice clarity series rather than network connectivity. Thus, network availability is inconsistent. This makes for slow access to the internet through all mediums other than cell phones. This is because Telcoms make more money on voice than data. People make use of their phone in making calls than in browsing, hence the Telcoms put more effort in creating an adequate platform for clarity of voices services contrary to data usage and connectivity. Thus, to achieve an overall security of money and investment there should be deliberate effort towards quality of services delivery and customer satisfaction.

ii. Infrastructure Development

The financial infrastructure in Nigeria should be adequate installed and maintained effectively. These include ATMs, Point of Sales system, kiosks, mobile; web and other mediums have to dramatically expand to touch at least 40% of the whole economy before any meaningful effect can be achieved.

iii. Security Issues

Challenges as theft, armed robbery and irregular habits by Bankers, data base vulnerability, internet fraud and e–crime can be checked by the use of modern technological gadgets in monitoring both online and offline transactions. Superior internet security software are also highly recommendable.

iv. POS Machine and Other Technical Issues

The big question of technical problems and know-how should be checked in other to avoid the loss of money due to machine malfunction. Many at times, POS malfunctions leading to loss of money or delay in transactions. This diminishes customers trust in the system thereby making many bank users to be skeptical in accepting the technology.

v. Installation of High Quality IT Gadgets

Customer may be debited twice in course of transaction while using the ATM's machine. This could be caused due to poor communication or signals in the ATM's machine or likely the POS software malfunctions. Hence, high quality AT machines should be bought and installed for transaction purposes in other to ensure the security of investors' resources.

vi. Development of Biometric Data Capturing Machine

There is much to do in terms of deliberate effort toward the deployment of biometric data capturing machines as this will help to check theft and other financial crimes. Security in online banking is typically provided through the use of an ID and password, these and other security measures must be effective to prevent not only the breach of privacy, but other security concerns like the alteration of data. For e-banking to be effective, an area that must be addressed is security, for any IT based service associated with e-banking increases the need for security. A key concern is privacy.

According to Gabriel (2010), with Nigeria gradually transiting from cash to an electronic based economy, by virtue of the implementation of the Central Bank of Nigeria's (CBN) cashless policy, cyber criminals and hackers in the country who hitherto attacked businesses and individuals across the Atlantic, are re-directing their energies towards exploiting possible loopholes in the electronic payment system in order to perpetuate fraud.

Analysts have warned financial institutions and other stakeholders in the electronic payment industry to step up investments in security of electronic transactions, or risk been overwhelmed by the spate of sophisticated cyber attacks that would soon arise as a result of the sheer volume of financial transactions online. Loius Kant, (2013).

LoiusKant (2013), noted that a report from Symantec's latest Internet Security Threat, supports analysts fears, indicating that Nigeria has moved six positions up the ladder, to occupy the 59th position globally, amongst countries with greatest Internet Security threat.

Industry analysts have expressed concerns about Nigeria's rising cybercrime profile. There is however little effort from the Federal Government to pass into law, pending cybercrime bills aimed at criminalizing the acts.

Jones (2008) argues that analysts have identified this worrying situation as a major drawback to the development of electronic payments in Nigeria. The CBN had envisaged this security challenge when it began implementing the cashless policy. Accordingly, the apex bank had directed all players in the banking and electronic payment sector to speedily attain Payment Card Industry Data Security Standard (PCIDSS) compliance.

This, according to the apex bank, is to ensure that card users in the country would continue to experience enhanced payment data security. But up till now, out of the 21 banks currently operating in the country, only Access Bank Plc has achieved compliance, BusinesDay Newspaper report, it was gathered that only Interswitch, ValuCard and E-Transact Plc among switching services providers, have achieved compliance.

Security experts told Business Day that PCIDSS (Payment Card Industry Data Security Standard) certification represents a common set of security best practices that if strictly adhered to, would ensure the safe and secure handling of payment card data and transactions. Market watchers have warned that many Nigerians would lose confidence in the e-payment system if security concerns become a reality.

According to Ikenna A.J (2015), Lack of confidence in Nigeria's e-payment system could hinder foreign investments. It could send negative signals to the global business community that Nigeria is not a secure entity to do business with, as regards international trade.

Peter Boglo of Oracle Corporation told Business Day that Nigeria's cashless initiative would bring with it an explosion of data running on electronic platforms, further urging banks to take advantage of latest security solutions to protect their networks.

"With the new shift in the economy, where emphasis is being placed on electronic transactions, banks would be highly susceptible to cyber attacks and threats," he noted that financial institutions are not speeding up PCIDSS compliance because they think implementing these security policies could disrupt business operations.

Mitchell Elegbe, chief executive officer and managing director of Interswitch Nigeria Limited asserts that financial institutions, (NIBSS) National Interbank Settlement System and other stakeholders in the industry are all making investments in PCIDSS certification. But market watchers have expressed reservations about the pace at which they are making this investment."PCIDSS is so important because it ensures data security. In switching, data security is a critical part. Millions of transactions take place daily. What guarantees the success to those transactions is the security put in place to protect the data (password, cardholder KYC (Know Your Customer), etc) of users. Besides this importance, PCIDSS is a global best practice adopted by Visa, MasterCard, China UnionPay etc to protect information entrusted to the system by card users", he added.

Rasaq (2014), an expert in electronic payments argues that criminal-minded individuals are coming up with advanced means of defrauding card users and card holders.

Theoretical Framework

Based on the empirical literature, the theoretical framework of this study is Technology Acceptance Model (TAM). Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) is an information systems theory that models how users come to accept and use a technology that will encourage economic growth. The model

suggests that when users are presented with a new technology, a number of factors influence their decisions about how and when they will use it, notable: Perceived usefulness (PU) – This was defined by Davis (1989) as the “degree to which a person believes that using a particular system would enhance his or her job performance”. And Perceived Ease – of – use (PEOU) – Davis (1989), defined this as “the degree to which a person believes that using a particular system would be free from effort.

This model was developed by Davis (1989) and used by Pikkarainen, (2004). The implication of this theory is that people due to fear of insecurity of money and investment remain skeptical in accepting the new technology. Acceptance level, go a long way to affect economic activities in the economy. This theory explains why people will invest and vice versa.

Thus, this study is anchored based on Technology Acceptance Model theory. Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) is an information system theory that explains how users come to accept and use new technology that will encourage economic growth. The model suggests that when users are presented with a new technology, a number of factors influence their decision about how and when they will use it.

This theory therefore, is to be applied so as to ascertain the acceptance level gained by the cashless policy from the beneficiaries of the policy. It will also go to show whether the cashless policy has impacted more positively or otherwise. Thus, the theory will guide the researcher in focusing on the set objectives as a framework for drawing conclusions. Though the theory has its defects since it does not provide in precise terms measurable conditions for ascertaining the degree to which a new technology is accepted or rejected. It also has been criticized, as external factors such as awareness, level of development, education, culture among others can influence its reliability in certain geographical locations.

Methodology

The study employs the survey research design. It involves the use of questionnaires in eliciting information from a representative sample from the population of the study. This is to say that the researcher is designed and administered questionnaires by direct or personal contact with the respondents who answered questions accordingly and returned the answered questionnaires to the researcher for analysis and presentation of findings.

The elements of the population of this study are the beneficiaries of the CBN cashless policy in Suleja, Niger state. Hence, the simple random sampling technique was employed which ensured that every element in the

population was given equal opportunity of been selected. This technique was more convenient and unbiased.

A sample size of 109 customers (respondents) is elicited from the entire customers of commercial Banks in Suleja Niger State using the convenience Taro Yamane's 1967, procedure of determining sample size as shown below:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where:

n is the sample size

N is the population

1 is constant

e is the level of significance

The method adopted for gathering reliable information was majorly structured questionnaires. It contained fifteen (15) question items which are divided to cover the research questions/objectives of the study.

The method adopted by the researcher is the mean and frequency and the Chi-Square formula for test of hypotheses. The mean and frequency method is used by the researcher in determining the degree of agreement and disagreement of the respondents to each item of the research questions.

A cut-off point was determined by finding the mean of the nominal values assigned to the options using formula:

$$\bar{x} = \frac{\sum fx}{N}$$

Where:

\bar{x} = mean

\sum = summation

f = frequency

x = nominal value

N = number of items.

Also, chi – square is used in testing the research hypothesis so as to predict what the relationship between two variables should be. It is used in drawing and reaching conclusion by collecting the observed values from the questionnaire administered to the respondents, testing the degree of freedom and carrying out a decision in determining the critical value of the hypothesis.

The formula is given as:

$$\chi^2 = \frac{\sum (Obs - Exp)^2}{Exp.}$$

Where:

Obs= the observed or actual frequencies

Exp= the expected frequencies

\sum = Summation

X^2 = the computed value of Chi –square

Hence, the methods of data analysis adopted for this study are aimed at ensuring credibility in the analysis of data (responses) collected and tabulated in chapter four (4) of this study.

Data Analysis and Result

Research Question 1

How has the CBN cashless policy promoted the security of money and investment in the Nigeria economy?

S/No.	Items	Strongly Agreed	Agreed	Disagreed	Strongly Disagreed	(x) Mean	Decision
1	The cashless policy has encouraged reduction in money laundering and corrupt practices.	70	20	4	15	3.19	Agreed
2	The cashless policy eliminates the risk involved in carrying cash.	40	60	9		3.28	Agreed
3	The introduction of the cashless policy by the CBN has rekindled the interest of foreign investors in the Nigerian market.	65	35	9		3.51	Strongly Agreed
4	The CBN cashless policy has done more good than harm.	78	30	1	0	3.71	Strongly Agreed
5	Cashless economy is more secured than the cash-based economy.	80	29	0	0	3.73	Strongly Agreed

Source: Survey Data 2016

The table above, shows that items 1, 2 and 3 having a mean range of 2.50 – 3.49 were agreed with by respondents while, item 4 and 5 having a mean range of 3.50 – 4.0 were strongly agreed with by the respondents. This indicates a general agreement that the CBN cashless policy has promoted the security of money and investment in the Nigeria economy.

Research Question 2

What is the security issues facing the cashless policy of the CBN in Nigeria? The security issues facing the cashless policy of the CBN in Nigeria.

S/No	Items	Strongly Agreed	Agreed	Disagreed	Strongly Disagreed	(x) Mean	Decision
1	Activities of internet fraudsters/hackers constitute a big security concern to the CBN cashless policy.	59	50	0	0	3.54	Strongly Agreed
2	Lack of machines and other infrastructures for prompt capturing of biometric data of the users is major security challenge facing the CBN cashless policy.	52	50	7	0	3.41	Agreed
3	Lack of a central biometric data base of beneficiaries of the CBN cashless policy poses a big challenge to the security of money and investment.	32	72	5	0	3.25	Agreed
4	Inadequate trained manpower to effectively man the IT gadgets in the banking industry is a major security concern.	55	42	7	5	3.25	Agreed
5	Poor general knowledge and skills on the basic credit cards/password handling and cloning ethics is one issue facing the cashless policy in Nigeria.	33	55	21	0	3.11	agreed

Source: Survey Data 2016

The data presented in the table above shows that item 1 has a mean rating of 3.54 which indicates that the item was strongly agreed with, while items 2, 3, 4, and 5 having mean rating between 2.50 – 3.49 were agreed with by the respondents. This implies that all respondents have a positive disposition to all the five items indicating their agreement with these items.

Research Question 3

What measures should be adopted to ensure the security of money and investment in a cashless-based economy like Nigeria? Measures to ensure the security of money and investment in a cashless-based economy like Nigeria.

S/No	Items	Strongly Agreed	Agreed	Disagreed	Strongly Disagreed	(x) Mean	Decision
1	Regular enlightenment/education is a way forward in ensuring that all beneficiaries of the CBN cashless policy are aware of the security lapses they may fall prey to.	69	40			3.63	Strongly Agreed
2	Banks should only employ well trained staff to man their IT infrastructures.	79	30	0	0	3.72	Strongly Agreed
3	Use of biometric data capturing machines will reduce the incidence of laundering and fraudulent activities.	59	50	0	0	3.54	Strongly Agreed
4	Installation of CCTV cameras at POS, ATM and other critical IT gadgets terminal should be a major priority.	38	65	6	0	3.29	Agreed
5	Use of superior data security softwares should never be compromised at anytime.	80	29	0	0	3.73	Strongly Agreed

Source: *Survey Data 2016*

From the table above, the data presented shows that items 1, 2, 3, and 5 have a mean range rating between 3.50 - 4.0. This means that all the 4 items were strongly agreed with by the respondents. While item 4 has a mean rating of 3.29 to show that the respondents agreed with this item. Hence, all respondents have the believe that if well articulated and with the right infrastructures and personnel, the CBN cashless policy will enhance the security of money and investment in a cashless-based economy like Nigeria.

Test of Hypothesis

Hypothesis One

Ho: The CBN cashless policy has positive effect on the security of money and investment in Nigeria.

Responses	Observed Frequency (O)	Expected Frequency €	E-O	(O-E) ²	$x = \frac{\sum(Obs - Exp)^2}{Exp}$
Strongly Agreed	39	29.25	9.75	95.06	3.25
Agreed	41	29.25	11.75	138.1	4.72
Disagreed	20	29.25	9.25	85.56	2.93
Strongly Disagreed	17	29.25	12.25	150.1	5.13
	X²				16.03

The degree of freedom (df) = 12

Hence, with the significance level of 0.01 (10%), and degree of freedom(df) of 12 the critical value = 26.22 while X²= 16.03. therefore, since the P-value (X²) is 16.03 which is less than the critical value of 26.22 we therefore accept the null hypothesis and reject the alternate hypothesis. This indicates that the CBN cashless policy has positive effect on the security of money and investment in Nigeria.

Discussion of Findings and Results

This study has revealed the following finds:

The cashless policy has impacted positively on security of money and investment.

The cashless policy has reduced the risk of carrying cash. There is more foreign investment due to the introduction of the cashless policy. The activities of internet fraudster are a threat to money and investment. Many people still do not believe their money and investment is secure in a cashless economy. There are IT infrastructure deficit to adequately support and carry out cashless transactions.

More enlightenment is required on how investors can take advantage of the cashless policy.

Reliable biometric data capturing gadgets and efficient IT infrastructures are needed to ensure that people's money and investment are safe within the cashless system. The discussion of the major findings of this study is as important as it is to note that the study was not exhaustive and generally conclusive. The findings are as discussed below.

The CBN cashless policy has a positive impact on the security of money and investment. It has encouraged reduction in money laundering and corrupt practices. The policy also eliminated the risk involved in cash transactions. The study reveals that the cashless economy has helped to stabilize direct foreign investment and the interest of investors in the Nigerian market has been strengthened through establishment of basic IT gadgets. Also, the findings show that the CBN cashless policy has done more good than harm to the Nigeria to the Nigeria economy and hence, ensured a more secured economy.

This study also found the activities of internet fraudsters/hackers, Lack of machines and other infrastructures for prompt capturing of biometric data of the users, Lack of a central biometric data base of beneficiaries of the CBN cashless , Inadequate trained manpower to effectively man the IT gadgets in the banking industry, Poor general knowledge and skills on the basic credit cards/password handling and cloning ethics as major security issues facing the cashless policy of the CBN in Nigeria.

The study identified regular enlightenment/education, deployment of well trained staff to man their IT infrastructures of banks, use of biometric data capturing machines, installation of CCTV cameras at POS, ATM and other critical IT gadgets and the use of superior data security softwares as the measures that should be adopted to ensure the security of money and investment in a cashless-based economy like Nigeria.

The study evaluate the impact of the CBN cashless policy on security of money and investment. Based on the result from analysis of the generated data, the study came up with the following summary of findings:

1. The CBN cashless policy has a positive impact on the security of money and investment.
2. It has encouraged reduction in money laundering and corrupt practices.
3. The policy has eliminated the risk involved in cash transactions.
4. The cashless economy has helped to stabilize direct foreign investment and the interest of investors in the Nigerian market has been strengthened through establishment of basic IT gadgets.
5. Also, the findings show that the CBN cashless policy has been of more benefit to the Nigeria market.
6. The cashless system introduced by the CBN has ensured a more secured economy for Nigeria.
7. More employment has also be created through the CBN cashless policy in the area of POS operators, ATM engineers, mobile money marketers/ agents etc.
8. Introduction of the cashless policy has promoted the activities of internet

fraudsters and hackers.

9. Many financial institutions lack basic machines and other infrastructures for prompt capturing of biometric data of the users.
10. There is lack of a central biometric data base of beneficiaries of the CBN cashless.
11. Inadequate trained manpower to effectively man the IT gadgets in the banking industry constitute a huge challenge.
12. Poor general knowledge and skills on the basic credit cards/password handling is major security issues facing the cashless policy of the CBN in Nigeria.
13. Regular enlightenment/education, deployment of well trained staff to man their IT infrastructures of banks and use of biometric data capturing machines is a way of solving major security issues facing the security of money and investment.

Conclusion

From the above major findings, it can be concluded that for the period under review there was evidence of inadequate development of infrastructural facilities such as: ATM, POS terminals, internet, power, personnel, know – how, mobile money devices and facilities, IT gadgets, structures and systems for education/enlightenments which could be attributed to inadequate funding on the part of the government hence, a percentage of investors still doubt the safe and security of their money and investment given the CBN cashless police.

There is much to do in terms of deliberate effort toward the deployment of biometric data capturing machines and the use of superior internet security software for ensuring that hackers and fraudsters are easily identified as this will win the trust of citizens and boost the economy and at the same time guarantee security (safety) of money and investments thereby enhancing the economic lifestyle of the people.

Recommendations

On the strength of the research finding, the following recommendations are relevant.

1. Government should make adequate fund available for the provision of relevant infrastructure across the nation to support the full implementation of the CBN cashless policy.
2. There should be deliberate effort to deploy the use of biometric data capturing machines and superior internet security softwares.

3. To prevent theft, yahoo, yahoo boys and other security issues associated with the cashless policy bankers and CBN should work with the legislatures to formulate law the will protect money and investment.
4. Experienced professionals should be engaged adequately in the planning, implementation and maintenance of mobile money gadgets in other to forestall cases of loss of money and investment.
5. Government should engage the public in regular education/enlightenment on the cashless policy to enable the beneficiaries of the policy understand how it effects their money and investments.

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“Start Writing Rubbish on This Desk:” A Freudian Perspective on Student Graffiti in Nigeria

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Abstract

This article attempts to x-ray the psychological disposition of writers of opportunistic graffiti among students in Nigeria. This is done from the perspective of Freudian Psychodynamics. Samples of graffiti are collected and classified according to the motivational drives that account for the writers' engagement in illicit writing behavior. The article argues that a substantial proportion of student graffiti in Nigeria basically tends to reflect pent up subconscious drives relating to suppressed feelings, self-esteem challenges, spontaneous memory recalls and so on. In these cases, indulgence in graffiti writing could manifest boredom, limited avenues for self-expression and untapped literary flair. The article concludes that paying attention to the content of graffiti can help social workers and campus authorities monitor insidious tendencies and nip restiveness in the bud. In addition, the article recommends that more opportunities for self-expression and legitimate literary creativity should be provided for young people, particularly students.

Introduction

There is a public library in a city in central Nigerian, where most of the reading tables are badly defaced with all manner of inscriptions and drawings. At the time data for this research was being collected, there was a new table in this library which had not been inundated with inscriptions and drawing, most likely because it was new. In spite of being new, a lone inscription could already be seen on one corner of the table. It read: “start writing nonsense on this desk.” Obviously, someone with a wry sense of humour had observed the incongruity of a neat table in the midst of badly defaced ones, and had mischievously given a fiendish directive ostensibly meant to

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kick start the defacing process, but most likely expressing the inevitability of the defacing process.

The questions that may agitate the mind of the curious about this are: what kind of persons engage in the kind of illicit writing activities that defaced the said library reading tables, as well as several other public locations? What are the motivations of these 'writers'? What are the implications of this illicit writing behaviour, from the perspective of the psychological state of the writers and the attitudes of those who see their writings? Are there any significances of the writing activities in question beyond is categorization as "nonsense" as is the case in the particular inscription referred to here, and of course in the mind of several people? Are there notable linguistic, and sociological dimensions to this phenomenon? These questions are carefully interrogated via a qualitative assessment of purposively selected samples of writings of this nature, which are usually categorised as graffiti. This is a phenomenon which in the Nigerian context is often associated more with students. In this regard, this article will be focused on student graffiti. It is a phenomenon which has not received enough in-depth scholarly scrutiny probably because of the perception that it is simply a matter of writing "nonsense." As a matter of fact, the practice of scribbling on surfaces is often viewed as reckless defacement of public and private property by some very unruly persons. This to a large extent is true. To write all manner of stuff of public property and even call on others to do so (as is the case referred to above) is clearly antisocial.

Yet, there is need for an objective perspective that would help the Nigerian society to understand graffiti not merely simply because it exists, but because it could provide significant insights into the psychological dispositions of those who indulge in it, and probably suggest appropriate responses from the authorities. In the advanced world, scholars have extensively researched this phenomenon from diverse perspectives such as Art, Psychology, Sociology, Language and so on. Notable contributors in these regards include researchers such as Abel Ernest, Axiel Thiel, Babara Buckeley and so on. Indeed, there is an international workgroup devoted solely to graffiti research. The robust scholarship may be a consequence of the fact graffiti is more elaborate in the advanced world and that some of the graffiti have crossed from illegality to legality and have become legitimate Art. However, since the phenomenon exists in Nigeria to (albeit on a lower scale) it should also be studied. This article therefore (as previously mentioned) examines the phenomenon by purposively assembling several examples of graffiti writing from different locations in Nigeria and classifying them essentially according to content. The qualitative analysis subsequently done

is hinged on some constructs in Freudian Psychology in accordance with the perspective espoused in Davidoff (1987). This psychological perspective is applied via content analysis of selected instances of Nigerian graffiti writings obtained from diverse locations. The examples used are presented exactly as they appeared. No corrections are effected on the spellings, vocabulary.

General Perspectives on Graffiti

The word 'graffiti' refers to writings or drawings scribbled, scratched or sprayed on a wall or a public space (Mwangi, 2012). According to Sagarin (2001) it was originally an Italian word which referred to all forms writing. Eventually, the meaning of the word as narrowed, and it became a specific referent for the category of writing made essentially with charcoal and found in Pompey inside ancient Roman catacombs and similar sites. Eventually, the meaning shifted to include all manner of unauthorized writing anywhere they are found, particularly on fences, on house walls, inside toilets, on furniture, rocks, on library partition boards, websites and so on. The modern perspective of the term graffiti has evolved most significantly since the word entered the English language (Sagarin, 2001).

Perhaps, the most modern inclusion in the range of writing activities often categorized as graffiti is the array of illegal additions which some notorious hackers have learnt to effect on other persons' websites (Harvey, 2003). This is a curious dimension which (though beyond the focus of this article) must be borne in mind in any exploration of the evolution of the term "graffiti." This is because it simply shows how abiding the phenomenon has been across space and time. Graffiti is ancient. Indeed, Fairserus (1986) is of the opinion that some of the oldest samples of early writing still visible today were written not as formal materials but as graffiti; little wonder many of such are on cave walls, rocks and sundry materials. This shows that the tendency to carry out random scribbling of messages on available surfaces is an ancient instinct. Indeed, Fairserus (1986) noted that the themes of several ancient cave graffiti, and the apparent mindsets of the writers are identical with those of modern society. For example, graffiti from ancient Rome were often characterized by obscenities, names, sexual solicitations and even political messages. It is interesting that these same themes continue to surface in graffiti even in modern times.

Several writing materials are often engaged to scribble graffiti. Often, they are offhand objects randomly used to scratch or engrave. There are writers who employ conventional writing materials such as pencils, ball point pens, chalk, as well as unconventional writing material such as charcoal, paint

and so on. In the western world, where this phenomenon has really become an issue, people have been known to use pen stickers, spray paint, glass melting solutions, shoe polish, sand paper and bucket paint among other materials.

In the United States graffiti has become a cultural movement. Organised gangs have emerged such that stars of graffiti are even known with familiar pen names. Indeed, Thiel (2004) points out that there are informal but well-established demarcations of territories of different gangs with the attendant rivalries, thereby attracting the attention of law enforcement agencies. In this regard, Hip-hop graffiti is particularly notorious. This refers to the dimension of graffiti which is directly related to the hip-hop music culture, and involves street gangs competing for space to express street presence. Related to these are the Political/social type of graffiti which involves the use of walls to display, albeit (illegally) overt political and social messages. As Thiel (2004) further observes, there is even a commercial type involving the illegal use of public walls to display adverts written and painted by paid graffiti artist.

Obviously some of these types of graffiti are yet to surface in Nigeria. The level of graffiti practice in Nigeria has not acquired this alarming dimension, and it is hoped that it never will. It therefore, means that the instances of graffiti that form the bases of analyses here are the minimal opportunistic types which involves ordinary surreptitiously made inscriptions of people's thoughts with pens, pencils, chalk, and markers. This may also involve the use of cartoons. To some limited level, complex and sophisticated graffiti art, which require time, patience and painstaking effort have surfaced in some streets of Lagos (Sylvian, 2017), but as previously mentioned, the opportunistic type of graffiti still seems to dominate the Nigerian context. This involves writings done by people who simply take advantage of incidental opportunities to scribble a piece of their minds regarding any topic and on any surface available. The topics can be sexual, social, political, even religious. They are often can be carried out on individual basis. Indeed, Nigerian graffiti appears to still be an individual enterprise, conspicuous in certain places like university campuses and other areas where students (especially) can be found.

Attitudes to Graffiti

Generally, attitudes to graffiti are in two dimensions. The first and most pervasive dimension is the negative one, which sees graffiti as instances of deviant behaviour. Deviance, refers to any form of social behaviour which strays from what may be seen as normal or socially acceptable (Marcus and Ducklin (1998). Quite clearly, it is not normal to deface walls and furniture

with all sorts of writing, especially those writings with messages the writers cannot be proud of. It is in this wise that a substantial proportion of materials available on graffiti are linked to law enforcement, indicating that there are spirited attempts to stamp out the menace in different societies. For example, Morgan and Louis (2009) clearly identifies graffiti as a social problem that troubles members of the public. The real issues, according to these scholars, are the cost of removing graffiti and the fact that the presence of graffiti reduces confidence and feeling of personal safety. In this regard, graffiti writing is seen simply as nothing but sheer vandalism.

The second view of graffiti does not dispute the fact that graffiti amount to vandalism. This school of thought, however, has a more positive attitude in the sense that it recognizes the art in graffiti writing and paintings. Indeed, some extreme views classify it formally as an art form. It seems that a substantial number of members of the International Work Group on Graffiti Research are exponents of this extreme viewpoint.

A synthesis of these two perspectives clearly produced the conclusion of Hasley and Young (2002: 165) that “graffiti is both an art and a crime.” This study will not for any reason condone the deliberate defacement of property by selfish individuals, and would not be willing to ‘honour’ this practice by formally recognizing it in art form. However, one must stress the fact that wherever and whenever destructive graffiti unfortunately manifests, we should understand the mind of the writers and learn whatever can be learnt about how such people think, and how the language of graffiti can reveal this. It is pertinent to point out that the motives for Nigerian graffiti appear to correlate with some of the motives that have been observed in other countries, especially in the western world. It is in x-raying these motives that this researcher finds certain aspects of the Freudian school of psychology quite applicable as analytical framework.

Freudian Psychology and Graffiti Writing

There is no doubt that certain actions of humans often turn out to be manifestations of drives, feeling, thoughts and emotions that we have been taught to repress over years by society. These suppressed tendencies often force their ways into manifestation. The tendency among some people to engage in illegal activities can be seen as one of the means by which these suppressed feelings manifest. This dimension of human behavior was explored extensively by the Austrian Neurologist and Psychopathologist Sigmund Freud, resulting in a perspective on psychology known as the psychodynamic theory, which raised some salient and continually relevant but sometimes controversial and contentious issues.

As Davidoff (1987) argues, Freud's beliefs about are still considered to be applicable in several situations in life in spite of the contentions and agitated arguments it has generated. Davidoff (1987) explains that Freud believed that the human mind is continually coping with three sets of conflicting demands: one from within, one from external realities and one from moral constraints namely id, ego and superego respectively. The id refers to the inner drives usually disguised because they are largely unacceptable to other parts of the personality. The ego refers to the entity of self-regulation, while superego refers to parental or societal constraints upon behaviour. Davidoff (1987) further explains that Freud identified a phenomenon he called the ego dilemma which involves attempts to balance the opposing pressures of the id and the superego.

Siegfried (2014) explains that the components of the subconscious particularly the id are continually suppressed by the ego (a component of consciousness) in order to make a person's behavior more socially acceptable; that is, more in line with the demands of the super-ego. These suppressed feelings sometimes find expression via the "primary process" (Siegfried, 2014: 2) which are external outflows of pent up desires. One can argue that there is a sense in which scribbling illegally on surfaces perform this psychological function called the primary process in Freudian terms. This researcher therefore opted to analyse the samples of graffiti collected for this study from this perspective that they are subtle external manifestation of the ego dilemma, reflecting in the form of the "primary process."

It is interesting to note that most graffiti in Nigeria are written at times and in places where the writers can operate unobserved, and the message often turn out, though not always, to be what people may not be able to openly say, or something that may not be always appropriate to the ego or super ego. One may conclude therefore, that for some people, what the public does not 'tolerate' but which still wells up within, can be let out by graffiti writing. This applies more (though by no means exclusively) to sex related writings.

Classification and Analyses

In this section, example from the collected samples of opportunistic graffiti are classified and analysed according to the motivations of the writers. Some of these categories overlap. Indeed, categorisations and sub categorisations of different instances of graffiti depend on individual perception. However, it is the belief of this writer that these categories are still useful for better understanding. The subsequent analyses done are basically in line with the Freudian view of the human psyche.

1. Graffiti as an expression of suppressed feelings

It seems that for some people in Nigeria, the chance for things on walls, tables and so on is a unique opportunity to rebel against society. The society, in the words of Hetherington and Parke (1993: 20) is always:

...Communicating ethical standards and shaping and enforcing the practice of 'good' behaviour. ... Although the specific values and behaviour regarded as desirable vary from culture to culture, all societies have a set of rules about the rightness or wrongness of certain behaviour. The child is expected to learn these rules and experience emotional discomfort or guilt when violating them, and satisfaction when conforming to them.

These societal pressures are elements of super ego which the ego struggles to balance against the id. A private and hidden scribble of rebellion could be a subtle tendency to 'kick' against the above situation. For example, sexually suggestive writings and relationship comments can sometimes be seen at graffiti spots as is the case with the following example from lecture hall desks, which portray minds surreptitiously casting off sexual and relationship restraints.

- a. glo with chicks
- b. dick your ass hole shaggy— fuck 'U'
- c. Akin Idowu dick size = yam. Sex duration = 30 secs
- d. Hi room, anyone who wants a relationship with me call 081***** I am loving humble and caring and also a young guy

Item (d) is particularly curious because a phone number confirmed to be authentic is included. It is however not certain whether it belong to the writer or someone else who may be the target of a brutal prank. If it is not a prank, it could indicate an outflow of some inner longings which for one reason or another the individual in question is not ordinarily able to realize.

In addition to these, the instinct to do as one pleases and have what one wants without subjection to authority reflects in aspects of human desire other than sex and relationship, as demonstrated in the following graffiti found on a library reading desk:

- e. I want to open an account which will not require me to save money but I can come and be Withdrawing money from time to time When I needed.

This obviously sounds absurd and unlikely to be expressible openly, but it definitely came from a deep seated wish somewhere in the inner recesses of the writer's mind, for unrestrained access to wealth. It reflects some frustration at the limitations imposed by circumstances and society. The deep inordinate desires clearly manifesting here are apparently in sync with the Freudian element of id.

2. Graffiti as a Means of Self-adulation

Closely related to the above point about suppressed feelings is the fact that substantial volumes of what people write or engrave illegally serve the purpose of simply proclaiming their existence. One might ask why people would want to do this and wonder what impact writing on walls can have in that regard. The truth is that one way or the another, we all want to proclaim that we exist. We all want to attach some value to our existence, and the inability to do this in legitimate ways simply suppresses an instinct, which inevitably, overflows into graffiti. This phenomenon though written, relates to what is often referred to as ego-centric speech (or self-directed speech) which is similar to what children sometimes produce at some stage of language development whether or not they have an audience (Sasso and Morias, 2014). A person writing with this motive may simply be 'persuading' himself that he is important. Again, in this case, there is an id outflow, considering the fact that societal norms (super-ego) eschew modesty and simplicity, such that a bombastic disposition is often frowned at. Consider the following examples of graffiti found on library partition boards and lecture hall desks.

- a. Haroun, the only Don in town
- b. Ask for Husse, alias Jeje
- c. Sramite was here in the Fucking Library.
- d. Sam b was hia
- e. Sir K is here

It is important to note that some of these kind of opportunistic graffiti may sadly reflect a pitiful attempt to deal with the palpable threats to self-esteem, which some youth may be quietly struggling to deal with. One must point out the significant fact that an overwhelming majority of graffiti done by Nigerian students, as observed in the course of this study, fall under this category. This could be a pointer to the magnitude and the challenges of self-esteem faced by the youths, particular students.

3. Graffiti as a Means of Spontaneous Recall

Some instances of graffiti (possibly including some of the above examples), especially 3 (a) may be instances of spontaneous recall manifested, albeit displayed inaccurately, in writing. This principle relates to the human tendency to just recall what one has seen or heard in the past. Gradoll, Cheshire and Swan (1994) mention this principle in reference to prose text saying. They argue that when people read or hear some pieces of literary writing, they store up some kind of representation of it in memory. They can, at some future time, recall things about it spontaneously in different contexts. Apart

from this, spontaneous recall can manifest in oral language in different ways. For example, a person may suddenly find himself humming along 'forgotten' tune or singing some familiar lines from T.V. or radio jingles and so on. When such manifest in writing, they often show up in the form of graffiti. This seems to provide a plausible way of explaining opportunistic graffiti such as the following:

- a. Liberation chamber Banister France Abuja shopping mall Wuse zone 3, F.C.T, Abuja.
- b. Repent and be born again
- c. Hell is real
- d. Lord is good
- e. Taking social activities to the highest level

These are instances of graffiti scribbled on a library partition board. Obviously the writer of (a) above, spontaneously recalled an address and scribbled something. The writer of (b), (c) and (d) could not be serious about preaching the Christian gospel. Scratching a partition board a lecture room desk or hostel wall would not be an appropriate medium for such. Obviously, they must have absent-mindedly scribbled this familiar expression. In this cases too, the psychodynamic interplay of conscious, unconscious and sub conscious elements clearly reflects in line with Freudian perspectives. These expressions which must have been etched into the subconscious somehow overflowed into spontaneous writing behavior.

4. Graffiti as a Means of Relieving Boredom

Graffiti can often amount to a form of graphic soliloquy, which bored people scribble absent-mindedly. For example, a person reading within a cubicle in a library may suddenly get fed up with the drudgery of reading. He may pick his pen, and before he knows what is happening, stray thoughts begin to show up on the desk. This category is clearly different from spontaneous recall as the inscriptions do not resemble any word, phrases, clichés lyric lines, pay off lines or slogans the writers could have previously consciously or subconsciously memorized. They are largely semantically incoherent. This probably accounts for why some instances of graffiti appear very meaningless on the surface. However, when we view such within the framework of Freud's theory, nothing said or written by a person can really be meaningless unless the person purposes it to be so. Words from people's minds always have meaning. They may only be meaningless at the surface level because we do not understand them. Consider the following examples

- a. Monkey Yellow cooler not that block at all go to presidential villa F.C.T.
- b. Tell me why are you... if you complete it fuck you your face assz.

- c. One eye
- d. Tick voice
- e. Moremi, Ajantala

All these may have psychodynamic implications if subjected to serious study though they seem meaningless. However, they clearly illustrate what boredom can produce. These may, however, be examples of graffiti writers' tendency to use restricted codes, which is context bound and is used when someone wants to say something to a group who already share his or her basic knowledge. To the outsider, it may seem difficult to understand (Marcus and Ducklin, 1998).

5. Graffiti as a Tool of subtle but Weighty Propaganda

All the different dimensions of graffiti that have been mentioned so far are instances of the expressive use of language. However, graffiti can also serve the informative function. It is obvious that some writers deliberately employ graffiti for propaganda purposes when writing on social or political issues. The instances of graffiti that follow clearly demonstrate how some writers can powerfully say some serious things even with the 'unserious' medium of graffiti.

- a. DEATH ROLLS
Musa Yar ' adua
Pa Ajasin
Gen. Sanni Abacha
Lt. Gen Halidu
Chief M.K.O Abio1a
Mrs. Kudirat Abiola
Abubakar Audu
Who 's next to follow

This sample of graffiti was picked from a library in Kogi State in 2007. It was, apparently, written in the 90s because it ostensibly contains a list of deceased prominent Nigerians who died in the 90s. The notable exception is Abubakar Audu (No 7 on the list), who was governor in Kogi State, Nigeria between 1992 and 1993, and between 1999 and 2003. He died only in 2015. This implies that he was alive when this was apparently written. Why then would a graffiti writer include his name among a list of the dead? This can be seen as a piece of cold blooded anti-Audu propaganda. Close to this piece is another graffiti sample, apparently by the same writer, which declares: "what shall it profit Audu if he gains Kogi State and perish in hell?" This reflect a deep publicly inexpressible level of hate. This therefore is another

instance of the id spilling above ego-control and flowing into external manifestation from the sub-conscious desire of the writer.

It is interesting to note that People in campuses can easily notice that students use graffiti to carry out a lot of propaganda which may sometimes be directed against government, the school authorities, or individuals as demonstrated by the following instances:

- b. Aluta continual
- c. Drunk politicians everywhere
- d. Our rights are reserved for the future
- e. How old are you? (a defacement of a student's campaign poster)

In the examples, above, b, c and d are either targeted at government or school authorities as they were seen on lecture room desks. Item d for instance, is a sarcastic swipe at the deprivation of rights at a current time. Item e is a calculated attempt to use the age factor to discredit a student who is aspiring for office. All these, written surreptitiously in the wrong places offer quiet insights into the inner minds of the writers.

One must point out however that propaganda graffiti often simply amount ordinary deliberate and non-insidious campus politics/election messages. Such may not be amenable to analyses within the purview of Freudian Psychodynamics.

Social Implications of Graffiti

One of the clearest implications of graffiti is that it can be a pointer to the kind of youths that abound in a particular environment. The very content of graffiti can reveal the deep emotional pre-occupation of the writers as we have seen. Beyond this however, studies have revealed certain general traits pertaining to graffiti writers (Scheepers, 2004). They tend to be young males prone to depression and low self-esteem. In extreme cases, they indulge in risk taking behaviour such as drug use and suicidal ideation. In cases where the psychological orientation of graffiti writers may not be this extreme, there is no doubt that from the content of several samples of graffiti, the writers could be persons dealing quietly with some inner conflicts and pressures.

Where graffiti abound one can almost be sure that people with such inner conflicts and pressures may also abound. For this reason, a social worker can use the abundance of graffiti as an index of the category of youth in a particular area. Also, authorities in schools can, from time-to-time, take note of the kind of ideas showing up in campus graffiti. Such can literally amount to ominous, handwriting on the wall, pointing to oncoming crises or simply

pointers to the fact that persons with the earlier described disposition are on campus.

The abundance of graffiti can also be an indication that youths in a particular area lack the means of expressing themselves openly and legitimately. They may simply be showing symptoms of emotional fatigue in this wise.

The preponderance of graffiti has also been known to be connected to the absence of opportunities to exert youthful energy. According to Morgan and Louis (2009), what young people who engage in graffiti really need is the introduction into their communities, positive forms of engagement such as entertainment and sporting opportunities. The paucity of such opportunities could be a crucial factor responsible for the terrible defacing of many walls and desks on our campuses.

Grffiti can also reveal hidden potentials in the writers. Such potentials could be in the area of language use, and a general ability to subtly influence opinion. For example, in a previous section of this work an instance is cited, revealing the intention of a to castigate a governor. Note the ingenuity involved in being able to convey hatred in such a dramatic way. Other instances reveal the ability to be humorous in a rather artistic way. One prominent instance is the ability of a writer to adapt the logo and slogan of a telecommunications company to express his libertarian attitude to sexual relationship as we see in the previously noted instance where a graffiti writer scribbled: "glo with chicks". Indeed, graffiti often reveal a hidden treasure chest of linguistic artistry which society must strive to positively exploit. This is significant in spite of the fact that Nigerian graffiti also sadly reflect the poor quality of English used by our youths today.

Concluding Remarks and Recommendations

This study has attempted to provide an overview of the nature of student graffiti in Nigeria, with emphasis on the motivation of graffiti writers. It has also provided some insight into the implications of graffiti for the society, especially as it relates to its value for assessing the psychological disposition of youths in an environment. The overriding issue to note is that while there is no doubt that graffiti indeed amounts to vandalism, it has its own significance in human society. It seems unlikely that the menace it poses to society can ever really be eliminated completely. It is, however, recommended that to reduce the incidences of vandalistic graffiti, efforts can be made in affected areas to provide youths with avenues of self-expression as well as recreational and entertainment opportunities. It is also important to provide them with legitimate fora for literary creativity.

One must point out that compared to the 70s, 80s and 90s, there now appears to be a decline in graffiti writing among Nigerian students. This probably has to do with the smart phone revolution which has not only provided an alternative way of relieving boredom, but has opened a wider avenue for venting, commenting and writing “nonsense.” There is now a limited need to write that “nonsense’ on a desk, wall or partition board. This point may however require empirical validation. However, it must be said that while and where instances of graffiti show up, its value for sizing up the character, emotion, talents and disposition of youths in the immediate environment must not be missed.

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Environmental Scanning and Customer Satisfaction for Sustainable Development in Selected Nigerian Commercial Banks

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Ikotun Sabic Idowu

Abstract

This paper focuses on relationships between environmental scanning and customer satisfaction which can be adopted for sustainable development goals in Nigerian money deposit banks (DMBs). using descriptive research design of cross-sectional survey with target population of customers consists three banks-(First Bank, Polaris Bank & Wema Bank) of 70,380, using Watson (2001) formula, a sample size of 1145 plus its 30% to cater for non-response rate making 1,490 which were subjected to proportionate stratified random sampling technique. There was instrument validation as the Cronbach - Alpha reliability coefficient for the constructs range between 0.75-0.83. Data collection was analyzed using Pearson Product Moment Correlation. Results revealed that there is a strong positive relationship between environmental scanning (ES) and customer satisfaction (SC). This aligned with the descriptive analysis indicating ES as a systematic study of environment to determine needs and demands for creating satisfaction. The study recommends that DMBs should strategically employ techniques of ES in order to achieve sustainable development goals by year 2030 in Nigeria. Particularly as ES enhances customer satisfaction process and development, through normative products and services development to cater for customers' needs or demands of both existing and potential customers.

Introduction

The business environment is diverse and heterogeneous consisting of wide-ranging constituents such as goods, services, ideas, information technology, customers, creditors, suppliers and even the elements of other stakeholders in the general public. For any meaningful and systematic study of the business

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environment, it is essential to recognize its main value that is relatively not homogeneous. Therefore, there are forces which are generally operating in the business environment with impacts upon the business enterprises. These factors affect business organization ability to build and maintain successful relationship with the general stakeholders in the environment in which an organization exists. It is also imperative for organization to carry out proper environmental analysis to explore and exploit opportunity as well as strength, while efforts will also direct toward avoiding threat and weakness in the environment.

More importantly that business environment affects organizations decisions, as the decision an organization takes depend on elements which prevail in the environment. It is in this regard that effective and efficient organizations appreciate the need for environmental scanning as intelligent platform to systematically and objectively search for, and analyze information to guide management in making best decisions. It is equally noticed that where an organization fails to take periscope of the environment seriously and adequately such organizations may face crisis in their ways of development and growth. Therefore, understanding environment in which organization exists is very vital, particularly as the premise to know what market attitude to demonstrate, and behaviour and attitude of the people in the environment. It is against this background that this paper focuses on adaptive relationships between environmental scanning and customer satisfaction.

Statement of Research Problem

Nigerian banking sector had experienced series of crises which necessitates introduction of various reform agenda, since historical development of the banks. Among these crises were inadequate corporate governance, poor service delivery, high rate of customer switching, prominent dormant account operators, poor credit policy, non-dividend declaration and over dependence on government funds. However, these problem still persist in some of the nation's banking institution [Osaghale, 2013].

Therefore reform exercises were mostly policy induced rather than market and or customer driven and may not consider environmental analysis for the effective and efficient operations business environment analysis that offers the unique benefit to harness the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats [SWOT] analysis which organizations have to carefully handle through framework of the organizational missions, objectives and goals. In this regard, many banks do not give adequate attention to their environmental

analysis, hence this study intends to determine the correlation and effect relationship between environmental scanning and customer satisfaction.

Objective of the Study

The main aim of this study is to determine relationship that exists between environmental scanning and customer satisfaction in the selected money deposit banks in the Lagos State, Nigeria.

Research Questions

What is the relationship between environmental scanning and customer satisfaction of selected money deposit banks?

Variable Identification

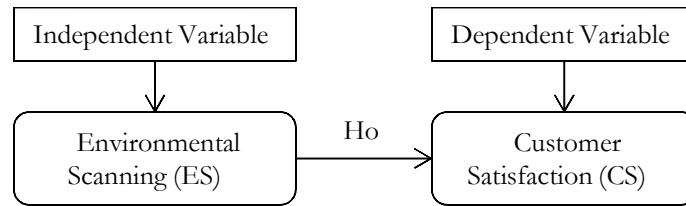
The two variables are identified in this study, these are environmental scanning and customer satisfaction depicting independent variable and dependent variable respectively. Environmental scanning measured by the regular information gathering and intelligent platform of taking decisions for the effective and efficient performance, while customer satisfaction is measured in terms of meeting the expectations and or needs of customers.

Hypotheses

H₀: There is no significant relationship between the environment scanning and customer satisfaction of selected money deposit banks.

Research Model

The study is guided by this model which was developed in tandem with the study objectives in the study scope.



Source: Researcher’s conceptual Model

Conceptualization of variable Identification and operationalization.

$$y = F [X] \dots\dots\dots \text{Equation (i)}$$

Where y = Dependent Variable = Customer Satisfaction [CS]

x = Independent Variable = Environmental Scanning [ES]

It is our expectation that some units of customer satisfaction at zero level unit will account for the element units of environmental scanning. We

also expect the elements of customer satisfaction to have correlation either positively or negatively with environmental scanning. Therefore, a prior expectation is $a > 0$, $b > 0$.

Literature Review

Environmental Scanning

The concept of environmental scanning can best be gleaned from the concept of environment [Ikotun, 2017], as the concept of environment has been dimensionally presented by different scholars. Olagunju [2004] defined environment as the totality of factors which affect an organization either within or outside the organization existence or location Oghojafor [2007] stated that environment in which an organization exists could be divided into two parts- the external and internal environment. In line with this position, external environment includes all the factors outside the organization which provides opportunities and poses threats to the organization, while the internal environment refers to all the factors within an organization which determine strengths and or causes weakness. Thus, the environment in which an organization exists can be described in terms of opportunities and threats operating in external environment, whereas strengths and weakness exist in the internal environment.

It is equally important to mention that worldwide scholars have been able to recognize that every external environment is influenced by the key environmental factors which are divided into six major categories: political, economic, socio- cultural, technological, ecological and legal factor, all these environmental factors are acronym as PESTEL, likewise internal environment examines the analysis of the strengths and weaknesses, and by this implication, it is situation analyses which enables organization to understand the interrelationships and interdependence of the functional areas of business.

The functional areas are general management, marketing, finance, production and research development. It is imperative to establish that from the concept of environment that environmental scanning emanates, and it is appropriate to mention the environment in a way that scanning as a concept can be applied, scanning entails systematic study of all segments in the general environment. Fahey and Naxagane (1986) identified three levels of environment for scanning as follow:

- i. General environment is the external environment of organization as already discussed above with six main factors affecting the environment, although organization do not have sole control or direct control of these factors but they can apply appropriate strategies to minimize their effect (Hitt, Hoskission & Ireland 2001)

- ii. Industry environmental is the aggregate performing institutions in the similar production activities with set of factors that constitute the threat of entrants, suppliers, buyers, product substitute and the intensity of rivalry among competitors that directly influence a company and its competitive actions and reactions.
- iii. Competitive environment focuses on opposing organizations, whom an organizations is directly competing with in the environment. In this environment competitor intelligence is a major issue that raises information about competitors, objectives, strategies and capabilities.

Angular (2013) defined environmental scanning as set of activities in acquiring information about organization's environment in order to have and apply knowledge which would help top management in its task of charting the organization's future cause of action. Correla and Wilson (2011) asserted that research development is quite imperative to the environmental scanning as means to identify varying degrees of information necessary for survival in an industry. Furthermore, two identified principal factors which influence environmental scanning are individual and organizational factors which play important role in the information gathering, as information consciousness and exposure to information are means of individual factors, while information climate and outlook responsible for organizational factors. Gordon and Glenn (2009) described environmental scanning as a research technique that gather information from the environment under examination for addressing emerging issues in management manner.

Babatunde and Adebisi (2012) stated that environment scanning is investigating process of understanding activities in the business organization's environment which are significant for performance through monitoring and controlling development paths of phenomena. Wheelen and Hunger (2000) define scanning as the monitoring, evaluation and dissemination of information from the external environment to key people within the organization.

Objectives of Environmental Scanning System in an Organization have been Presented as follows:

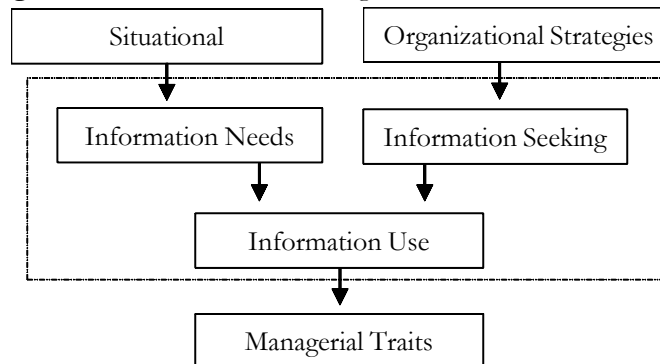
- i. detecting scientific, technical, economic, social and political trends and events important to an organization,
- ii. defining the potential threats, opportunities, and changes which improve the organizational events and trends,
- iii. promoting future of organizational thinking for effective management of resources,
- iv. alerting management about dynamic changing in the business and

organization environment. (Babatunde & Adebisi, 2011; Coates, 1985)

In essence, environmental scanning is the acquisition and use of information about events trends, and relationships in an organization's external environment, the knowledge of which assist management in planning the organization's future course of action (Angular, 1967, 2013; Babatunde & Adebisi, 2011). Most organizations external environment are complex, turbulent and unpredictable and in order to cope with these environmental changes, organizations engaged in a process of external environmental analysis that focus on activities of scanning such as monitoring forecasting and assessing.

Monitoring is a process of observing environmental changes to see if an important trend is emerging from the environment. Therefore, organization must have ability to detect environmental trends and events through identification of important stakeholders. Although the importance of stakeholders can vary over an organization's life cycle. Forecasting is the process of developing feasible projection of what might happen in the future and how quickly one can manage it as a result of changes and trends detected in the monitoring.

Figure 1: Environmental Scanning Framework



Source: Adapted from; Choon (2001)

The purpose of forecasting is to make an organization to be proactive, so as to be able to meet the challenges which will occur as a result of changes in the general and industry environment. Assessing is the process of ascertaining corrective measures. The purpose of assessing it to determine the timing and significance of the effects of environmental changes and trends on the strategic management of an organization. Assessment promotes value on how an organization interprets information about their environment.

It also be of importance in making sure the strategy to be adopted by an organization is rights.

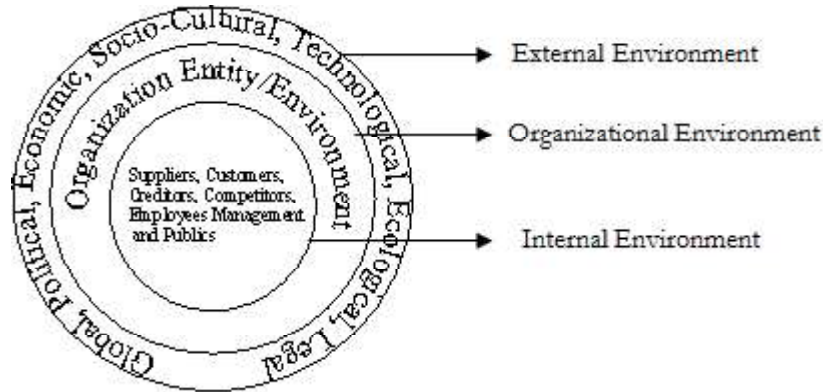
Environmental scanning framework was developed in a research conducted by Choon (2001) as process and procedure of actualizing necessary information gathering and its usage in the effective and efficiency decisions making of the management

It is revealing from the figure 1 that situational dimension indicates nature of the environment and its uncertainty, complicity and dynamism which challenge organizational management to scan more, (ii) organizational strategy indicates level of correlation between the organization's overall strategy and scope of scanning activities, as scanning results must provide information needed to develop appropriate strategy, (iii) information needs are mainly focused on environmental analysis in respect of the industry customers, competitors, suppliers, creditors, PESTEL factors, (iv) information seeking indicates state of given preference to sources of information as organization has a wide range of sources which determine scanning methods, mode of scanning, size dependence and perception of the environment, experience of scanning and planning consideration in the industry, (v) information use reveals that strategic planning is desirable through the information seeking from scanning, and it is increasingly being used to drive the strategic planning process, apart from the fact that effective scanning and planning are linked to improved organizational learning and performance, (vi) managerial trait indicates capacity and ability to be able to convert or utilize the information connected through scanning into sustainable strategies.

Components of Analysis in the Environmental Scanning

Environmental Scanning is an analysis carried out to study organization as an entity operating in a distinct environment constituting of political, economic, socio-cultural, technological ecological, and legal components, as well as customers suppliers, creditors, competitors, and general public's in the micro environment components and overall situation analysis involves of the strength, weakness, opportunity and threat in order to understand the interrelationship and interdependence of the functional area of businesses which enables the organization to identify the environmental factors that the organization can influence, manipulate and the constraints which can be controlled.

Figure 2: Components of Environmental Scanning



Source: Adopted from Thompson, Striessland & Gambie (2016)

Customer Satisfaction

Customer satisfaction can be described as ability and capacity of a product and or service to meet desired needs of customers, or how a product or service fulfills customers' needs and expectations. Customer satisfaction has remained a veritable indication to measure organizational performance in the market through continuous purchase or patronage of customers, loyalty, retention and referrals [Shiong, Wendy & Yi, 2015]. Customer centered organizations must have adequate understanding of customers' needs and wants, therefore, customer satisfaction is essential for growth and development as well as corporate survival [Williams & Naumann, 2011]. More importantly that customer satisfactions with an organisation's product or service is often seen as the key to the organisation's success and long-term competitiveness.

Customer satisfaction may be contextually defined as a result of cognitive and affective evaluation which necessitate some comparison standard justification and as such it is difference between actual perceived performance and expected performance. It is equally important to mention that satisfaction is regarded as short term emotional state that results from an interpersonal comparison of customer's expectation with the evaluation of a single product or service encounter (Brady & Robertson, 2001)). In this regard, one can explain customer satisfaction at level of individual rather than at the aggregate level of collective individuals which often used to present satisfaction perspective (Ikotun, 2017).

By this implication, satisfaction is a personal expression of pleasure and or displeasure resulting from comparing a product or service. Outcome in

relation to the expectation (Oghojafor, Ladipo, Igbomerethe & Odumewu, 2014). In this case satisfaction is attained if the product or service matches the expectation of the customers, while if the performance of the product or service falls below expectation, this results in dissatisfaction whereas if the performance of the product or service exceeds expectations the customers are more satisfied or delighted, this brings about potential marketing efforts of recommending the product or service to friends and associates [Oghojafor, et al, 2014]. The emotional state of satisfaction leads to an overall global attitude about product or service quality that is only implicitly based on some kind of internal expectation standard (Dabholkar, 1993).

Satisfaction play a central role in marketing being a good predictor of purchase behavior [McQuitty & Wiley, 2000]. Parker and Mathew [2011] presented two approaches of defining customer satisfaction, first approach is to see customer satisfaction as a process while second approach defines it as outcome of consumption or experienced usage. The dimension of process established an evaluation between what is expected and what is eventually experienced, while outcome dimension justifies the conclusive state of satisfaction that is derived from the experienced consumption or usage (Oliver, 1981). Anderson, Fornell & Mazanchery (2004) defines customer satisfaction as an overall assessment of a customer's total purchase and consumption experience of a product and service time.

In a general term, customer satisfaction enables organizations to create customer loyalty that results in customer retention and most importantly increased profits and markets share [Anderson, fornneel & Letimanum, 1994; Anderson, fornneel & Mazuanchery, 2004] Conducted investigation shows that firms with higher levels of customer satisfaction generate higher return on investment [Anderson, et al, 1994]. In essence, all customer satisfaction studies share the same principle underlying the performance of an organisation's product or service on the basis of how they are perceived by the customer through marketing mix variables.

Sven, Benjamin and Jan [2015] asserted that impact of customer satisfaction can be established in the willingness to pay for tagged price of product and service, with the sterling quality of the product or service under appropriate promotional mix and adequate distribution strategy, all these established repurchases and maintained customer retention, as well as established positive word of mouth in true perspective, and enhanced overall organizational performance [Anderson et al, 1994, 2004]. In essence, customer satisfaction is a basic concept of any business success, in collaboration with views of Prabhakaram and Satyal [2003] that the customer

is the king in business and the basic purpose of any business is to satisfy the customers

Theoretical Review

A discussion on environmental scanning and customer satisfaction in money deposit banks requires some levels of theoretical explanations which have been established among scholars in the field of social and management sciences.

Dynamic Capability Theory (DCT)

The DCT was postulated by Teece and Pisano in 1994 as knowledge frontier of resource based view theory [RBVT]. DCT is mainly focused on the organization's ability to integrate, build and reconfigure internal and external competencies to address rapidly changing environment. Dynamic capabilities, thus reflect an organization's ability to achieve new and innovative forms of competitive advantage given path dependent and marked positions. DCT is the suitable to explain environmental scanning operations being in tandem with the firm's ability to exploit internal and external changing environment to be able to have competitive hedge, achieve organizational goals and remain in business.

More importantly that building organizational capability, stakeholder perceptions and marked orientations are vital indications that organization has to build. Its capacity in order to exploit current resources, capability exploitation and engage in capability exploitation, and engage in capability building [Ahxlkora & Ajei, 2012]. Market orientation, knowledge management and customer relationship management are the three important aspects of organizational capabilities needed mostly for the creation of superior customer value. Furthermore, they identified activities which forms dynamic capabilities sensing seizing and transforming are process of achieving either environmental scanning or customer satisfaction.

Sensing is conceived as the act of discovering opportunities, conducting marketing research and obtaining information from customers regarding what they need as well as determine other elements of the business environment other elements of the business environment that favourable to the organization, Seizing focuses on taking advantage of opportunities for value creation and competitive advantage through acquiring assets and human resources for effective and dynamic achievement of set goals, while transformation is the process of changing organizational activities as the dynamic environment dictates to suit the taste of time particularly as the adjustment or restructuring of the controllable business environment to

face challenges and to enhance market performance as stipulated by dynamic capability theory.

Data Analysis

The study adopted descriptive research design of survey approach and quantitative in nature. The population of study mainly focused on three selected money deposit banks [First bank, Skye bank and Wema] representing central bank of Nigeria [CBN] categorization as international, national and regional bank respectively with estimated customer population of 70,380 customers and sample size determination 1,145 derived using Watson [2001] technique and to avoid compromising error of non-response from some respondents and inappropriate filling of research instruments, therefore, sample size was increased by thirty percent [30%] to have the thousand, four hundred and ninety [1490]. Proportionate stratified random sampling technique of structured questionnaire with a six point modified Likert scale was administered with respond rate- 95.64%, such that 1,425 the study. The research instruments items validation and reliability had index range between 0.76% to 0.83 of Crombach Alpha Coefficient. The data were analyzed using Pearson's product moment correlation [PPMC], through software application of IBM SPSS statistics version 22 test hypotheses.

Table 1: Computation of proportionate sample size for each money deposit banks.

S/n	Name of Bank	Number of Customers	Proportionate of Customer Sample size Determination
1	First Bank Nigerian PLC	43,100	$(43,100/70,380) \times 1490 = 91,246$
2	Polaris Bank	15,175	$(15,175/70,380) \times 1490 = 32,126$
3	Wema Bank PLC	12,105	$(12,105/70,380) \times 1490 = 25,627$
	Total	70,380	1489.99

Source: Researchers' computation and compilation between 2014-2016

Table 2: Presentation of Findings/Results

S/n	Question's Statement	SA		A		FA		FD		D		SD	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
1	My bank determines changes in the environment	466	32.7	404	28.3	105	7.4	336	23.6	54	3.7	60	4.2
2	My bank makes use of changes in the environment	238	16.7	238	16.7	238	16.7	237	16.6	237	16.6	237	16.6
3	My bank carries out environmental scanning	475	33.3	475	33.3	60	4.2	120	8.42	237	16.6	54	4.01
4	My bank understands its environmental analysis	447	31.3	400	28	179	13.9	0	0	200	14	199	13.9
5	My bank engages in environmental scanning for business performance	14	0.9	200	14	199	13.9	576	40.4	400	28	36	2.5

Table 3:

S/n	Question's Statement	SA		A		FA		FD		D		SD	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
1	Customers patronize my bank's services more often	80	5.6	465	32.6	208	14.5	150	10.5	122	8.5	400	28
2	Customers are satisfied with my bank service	88	6.1	472	33.7	200	14	300	21	130	9.1	235	16.5
3	Customers are willingly to recommend by bank services	112	8.5	400	28	365	25.6	80	5.6	100	7	358	25.1
4	My bank's customers are always shared delightful experiences	400	28	179	13.9	440	30.8	7	0.5	200	14	199	13.9
5	My bank is meeting customers' services and needs	365	25.6	180	12.6	210	14.7	150	10.5	120	8.42	400	28

The opinion of banks' customers on the various statements with respect to the environmental scanning in their operational levels in the Lagos State according to the table 1 indicate that combining the responses of strongly agreed, agreed and fairly agreed have 975 respondents representing 68.4% accepted that banks determine changes in the environment while 31.6% account for respondents who disagreed on the ranked scale of fairly disagreed, disagreed and strongly agreed. 714 respondents representing 50.1% agreed that banks make use of changes in the environment while 49.9 disagreed this position. 1,010 respondents representing 70.8% accepted that banks

carried out environmental scanning while 29.2% totally disagreed. 1,026 respondents representing 73.2% agreed that their banks understand its environmental analysis contrarily to the disagreed 26.7% and 413 respondents representing 28.8% maintained that their banks engage in environmental scanning for business performance whereas 71.2% of the respondents totally disagreed with this position. Although, the findings is revealed that selected banks regularly carry out environmental scanning.

Table 2 present descriptive analysis of respondents' opinions to the statement in the customer satisfaction from the above, combining the responses of strongly agreed, agreed and fairly as well as fairly disagreed, disagreed and strongly agreed. 753 respondents representing 52.7% agreed that customer patronize their bank's service more often while 46.3% disagreed. 760 respondents representing 53.2% accepted that customers are satisfied with their banks' service, and 46.8% of the respondents disagreed with the position of the statement. 887 respondents representing 62.1% agreed that customers are willingly to recommend their banks service to others while 37.9% disagree on this. 1,019 respondents representing 72.9% agreed that bank's customers are always shared delightful experiences while 27.1% disagreed with this statement and 755 respondents representing 52.9% accepted that bank is meeting customer's services and needs, while 47.1% totally disagreed. The result indicate that selected banks realistically pursue their customer satisfaction.

Generally speaking, combining the results in Table 2 and 3, one can infer that there is a relationship between environmental scanning and customer satisfaction in the selected banks, findings reveal high frequency distribution and rating on agreed areas of relationships in the statements. Also, since selected banks do carry out environmental scanning according to the result, perhaps this may lead to satisfaction of customers with the banks' service and willingness to recommend the bank's service to others coupled with the shared delightful experiences and meeting customers' needs or services.

Table 4: Shows the correlation between the two variables- environmental scanning and customer satisfaction, as the Pearson's product moment correlation coefficient value reveals a positive and fairly strong relationship between environmental scanning and customer satisfaction ($r=617$, $p, .05$) The relationship is also statistically significant at $p=0.000$ which is less than the level of significance 0.05 adopted for the study. By this implication environmental scanning increases as customer satisfaction also increase. The result conformed with the Apriori expectation of positive relationship between environmental scanning and customer satisfaction. Therefore, the

null hypothesis which states there is no significant relationship between environmental scanning and customer satisfaction in the selected deposit money banks in Lagos State Nigeria is hereby rejected.

Table 4: Summary of Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient Analysis between Environmental Scanning and Customer Satisfaction of Selected Deposit Money Banks.

	Environmental Scanning	Customer Satisfaction
Pearson Correlation Sig. [2-tailed]	1	0.617
		0
	1425	1425
Pearson Correlation Sig. [2-tailed] N	0.617	1
	0	
	1425	1425

**[Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level 2 tailed]

Source: field survey and SPSS computation

Discussion

The result indicated a positive relationship between environmental scanning and customer satisfaction as the hypothesis testing favourably confirmed. The revelation is that deposit money banks in Lagos State Nigeria are operating to the specific financial needs of the customers according to their dictates. This is in line with the position of Onudugo and Ewurum [2013] that environmental scanning is crucial for business survival and growth in Nigeria, as it is critical and essential in the development of businesses as well as make open available information

Bayode and Adebola [2012] established in their investigation strategic environmental scanning and size of the market in a competitive business environment in Nigeria that organizational management gives great concerns to environmental scanning in the sense that it facilitates positive increase in size of the market. By implication environmental scanning is mainly concerned or used to identify fundamental needs in order to create satisfactions. The result also align with the view of Newgreen, Rasher and LaRoe [2014] that organizations practicing environmental scanning are significantly performed better than organizations who are not practising environmental scanning in the area of market size performance, as the measurements were derived from the customer satisfaction. In this respect,

it is organizational products or services that command customers' satisfaction levels.

Although their conclusion mainly mentioned that environmental scanning has, positive impact on the market size and corporate performance and there is no way than through satisfaction derived from the organizational products or services which are based on customers' evaluations of expectation and the real performance of the products or service. Therefore, if deposit money banks do not imbibe environmental scanning in a way that it appeals to customer's satisfaction, these customers would rather switch to other banks which offer their required products or services based on customers fundamental needs which environmental scanning provides an insight for, thereby making environmental scanning promotes customer satisfaction.

Implication for Sustainable Development Goals in Nigeria

This paper has shown clearly that environmental scanning is critical to attaining customer satisfaction in the DMBs in the country. It has also demonstrated that in spite of the current usage of regulatory approach relative to market or customer driven approach the country can indeed make it in a sustainable manner without any reform to the years to come, if shareholders and management of deposit money banks can strongly embrace practices of environmental scanning for enrichment of customer satisfaction. Besides banking instructions as a whole has to imbibe the culture and practice of environmental scanning with greater managerial skills and promotion of stakeholders' interest, if achieving sustainable development goals are to be accomplished in Nigeria. More so that war of economic transformation in the nation would be won if productive financial activities are viable, hence banking sector across the country is germane to the realization of the sustainable development goals in Nigeria.

Conclusion

Markets are quite dynamic and heterogeneous in Nigerian society and customers' satisfaction variations are noticeable and as such there is need to have platform of capturing their values, needs, wants, and demands in order to act in a particular direction of creating satisfaction. Therefore, environmental scanning serves the purpose, more importantly that there is positive relationship between the environmental scanning and customer satisfaction, no doubt environmental scanning can be used to determine customers' needs, desires and demands which enhance customer satisfaction.

Recommendations

Business environment of the organizations are complex, turbulent and quite unpredictable particularly in the developing nations, therefore, in order to cope with these situations organizations must engaged in a process of environmental analysis that focus on activities of scanning such as monitoring forecasting and assessing organizational products and services in the best interest of customers. Since customer satisfaction is a lead way to organizational performance. Also, environmental scanning promotes research development that discovers innovative product and service development which enhance customers' satisfaction and retention proper environmental scanning enhances customer satisfaction.

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Suicide among Female Undergraduates in Nigeria: Causes and Interventions

Funmilayo Idowu Agbaje

Abstract

Suicide is not a new phenomenon. It is an age-long practice common to human race as a means of escape from life's problems and challenges. Scholars have written extensively on some causes of suicide and possible measures of preventing it. Moreover, the global ratings of the frequency of suicide in males as against female have been explored by gender scholars. The gap, however, remains in the recent change in gender frequency in suicide especially among females between the ages of 18 to 24 in Nigeria Universities. The trend, which is now reported almost on every week basis, is a course for concern. This is a pressing challenge that has not been properly interrogated and documented by scholars. This study examines the causes of suicide peculiar to young women and possible interventions. The interventions cut across board of domestic, public and institutionalised sphere.

Introduction

The act of people committing suicide is as old as the world itself. Many reasons have been mentioned in the literature as some of the reasons behind the grievous act (WHO, 2018) such as frustrations arising from being poor, breakup, health challenge, sexual exploitation, depression of varied degrees among others. In Nigeria, this singular act of ending one's life as a relief from facing life's pressing challenges has been given diverse interpretations ranging from psychological issues to much more spiritual matters (Lowe, 2019) Some African mythological perspectives even interpret suicide from bravery point of view (There are existing mythology surrounding many traditional African gods who deliberately cease to exist because they were wronged by their natives). According to the World Health Organisation, the global age-standardised suicide rate at 11.4 per 100,000 people, and suicide is the second leading cause of death among those aged 15-29 years. The rate in Nigeria is put at 9.5 per 100,000. It has been strongly linked to depression,

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and also drug abuse, directly or in association with depression (Muanya et al, 2019).

Over the years, comparative studies have been carried out about the frequency of suicide in males and or females across the world (Colt, 1992). Evidently, many of these studies conclude that suicide is more prevalent among men than in women. In addition, they reveal that men are prone to committing suicide using brutal techniques such as self-gunshot, hanging and nose-diving while women usually opt for less aggressive methods such as using poison, overdose on drugs among others. Before now, high rate of females committing suicide have been reported in China and North Korean (Zalsman et al, 2016). Despite the fact many Nigerian male and female youths are committing suicide in recent times, and also, that not much has changed in terms of methods employed by both men and women in committing suicide, what is obvious in recent times is the high rate at which young women between the ages of 18 to 24 are ending their own lives.

On the 26 December, 2018, a young woman, Aishat Abdulganiyu committed suicide. In April, 2019, a female Uniport 100-level committed suicide using Sniper pesticide, on the 19 June 2019, a 300-level female undergraduate of the University of Benin Christabell Buoro reportedly committed suicide due to broken relationship using Sniper, in April, a 20 year old, 100-level student of Kogi State University, Ayingba ended her life through suicide. These have been the emerging suicide news trends in Nigeria higher institutions (The Guardian Newspaper, The Punch and Daily Post). The aforementioned are but just a few out of the many Nigerian female undergraduates that has committed suicide in the last few months. The boldness on the part of these young women and the reasons behind their acts are worthy of research. More so, suicide among female undergraduates is on the increase and apparently, this is becoming a continuous appeal to young female gender in Universities.

Statement of the Problem

The recent alarming rate in young women committing suicide in Nigeria's higher institution is worrisome and hence calls for immediate attention of scholars, parents, schools' management and policy makers. Adequate attention has not been paid to gender perspectives of suicide by psychologists, peace and gender experts. In the last one year, there has been a skyrocketed rate of suicide by young women so much that in every ten cases of suicide in Nigeria, eight will be females. The dimensions responsible for young girls, especially in Nigeria higher institutions taking their own lives are a pressing issue demanding urgent attention before things get out of total control. Suicide is

preventable with conscious and timely intervention but a comprehensive multi-sectoral suicide prevention strategy is needed. This study is not all-encompassing as its main focus is on young girls between the ages of 18-34 years in Nigerian higher institutions will be considering some of the factors responsible for this increase and thereby proffer useful recommendations.

Empirical Evidence

According to Alabi *et al.* (2014), Suicide has been described as a major cause of mortality worldwide. This is a human tragedy responsible for an estimated one million deaths annually. According to them, this means at least one death resulting from suicide every forty seconds. It is a death in which the murderer and the murdered are combined into one person (Menninger, 1933). Robert (2008) classifies suicidal behaviour into four, namely; completed suicide, suicidal attempts, suicidal ideation, and self-destructive acts. A history of suicide attempts was reported to have increased the risk of psychopathology, psychosocial and dysfunction (Preffler, 1999).

In addition, Masango *et al.* (2014) attests that the prevalence of suicide among youths in Africa is a pressing matter which requires the attention of all and sundry. He further states the multi-factorial nature of suicide to include social, psychological and physical among others. The interplay between a number of risk and protective factors at individual and psychosocial levels has been stressed by scholars. This notion is subjected to individual check, time and space but what is evident is that it must be taken into consideration when attempting to understand which factors promote resiliency and vulnerability to suicide and suicidal behaviour (McLean *et al.*, 2008). According to Hakim (2008) suicidal behaviours tend to occur in response to situations that an individual perceive as overwhelming, such as social isolation, mood, death of loved ones, emotional trauma, and serious physical illness. Furthermore, Burner (1989) points out that magnification of human challenges and subsequent act of jumping into conclusion can lead to suicide.

Considering the difference in suicidal behaviour in females and males, a study carried out in the United States of America indicates clear differences in the forms and types of methods which men and women prefer when they engage in suicidal behaviour (Langhirnricksen–Rolhing, *et al.*, 1999). As noted by Mba (2010) young girls have the highest rates of suicide thought while young men actually carry out suicide. He buttresses this statement by revealing that a significant number of undergraduates in Nigerian universities study under excruciating economic difficulties and conditions. Contrary to this opinion, more young women are transcending the popular ‘suicidal thoughts’ pedestal and actually committing suicide in present times.

In Wanyolke's opinion (2015), Suicide has great impact on the society and hence demands conscious interventions by family and society. This study is germane to the opinion of Swing (1990) that discussing suicide will not make anybody commit it rather it may even serve as deterrents to potential perpetrator. Noteworthy is that the current rate of suicide among Nigerian youths much more the young females and young adults is not well documented hence the need for this study that aim to bridge the existing gaps in the literature by interrogating some of the gender-related causes of increasing rates of suicides among Nigerian female undergraduates.

Theoretical Framework

In order to drive home relevant points germane to the topic of focus, the hopelessness theory of depression was adopted for this study.

The Hopelessness Theory of Depression

The hopelessness theory of depression was propounded by Abramson Metalsky and some of his scholars as a development to Hopelessness theory. They proposed that the causal attribution formed by individuals in response to a negative life event influences their risk for becoming depressed. The theory posits that repeated exposure to uncontrollable and aversive environmental stimuli leads gradually to the belief that the aversive situation is inescapable and a sense of helplessness ensues regarding the situation. This helplessness, according to them, is responsible for depression (Abramson et al, 1989). According to scholars, (Schneider et al, 2012) hopelessness theory of depression states that depressive symptoms are most likely to occur when a vulnerable person experiences negative environmental circumstances. However, critics have said that this model was limited because it was unable to explain why certain individuals become depressed when confronted with an uncontrollable stressor whereas others did not. It has also been said to ignore cognitive factors in its analysis (Abela et al, 2007). This study adopts this theory because it emphasises some of the factors that can impair human's thought and thus lead to a bias judgement which consequently, can make humans vulnerable to depression.

Methodology

This study is qualitative and thus relies on both primary and secondary sources of data for its analysis. Oral interviews and focus groups discussions among young females in two Nigeria Universities, psychologists as well as health workers were employed. In-depth interview was carried out with two suicide survivors. Textbooks, journal articles, daily newspapers and online articles

constituted secondary sources of data. Data obtained was transcribed and content analysed.

Findings

In the course of this study, there are some factors discovered to be responsible for the recent increase in female undergraduates committing suicide in Nigeria universities as discussed below:

Public Shock

Public shock is what can be described as sudden exposure by young women who have experienced all the love of family and friends only to be faced - virtually for the first time – with the realities of life's challenges after gaining admission into the University. Interviews revealed that children, especially those from rich, religious and or overprotective parents often develop with an ambiguous picture of what life holds for them any contrary of what leads to depression which can later graduate to suicide thought and eventual suicide.

Mental Disorder

Increased suicide among female University's students has been linked to increase in several mental disorder common to girl-child such as anxiety (fear of future, growing up and having a family) depression, eating disorder (due to peer pressure to remain thin), anger, hyper-activity and or co-occurring of all of these and more psychological issues.

Menstrual Cycle and Pregnancy

The risk of suicide attempt during phases of the menstrual cycle was also discovered. This is due to low oestrogen levels at this period and in women who suffer from pre-menstrual syndrome. Pregnancy was also identified as a factor in young women who experience elevated risk of suicidal behaviour.

Poor Health

Due to poor diet, drugs abuse and abnormal sexual hyperactivity increase in diseases and sexually transmitted infections were discovered as some of the leading factors responsible for suicide in young women in Nigerian Universities. Victims tend to perceive incurable communicable diseases as the end rather than seek help to manage it. As a result, they take to suicide to escape shame and stigmatisation.

Sexual Harrassment

Constant sexual harassment by lecturers and colleagues has been identified as another major reason for high rate of young women committing suicide.

Note at this point that some of these young girls must have gone through the rigour of writing several examinations with some or numerous failed attempts at gaining admission into the university. For some of these young ladies, sexual harassment is the last on their dreams and expectations in the university. The case is worsened by threat advances coming from a well-respected teacher or fellow students who belong to a cult within the campus. The victim often perceives these set of people as powerful and thus believe they can overcome her due to their positions of power and authority. This can lead to depression and consequent fatality which can make the victim race to the chiming call of death.

Influence of Social Media

The influence of social media on the alarming rate of suicide among young women cannot be undermined. The overtly sexual, luxurious and perfect image portrayed by the media about young women can trigger a feeling of unworthiness in girls of similar age who perceive themselves as less perfect in shape and also, in life attainments. A young woman, who already lacks self-confidence and lacks the resources to show off her luxurious exploits on social media while she sees her peers doing so (even when it is unreal) might develop a sense of failure and thus starts questioning her essence of living. This feeling of despair has been linked to withdrawal and low self-esteem which are strong factors for suicide. Noteworthy is the fact that social media also provides victims with needed information as to which method to adopt in committing suicide.

Integrating within Peer Groups

Young girls, perhaps due to parental upbringing and societal expectations of them as females, are usually fascinated by material things such as fancy clothing, shoes, bags and jewellery. Total lack or feeling of insufficiency in possessing these things may reinforce an 'outcast' imagery of an individual. Sometimes, these feelings may just be in the head of the person or it may be as a result of bullying from peers. The desire to fit into a particular class by young girls coupled with discontentment can bring depression and a sense of unfitness to live.

Poor Parenting

Poor parenting handling style is another major factor contributing to the increasing number of young females committing suicide. There are vices committed consciously and unconsciously by parents some of which are responsible for feelings of despair by their children. Conscious acts such as incest, abuse, domestic violence, false accusations and over-pampering were

discovered as pre-determinants to suicide. On a flip side, neglect, comparing a child with another, overt pressure on child's performance at school, marital status or religiosity have all been mentioned as some of the unconscious parental attitudes fuelling suicide thoughts in their offspring. In addition, deprivation of parental affection, especially in times of challenges is also a crucial factor contributing to suicide in young women. In fact, this is why a young woman will give up after a broken relationship because she perceives the relationship as an escape from the in-affection she had suffered from her parents.

Lack of Resilience

The inability of the present generation of youths to cope with challenges of life is one of the reasons increasing number of young women are committing suicide. This has partly been as a result of the reign of individuality over communality that had hitherto existed in Nigeria. A female child raised in a nucleated environment, with little or no exposure to other people's experience and lack basic knowledge of how issues are resolved in diverse ways, is bound to have a low resilience in terms of facing difficulties and hence, is vulnerable to committing suicide.

Irregularised Availability of Drugs, Alcohol and Poisonous Substances

The ease of access and commonality of drugs in Nigeria is like a helping hand to a suicide minded young woman. Such a person does not need to sweat before obtaining a killer drug. Addictions to drugs had been strongly linked to suicidal thoughts. The internet have also make it possible for young people to have access to drugs and even produce drugs on their own, using home-made materials. In the same vein, excessive consumption of alcohol has been identified as a factor contributing to suicide among young undergraduates. Moreover, the irregularised use of insecticide in the country makes it an easy purchase for anyone attempting suicide. More particularly, is the use of Sniper (Dichlorovinyl dimethyl phosphate) marketed by a Swiss company in Nigeria which has become so popular in recent time as suicide substance with a promise to deliver easy death to suicide victims.

Loneliness

Loneliness was mentioned as a reason for suicide among female undergraduates. This has been reportedly reinforced by castigations, bullying and peer ostracisation.

Poor Academic Performance

Low Cumulative Grade Point Average is a source of sadness to many students. While some may handle the discouragement and brace up to start all over again, the others may experience distress. Findings revealed that students who have been performing well in their studies, which got burnt-out due to over-working, may not be able to handle the pressure of failure. This leads to low self-esteem and depression.

Poor Communication Skills

A long held patriarchal tradition enrooted in many Nigerian cultures and religions have left a lot of female voices unheard. A young woman that grows within a cultural and religious cell where she has been instructed to remain quiet in public is prone to bipolar disorder and any other psychological related deficiencies that can bolster emotional imbalance. Furthermore, children born between 1999 to 2014 are classified as digital native. They are tech-savvy and are exposed to the internet through computers and phones and hence are less likely to have face-to-face conversation with their friends and family. This generation, therefore possess limited inter-personal skills and effective communication skills. There is a disconnect between their emotions and actual expressions. They tend to bottle up a lot of emotional issues leading to frustrations and depression.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Apparently, suicide is a grievous act though on the rise among Nigerian youths, especially females. However, suicide is also preventable with proper education of citizens both old and young minds and timely interventions in case of occurrence; this study thus recommends the following:

- a. Parents should administer a 'modern' remedy to this 'modern menace' by dealing with their wards using all available friendly measures including the use of technology to create family 'chat groups' where they can converse on family issues. This is more important when the child is away in higher institution. To a larger extent, this will reduce communication gaps and foster family unity.
- b. Gatekeepers of cultural and religious institutions should make it a point of duty incorporate gender equity in their messages and practices. This will reduce gender discrimination in the society
- c. The Government of Nigeria should enforce regularisation of drugs and pesticide markets using National Drugs and Law Enforcement Agency as well as National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control.

- d. Governments and Civil Societies should combine efforts at creating rehabilitation centres aimed at helping suicide survivors people with mental and substance use disorders, acute emotional distress and depressed individuals.
- e. Sexual harassment should be criminalised and punitive measures should be listed for perpetrators.
- f. The use of social media should be regularised by government and monitored by parents. In addition, creation of peer communities should be encouraged in schools and on social media to tackle the cold hands of suicide on young women's lives. This will also ensure timely intervention since many post-millennial youths will post a comments stating their intentions to commit suicide.
- g. Health workers as well as psychologists should be properly trained in effective handling of attempted and actual suicide cases.
- h. The practice of individuality should be minimised while communality should be encouraged. This way, pains will be shared and emotional burdens are likely to be lifted.

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Informal Governance and the Legitimacy of International Organizations

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Abstract

The study examined informal governance in international organizations. Adopting the descriptive method of analysis, it was discovered in the study that International organizations are important resources for the powerful and the weak states in international politics. Thus, in order to maintain a mutually beneficial depth of co-operation, government devices norms of discretion through an informal procedure that runs parallel to formal rules. The study reveals that the notion of informal governance aims to find a way out of the tension between the big powers and the small states. Therefore, a mix of formal rules and informal governance is functional in international organizations as it allows states to maintain co-operation and allows the institution to accommodate the interest of both the big and small states in a way that neither formal rules nor informal norms alone permit. However, the study observed that although informal governance has improved the capacity of international organizations, it has also had a negative impact on participation and transparency within the organization, thereby creating legitimacy problem. Thus, the study concluded that increased unilateralism and the shift towards informal governance undermines the legitimacy of the international organizations. In order to enhance the legitimacy of international organization, there is the need to broaden decision making structure to accommodate a wider representation of countries beyond the world's rich countries.

Introduction

Governance in international organizations encompasses the organization's institutional arrangements, the processes for formulating policy, decision making and implementation (World Bank, 1989). Before the Second World War, it was assumed that international organizations must represent the powerful states in order to create order. This view underpinned the Councils of the League of Nations, in which the most powerful states were influential.

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It was also reflected in the Security Council of the United Nations. A parallel to this can be observed in the Bretton Wood Institutions in which quotas need to reflect the realities of economic powers in the world economy (Woods, 1998). Those who contribute more funds to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank are more powerful and have more say in these institutions, such as the United States of America.

However, a different principle came to prominence in the aftermath of the Second World War which is that of equality of states (Broms, 1959). This principle is enshrined in the universal membership and voting of the United Nations General Assembly and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Equality among states has only been recognized in formal rights of the representation. However, because the effectiveness of the international organizations requires that an institution is able to make the relevant or necessary resources and decision to muster the necessary resources to implementing and enforcing decisions, these qualities can all be met by the most powerful states running an organization. Therefore in practice, these formal rights have given way to structures which reflect the hierarchy of power among states.

It is therefore a necessary adaptation for international institutions to develop informal procedures that accommodate the interests of the most powerful states. Governments within an institution therefore devise a norm of discretion that exists alongside formal rules, prescribing that governments collectively accommodate co-operating partners when the partner face interest group pressure for defection. In decision making process, a government who has interest asks for situational discretion in the application of formal rules. In exchange for lending political support to the claimant, government can reap welfare gains from a level of co-operation that is deeper than they would otherwise be able to sustain. The result is diffuse reciprocity in political support that serves to maintain the greatest possible depth of co-operation under the condition of domestic uncertainty (Keohane, 1986, p8 cited in Kleine 2010, p6). The norm manifests itself in practices of informal governance as government departs from formal decision making rules in order to exercise discretion (Stone, 2008, p13).

The notion of informal governance aims to find a way out of the tension among the big powers and between the big powers and the weak states, and the factual reality of norms being enacted by actors and through procedures that run parallel to formal mode of governance. While the transfer of competence of formal international organizations is a careful process guided by strict rules and principle in a parallel process, competences seem to have transferred to or created by more informal form. Therefore, the extent to

which large parts of decision making now seem to be regulated in an informal way triggered a debate on the consequences, in terms of legitimacy.

Given the above, this work examines the practice of informal governance in international organizations in order to bring to the fore the effects of informal governance on the legitimacy of international organizations.

International Organizations and Informal Governance

Governance within international institutions is often described as a balancing act between requirements of effectiveness and legitimacy. Caron (1993) posits that international institutions need to enjoy a particular degree of legitimacy in order to be effective. The effectiveness of an organization might be defined as its capacity to carry out its mandate to make the relevant or necessary decision to muster the necessary resources and capabilities, and to apply its resources to implementing and enforcing its decisions. The effectiveness of an institution depends to a large extent on its member's perceptions of how representative, inclusive and procedurally fair the institution is. This follows consistently where the effectiveness of their national interest depends on an appropriate level of the country's participation and commitment (Woods, 1998, p4).

Powerful countries have attractive alternatives to multilateral co-operation and their participation in common endeavors magnifies the benefit of co-operation for all, so their interest must be accommodated. Formal governance is imbedded in the legal rules of international organizations. However, the above may not correspond to variations in structural power. Strange (1988) opined that structural power represents the outside options of the leading states and externalities that its participation generates for other members. Countries that are strong in terms of structural power may choose to disperse formal rule or control in order to create legitimacy or represent their national interest. Therefore, this means that international organizations must constantly trade off requirements of effectiveness, transparency and legitimacy.

International organizations can be important resources for the powerful, but are useful to the weak and the powerful states alike. It is essential therefore that those international organizations and their policies and procedures enjoy the consent of their member states' governments. Stone (2008) noted that as countries became increasingly integrated into the world economy, and the world economy places increasing burdens on the global environment, the number of fundamental national interests that can only be achieved through international organizations expand. This requires that there be some agreement about the general interests that the organization promotes, and

the states that are favoured by the biases that are built into the organization's procedures do not have such strongly divergent interests that they negate the expected benefits. Therefore, international organizations achieve this balance by operating according to two parallel sets of rules, which embodies consensual procedures, and informal rules, which allow exceptional access for powerful states. The leading states in the system make concessions when they submit to international norm and legalized procedures.

Thus, international organizations operate under two sets of governance. The formal mode of governance which specify voting rights and legitimate procedure and the informal governance, which are less transparent, allow powerful states to set the agenda and control outcome. However, within the international organizations these sets of governance depend on each other. It is in this light that Stone (2008) concluded that international organizations are equilibrium outcome that balance the power and interests of the leading states and the member countries. Formal and informal governance can therefore be legitimate because the degree of conflict of interests between the leading states and the weak states varies within the range of issues or cases that fall under an organization's competence. Formal governance embodies consensual procedures while informal governance allows exceptional access for powerful states. Member countries within an organization tolerates a degree of informal influence In cases of special concern to a leading power in return for a large share of decision making authority in ordinary times (Stone, 2008, p13).

According to Voeten (2011), International organization produces predictable policies that reflects the distribution of formal voting rights among members but within the international organization powerful states may intervene and assume temporary control when strategic objectives overrides its interest in the organization's long term goals. Formal voting rights set the policy of the organization and create the parameters within which informal influence is exercised. For instance, the United Nations explicitly built in a veto in the Security Council to protect the interest of the major powers. However, informal influence is decisive within the Security Council (Voeten, 2011). The Security Council is made up of 15 member states, 5 of whom are permanent members (China, France, Russia, UK and U.S.A) and 10 of whom are non permanent representatives of various groupings of countries.

A minimum of nine votes is required for any decision, which must include the concurring vote of all five permanent members (Voeten, 2011). Woods (1999, p12) observed that in spite of the above, most often, the Security Council's decisions are not carried out by formal voting, rather it is conducted

in informal consultations of the whole, in which consensus decision making replaces voting. Furthermore, Woods (2008, p9) noted that international financial institutions and multilateral development banks such as The World Bank and the IMF also make manipulations possible through informal mode by shrouding their operations in secrecy, delegating authority to management, and weakening the oversight capabilities of their Boards of Directors.

Informal governance in international institutions arises through participation in decision making process, informal consultation with agents or commission who are delegated authority to make decisions, and special access to information. Thus, informal governance represents an insurance policy for the leading states when its vital interests are affected, and states with substantial structural power may choose to trade off formal voting rights for informal influence in order to induce participation by a wider range. In this light, informal governance becomes an option which allows the big powers to retain decisive influence in the organization while shedding most of the formal levers of power. Wessel et al, (2011) noted that informal governance can occur in terms of output, process and actors involved. Firstly, in terms of output, international cooperation may be informal in the sense that it does not lead to formal treaty but rather to a guideline, standard declaration or even more informal coordination. Secondly, in terms of process, international cooperation may be informal in the sense that it occurs in a loosely organized network or forum rather than a traditional international organization forum. For example, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is the prestigious club of the rich nations, while the Group of Twenty (G20) (biggest/ largest economies) is a collection of developed and developing states.

The G20 pursue agenda and goals with common interest and decisions are taken by consensus which largely take place through the issuing of consultation document to which government may respond before a definitive code of practice or international standard is established (Donnelly, 2010: p1,7). Thirdly, in terms of actors' involved, international co-operation may be in the sense that it does not engage traditional diplomatic actors such as head of states and government, foreign ministers or embassies but rather other ministries, domestic regulators, independent or semi-independent agencies.

Specifically, informal governance involves collective practices that allow governments to determine the content and timing of legislative proposal; agree to consensual changes in organization proposals where rules provide for qualified majority votes and enforce ex post restriction of the implementing actors discretion (Kleine, 2010, p8). States follow formal rules

most frequently when domestic uncertainty is low, while they adopt informal governance when domestic uncertainty is high. Kleine (2010, p11; 2013; 2014) gave a full description of practice of informal governance in the European Union Council (EC) legislative process. He posits that firstly, the heads of state and government do restrict the commission's room for maneuver by predetermining the legislative agenda. Although the heads of state and government had no official place in the EC, they met with increasing frequency at summits to decide important matters and give further instructions to both Commission and the Council. Secondly, the governments resumed control of timing of the legislative agenda because they refuse to deal officially with the Commission proposal immediately after their submission instead these proposals were referred to government experts within a large informal substructure of working groups and committees. Thirdly, formal rules within the EU stipulates that after the Commission submits its proposal to the Council, the governments and European Parliament (EP) adopt it with a qualified majority vote and may change it if they are able to attain unanimity. However, this is not the case as the informal Council substructure served to build a consensual outcome among government. The government experts were from the outset instructed to prepare decisions in such a way that the next level was willing to adopt them without further discussion.

Furthermore, Farwell and Heritier (2004, p194-195) observed that the European Council are often reluctant to engage the European Parliament in open bargaining. Arising from this, the European Parliament became implicated in informal governance as soon as it gained serious legislative powers in the mid-1990s. Therefore, the Parliament intensified its contacts with Council substructure and the Commission through informal mechanism. At the same time, it increasingly agreed on legal acts during the early stages of the legislature procedure, thus forfeiting opportunities for open plenary debates. Also, formal rules allow the delegation of implementation powers to the Commission and provide no means for the Council to withdraw and change effective measures. Where the treaty confers these powers directly upon the Commission, governments usually reserve the implementation of policies for their national administration (Franchino, 2007, p86). For Pollack (2003, p114), informal mode is applicable even in the event that the Commission is endowed with implementation powers, a number of informal governmental committees monitor its action and often limit its discretion substantially.

The Group of Seven and Eight (G-7 and 8) meetings reflect another informal approach. These gatherings are not treaty based. They are simply

meetings of nation-states trying to discuss global or regional issues in an informal setting, with the aim of either making some decisions together or of preparing decisions to bring them to the formal governing organs of the treaty based international organizations (Dervis, 2010). Such groups as the G-7 and 8 have established itself as premier center for global governance and policy-making. With the G-7 and 8 shaping the priorities and defining mandates of international organizations.

Starting with the first G7 meetings in 1970s, initiated by French President, Valery Giscard d'Estaung, the informal arrangements have endured and have become institutionalized (Dervis, 2010). As a result of their increasing influence, international organizations within and outside the UN system carry out mandates and research studies on behalf of the G7 and 8. The international organizations that support the G-7 and 8 process with the provision of technical expertise include the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), the Financial Stability Board (FSB), the IMF, the World Bank and Regional Development Banks, OECD, the International Energy Agency (IEA) as well as entities of the UN system such as the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the International Labour Organization (ILO), the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC (United Nations 2003).

Stone (2009, p13; 2013, p122) provided an elegant power- based explanation for informal governance. In exchange for more favourable formal voting rights, small states agree to tolerate practices of informal governance that permit large states to shake off institutional constraints in the event that they consider their vital interests jeopardized. These deals must be expected to take place in issue-area that are of predictable high sensitivity to the powerful states. The optimal functioning of international institutions depends upon mutual restraint. Powerful states refrain from exercising informal influence outside of the recognized zone of legitimate deviation from the formal rules, and in turn weak states refrain from imposing formal rules that would curtail their privileges.

International organizations are often important players in the domestic politics of weak states which are more vulnerable to internal conflict and most exposed to the vicissitudes of global markets. Leaders of these countries find that the only way to exert effective leverage over international organizations is to appeal to the leading states in the system, most often to the United States to exert informal influence on their behalf (Pop-Eleches: 2009). For instance, Egypt and Pakistan had both called on the U.S.A to

intercede on their behalf with IMF. Washington intervened through informal influence to reduce the enforcement of IMF conditionality (Stone: 2008,12).

Furthermore, states with structural power such as the U.S.A depend more on informal influence because the U.S.A with its substantial structural power have greater informal influence; and they compensate for this by giving up formal voting rights in order to induce participation by wider range. For instance, in order to induce other countries to continue participation in the organization, the U.S.A may be compelled to offer to redistribute vote shares in the organization thereby shifting the pivotal voter from its own ideal point. This situation occurred in IMF in 2008 where voting rights were redistributed in order to compensate for a perceived drop in the legitimacy of the Organization that was linked to U.S.A mismanagement of the Asian Financial Crisis of the late 1990's and spreading into Russia, Argentina, Brazil and Turkey (Stone, 2008, p12; Stone, 2013; Clark, 2008; Montes, 1998).

However, the legitimacy and credibility of the international organization can be eroded if informal influence is used frequently. For instance, there is growing evidence that the United State has created a crisis of legitimacy in the IMF because frequent informal intervention tend to undermine the credibility and autonomy of the institution, which may weaken its legitimacy. Similarly, the WTO which has become so titled towards U.S and European Union preference has also lost its legitimacy in the developing world. In this regard, the next section will examine the effect of informal governance on the legitimacy of an international organization.

Impact of Informal Governance on the Legitimacy of International Organizations

The legitimacy of international organisations derives originally from states. State recognition is crucial to the understanding of legitimacy of international organizations. Nevertheless, in creating international organisations and serving as their source of legitimacy, states also established for them a second criterion for legitimacy i.e. the obligation to go beyond the inactions of each member state. International organization vital outcomes is to bring a culture of mutually agreed values and rules, of common appeal of welfare, able to rise above state's narrow outlook. The imperative of delivering public goods at global level agreed by states to international organisations derived their economic and political meaning and validity, and the dimension of their purpose from this states (Coicaud 2001, p525). International organizations not only seek to secure for countries a type and level of legitimacy that reduce the unhappy aspects of national legitimacy due to state shortcomings.

They had sought to seek to complement and enhance national legitimacy by supplementing state actions whenever and wherever needed, and by contribution to the change of state identity, to its opening up of the world's new multilateral considerations. However, so far, the end results are mixed as a result of informal governance. (Woods: 1996, 150-153) observed that although informal governance has improved the capacity of international organizations to dispatch its decision or business, yet it has also had a negative impact on participation, transparency and legitimacy within the organization because informal governance has bred a much higher level of informal consultations. Key decisions are also taken outside formal consultations. Therefore, instead of votes on the adoption of the agenda, agenda are always agreed in advance in informal consultation. This means that only a restricted number of members get to participate in the process of formal decision making.

Furthermore, informal governance does not allow reasoning for a decision to be open to scrutiny by member states and it does not allow each member of the organization to take a position on an agenda that affects its interest in which case the international organization is not accountable to states who are not party to the informal processes even if they are directly affected by the organization's decisions. As a result of the above alleged legitimacy deficits, international institutions of global governance face challenges in gaining backings from transnational policy communities as well as key societal groups within states especially the lack of inclusiveness and accountability (Pak and Gerald: 2011, 4).

In international organisations that address issues of global peace and justice, the deficiencies of decision-making outputs and their disappointing effects are mostly connected with problems of representation, participation, and decision-making. This comes as no surprise considering the strong links among the informal mechanisms for representation, participation, deliberation, and decision, as well as the substance that is debated and decided, and the implementation of the decisions. Likewise, it is no surprise when one considers the complexity of international organisations task in coming to terms with the diversity they encompass. In this context, questionable informal procedures of representation and participation end up accounting for what seem to be two recurring trends oscillation between endless deliberations and ad hoc decisions behind closed doors by small committees and policies possibly inhabited by ulterior motives of erratic realization of decisions. In other words, the weakening of legitimacy arising from a negative consequences of the lack of divergence and consistency is, itself, largely the product of the legitimacy flaw contained in the representation, participation

and decision making mechanisms of informal governance (Coicaud: 2001, 526).

Caron (Caron: 1993, 552) posits that the informal process also magnifies the unequal resources available to members in order to work effectively to push their own preference. Those with the greatest staffing and research capabilities are much better placed to use informal negotiations. For instance, the Inter- America Development Bank (IDB) at the informal level. The U.S mission to the Bank have at their disposal to present, argue and lobby for particular positions or policies. Additionally, the U.S position is further strengthened by the position of the Headquarters in Washington DC, and the fact that one quarter of its top management, its Executive Vice- President and usually also the financial manager and general counsel are from the U.S (Woods,1999, p10). Another probably more crucial example is the impact of the various modalities of organizational membership.

The selective veto power have made the IMF, the World Bank, and the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) a nearly proprietary territory of the most powerful nations that all too often caters primarily to their interests. On the other hand, the one-seat-one chance policy has allowed the General Assembly to become one of the favoured playgrounds and instruments of the developing countries. In the process, which all the more damaging considering the centrality and visibility of these institutions in the United Nations system, it is the inclusive and universal qualities of their leverage that tend to be lost. Instead of ensuring the universalization and conjunction of particular interest, the clientelist inclination contributes to the particularization of universal interests. In undermining the claim to universalism of generalist international organisations, this inclination undermines a crucial piece of their legitimacy.

Woods also acknowledged the fact that the accountability of international organization has been eroded by informal governance (woods: 1998,16). For example, within the United Nations an important channel of accountability from the Security Council to the General Assembly is the budget. According to article 7(1) and 18(2) of the UN Charter, approval of the UN budget requires a two-third majority of the General Assembly. However, this requirement has been altered, not by the amendment of the Charter, but less formally by resolution of the General Assembly. This was put in place after strong lobbying for change in the 1980's which resulted in resolution 41/213 calling for critical budget decisions to be adopted by consensus at the stage of the committee for program and coordination (Lyons,1995). Thus, Rivline (1996) concluded that the above gave the United States and other individuals the veto it sought over the UN budget.

Informal governance has also played down the equal power of states to vote and enhance informal powers of the states for concession or use retaliatory threats. Powerful countries could push negotiations of agendas or policies behind the scenes as World Trade Organisation (WTO) applied bilateral pressures and simply not hold meetings until consensus has been reached. The reason for such actions was to concentrate negotiations among a small group of powerful nations who tended to present decisions to other contracting parties. Indeed, this has led to a series of problems in several trade negotiation rounds, such as the Doha Round, which started since 2001 and yet to be concluded.

Similarly, due to informal governance and the derivative status of international organisations vis-à-vis states, the tendency to custom-tailor policies to clients' interests becomes a central impediment to their legitimacy. Instead of placing multilateral qualities at their core, on which their legitimacy primarily depends, this tendency leaves such qualities at their periphery. Hence the low level of institutionalization of international organisations. The low level of institutionalism that characterizes international organizations is reflected in the fact that, rather than being global institutions with worldwide effective operational reach, they tend to be head-quarters organisations. In this context, the head is likely to be remote from the rest of the organization and its activities on the ground. At times the two hardly recognize each other as parts of the same entity as internal deficiencies usually result in poor power projection.

This situation largely accounts for the inadequate cohesion of decision processes and erratic implementation of operations in the field. As a consequence, what international institution has built so far is less a thick multidirectional web or matrix than a thin network with relatively meagre normative operational, and political grip on or pull power over developed and developing countries (Coicaud, 2001, p526).

It is pertinent to note that executive multilateralism in which international organization are answerable to few powerful government is no longer perceived as acceptable, as witnessed by the mass protest against the IMF, WTO, the World Bank, G8 and G20 since the 'Battle of Seattle' of 1999. In addition, new multilateralism now includes diverse non state actors besides state actors, which alone can no longer confer legitimacy to present day global governance of international organisations (Pak and Gerald: 2011, 4).

Conclusion

International organizations are important actors in international politics and states remain the fundamental actors in international relations. International

organizations produce predictable policies that reflect the distribution of voting rights among its members. However, states will only agree to delegate extensive powers to international organizations when they expect to share broadly similar objectives. Thus, the broad policies and many of the important details are worked out through formal and informal governance procedures that are established by states. Informal governance facilitates an inter-temporal relation between weak and powerful states.

The three institutional designs endogenous to informal governance include membership and structural power, formal voting rights and informal governance procedures. Firstly, structural power represents the outside options of the leading state and the externalities that its participation generates for other members. Secondly, formal voting rights set the policy of the organization and create the parameters within which the informal influence is exercised. While informal influence consist of participation in decision making and special access to information, and it allows the leading state to override the common policy when its vital interests are affected. However, if these informal procedures are abused, the legitimacy and usefulness of the organization can be undermined as the study has shown.

Therefore, in order to enhance informal governance in international institutions, the following recommendations deserve attention. Given the fact that, major powers shape the priorities and defining mandates of international organizations, sub-regional, regional representations as well as key leaders of multilateral organizations should be present at informal meetings. Secondly, Participation in multilateral negotiations should be enlarged to include more formally, some rotating representation of smaller and medium sized countries i.e. weak and less developed states. Thirdly, voting weights should be given an overall framework of universal participation and representation through constituencies based on regional grouping. Also, Organizations such as the UN, IMF and World Bank should be democratized to truly represent the interests of every state.

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Role of Older Persons in Conflict Resolution and Development: An Analysis of Elechi Amadi's *The Great Ponds*

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Abstract

Forage into literature has proved the inevitability of conflict within the human society, unresolved conflict leads to chaos and eventually underdevelopment owing to the fact that no meaningful development can take place in a crisis situation. Hence, the human society has over the last six decades been finding means of conflict resolution so as to forestall chaos. This is one of the core reasons for the establishment of international organization such as United Nation and African Union; all in the effort to promote peace; a necessary constituent of democracy and development. This paper, using Elechi Amadi's novel, *The Great Ponds* brought to the fore the complexes, dynamic, and consequences of conflict within the society and the role of older persons on issues of conflict resolution, democracy and development within indigenous African society. The paper highlights cultural roles of older persons in enhancement of peace and development within the precinct of African culture.

Introduction

Conflict is permanent features of human society. Historically, human beings have always got reasons to disagree with one another and even in agreement, there are differences in perspectives owing to diverse orientation such as religion, nationality, race, ethnicity, political, economic and individual interest. Invariable, family that constitute one of the agent of socialization process of a normal individual influences attitude, opinion and eventually determines

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individual behaviour that may be at variance with others which can lead to conflict.

Also individual differences that lead to conflict, probable has its root in conception, as deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) of two individuals from scientific perspectives is not exact. Even from the biblical account of creation story there was conflict from the beginning as Adam and Eve ate the forbidden fruit in disagreement to God's instruction Genesis ;3;17. The scenario depicts the fact that human differences are natural and disagreement is bound to occur. Therefore, conflict is an issue of natural occurrence that is promoted by personal interest. Apart from personal, religious and issues such as human behavior, pride ,ego economic and political interest are breeding ground for conflict among individuals .It is the inevitability of conflict that has made various means of conflict resolution such as Public Compliant Commission (ombudsman) an integral part of human society.

The origin of United Nation is rooted in conflict resolution though the United Nation on a number of occasions such as the first Gulf War in 1991 failed to prevent war but it has done a lot to resolve issues such as the end of civil war in Sudan. The United Nation was organized to resolve crisis so as to prevent exacerbating occurrences such as the Second World War. This is because viewing conflict from the position of World Book Encyclopedia (2008), that conflict is bound to occur when interest of individuals groups or nations is at variant with that of others.

Therefore, since interest of individuals, communities and nations are bound to differ; conflict cannot be avoided but can only be addressed. This is because there can be no development in the presence of conflict and conflict is inevitable. Hence, there is the need to always find means of addressing conflict.

In view of this development; this paper brought to the fore the concept of conflict and its devastating effect within the frame work of indigenous African conflict resolution mechanism and the role of older persons in engaging challenges of conflict that predate the advent of colonialism using Elechi Amadi' *The Great Pond* (African Writers Series 3). This is because *The Great Pond* expatiates on composite nature of conflict such as sources, consummation and devastating effect on the people of Aliakoro and Chiolu over the Pond of Wagaba and the integral role of older persons in ensuring peace..

Therefore, this paper presents the issues of conflict as it relate to effect and older persons concerns in conflict resolution.

The Concept of Conflict on Development

This segment of the paper expatiates issues as they relate to conflict from scholars perspective and relate such submission to occurrences in *The Great Ponds*. From forage into literature conflict has to do with tension and clash of interest in relation to individuals, group and national differences. Conflict from the forage into literature and submission of scholars such as Adegbola (2013) it can be deduced that conflict such as in the novel *Great Ponds* is a form of struggle between individuals or groups .It occurs whenever individual or group seeks to gain reward not by competition but by prevention of the other group from competing . This is the occasion when the people of Chiolu prevent the people of Aliakoro from fishing in the pond of Wagaba. This is because human beings living together in a community are abound to differ, get desperate and hinge on violence on issues that relate to their survival such as economic factors.

In this instance, conflict occur when source of livelihood is being threatened owing to this, individuals, ethnic group, community and even nations have had conflict among themselves that have resulted to war in order to protect economic interest. In some instances, most of such conflicts that have resulted to war usually have to do with control of natural resources. This is because such control is pertinent to economic survival and development in general. From the *Great Ponds* it was deduced that the economic interest as it relates to resource control prompted the conflict between Chiolu and Aliakoro village of the Erekwí clan. The ponds were many but the source of conflict in this instance is the Pond of Wagaba that is described as ‘remarkable rich ponds which their neighbour coveted and ravaged when they could’ (pg.10).

Furthermore, it was described as unique; one of the poachers of Aliakoro described it ‘I have never seen a pond so full of fish’ (pg12). So important to the two communities that they go to war after the conflict could not be resolved. The great ponds was shared by many villages but Chiolu had the pond of Wagaba described as ‘ Pond of Wagaba which..... is rich in fish’(pg8) . From the submission above it can be deduced that economic factor was the major source of conflict between the village of Chiolu and Aliakoro.

Besides, nationalism can also fuel conflict; nationalism can be a source of conflict. From the position of Coleman and Cressy (1999), nationalism is a sense of identification with devotion to One’s nation .Such devotion can lead to conflict owing to pride of being member of a nation that is rooted in the devotion to one’s nation. It is a form of pride perhaps inordinate. It can lead to sense of imperialism in which an individual or group of people desire

and actually expanded their geographical territory, social dominance and economy empire.

This scenario did play out in the conflict between Chiolu and Alaikoro village. The leaders of the two villages did claim the disputed pond of Wagaba. Eze Okechi commenting on the issues of fishing the major cause of the crisis he commented '.....if they fish in the Pond of Wgaba they have right to' (pg21). While Eze Daili in reaction to the address '...we won this battle and this pond became ours...' (pg23). Thus, from the declaration of the heads of the villages in conflict, identification and devotion to their respective villages did entrench the conflict.. From the submission above it was a duty to their nation to claim the Pond of Wagaba .

In sum, the need for resource control (fish in the Pond of Wagaba) is the root cause of the conflict .Meanwhile nationalism the pride, love and devotion to one's nation have been identified from the position of this paper as causal factors for conflict. From the position owing to the propensity of conflict to bring chaos it can be deduced that conflict as to do with opposition, resistance and coercion. The process of conflict involves the deliberate attempt to weaken and if possible eliminate the opposition. The tool in achieving such by conflict is the use of violence. From deduction into *The Great Ponds* violence is widely employed and elimination of individuals was paramount. After the first encounter seventeen men died; four from Chiolu and thirteen from Aliakoro. Incidence such as this indicates that conflict reduces human resource which is a major tool for development. Omotayo (2001), identified two resources in any human endeavour. These are material and human resource.

Graham and Bennet (1998), described human resource as the human side of the management enterprise. Suffice to say human resource is very crucial to the success of any human endeavour. According to Akintayo (1996), human resource is the lifeblood of any enterprise. Consequently; it is an integral part of production because it is the only resource that is conscious of its contribution to production. Therefore, since conflict does not enhance but insalubrious human resource it becomes imperative to ensure reduction of conflict. This is because without human resource to drive material resource there can be no development. The concept of development in this instance relate to income and well being of individuals.

Development from the position of this paper does not relate to economic status of countries as in contemporary terms of developed, developing and underdeveloped nation. But a rudimentary definition that allow freedom and security for people within a community to fully express their potentials without fear of restriction, oppression, domination, coercion and insecurity

An enabling environment creating opportunities and capacity to engage challenges as they emerge from time to time. The argument is that development cannot be practiced within the quagmire of conflict. This is because the effect of conflict is devastating and inimical to development. The effect in the *The Great Pond* was thus captured.

.....fight assume alarming dimension.....
 life became a nightmare.....farms were deserted...
 enemies looted their yam and cut down barns....
 Starvation was not along way off. (pg76).

The above scenario described the effect of conflict on access to material resources of a community with the ultimate calamity of starvation that will eventually lead to extinction of the entire human community. In the ensuing war there was depreciation in social activity owing to insecurity. It affect the homes; women cannot cook good food for their family since the farm cannot be assessed a woman that venture to farmshe never came back pg77. The situation was so pathetic that entire community was affected.

And so man, beast and crops suffered .
 it was a long war a bitter war a
 war of attrition . (pg77).

The scenario above brought to cognizance the devastating effect of conflict as it cause social and economic dislocation even to people that are not directly involved .

The war grew so bitter that eventually
 villages as far away as two days journey
 began to feel the effect (pg.78).

Hence, since conflict and its dynamic is generic they cut across all strata of the society and thus hinders development and well being of the people. Therefore, since welfare of the people can only thrive in an atmosphere of peace devoid of conflict it becomes imperative to seek resolution to conflict. Thus, the next segment of the paper expatiate on older persons role in conflict resolution between the people of Chiolu and Aliakoro.

Theoretical Perspective

Generally, theories explain facts that have been observed over time and theories give direction to a study. Hence, this paper brought to the fore relevant theory in social gerontology that supports the paper. This ensures a better understanding of the role of older persons in conflict resolution. It can be deduced from the submission of Cumming and Henry (1961), disengagement theory explains the concept of age and its antecedent of

reduce agility as situations that warrant the need for older persons to disengage from main social activity.

In this paper the disengagement theory explains reasons for non participation of older persons in the actual fight for the Pond of Wagaba between Chiolu and Aliakoro. But, the older persons are involved in peace negotiation that is less energy demanding. In this instance the activity theory by Havighurst (1968), become relevant in explaining how older persons in the two villages remain relevant in their communities by assuming new role of mediation in ensuring peace in the two community. The position of this paper is that dislocation of older persons from societal activity such as war is owing to age that reduces human agility; but is not tantamount to redundancy in African society. Therefore, older persons remain socially relevant in African society by playing the cerebral role of peace mediation the fulcrum of development as argued in this paper.

Older Persons Role in Conflict Resolution

The previous segment of this paper has identified the nature of conflict, being inimical to development. Consequently, it becomes imperative to ensure conflict resolution, which is the major focus of this paper. The first role of the elders in conflict resolution is mediation between the warring communities. It was the elders of Erekwiland that mediate between Chiolu and Aliakoro. It was captured as 'assembly of old and venerable Ezes' pg83 that gathered to resolve the crisis after all attempts have failed. The description was; 'Each village made it clear that she would not let the pond go'. However, because of respect for older persons they allow for mediation.

The arbitrators were all from the Erekwiland it was thus captured 'Ezes of the Erekwiland have assembled together for the first time ever' pg84. From the above submission it shows how much the older persons appreciate peace for the first time ever the older persons gather all because of peace. Furthermore, not just any elders but those with credibility it was described as - 'Elders noted for their impartiality in their various villages were chosen' pg79. The older persons serve as arbitrators in resolving peace. In resolving peace the elders follow consultation in which they allow all parties in the conflict to present their case. The consultation was thorough and open. It was narrated as

The warring villages stated their case quoting ancient history which none but the very old could grasp. (Pg. 83).

From this perspective the older persons are presented as custodian of history and information and cogent arbitrators who thrive on fact and information. It gives credence to older persons as set of population group

that readily admits limitations. 'Time obscures many things, but time also establishes many things' (pg. 87). In this instance the older persons admits their limitations in recounting history in actual detail. Such sincerity is further embellishes in choosing older persons that will mediate in the crisis. Actual visit was made to the pond to ensure equity.

Here, it was described as 'ponds were carefully inspected' (pg. 84). After much deliberation there was no conclusion except the option of metaphysical that involve swearing with a deadly god, Ogbunabali. The admittance of failure in ensuring resolution in the conflict by the older persons is an act of courage, candour, sincerity, humility and authority. Here, the older persons admit that they can no longer solve the crisis after so many options were considered. Then, the god, Ogbunabali was used as the final arbiter. This show that before the advent of law court and international arbitration mechanism such as the United Nation the indigenous Africans communities have means of settling disputes among communities. The first is to call the older persons and after such intervention there was no resolution the next is to call the gods just as it occurred in *The Great Ponds*.

The authority of older persons in this era is paramount. It was made known to the two villages that the decision on the pond will be decided by the older persons- 'that will be decided by elders of the Erekwí clan' (pg.82). In furtherance of the older persons authority and control over their clan it was made known to the two communities that the word of the older persons are laws- 'ezes are not to be trifled with' (pg.84). The essence of the respect for the Ezes was a derivative from their bravery candour, sincerity, control humility and authority. These are attributes that ensures acceptability of the Ezes decision that the two villages of Chiolu and Aliakoro agreed to swear by the deadly god Ogbunabali. At the end, resolution of the elders were followed and peace was achieved.

Conclusion

The entire book *The Great Ponds* was a compendium of crisis resolution among communities in an indigenous African society before the advent of colonialism. The deduction from the position of this paper is that crisis is inevitable and it can be controlled even when human solution seems impossible; hence the god Ogbunabali was consulted through which the oath was sworn. The paper has established a major fact that older persons are ready to ensure peace even at the cost of losing their lives.

In variance to the older persons the younger generation admitted- 'I am mainly responsible for the war of the great ponds'. (pg.113). From this assertion the older persons despite the love and nationalist tendency they

still want peace to resolve the crisis. It got to a stage the oldest person in Alaikoro commented 'If only my death would end the war I should be too happy to die. (Pg. 81). . This statement shows how much older persons are committed to peace and development even to the point of death. The book also present older persons as caring and sensitive set of people prisoner were called sons .The Eze of Chiolu commented when interrogating prisoner from Aliakoro 'What is your name , my son'pg 16 .Here prisoner were well treated by older persons all in the pursuit of peace . Another attribute of the older persons in conflict resolution is sincerity .The Ezes of Isiali admitted the fact that he sides Aliakoro at the initial stage of the war ...but the truth shines like the moon and must be said – that we lent warrior to Aliakoro” (pg,79). This scenario presented the older persons as truthful and sincere and was committed to peace at all cost. Besides, the leadership quality of the older persons is of great importance. They serve their community selflessly and do not arrogate undue privileges and control here respect is earned and not demanded .The older person who lead Chiolu was described as

Eze Diali influence permeated the whole village
 like the cult of Amadioha men stopped fighting
 and women ceased verbal exchanges at his intercession
 He did not interfere in his neighbour affairs he did
 nor order anyone around he worked as hard as anyone else
 Daili subtle leadership was indispensable to Chiolu
 Leadership that defied imitation , an inborn leadership whose
 incredible strength lay in its gentleness. (pg.19).

From the above submission such leadership by older persons ensure the resolution of the crisis in which the resolution of the crisis justified Chiolu .Finally, the conflict resolution and development capability of the older persons is entrenched in the words of older persons to the younger generation.

.... In our days we the elders fought to pass on the heritage of the Great Ponds to you .Now it is your turn to defend this heritage. (pg. 60).

From this perspective the heritage here refers to openness, sincerity, humility, tact knowledge, truthfulness and selflessness that has established older persons as epitome of development. It is this attribute that has made older persons an indispensable constituent of humanity in general and that of indigenous African society in particular.

Recommendations

- 1 Any form of crisis or misunderstanding should be timely addressed and resolved before it degenerates in to chaos and conflict; mediation should be prompt.
- 2 In conflict resolution, arbitrators should have integrity in order to build confidence within the parties in conflict.
- 3 In resolving conflict, there should be display of courage, sincerity humility and equity.
- 4 Further research should be done on other literature text so as to bring values of africanity .

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Rural Development and the Agricultural Economy of South-western Nigeria: A History of its Challenges

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Abstract

The thesis of this paper was that cash crops agricultural production was the major revenue base of the South-western Nigeria since the 1950s; but that rural development that made it possible later became neglected with the result that the area is now producing below its optimal potentials and its rural communities are in dilapidated shape. It examined the literature on the South western states and the socio-political ideologies of its founding leaders on rural development and agricultural economy. It discovered that the Awolowo-led Action Group government, since the 1950s, gave overriding priority to rural development as the engine that drove its cash-crop economy. It also found out that the Western Region, in the First Republic, was economically buoyant and viable irrespective of federal allocation. It further uncovered that, with military incursion into politics and crude oil revenue allocation coming to the front burner, agricultural production and rural development began to decline in the area. It concluded that the gradual neglect or abandonment of rural development and declining agricultural production in south western Nigeria resulted from the availability of oil revenue.

Introduction

Many political leaders from the South-western Nigeria had often mouthed the slogan: 'sustaining the legacies of late Obafemi Awolowo'. However, that populist slogan was nothing more than leveraging upon the political and moral support that late Awolowo enjoyed from the population (which he actually earned by his practical leadership examples and developmental policies shortly before independence and in the First and Second Republics (Ogunmodede, 2009.217-225). The former Western Region has now become fragmented into Oyo, Ondo, Ogun, Osun, Ekiti and Lagos States. Prior to the incursion of the military into Nigerian politics, beginning from January

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1966, the Western Region, (including present Edo and Delta states), as the western states were collectively designated at that time, was the envy of the other two regions- Northern and Eastern Regions respectively.

Awolowo's own idea of federalism styled 'fiscal federalism' was the guiding spirit of the western regional economy (Gbadegesin, 2009.57-63). The tenet of fiscal federalism enunciated that the individual federating region or state should be financially self-sustaining and should make contribution to the central government as appropriate. That was antithetical to the present fiscal arrangement with a financially over mighty federal centre and mostly incapacitated and unviable federating states the survival of whom depended on monthly federal allocations. With that economic ideology at the background, the action Group- led Western Regional government hit the ground running since about 1951 and gave overriding attention to agricultural economy and rural development as its driving force. The region, by so doing, merely strategically leveraged upon the its vast fertile lands and favourable climate conducive for the production of cash crops like cocoa, rubber and palm kernel among others. Cash crop economy was so lucrative in the rural areas that people readily migrated to the villages to get involved in cocoa production (Obinta, 2009.72-74).

Until crude oil revenue became Nigeria's chief foreign exchange earner, the other two regions were comparatively less endowed (in terms of fertile arable lands) and, consequently arguably not as economically buoyant as the Western Region especially in the First Republic. Farming was widely encouraged among the rural population and agricultural extension services were also made available to farmers. In addition, basic rural amenities like feeder roads, elementary and secondary schools, dispensaries and hospitals were established to meet the immediate needs of the rural population. Two of these infrastructures, namely: schools and hospitals, served to illustrate Awolowo's belief in the primacy of sound education and good health to the development of the total person. He believed that a sound and healthy person (including farmer) was better than his or her infirm and sickly counterpart (Makinde.2002. 62-67). He was also convinced that an educated farmer or artisan will be well ahead of the illiterate one. It was on the basis of the foregoing that the action Group led government provided free education and health care services for its population- both urban and rural in the First Republic and the Awolowo led Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) repeated same in the five UPN controlled States of Lagos, Oyo, Ondo Ogun and Bendel States in the Second Republic 1979-1983.

The Issues

The issues, as discovered by this article were those factors that collectively predisposed the South-western States to gradually but progressively slacken in their efforts at encouraging farming and developing the rural communities which used to be its major revenue base. These factors were examined in turns to demonstrate how they had each contributed to sabotage the agricultural economic revenue base of the South-western states and the rural development that made it possible.

Crude Oil Money and Gradual Neglect of Agriculture

The beginning of the missing link between the governments of the South-western states and agricultural economy could arguably be traced to the emergence of the proceeds from crude oil and petroleum resources which became the major revenue base of Nigeria and its federating states. Though oil had been discovered in Oloibiri, way back in the late 1950s, it did not immediately become a key foreign exchange earner. However, by the early 1970s, it had become the prince among other commodities and oil money became readily available for spending by the government both at the federal and state levels. This crude oil revenue, which ordinarily should have been a good addition to the group of commodities, soon began to have negative impact on other products, especially agricultural products such that some scholars have come to argue that oil resources were more of a curse than blessing to Nigeria (Ibaba and Etekpe, 2009). This position was predicated on the argument that oil money that was distributed to the constituent states monthly was actually unearned income by the recipient states. This, in turns, had tended to diminish the efforts of the South-western states in the development of the economic potentials available to them, especially agriculture and rural development. This had equally served to widen the gap of youth unemployment since agriculture had one of the widest employment prospects for the teaming unemployed youths and adults if given necessary incentives, facilities and enabling environments.

The Military in Politics

In retrospect, the dabbling of the military into Nigerian political arena, since 1966, had really not augured well for Nigeria (South-western Nigeria inclusive) in all ramifications. Military interference with politics had, itself, emanated from the failure of the maiden democratic experiment in Nigeria in its First Republic. The unwholesome performances of the politicians of that period created profound disillusionment in the entire populace and this explained the initial welcome they extended to the military interventionists who branded themselves as corrective regime (Alumona, 2009. 117-122). South-Western

Nigeria was even the worst hit by the political thuggery and state sponsored brigandage and banditry such that a State of Emergency was declared in the Region shortly before the military coup of 1966.

However, as the events began to unfold in Nigeria, the military coup plotters, who continued to sack one another in quick succession both violently and non-violently, proved even deadlier and more corrupt than the civilian politicians they had dislodged. They foisted on the people iron autocracy and untold human right abuses. They ruled with impunity and without much input from the governed. Infraction of military decrees attracted incarceration, sometimes without trial. A direct negative impact of the military rule on the South-western Nigeria was that the agricultural economic trajectory along which the region had proceeded was gradually set aside. That sector of its economy, therefore, began to suffer progressive decline which, however, were not immediately felt by the states because of the availability of oil revenue allocation monthly from the federation account. This way, the agricultural sector and its potentials did not enjoy deserved attention under the military and even when federal and state programmes aimed at developing agriculture and rural communities were embarked upon, they were not followed through to achieve the desired results as will be shown later in this article.

Creation of Many States and their Unviable Economies

Nigeria, at independence, consisted only of three regions namely: Western, Northern and Eastern Regions respectively. By 1963, the Mid-western Region was carved out of the old Western Region. Under the regional arrangement, the developmental capacities of the constituent regions were very high. Each region endeavoured to maximise the production of agricultural produce conducive for it. Cotton and ground nuts were among the main export products from the North; palm oil and palm kernel from the East and cocoa, rubber and palm kernel from the West. The national economy was driven by agriculture and the peasant farmers and the rural populations made it happen. Of these three (and later four) regions, the South western Region was taking the lead. Cocoa was the produce that made the difference and Nigeria (actually South-western Nigeria) was a leading world cocoa exporter.

However, incessant state creation tended to weaken this agro-based revenue generation on a continual basis. It should also be noted, at this juncture, that nearly all the state creations in Nigeria were carried out by the military. The effect of the above was centralisation rather than regionalisation or unity in diversity. The primary loyalty of each of the state governors or administrators in the South-western Nigerian states rested with the military

Head of State at the federal level rather than with the people they ruled since they came to power by appointment and were not elected into offices in the first place. Also, since their monthly allocation came handy and regularly, the need for agricultural economy and rural development was not really very pressing. Farmers in the rural communities were, more or less, abandoned to their own devices with very minimal incentives and support from the government to maximise their yields.

Lack of Ideological Commitment to Agriculture and Rural Development

Absence of ideological commitment to the primacy of agricultural economy and rural development was another socio-economic setback that South-western Nigeria faced with the exit of Obafemi Awolowo from its governance. While he was in charge, he was able to influence and convince the rural farming population and his partners in government about the strategic importance of agricultural economy and rural development to buoyant and sustainable economy. However, other leaders that stepped into his shoes (especially the civilian leaders), apart from making verbal references to the 'important legacies' of Awolowo, did not really demonstrate adequate ideological devotion to the development of agriculture and the rural communities where it was practised. Awolowo's name and even dressing style (especially his type of cap) became a fashionable identity symbol among gubernatorial aspirants in South-western Nigeria.

Moreover, efforts by some military rulers to develop the rural communities and mitigate the hardship of the rural farming population also did not produce the desired results. Two of such poverty alleviation programmes under the Babangida regime (1985-1993) were specifically targeted at ameliorating the ordeals of the rural poor (Adesote and Abimbola, 2013.1228-1229). The first was the Better Life for Rural Women, anchored by the First Lady of the day, Maryam Babangida and the wives of the governors of all the other states. The second was the creation of the Directorate of Food, Road and Rural Infrastructures DIFRRI). Even though the Better Life programme was aimed at the economic empowerment of the rural poor women, only very little of its packages finally got to its intended beneficiaries. The larger chunk of it managed to disappear mysteriously into the private pockets of the wives of the urban governing elites who were charged with the task of executing the programme.

The story of DIFRRI was not any better than the one described above. The founding goals of DIFRRI were themselves, laudable. They were aimed at opening up of the remote and previously inaccessible rural areas and link

them up with urban markets to enable the farmers secure better prices for their farm produce. It was also meant to provide them with modern facilities like bore holes and rural electricity to enhance their lifestyles. However, also due to corruption, where these rural amenities were provided, they were rather very substandard that they did not endure. This was more so as the facilities were not routinely maintained as required. As a result, a few years after the Babangida regime, only relics of these erstwhile facilities remained in the rural areas of south western Nigeria.

The Challenges of Agriculture and Rural Development in South western Nigeria

Certain factors were discovered to have, over the years, collectively militated against agricultural economy and rural development in south western Nigeria. They equally explained the dwindling performance of the agricultural sector in the area under review contrary to what used to be the case in the early days of the Western Region.

Poor Self Esteem and Reward for Farmers

One of the major setbacks in the way of agricultural development in the South-western Nigeria was the very low self-esteem in which farmers were held. Unlike what was obtainable in other developed economies like the United States or China where farmers were highly rated and very rich, farmers in Nigeria were generally despised and lightly esteemed. In fact, in the South western Nigeria (which is a Yoruba culture area), the term *ara oko* -bush person- was often used in a derogative sense to describe the person affected as crude and uncivilised. Consequently, farming, as a career, held very little or no attraction for the rural youth.

Allied to the Farmers' low self-esteem was the poor reward system under which they laboured. It should be observed that even in this 21st Century, rural agriculture still lie in the hands of peasant farmers with their crude implements of cutlasses and hoes. Even though agro-chemicals are now available, the tillage of land is not mechanised but still largely done manually. In very rare cases where tractors are available for ploughing, the costs of hiring them were outrageous and quite unaffordable to the rural poor farmers. Consequently, the output of a farmer is reduced to that which he could afford with available manual labour. The production costs were also high relative to the low output. Similarly, because they have no lasting storage facilities in the rural areas, and the produce themselves (especially food crops) were mostly very perishable, the farmers were seriously constrained to sell them off as quickly as possible for very ridiculous prices to reduce their loss.

Ageing of the Farming Population and Youth Urban Migration

The issue of the age of existing farmers *vis-à-vis* the possibility of their replacement upon exit is particularly worrisome as it threatens the sustainability of agricultural economy. The concept of sustainable development enunciated that the present society devise a means of meeting its own needs adequately without, in any way, jeopardising the capacity of the future societies from meeting theirs. With the low incentive for, and less proceed from farming, it was becoming really difficult to secure the interest of the rural youths to agree to settle for farming in the villages (Torimiro, 2013. 7-12). Most of them were not proudly aspiring to become like their poor and illiterate farming parents in the future. Most rural parents were equally eager to have their children educated in the cities with the hope that their economic lots would be bettered by so doing. In any case, these rural youths had actually lived in squalor with their parents and, therefore, had always looked for the opportunity for escape from the rural life of back-breaking toils with meagre rewards to show for it.

The situation just described above partly explains the spate of rural-urban migration in recent years. The rural-urban youth migration was of two broad categories: there were those migrating for educational purposes. This type of migration affected villages with dilapidated primary schools and no secondary schools. Once children in such villages reached secondary schooling age, they usually moved in with relatives in neighbouring towns for further education. However, there were the children who were mentally not sound enough for schooling but rather than stay behind and farm like their parents, they opted to also go to town to learn one trade or the other with the hope of becoming independent artisan upon completion of apprenticeship. Some, especially girls, moved in with relatives or their parents' acquaintances to learn trade in addition to assisting them with household chores and babysitting. There was also even a category of grown up rural youths who migrated to towns neither for schooling nor for apprenticeship but to seek employment as guards, labourers, gardeners or for other odd menial jobs. All of these cases of rural-urban migration were, in the long run, strongly inimical to the overall interest of agriculture and rural development in south western Nigeria if left unattended to.

Inadequate Extension Services to Farmers

Extension services made available to farmers contributed immensely to the success recorded in agriculture as discussed in the South-western states above. It involved such services as instructing farmers periodically on the best farming practices based on recent agricultural research findings. It was

anchored by the government agricultural departments as well as faculties of agriculture in the existing universities in the South-western Nigeria (Torimiro, 2013,10). The services rendered also included the provision of seedlings of improved varieties of crops like cocoa, oranges, oil palm and so on. It also involved the government having some demonstration farms where farmers were given orientations and practical trainings on the best ways to handle these crops on the farms. This laudable extension services proved very helpful for the mostly illiterate rural farmers. It was, for them, a kind of informal education in agricultural science since it made available to them the most recent findings in the various sub-branches of agricultural science as the end users of those research findings.

However, with less attention given to agriculture and rural development and added to progressively poor funding for research in the universities, it became rather difficult to meet the extension services needs of the rural population inhabiting the very numerous villages in the South-western Nigeria. It also meant that as the farmers trained by the extension service workers in the 1960s, 1970s and the early 1980s were growing old and dying off, less number of existing farmers had access to the training and instructions of agricultural extension workers. This situation negatively affected the farming practices as well as annual yields of these farmers' crops. Since modern agriculture thrive on ever improving methods of farming, new varieties of crops and new knowledge about these crops, inadequate access to recent research findings by majority of these rural farmers worked against the interest of agriculture and rural development.

Conclusion

This article had examined the state of agricultural economy and rural development in South-western Nigeria in historical perspectives. It discovered that agriculture was its revenue base since the creation of the Old Western Region. It uncovered as well that cocoa, which was Nigeria's chief export (and one of the largest producers of it in the world) came from South-western Nigeria. It found out that Obafemi Awolowo's leadership and ideological commitment guaranteed the initial success of cocoa cultivation in the region.

Another finding of the article was that the discovery of petroleum resources and the regular availability of its revenue to the various Nigerian states resulted in the eventual neglect of the agricultural sector. The study also found that the coming of the military into Nigerian politics equally led to further neglect of the agricultural sector as the loyalties of the military governors was with Head of State. They generated very little revenue

internally and their monthly resources for running the states came mainly from the federation account.

The paper equally found certain challenges to be militating against agricultural economy and rural development in the area studied. These challenges included the poor self-esteem and the general disregard for farming and farmers as well as the poor reward for the farmers' efforts. Another challenge was that existing farmers were aged with their replacement not fully assured. The study also found that rural-urban migration was high among the youth and this threatens the sustainability of agriculture in the future. It finally uncovered that lack of adequate extension services, as was previously the case, further negatively affected the effectiveness and efficiency of agriculture as presently practised in the rural communities of the south western Nigeria. It concluded that the gradual neglect or abandonment of rural development and declining agricultural production in South-western Nigeria resulted from the availability of oil revenue and might remain so unless and until genuine efforts are made by the affected state governments to address the identified challenges proactively and comprehensively

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Muri Emirate under British Colonial Domination and the Changing Role of *Môdibbe* in the Spread of Islam 1903-1926

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Abstract

Since the establishment of Muri emirate in 1817 by Hammarwa (1817-1833), Islamic scholars (*Môdibbe*) have played vital roles in not only the dissemination of knowledge, but also the spread of Islam, especially among the non-Muslim population of the emirate. The unlimited support they enjoyed from the emirs in the precolonial period, which include proper funding, freedom of speech and movement, free access to internationally published literature, especially from the Middle East, had no doubt aided their propagation activities. However, the British conquest of the emirate in 1903 have affected the activities of the *Môdibbe* in no small measure viz. the emergence of Christian Missionary activities, British reconnaissance on the *Môdibbe*, prohibition on the importation of Islamic books from the Middle East, absence of funding, the introduction of western education, to mention, but a few. Therefore, this paper examines the changing role of *Môdibbe* in the spread of Islam in Muri emirate during the colonial period. The paper found out that despite the problems that confronted the *Môdibbe* class, they have continued with their propagation activities as well as the dissemination of Islamic education among the Muslims. The paper relied heavily on oral tradition due to the dearth of literature and some written documents.

Introduction

Throughout human history, various factors contributed immensely towards the spread of Islam, which may be social, political, economic, geographical, ideological, and psychological, to mention, but a few. As far as the Middle Benue is concerned, Islam was brought to the area mainly by the *Môdibbe* class as a result of the 1804 Jihad of Hausaland, which spread its tentacles

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southwards leading to the establishment of Gombe, Adamawa (Fombina) and the Muri emirates. The *Môdibbe* of Muri emirate enjoyed an unlimited level of freedom from the *Lambe* (emirs) for about 86 years, spreading Islam, teaching and learning. However, the British conquest of the area in 1903 brought some tremendous changes especially in the role of the *Môdibbe* in the spread of Islam due to a number of factors; economic, political, social and ideological. Therefore, this paper examines the changing role of *Môdibbe* in the spread of Islam during the colonial period as well as their contributions to the spread of Islam and learning in Muri Emirate.

The Muri Emirate

The term 'emirate' is of Arabic origin derived from '*Amir*', or '*Âmil*', which means lieutenant¹. In line with this explanation, an emirate can best be defined as an area administered by an *Amir* (Emir). The emirate system was introduced with the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate in 1804. From that time onwards, more emirates were established at intervals. For instance, the emirate of Kano was established in 1807, while that of Muri was in 1817, the very year Sheikh Uthman bn Fudi died.²

The name 'Muri' as given to this sub-emirate was derived from one of the Jukun towns called 'Je-Muryan' which was later shortened as 'Je-Muri' and subsequently became Muri³. Some historians argued that it is difficult if not impossible for one to demarcate the territorial boundaries of this political entity called Muri because of the fact that as it conquered some areas, the local ethnic groups struck back and regained some portion of what was conquered⁴.

At the top hierarchical order of the emirate is the office of the *Lamdo* (emir) who is the representative of the Caliph at Sokoto. He is answerable to Sokoto and provided for them, tributes and army in the case of war. He was also responsible for the spread of Islam by funding the *Môdibbe* who established different schools across the emirate preaching and teaching Islam especially in the non-Muslim areas. Under the *Lamdo* were the *Sarakunan Karaga* (kingmakers) which include the offices of the Alkali (judge), the *Waziri* (vizier), the *Kaigamma*, the *Mâdaki* and the *Galadima*⁵. It was emir Mafindi (1903-1953) who removed the *Galadima* from the circle of the kingmakers and replaced him with *Dan Iya*.⁶

Then, the larger political structure incorporating many other offices as one single indivisible entity was the emirate council (*Majalisar Lamdo*) which includes the *Sarakunan Karaga* and the offices of the *Ajiya*, the *Baraya* and *Turaki*. The last three titles were mainly given to people of servile origin. This policy further attracted non-Muslims to embrace Islam because of the

chances given not only to the non-Muslims, but even the slaves. The offices were created during the reign of Emir Muhammadu Nya (1874-1896).⁷ Among the major functions of the *Sarakunan Karaga* and *Majalisar Lamdo* were; decision-making at the highest level and putting before the emir, pieces of advice and their point of view concerning important things affecting the wellbeing of the emirate as regards the spread of Islam, economic development and the administration of justice⁸. The emirate has brought tremendous socio-political and economic developments and fell to the British colonial government in 1903.⁹

British Colonial Conquest of Muri Emirate

1st January, 1900 was a significant event in the history of the Central Sudan as the flag of the Royal Niger Company (RNC) was run down and replaced with the British Union Jack under the leadership of Lieutenant-Colonel F.D. Lugard, the British High Commissioner¹⁰. This event marked the beginning of the colonial conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate. The conquest took place within the period of five years (1901-1906). For instance, in 1901 Nupe and Ilorin which were conquered way back in 1897 were fully consolidated. The next from the south was Yola which was conquered in 1901 and in 1903 followed Muri peacefully. Next, Kontagora was attacked, Zaria capitulated and Bauchi was also conquered peacefully, all in 1902.¹¹

It is important to note that with the defeat of the Sokoto Caliphate, a new system of administration popularly known as the 'Indirect Rule' was introduced by the British throughout the emirates. According to Lugard:

The cardinal principle upon which the Administration of Northern Nigeria was based was 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 the Government and Law¹².

To further understand the true meaning of the system Temple adds that:

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 European influence is brought to bear on the native indirectly through European officers-political, police, etc. and by which the European 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 chiefs rather than from all pervading white man¹³.

With the British victory on the Sokoto Caliphate they brought considerable changes in emirates, changes that subjected the emirs of Muri and other emirs across the north to mere British agents or puppets¹⁴. The emirates were then divided into provinces. A province may consist of emirates, or divisions. Under the provincial administration was the divisional or emirate administration which was controlled by a D.O (District Officer), or an A.D.O (Assistant District Officer)¹⁵. The D.O's main functions were to 'educate and discipline'; they also provide sole command over Local Government matters¹⁶.

Sa'ad further posits that:

The District Officer pushed everyone from the emir to the *Jekada* (messengers); and like a master over his houseboy, they watched and directed the administration of the emirates. The Residents, being provincial 'rulers' were in the word of Lugard, 'to advise and help, but able with full statutory power to control and command'¹⁷.

Heretofore, the first thing the British ensured was the emasculation of the position of emir by deposing 'the strong headed' ones and replacing them with the 'loyal ones'. This was obvious when the British deposed emir Hassan on the pretext that he was engaged in slave dealing, an economic system the British once enjoyed and abolished it due to her advancement in science and technology with the name of the 1750s Industrial Revolution. Talking on the same vein Sa'ad believes that:

The Northern provinces came into existence as a result of conquest, and the mere fact of defeat had greatly weakened the forces of law and order. It had also seriously affected the powers of the emirs. The conquest, certainly, brought into disrepute the whole business of chieftaincy, especially during the period before the First World War. During the process of occupation, most of the emirs deposed or forced to abandon on their capitals. By the 19th century not less than ten emirs were deposed and replaced by men 'chosen and installed' by the British High Commissioner¹⁸.

This historical antecedent led to the emergence of a unique class-the white, who instilled terror into the hearts of the colonized people. They could do whatever they felt like doing. Towards this angle, Sa'ad opines that:

The British political officers had become very powerful in the emirates need not be doubted. Nick-names such as *Zaki* (Lion), Giwa (elephant) Babban Dodo (The big monster) applied to some Residents in some

provinces are suggestive of the enormous power enjoyed by them. The emirs, chiefs, as well as their local officials, became men who had no right to their positions unless they rendered proper services to the colonial administration¹⁹.

Before colonialism, the *Lambe* (emirs) and *Môdibbe* were responsible for the promulgation of law and its application. They controlled the prison, the courts, and the market places. They received *Kharâj* (poll tax) and *Jizyah* (protection money paid by the non-Muslims). With colonial domination for instance, the issue of judiciary and the promulgation of laws by the *Lambe* was taken away by the British. According to Lugard:

The Fulani...conquered this country. They took the right to rule over it, to levy taxes, depose kings and to create kings...by this defeat (The Fulani) lost their rule and so all their rights are taken over by the British²⁰.

This means that the right of the *Lambe* in relation to safeguarding and defending the faith, dispensation of justice in line with the *Shari'ah* (Islamic Law), maintenance of the rule of law for the betterment of their subjects, safeguarding fundamental rights and enforcing criminal code of Allah, defending the frontier against external aggression, to ensure the security of life and property throughout the emirate, organizing Jihad against the non-Muslim subjects that were recalcitrant to abide by the state covenant, just distribution of *Ghanimah* (booty) from the Jihad and the appointment of people based on merit to certain political offices, were surreptitiously taken away from them by the British.

In judicature, the changes put forward by the British after the defeat of the Fulani has no doubt gradually eroded the powers of *Lambe* and their likes in other emirates over the judiciary. The criminal code of the Qur'an like amputation in the case of a thief, death sanctions, were all considered barbaric and uncalled for by the British. Hence, the emergence of what they called 'repugnant clause'. Expressing similar view, Sa'ad argues that:

After all, all aspects of the *Shari'ah* the British considered repugnant to civilized standards were discarded. Similarly, the task of maintaining law and order, defense of frontier against foreign aggression, guarantee of security of life, limb and property passed into the hands of the conquering power²¹.

Additionally, Kumo believes that '...the Criminal Code was amended and made applicable in the native and *Shari'ah* criminal jurisdiction was thereby in theory, ousted at a stroke'. The Cameron's Reforms were classic examples of how the *Shari'ah* was relegated to the back-bench more especially the

absurdity of the situation became open in the case of Tsoho Gubba vs. Gwandu N.A over an appeal against the decision of the emir of Gwandu's court, which had found Tsoho guilty of murder and was therefore, sentenced to death, but set free by the British on the ground that Gubba's conviction and sentence were wrong and since, as the law stood, it had no authority to correct the decision²².

Although the British had promised not to interfere with Islâm, when looking into their policies one will see that throughout the colonial period there was a considerable departure from their declared policy²³. As the *Lambe* and the *Môdibbe* were incapacitated even to enforce *Shari'ah* Criminal Code as it is.

Talking about the changing nature of the emirate's economy and the evaporating nature of the powers of the *Lambe* Sa'ad opines that:

The changes in taxation enforced by the British transformed the functions of the emirs. The abolition of occupational taxes and tolls on trade meant that the emirs had lost control over the economy of the emirates, the right to promote or discourage certain trades and the right to regulate the inflow of special commodities. Also, by standardizing taxes into Kudin Kasa and Jangali, and passing the collections into the hands of district and village heads, an important political class-the previous groups of collectors-was rendered redundant. Thus, the effect of the various changes was less power for the emirs. Hitherto, they were independent heads of local administration concerned with the promotion and enforcement of Islâmic policy. But by 1911 they had become mere agents of the British with different duties and obligations²⁴.

With this development, the power of the *Lambe* was seriously tempered with a condition, which seriously affected the development of Muri emirate in so many ways as a result of the complete takeover of its socio-economic and political affairs by the British. Almost similar problems repeated themselves in other emirates.

The Changing Role of *Môdibbe* in the Spread of Islam in Muri Emirate

With the British conquest of the Muri emirate in 1903 all the pillars supporting the *Môdibbe* especially in the spread of Islam and the administration of justice suffered a great set back as it became feeble and emasculated.

Before colonialism, the *Môdibbe* were responsible for the promulgation of law and its application under the leadership of the *Lambe*. The *Môdibbe* then were responsible for giving their verdicts against culprits without any

interference. The prison, the courts, and the market places were equally guided by the *Shari'ab*. With colonial domination for instance, the issue of judiciary and the promulgation of laws by the *Môdibbe* were taken away by the British. According to Lugard:

The Fulani...conquered this country. They took the right to rule over it, to levy taxes, depose kings and to create kings...by this defeat (The Fulani) lost their rule and so all their rights are taken over by the British²⁵.

This means that the right of the *Môdibbe* in relation to safeguarding and defending the faith, dispensation of justice in line with the *Shari'ab* (Islamic Law), maintenance of the rule of law, safeguarding fundamental rights and enforcing criminal code of Allah, to ensure the security of life and property throughout the emirate was indirectly taken over by the British.

In the administration of justice, the changes put in place by the British gradually eroded the powers of the *Môdibbe* in the Muri emirate. For instance, the criminal code of the Qur'an like amputation in the case of a thief, death sanctions, were all considered barbaric and uncalled for by the British. Hence, the emergence of what they called 'repugnant clause'. This development paved way for the relegation of the office of the *Qadis* (judges) who are of course the *Môdibbe*. Expressing similar view, Sa'ad argues that:

After all, all aspects of the *Shari'ab* the British considered repugnant to civilized standards were discarded. Similarly, the task of maintaining law and order, defense of frontier against foreign aggression, guarantee of security of life, limb and property passed into the hands of the conquering power²⁶.

Although the British had promised not to interfere with Islâm, their policies proved that throughout the colonial period there was a considerable departure from their declared policy²⁷. Meanwhile, the *Môdibbe* who were generally considered the qualified scholars employed by the *Lambe* to act as judges and legal advisors were relegated with their power clandestinely taken away from them especially with the abolition of Arabic as the administrative language and *Ajami* (Hausa language written using the Arabic letters). Hence, Islamic scholars and their students from this time were regarded as 'illiterates' with no power to serve in government²⁸. This is because they had fallen short of the requirements of being 'educated class of people' by the western standard. Therefore, an educated person according to the Europeans is he who undergoes a rigorous training in the western type of education and can read, write and speak English or any of the European languages like French and German.

Colonialism also opened the Pandora's Box for Islâm and the *Môdibbe* especially with the encroachment of Christian missionary activities into the Muri emirate. According to Fafunwa while commenting on the pressure mounted on the north by the missionaries:

With the proclamation of the Northern protectorate the southern missionaries intensified their activities to penetrate the North. The Roman Catholic Mission of the Holy Ghost made several unsuccessful attempts to open stations at Ibi and Bassa in 1902 ...²⁹

The advancement of Christianity was aided in no small measure by the introduction of Western education '*boko*'. In Muri emirate for instance, the first *boko* school was said to have been established at Bambur before the establishment of another school by the Native Authority in Jalingo, in the late 1920s³⁰. The earlier curriculum included English, Arithmetic, Geography, the Vernacular of the locality, Arabic and the Qur'an. The last two subjects were included to assuage the fears of Muslims. It was through these *boko* schools that some missionaries began to introduce Christianity to the people of the northern emirates. According to one of the Christian Missionary Society's secretaries:

As we shall use gospel as our textbook and carefully chosen texts as writing copies, I feel it will be very definitely a missionary opportunity. Also, if people see these Malams (talking about the Mallam schools established by the British in which the missionaries were the teachers) coming to us for teaching, we shall possibly later on be able to open a school on more definite missionary lines³¹.

This event was beyond the powers of the *Môdibbe* as the British gave absolute freedom to the Missionaries to conduct their activities the way they liked in as much they were not to interfere with the British colonial interest. It should be noted that the taking over of the emirate's economy by the British meant a serious reduction on the side of the *Môdibbe* who were before sponsored by the *Lambe* for their religious and propagation activities so as to help spread Islam to other areas within the emirate³². In the precolonial era, the *Môdibbe* could travel to as far as the present day Cameroon and the Hausaland in search of other qualified teachers who could be recruited to further spread Islamic learning and education within the Muri emirate. However, the British colonial government could not allow the movement of the *Môdibbe* class due to the fear of an impending revolt against their government. Secondly, the balkanization of Africa had really restricted the movement of the *Môdibbe* for religious expeditions which may be seen as an

act of trespassing borders belonging to different European powers other than the British³³.

Despite the effort made by the *Môdibbe* to promote Islâmic education on their own, the British stood as one stumbling block to such endeavours. As Abubakar argues:

The colonial authority in those early years was not at ease in allowing the pursuit and the spread of *Ilimin addini* (Islâmic education) in the emirates. Certainly, the spate of Mahdists inspired uprisings in some emirates explains the failure to prop up the spread of *Ilimin addini* by the colonial authority. So too was the ban on importation of Arabic/ Islâmic literature from the Arab world into the emirates. No doubt, these measures were to pre-empt the inflow of ideas from militant Islâmic countries-the traditional contact areas of the emirates-that may possibly negatively influence Muslims against British colonial rule³⁴.

With this development, the power of the *Môdibbe* was seriously curtailed a condition which seriously affected the spread of Islam in many ways as a result of the complete takeover of the socio-economic and political affairs of Muri emirate from the *Lambe* by the British. Almost similar problems repeated themselves in other emirates.

The *Môdibbe* were generally considered the guardians of Islam and could undertake actions to improve the quality of administration³⁵. It should be noted that the people of Muri had great respect for the Islamic scholars and that was why going by the tradition of the polity, the chief Imam who was of course a *Môdibbo*, was shouldered with the responsibility of announcing the emirship of any *Lamdo* especially when another *Lamdo* died or was deposed³⁶. Besides, the *Môdibbe* were at the fore-front in the council of the *Lamdo* as special advisors on matters not only related to the religion, but other important political issues affecting the development of the Muri emirate. However, with the coming of the British, the *Môdibbe* were not considered important class in decision making and administration and could easily be dealt with by the British especially when their sermons are found derogatory to the colonial government³⁷.

The importation of western products that were more qualitative later led to the liquidation of Muri's local industries like blacksmithing, weaving, shoe-making, etc. and this meant a serious economic lost on the side of the *Môdibbe*. This is because not all of them are employed by the government. Most of them had farming, teaching or weaving as their sources of income. All these economic activities were monitored by the British and tax was always derived out of it. Therefore, the little effort made by the *Môdibbe* on

their own to spread learning and Islam to non-Muslims areas within the emirate began to diminish. The *Môdibbe* on their own part, stuck to their respective environments where they kept on teaching to promote Islamic values and curtailed most of their activities to faraway lands within the emirate due the lack of sponsorship. Sa'ad while commenting on the economic status of Muri after colonialism stated that:

The British shifted production of local salt through high excise tax accompanied by flooding the emirates with imported salt. As a result, the former got wiped out and so the noose of the emirates' dependence on foreign products was lightened further³⁸.

The impact of colonialism to this angle as much as the *Môdibbe* were concerned cannot be over emphasized. This is because, every Tom and Hurray if he acquires western type of education not paying attention to his religiosity and sound moral character could be promoted to the position of authority. Therefore such westernized elite rose to the position of power under the British as civil servants. This could be seen in the case of the Clifford's constitution of 1922 which other people not the *Lambe* and *Môdibbe* were given a chance to help design the future of what later became Nigeria in 1914.

Socially too, Christianity as a new religion was introduced which no doubt took over certain percentage of the Muri's population. Hence, this development led to the emergence of missionary activities in the emirate. Western education that was introduced by the British was given much precedence over the Islâmic type of education which they saw outdated and archaic. This therefore, marked a turning point in the activities of the *Môdibbe* as they were relegated to the back-bench as 'illiterates' simply because they could not read and write in the Roman letters. This also blocked for the *Môdibbe* opportunities to work in the colonial government unless they decided to adopt the western type of education. The only few governmental slot left for them was probably in the *Shari'ab* courts as *Qâdis* (judges), which is the corrupted version of the Arabic word *Qudât*. In this too, they were not allowed to exercise their power as enshrined by Islam. They were forced to accept verdicts contrary to the Islamic doctrines. Whenever they ruled over a case based on the ideals of the religion especially when the British found it in contradiction with their English law, such ruling would be made null and void.

Similarly, the movements of the *Môdibbe* to Arab lands like Egypt or Saudi Arabia was placed under close surveillance for according to the British, they may be a source of political tension³⁹. This was done to curtail the influence of the *Môdibbe* especially in the generation of new ideas from the

foreign land or to avoid them from witnessing some forms of resentments against the British colonial government especially in countries like Egypt.

The infiltration of new ideas mostly in books from the Middle-East was stopped by the British⁴⁰. To this angle, the *Môdibbe* were seriously restricted as they were blocked from important publications that would help them immensely in advancing their understanding of Islâm the way they wanted. This would no doubt have a negative effect on their effort to propagate Islam especially by missing important works on the different aspects of the Islamic sciences like theology, jurisprudence, history, astrology, astronomy, among other important issues. This had a serious bearing on the students the *Môdibbe* were grooming and the development of the Islâmîc education. This was therefore, substituted with the introduction of western ideas and values; the application of European names by natives though among the non-Muslim population of not only Muri, but other emirates too, the coming of English skimpy dresses and a total domination of the native's norms and values. With this development, the issue of morality further became questionable even among some Muslim communities within the Muri emirate. Islamic propagation was rivaled by the coming of Christianity and the remaining areas which the *Môdibbe* had not penetrated became Christianized and these include greater part of the villages or Yero, Zing, Karim, to mention, but a few.

The Contribution of the *Môdibbe* in the Spread of Islam in Muri Emirate during the Colonial Era

However, the *Môdibbe* just like the *Lambe* adapted themselves to this new British colonial administration so as to further spread Islâm even though most of them especially those outside the colonial administration were critical of the impact of colonialism on the Muslim community within the emirate. According to M.S. Umar while commenting on the changing role of the *Môdibbe* during the colonial period as regards the spread of Islam argues that:

As a class, the *Ulama* (pl. of *Âlim*, a learned person, especially in the Islamic religion) responded to the challenges of colonialism in ways different from those of the emirs...Similarly, discusses of the *Ulama* on colonialism were also concerned with relation of power. However, religious belief, practices, and norms were the more prominent concerns for the *Ulama*, for even some of them did work for the colonial regime, they did not occupy the same position as the emirs did.⁴¹

The prominent religious discuss of the *Môdibbe* should be seen within the context of their religious role as the spiritual authorities guiding the entire Muslim *Ummah* (community). Most of them existed outside the colonial administration and that was why they could openly express their views on colonialism without the risk of dismissal that the emirs could not dare ignore.

The few *Môdibbe* who worked for the British especially as *Qâdis* remained mute on the negative impact of colonialism on the Islâmic law and the values though, they continued with their contributions to the religion. This was so due to the fear of being sacked by the British.

Among the *Môdibbe* who were very critical on the British interference with Islâm were Mallam Zum'atu (d. 1955) who was originally from Yola and had once lived in Muri and *Môdibbo* Muhammadu al-Fallati⁴². The former expressed his views about colonialism in his poem titled '*Dâliyyah*' (because the poem has an ending rhyme of letter d) in which he lamented bitterly on the moral decadence of the Muslims as a result of colonialism⁴³. In Muri, anonymous poems composed probably by *Môdibbe* who were afraid of the British were also found in circulation. The poems were opposing the British colonial policies towards Islâm. Among such poems were *Tafziyat al-Ikhwân alâ mâ asâbahum fi Taghyîr al-Iman* (consolation to the brothers about what happened to them as a result of the changing nature of faith)⁴⁴. Other similar poems by anonymous writers include *Ra'yyah* and *Nuniyyah*.⁴⁵

Even during the colonial period, *Môdibbe* continued spreading Islam mostly through teaching, sermons, and a reasonable number joined the western type of education so as to adapt to the new system. Among such scholars was Sa'ad Abubakar (1917-2006) who attended Jalingo Elementary School (now renamed, Nya Primary School), which was then located at Lamorde. From there, he proceeded to Middle School, Yola and Teachers' College, Bauchi⁴⁶. Upon the completion of his western education, he taught many students Arabic, Islâmic Studies and Geo-History in Mutum-Biu, Jalingo and Bagundi Elementary Schools. In addition to his responsibility as a teacher, he was also the Waziri of Muri. He used his position for the spread of Arabic and Islâmic Studies.

Tafida Jidda (1906-1970) though he did not undergo the western type of education, he established an Islâmic school with the intention of spreading knowledge and Islâm among the Muslim community. His school also graduated erudite scholars who specialized in the sciences of Islâm. Among them were Hamman Adama, *Môdibbo* Usman Jâbçre and Bunu Bashir.

Waziri Buba Joda (1902-1949) (he was the Wazir of *Lamdo* Muhammad Mafindî and it was after his death that Sa'ad Abubakar was appointed the next Waziri) was another erudite *Môdibbo* who also established an Islâmic

school where subjects like *Tafsir* (Qur'anic exegesis), *Hadith* (Prophetic tradition) and *Nabw* (Arabic grammar) were taught. He started the school session at Jalingo, but due to his penchant attitude for Islâmic propagation, he solicited the permission of the *Lamdo* to transfer the school to Kunini as an avenue to Islamize the non-Muslim population among whom the Christian missionaries established churches and schools for evangelism⁴⁷. Through this process, he won the hearts of many among the ethnic groups of Yandang, Kunini and the few Jenjo settlers. He and other *Môdibbe* who were out of the services of the colonial administration were mainly funded by the traders who came to Muri as a result of the availability of road networks, which made it easy for them to move from one place to another.

Jauro Jabbule (1920-1946) was another scholar who contributed immensely towards the spread of Islâm in the colonial period. He was the son of *Lamdo* Muhammad Nya. He used to go round the major districts of the emirate like Jalingo, Bakundi, Dakka, Gassol, Lau, Karim and Panti Sawa, teaching and converting the non-Muslims⁴⁸. It was through some of his itineraries that he succeeded in Islamizing the people of Fam Petal. It was due to his presence there that the major settlements were established with the hope of learning from him⁴⁹. Fam Petal is now located in Ardo-Kola. In 1941, he established a school in Jalingo for the teaching of Qur'an and Islâmic jurisprudence.

Môdibbo Abubakar was also a Muslim scholar who devoted his life towards propagation during the colonial period. Though he was employed by the British government as an Alkali, he was able to promote Islamization especially with the establishment of his school in Jalingo in 1906 for the students of learning and for teaching new converts to Islâm the rudimentary aspects of the religion. It was said that by 1920, the school had a total number of 200 students⁵⁰. However, the school was established with the intention of spreading the knowledge of *Lughab* (Arabic language) and *Fiqh* (Islâmic Jurisprudence). According to an informant, *Môdibbo* Abubakar was using his personal salary to finance his school and propagation to the neighbouring villages of Yorro, Jauro Yinu, Lankaviri and Monkin⁵¹.

It should be noted that despite the role played by most *Môdibbe* towards Islamic propagation among the non-Muslims in the Muri emirate during the colonial period, the result was meagre. This was basically, due to two important reasons viz. lack of religious embargo against Christianity like in Kano or Katsina and the presence of old-aged ethnic rivalry between the Fulbe and other ethnic groups of the area, especially Jukun, Kona, Mumuye and Wurkun. Therefore, the Christian Missionaries found it easy to spread their religion amongst the traditionalists within the emirate as Muri had no

religious embargo to properly repel the forceful intrusion of the missionary activities within its territory. In Mambur for instance, Rev. Guinter and the McBrides arrived Muri in 1923 and within 3 years, the mission blossomed into a missionary centre hosting a number of Europeans⁵². Therefore, western education began in 1924 and by 1940s and 1950s Bampur was transformed into a 'centre of modernity in an ocean of darkness'⁵³. From that time onwards, different Christian denominations with Church Missionary Society and The Methodists were at the fore-front. This development paved way for the construction of many churches across not only Jalingo (the capital of Muri emirate), but in Yorro, Zing, Karim, Kunini, Lau and Gassol.

Though the *Môdibbe* did not stop with their Islamization throughout the emirate, Christian missions succeeded in converting greater part of Muri's non-Muslim population in the areas mentioned. From that time, many of the *Môdibbe* concentrated their religious activities within the capital while at the same time they kept on improving first, the life of the Muslim population spiritually and extending their teachings to the villages and the hilly parts of the emirate with the hope of spreading the teachings of Islâm.

Conclusion

This paper examined the changing role of *Môdibbe* in the spread of Islam in Muri emirate especially in the colonial period. It argued that the British conquest of the area in 1903 had affected the missionary activities of the *Môdibbe* class due to the lack of financial support, which they were enjoying before, the interference of the British with the Islamic Shari'ah, the emergence of Christian missionary activities, incessant surveillance on Islamic scholar, literature censorship, to mention, but just a few. It concluded that despite the challenges that confronted the *Môdibbe* during the colonial period, they have never relented as they continued spreading of Islam and the light of learning with the little they have through the establishment of schools, the creation of educational fora, the publication of Islamic literature, avoidance, among other measures.

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Nigerian Federalism: Need for New Fiscal Relations in the Face of Fast Dwindling Oil Revenue

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Abstract

This paper attempts to review the Nigerian federalism from pre-independence era to the present, especially from the perspective of fiscal relationship among the components making the federation. In doing this, the paper adopted the historical and content analysis method. It discovered that all the component units rely heavily on the centre for fiscal survival; and this practice has made them semi-autonomous and less competitive in terms of development. This has become more pronounced since crude oil became the only source of revenue for the federation in the mid 1970s. This has also made the federal government and the federating units not to look for alternative revenue sources to develop their jurisdictions. It has equally made the federation look like a unitary state though was brought about by the long period of military adventurism. It is the view of the paper that too much reliance on crude oil and revenue allocation from the centre as wrong. The paper recommends that all the states be given the opportunity to tap the mineral resources within their jurisdictions, a new and good policy be put in place to effect this change, and the country should review its tax system and regulations so as to make the citizens realize their potentialities, and responsibilities to the nation-state.

Introduction

The country has been witnessing dwindling revenue since July 2015. As at middle of January 2016 the price of Nigeria crude oil has reduced to ridiculous \$27 per barrel in the global oil market, whereas it rose above \$100 per barrel in early 2014. Consequently, the revenue going into the federation purse has reduced considerably. Since early January 2016, the income accruing to the federation began to dwindle by the day. This is because Nigeria, since mid 1970s, has been depending on oil as the only source of revenue. This

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has, no doubt, affected the finances of the country and by implication, the finances of federal, state, and local governments.

The dwindling revenue has contributed negatively to the inability of the state and local governments to meet their financial obligations to the citizens. This includes inability to pay workers' salaries and perform other government sundry expenses. As soon as the Buhari administration came on board, about thirty states of the federation went cap in hand to the federal government for financial bail out to enable them pay their civil servants' salaries whom they owed variously between three and eleven months salaries. For how long can the sub-national governments continue to borrow to pay salaries?

The financial quagmire in which the entire nation or three levels of governments found themselves was as the result of two main issues. One is mainly due to heavy reliance on oil as the main source of revenue earner for the country and, two because of the heavy reliance on the central (federal) government by all the states as well as the 774 local governments of the federation as the only source of their income. Before the discovery of petroleum in financial quantity and as the main revenue earner for the country, especially from 1973, the governments – federal and regional (state) operated at different paces in terms of development, and they sourced for their finances independent of one another. At that time, there seemed to be true federalism in practice. However, the military intervention in the political configuration of the country created a sort of unitary government.

Due to the present fast dwindling finances of the country, should the Nigerian federation start practicing true federalism? Various commentators have canvassed for semi fiscal autonomy of the regional (sub-national) governments so as to pave way for true federalism. It is the view of some Nigerians that the agitation for succession, self-determination, and cry of marginalization will reduce or fizzle out. The rush to the centre for a share of the national cake would drastically reduce if not totally avoided. No matter how the arguments go, this time may be the opportunity to practice true federalism, especially a critical review of the country's fiscal relations among the tiers of government.

Conceptual Clarifications of Key Issues

There are many forms of governments. These include federal, unitary, confederation (or confederacy) and so forth. However, many nations embrace the federal and unitary systems of government. The reason for their embracement and choice of these two varies from one country or political entity to the other, depending on which suits a particular country. In the

case of Nigeria, the country has since before independence embraced the federal system, courtesy of the Lyttelton Constitution of 1954 which ushered in a thorough-going federal system. Later, the presidential system was introduced in 1979 to further concretise federalism. The choice of the federal system was influenced by the country's diverse nature in terms of its various ethnic nationalities.

A federal system of government makes provision for mechanism by which separate polities are united with an overarching political system which permits each to maintain its fundamental political integrity (Elazara, 1968). This mechanism is constituted by the distribution of powers between the central and regional governments which is aptly designed so as to protect the existence and the jurisdiction of each government. Elazar (1993) further asserts that "the federal principle is intrinsically and expression of political diversity and accommodation without in anyway undermining the basic commitment to the sovereignty of the nation". According to Garner (1952), a "federal government is a system in which the totality of governmental power is divided and distributed by the national constitution, or the organize act of parliament creating it, between a central government and the government of the individual states, or other territorial subdivisions of which the federation is composed".

These latter governments are not the creations of a central government of the union. Friedrich (1968), sees federalism as a "political process by which a number of separate political communities enter into arrangements for working out solutions, adopting joint policies and making decisions on problems". He further stressed that federalism recognizes that a set of political communities co-exist and interact as autonomous entities united in a common order with an autonomy of their own". "Federalism involves cooperation, bargaining, and conflict" (Awa, 1976). There will always be areas of cooperation between the two levels of government (central and regional) as the federation matures and becomes older. Among the critical areas where cooperation is sought is the areas relating to the finances of the federation. This area is commonly referred to as fiscal relations or fiscal federalism.

Fiscal relationship in a federal system is the financial relationship between or among the various levels of government. The relationship includes how finances are allocated to each tier of government, the sources of revenue to the federation and so forth. One of the major problems in federalism is revenue allocation between the two levels of government (central and state) and among the other units so that each government may have the financial muscle and capacity to perform the functions assigned to it (Awa, 1976).

Fiscal federalism is the existence of government in a country which operates more than one level of government, each with separate expenditure responsibilities and avenues of revenue raising powers (Okigbo, 1965). This implies the division of responsibilities and the resources among all the (three) tiers of government in a federal system. In Nigeria fiscal federalism involves the federal, state, and local governments.

Conditions for Federalism

A federal system of government does not come into existence without a cause. Certain conditions must come into play. Many scholars have adduced reasons for the existence of federalism. Johari (2009) looks more comprehensive among the scholars who adduced reasons for federalism. He identified nine reasons for a federal system of government to come into play thus:

- i. **Geographical Contiguity:** A federation must be geographically contiguous, that is, the territories seeking for a union must be near or close to each other geographically. If the parts of a federal state are cut off from one another by a wide distance, a federal system can hardly operate smoothly.
- ii. **Community of Interests:** Community interests give cementing force to a federal system in the spheres of religion, race, language, culture and others. This stands for unity in diversity. Nigeria is a good example. It aims at forging a union and creating a 'united union'.
- iii. **Absence of Marked Inequality:** The components of a federal system should enjoy equality of status as regards their powers. This, however, is not in respect of their territorial and demographic compositions. As much as possible, there should be no inequality in respect of matters relating to the distribution of powers.
- iv. **Similarity of Social and Political Institutions:** The pattern of governmental system or structures should be the same both at the national and regional levels. If the presidential system of government prevails at the central or federal level, the same should prevail at the state or regional level.
- v. **Social and Economic Development:** For federalism to operate successfully there is need for social and economic development of the whole country. The people should be educated and modernized to enable them keep themselves away from the influence of parochial tendencies.
- vi. **Political Stability:** No political system can operate smoothly unless the people have their own ideas, beliefs and commitments to the values of the political system. A federal system needs these requirements so as to

- enable their allegiance towards a double set of governments.
- vii. Political and National Integration: The citizens of a federal system must be integrated politically as well as nationally. The political topography of the country concerned should be drawn in a way that the local urges and aspirations of the people for having a separate state of their own are reconciled with the over-all needs of national integration.
 - viii. Centre-State Coordination: Happy coordination between the central and regional governments is necessary. This will encourage robust co-habitation. Federalism should have a cooperative and not a competitive, a persuasive and not a coercive, a flexible and not a rigid character.
 - ix. Reasonable Trend towards Centralisation: Every federal system requires centralization of powers. This has become a recent trend in a federation. The regional (state) governments must understand this political truism.

Essential Features of Federalism

There are some features required by a federal system. These are:

- a. A written constitution which is usually rigid.
- b. A constitution which must formally allocate legislative and fiscal powers to the two governments and ensuring genuine autonomy for each other.
- c. Some special arrangements for the representation of the constituent units in key central institutions to provide for regional input in central decision-making, e.g. the national legislature or parliament.
- d. An umpire to rule or adjudicate in constitutional disputes between governments, e.g. courts.
- e. A set of processes and institutions for facilitating or conducting relations between governments.
- f. Existence of more than one level of government as powers and responsibilities are vertically divided among central, regional (state), and local governments
- g. The powers and responsibilities of each level of government are derivable from the central government but directly from the supreme law of the country – constitution, and are separated vertically between the levels of government.
- h. The powers are enshrined in the legislative lists; exclusive for federal government; concurrent for federal and states (regions); residual for states or local government.
- i. Separation of powers among the various organs of government.
- j. Balanced sizes of the federating units/components.
- k. Adequate finances to enable each component unit fund their functions

- l. Dispersed authority as different levels of government have their respective functions
- m. Resources in regions or states are controlled by the states while an agreed amount or percent paid to the general/central purse.
- n. All the various tiers (levels) of government operate as coordinates and equal, instead of subordinates or super-ordinates (Anderson, 2008, and Onwudiwe and Suberu, 2005).

Federalism and Finance

Arrangements about the raising, sharing, and expending finances are very important, both politically and economically, for the functioning of federal systems. Finance is the life blood of governments. The problem of finance is and will continue to remain a re-occurring decimal of federalism. In the Nigerian dispensation, finance is a fundamental problem in the country. In a federation like Nigeria this problem deals mainly with the difficulty of securing correspondence between sources of revenue and the sharing formula. This is one of the frequent sources of inter-governmental wrangling. Therefore conflict is bound to happen due to inadequacy of financial sources especially on the part of the lower levels of government.

Inter-governmental fiscal relations have always been a source of problem in Nigeria federalism for quite a long time. The reason for this may not be unconnected with the lop-sided federalism and near-unitary system of government which has been in operation for over four decades.

Beginning of Nigerian lop-sided Federalism

The one-sided federalism which gradually snowballed into unitary system started in 1958 when the centre began to exert enormous powers and influence on the regions. Many factors were responsible for this development as identified by Akinsanya (1989):

- a. The dwindling regional finance and increasing regional heavy reliance on the national government for assistance so as to execute development projects.
- b. Initiatives regarding development planning that were appropriated by the federal government
- c. Federal government's control over external affairs and defence
- d. The increasing revenues accruing to the federal government
- e. Increasing assertion of the federal government over banking and borrowing so as to exert general control over the price level, balance of payments and the rate of growth of the economy
- f. The regulation of commodity prices by the regional marketing boards in consultation with the Central Bank of Nigeria

- g. The general and ardent urge for rapid developments especially the trends towards centrally-planned economy

The advent of the military into the geo-political equation of the country added more fillip to the lop-sided federalism which was gradually initiated by the economic and political factors enumerated above. What gave more impetus to the military imposition of the centre on the regions were thus:

- i. Creation of twelve states and much later nineteen states. This enabled federal (military) government to superintend over the whole country directly and indirectly through the states. This was made more possible because the military establishment is a unified institution, moreso, because the military was in power, and it was easy to extrapolate military virtues to the political system
- ii. The outbreak of the civil war and the need to give the federal government all the much needed power and support to prosecute the war
- iii. The dwindling revenues of the states and increasing federal revenues
- iv. The emergence of a new breed of Nigerians who have deeply committed to a strong and virile national government
- v. The existence of inter-governmental institutions which provided the avenues of communication between the states on the one hand and between the states and the national government on the other (Akinsanya, 1989).

Revenue Allocation Formulae Before and after Independence

Nigeria has adopted many revenue allocation formulae before and after her independence in 1960. These different allocation formulae were born out of conflicts and the desire to arrive at the 'right' allocation to each level of government and the near unitary system brought about by the military immediately after the civil war when the central government became too powerful and thereafter dictated the political and economic equation of the country. The oil boom years rendered the federal and regional governments to abandon other sources of revenue which used to be the country's main stay. The desire to diversify the economy thereafter was jettisoned by all the tiers of government. This was also responsible for the lack of true federalism by the country as all states and local governments of the federation heavily depended on the central for survival.

Different Principles of Revenue Allocations from 1946 to 1992

S/N	Commission /Committee	Recommended Principles	Basic Features of Recommendation/Formulae
1	Phillipson 1946	(a) Derivation (b) Even Progress	Balance after meeting Central Government budgetary needs allocated
2	Hicks-Phillipson 1952	(a) Derivation (b) Fiscal Autonomy (c) Need (d) National Interest	Proportions of specified duties and taxes allocated to regions on the basis of derivation, special grants – capitation, education and police.
3	Chick 1953	(a) Derivation (b) Fiscal Autonomy	Bulk of revenues from import duties and excises to the Regions on basis of consumption and derivation.
4	Raisman 1958	(a) Derivation (b) Fiscal Autonomy (c) Balanced development (d) Need	Proportions of specified revenues distributed on the basis of derivation. Creation of Distributable Pool Account (DPA) with fixed Regional Proportional Shares: North, 40%; West, 31%; East, 30%; Southern Cameroons, 5%.
5	Binns 1964	Same as No.4 above plus financial comparability.	Composition of DPA relative shares slightly altered: North, 42%; East, 30%; West 20%; Mid-West 8%.
6	Decree No. 15, 1967	Same as No. 5 above	Regional proportional shares of the DPA split among the 12 new states. 6 northern states received 7% each. East and western states shared in accordance with relative populations.
7	Dina 1968	(a) Even development (b) Derivation (c) Need (d) Minimum responsibility of government	Special Grants Accounts introduced, recommended the establishment of a permanent Planning and Fiscal Commission. Recommendations rejected.
8	Decree No. 1968	(a) Population (50%) (b) Equality of States (50%)	Export duties to states reduced from 100% to 60%; duty on fuel to states reduced from 100% to 50%; mining rents and royalties to states reduced from 50% to 45%.

9	Decree No. 9, Same as No.8 above 1971	Transferred rents and royalties of off-shore petroleum mines from the states to the federal government.
10	Decree No. 6, Same as above 1975	On-shore mining ad rents and royalties to states reduced from 45% to 20%. Remaining 80% to DPA. Import duties on motor spirit and tobacco to be paid 100% into DPA. 50% of the excise duties retained by federal government, 10to DPA.
11	Aboyade 1977 (a) Equality of Access to 0.52% (b) National Minimum Standards 0.22% (c) Absorptive capacity 0.20% (d) Independent revenue 0.18% (e) Fiscal efficiency 0.15%	Replaced DPA with Federation Account. Fixed proportional share out of this account between federal, 75%; states, 30%; local govts. 10% and special fund,3%. States Joint Accounts, and Local Governments Joint Account created.
12	Okigbo,1980 (a) Population 40% (b) National Minimum Standards 40% (c) Social development 15% (d) Internal revenue efforts 5%	Federation account to be shared; federal government, 53%; state governments,30%; local governs, 10%; special fund,7%.
13	Federal 1981 Act Same as No. 12 above	Federation account shared thus: federal government, 55%; State Governments,30.5%; Local Governments, 10%; Ecological problems, 1%; Development of mineral producing areas,1.5%; derivation, 2%.

14	Decree No. 36,1984	Same as No.13 above but social development (primary school enrolment: direct,11.25%; inverse, 3.75%.	Federation account shared thus: federal government,55%; state governments, 32.5% (out of which 2% went for derivation); local governments, 10%; development of mineral producing areas, 1.5% (special funds: 2.5%).
15	Danjuma 1989	(a) Equality of states, 40% (b) Population, 30% (c) Social Development 10% (d) Internal revenue effort, 20%	Federation account to be shared thus: federal government,47%; state governments, 30%; local governments,15%; Special Fund, 8%; FCT, 10%; Sabilisation, 0.5%; savings, 2%; derivation, 2%; development of oil mineral producing areas, 1.5%; development of non-oil mineral producing areas, 0.5%; general ecology,0.5%.
16	Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) approval, January 1990.	(a) Equality of states,40% (b) Population 30% (c) Social Development 10% (education 4%; health 3%; water 3%) (d) Land mass and terrain, 10% (e) Internal revenue effort, 10%	Federation account shared thus: federal government, 50%; state governments,30%; local governments , 15%; special fund 5%; FCT, 1%; stabilization,0.5%; Derivation, 1%; Development of oil mineral producing areas,1.5%; General ecology, 1%
17	AFRC Approval, January 1992	Same as No. 16 above	Same as No.16 above except that state governments (25%) and local governments (20%).
18	AFRC Approval, June, 1992.	Same as No.17 above	Federation account shared thus: federal government, 48.5%; state governments, 24%; local govts. 20%; special fund (7.5%); FCT, 1%; stabilization, 0.5%; derivation, 1%; development of oil producing areas,3%, general ecology, 2%.

Source: Ola and Offiong: Public Financial Management in Nigeria, pp.124 - 127

A critical look at the various principles of revenue allocation from the pre-independence to present time would indicate that the following have been like recurring decimal in the allocation formulae:

- i. Principles of derivation
- ii. Principles of national development
- iii. Principles of equality
- iv. Principles of population
- v. Principles of land mass or geographical area of the region (state)
- vi. Principles of absorptive capacity
- vii. Principles of internal revenue generation efforts

Consequences of Reduction in Federation Revenue

However, with the fast dwindling of oil revenue, the federation is no longer as it used to be in terms of finance. This has prompted the citizens to press on the federal and state governments to look more inwards to generate revenue from other sources. The price of crude petroleum in the international market has dropped to the lowest since 2003 to \$27 per barrel (*The Nation on Sunday*, 2016). All the tiers of government find it hard to meet their statutory obligations like payment of workers' salaries, and other developmental issues. The governor of Ogun state, Mr. Amosun, due to inability to pay arrears of salaries, delayed the appointment of civil commissioners and special advisers and other political aides as the state was in financial stress (Olatunji, 2015). The federal government, on the one hand, has enormous security problems to contend with especially as it relates to terrorism in the north east and some other parts of the north. It also lacks the financial wherewithal to provide adequate materials and equipment for the security agencies. It also needs to reconstruct and resettle the internally displaced persons in the affected areas of the north east; hence it has gone cap in hand to international donor agencies and communities for financial assistance.

The fallout of declining revenue from oil has the federal government to make repeated appeal to the international community and World Bank to assist in the reconstruction of the north east which was destroyed by the Boko Haram insurgency. It has also resulted in the sack of workers thereby fueling the unemployment market the more. In January 2016 governor Rochas Okorocha sacked over 3,000 workers from the Imo State civil service and scrapped over five parastatals (Nkwopara, 2016).

Problems of Lop-sided Federation in the Nigerian Federalism

Over the years, Nigeria federalism has been known to be bogus at the centre. The centre has been the 'father' to the other tiers of government as it has been like a totalitarian government in terms of finance. On the other hand,

it behaves like the elephant where everyone seems to be interested to go for their share of the meat as it is believed that it is inexhaustible. All the finances of the federation are kept by the centre and distributed to the so-called autonomous sub-national governments.

In the political arena, the centre has always lord it over the states (regions). But the overbearing influence of the centre is more felt on the fiscal relationship. Though the instrument of fiscal federalism the central government has continually initiated a process through which there continues to be in existence a progressive reduction in the share of the other government (components) of the federation. In terms of fiscal relations, the other lower components have been reduced to beggars as they cannot stand firmly on their own. The central government always determines their fate.

The prolonged military rule has, most part, responsible for the federal government over finance-related issues. This is because the military centralized the finances of the federation because all the military governors were answerable to the centre – the head of state. Except for the short time of fiscal regionalism of the 1950s, the dominant feature of vertical intergovernmental fiscal relations from the time of Sidney Phillipson Commission Report of 1946 has been the progressive concentration of economic and financial resources in the centre, while the states and localities continued to be emasculated (Suberu, 1999). This is one of the reasons for strained vertical intergovernmental fiscal relations in Nigeria for quite some time.

The concentration of the federation resources at the centre has characterized much of Nigeria's post colonial era thereby eroding the principle of derivation which was enjoyed by the regions only in the 1950s. In the sharing formulae of the petroleum proceeds, there has always continued to be a reduction in states' allocation from 50 per cent from 1960 to 1967 to 45 per cent (minus off-shore proceeds) from 1971 to 1975 to 20 per cent (minus off shore proceeds) from 1975 to 1979, to one and half per cent from 1982 to 1992, and back to three (3) per cent from 1992 to 1999 to 13 per cent from 1999. (Oladeji, 2005).

The discovery of oil petroleum is the main contributory factor to frequent disputes of the country's intergovernmental fiscal relations over the years. This is because oil accounts for over 80 per cent of the country's revenue.

Need for less Emphasis on Oil and Revenue Allocation Formula

Now that the price of the primary commodity has fallen to ridiculous level, the country needs to shift focus from the commodity and de-emphasise

revenue formula. The components (states) should be encouraged to cultivate the habit of progressive competition whereby they be allowed to adopt the economics of comparative advantage. There are lots of untapped natural minerals, especially solid minerals, which they could venture into and earn revenue from it. If a new and good policy is put in place and states can contribute finances from there to the central purse. It is capable of bringing innovation and technical know-how to the citizens.

Due to the long years of financial and economic advantages derived from petroleum oil, both the central and component units have become lazy, less competitive and less innovative. Many other sources of revenue that stare the various governments in the face were ignored and the citizens became more ignorant of their responsibilities to the nation-state. The golden opportunity has come to the fore now to look inwards, to become innovative and re-jig all the country's economic policies as well as technological policies. This will remove the "beggar status" of the state and local governments.

Conclusion

The Nigerian federation, for a long time, has been lop-sided as the centre has been dictating the pace in all ramifications – political, economic and so forth. The much reliance on the centre for financial wherewithal and assistance should be stopped, while less emphasis on revenue allocation formula due to income from crude oil should be drastically reduced. The opportunity brought about by the fast dwindling crude oil revenue should be utilized to practice true federalism and new intergovernmental fiscal relations.

True fiscal federalism will no doubt bring about genuine and progressive competitiveness among the various federating units. The components units will be forced to look inwards and tap the resources at their disposal in their jurisdictions. This will bring about comparative advantage to the units.

Recommendations

To create enabling environment for true federalism to thrive in the face of fast dwindling oil revenue, the following recommendations are put forward:

1. True federalism should be put in practice now, unlike the present practice where semi-unitary system is in place.
2. The federal and state governments should look inwards to source for alternative revenue.
3. The solid minerals sector of the economy should be tapped, while a new policy should be put in place to enable state and federal governments benefit from the sector.

4. There is need to lay less emphasis on the principle of revenue allocation formula as this has made the regional and local governments less competitive and lazy.
5. The country tax system and laws should be reviewed so as to make citizens realize their civic responsibilities to the nation-state.

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E-Government as the New Public Administration: Challenges and Prospects in Nigeria

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Abstract

Technological innovations through information and communication technologies have radically revolutionized the process, operations and structure of public administration. More fundamentally, the internet has dramatically changed the function of public administration by transforming government processes and interactions. These changes have made scholars and policy makers alike to label this trend as e-government. E government is the delivery of government services via the internet and other digital means to citizens and organizations. The paper using the theory of technological determinism, argues that developing countries can enhance transparency and service delivery by keying into e-government which is the new trend of public administration. This is because to organise men and material resources we need to understand that changes in society is essentially but not exclusively as a result of changes in technology. Developing countries need to understand that the public administration of paper and biro has become ridiculously old-fashioned and being replaced by information communication driven stringently by technological innovations. Hence, the confidence and trust that governments of developing countries have lost as a result of red-tape and corruption can be restored via information technology by being able to deliver services faster, transparent, and efficiently. The paper concludes that developing countries may be left behind if their political leadership fail to embrace this new trend and invest in human capital which is the only way knowledge which has been compressed into microchips can be unlocked.

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Introduction

In today's world, the introduction of improved information and communication technologies as a result of the technological innovation has drastically alter old ways of communicating, performing ones' tasks, delivery services as well as providing for the basic needs of the people, whether by the public or the private sector. Due to the political and bureaucratic bottlenecks within the public sector, the adoption of these improvements in government process has varied tremendously in countries of developed polity and in underdeveloped polities or countries. According to Fatile and Adejuwon (2009, p. 114), over the past decade, fundamental changes have been transforming societies all over the world. There has been a significant shift within the field of public administration. Traditional values and norms have been undermined in a number of ways. The role and the institutional character of the state and of the public sector have been under pressure to be more market oriented and private sector driven, initially in the developed societies and later in some developing societies.

The need to ensure that public administration becomes more cost effective, responsive, efficient and effective to the needs of the society makes the new reform and adoption of E-Government a necessity in order to meet the increasing challenges of governance that face government in this fast paced and moving world, where service delivery is a litmus test to good governance and development. This reformation in the public administration noted above, seeks to improve systems, change the approach of government service delivery to business-like manner, adopts new skills in the process of performing government responsibilities to her citizens within its ministries, department and agencies. It was on this basis that, European Commission Communication (2003,p.7) argued that:

E-government is the use of information communication technologies in public administration combined with organizational change and new skills in order to improve public service and democratic process and strengthened support to public policies.

More, importantly, E-Government entails a simplified means through which the complexities of government functions are performed through the integration of technology, skills, new method of data sharing and execution of its functions. The importance of this systematized process and mechanism in performing governmental functions cannot be over emphasized. It is important to note that, the adoption and implementation of E-government system has been a challenge in the underdeveloped countries or in the less developed countries, particularly in Nigeria and most sub-Saharan countries.

According to the World Bank (2004) despite the importance of public service to individuals and countries, there still continue to be large disparities in the quality and quantity of public goods and services across developing countries. Oliver (2015) cited in Rahim, Akintunde, Oguntoyinbo, Obanla and Aremu (2017, p. 67) observed thus;

In most African Countries, including Nigeria, providing public services constitute a huge challenge, which is conventionally perceived as exclusively government responsibility to offer the needed services. In Nigeria, Citizens perception of the government is that the institutionalized systems of service delivery of public service are poor, hence, it lacks required structures and capability to deliver services that meets and exceed citizens expectations. In particular, running what is far below citizens' expectation and increasingly perceived as unresponsive or unaccountable. More worrisome is the fact that many public bureaucracies were seen as bloated, incompetent and self-centered, motivated essentially by underlying rent seeking tendency which is promoted by traditional administration bureaucracy.

According to Baptista (2005, p.167), in many African Countries, the design and implementation of e-government strategies convey a new vision for the entire public sector. It has been suggested that e-government has the potential to transform governance and the relationship between the state, citizen and business. As noted above, e-government in developing countries and underdeveloped countries has the potential of transforming the state of service delivery by the government.

In as much as there have been numerous challenges that inhibited successful adoption of e-government such as lack of ICT infrastructure, adequate and trained man power, funding, the major challenge still remains that of leadership in transforming the public administrative system that allows for the deployment of information communication technology (ICT) and other computerized data base technologies. That would allow for effective performance.

Theoretical Framework

The paper adopts the theory of technologies determinism that was popularized by the writing of the American sociologist and economist, Thorsen Veblen, who used this term, original applicable in computer science into the social sciences. Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929) noted that technology is a driving force of culture in a society and it determines its course of history. That is to say, the theory of technological determinism provides a causative link between technology and a society's nature. It tries to explain

as to whom or what could have a controlling power in human affairs, <http://www.communicationtheory.org/technological-determinism>. Marx, had argued that changes in productive technology, are the primary influence on human social relations and societal relations revolve around the technological and economic base of the society.

Hauer (2017, p.1) asserts that the proponents of technological determinism argue that the society is influenced and shaped by technological development. It has to adjust and adapt to new technologies and innovations. The negative consequences of the technological development are the result of the poor use by the people, not of the very nature of technology. He further noted that, technological determinism is the belief that technology is the principal initiator of the society's transformation. According to the supporters of technological determinism, any social changes are controlled by the technology, technological development, communication technology and media. The modern information society arises as a result of the development of innovations, new technologies and their social and political implications.

While, Adler (2006, p.2) argue that, technological determinism (TD), simply put, is the idea that technology has important effects on our lives. That is to say, the internet is revolutionizing economy and society. He further stated that technological determinism has two important elements which are determinism which opposed several other possible doctrines. It stands opposed to the idea that social structures and technologies co-evolve in unpredictable, emergent patterns. One the other hand, it highlights the important place of technology in human existence in economics, culture, geography, biology and language, how this technology shape them. In all, technological determinism has informed many analysis in socio-economic configurations: the transition from feudalism to capitalism, changing occupational and skill structure of the labour force in the 20th century, the emergence of post-industrialism in the post-world-war II era, the subsequent emergency of the "information society" and globalization. For some, technological progress represents the promise of the gradual emancipation of mankind from the burdens of unnecessary sickness and labour.

In application to the paper, the theory assumes that the neglect of technological innovation by countries in the underdeveloped region has been one significant reason for their underdevelopment which manifests in their inability to meet the needs and satisfy the public demands of her citizens. Also, the lack of integrated information communication technology in place of the paper and biro delivery, transparency and efficiency in the public sector.

In addition, there cannot be in any attempt to build a sustainable society in the underdeveloped countries without the adoption of the e-government system which is the application of technological advancement in modernizing the activities of government to which the public administrative structures operate and performs their duties. That is to say, without the adoption of technology in the public sector there cannot be the establishment of the new public administration which is important for building sustainable societies.

Conceptual Clarification

E-Government

There has been different definition on the concept of e-government by different scholars. These definitions have resulted in the confusion and the interchangeable use of e-governance for e-government. According to Adiele (2017, p. 236), E-Government refers to the use by government agencies of information technologies (such as Wide Area Network) the internet, and mobile computing) that have the ability to transform relationship with citizens, businesses, and other arms of government. These technologies can serve a variety of different purpose which includes;

- a. Better delivery of government services to citizens
- b. Improved interactions with business and industry.
- c. Citizen empowerment through access to information.
- d. More efficient government management. That will result in less corruption, increased transparency, greater convenience, revenue growth, and/or cost reduction, (World Bank, 2016).

While, Fang (2002, p. 4) alludes further that;

E-government can be defined as a way for government to use the most innovative information and communication technologies, particularly web-based internet applications and services, to improve the quality of services and to provide greater opportunities to participate in democratic institution and processes.

The foregoing, highlights the fact that e-government is the application of modern information and communication technology in order to achieve effectiveness and efficiency of service delivery, enhance interaction and control. Furthermore, Peter and Pierre (2007, p.235) hold that, E-government can 'therefore be defined as a process of providing public access via the internet to government service and transforming internal efficiency of government departments. This points illustrate that, e-government is the effort put in place by government to ensure that the public/citizens has

more access to necessary service through the use of the modern technologies tools as well as ensure that ministries, departments and agencies that constitute the public sector of a country organized its activities to support and implement public policies in the most organized and efficient way. Accordingly, Sunday (2014, p. 27), observed that, e-government has become a necessary political mechanism in evaluating government performances in many developed parts of the world. In facts, the use of information and communication technology in government business through promoting government's role in delivery services, public administration and promoting active participatory democracy has been gaining an impelling force in the global community.

Public Administration

Public administration deals with the study of how the administration of a state is organized and its functions are carried out. Given its roles as a channel through which government policies are executed. This definition given above, focused on the study of public administration which is only an aspect of public administration while neglecting the arts of it. Public administration is seen as the activities, actions, and inactions of government in meeting the needs of the society through the provision of government services. Nnoli (2006, p.45) defined public administration as the machinery of the government as well as the integral process through which the government (executive through its bureaucracy, legislature and judiciary) performs its functions.

In conclusion, public administration can be seen as the means through which the functions of government are performed, executed and implementation of laws and policies are carried out as well as the machinery of the state through public goods are delivered to the citizens and ensure that the citizens are provided with a channel through which they also interact with the government of the day as they perform their day-to-day activities.

Information Communication Technology

Amoke (2009, p. 49) defined information technology as a set of tools that help one to work with information and perform tasks related to information processing. While information and communication technology (ICT) are used to describe wide range of new technologies and their application such as telephone, internet, World Wide Web (WWW), emails etc. These new technologies showcase the ability to record, access, manipulate and communicate information. In relation to this paper, information and communication technology involves wide range of electronic means through which technology can be used to facilitate the initiation, execution and

evaluation of activities within and out of an organization in order to ease the delivery of services while one task is being performed. These technologies are adopted in order to ensure, cost reduction, efficiency and effectiveness in the execution of a task in public and private sectors. In similar view, European commission, (2003, p.20) noted that,

Today, information technology is changing the way we work, play, learn, travel and govern. Throughout the world, information and communication technologies are generating a new industrial revolution, direct relationship between e-government and the new public management agenda.

While, Baptista (2005, p.167) highlighted some of the goals of information and communication technologies in our workforce or organization to be;

- a. Transforming Public Administration: Improving the efficiency of public administration, reducing their size, and cutting cost.
- b. Putting service online, delivering government service over the internet and other electronic channels
- c. Improving the image of government: increasing the transparency of the public sector and creating a more open, participative decision making process.

The above views, succinctly highlight the fact that information and communication technology (ICT), is the application of modern devices such as the internet, the use of electronic messaging channels and other sophisticated devices by the government, corporate bodies and individuals in order to facilitate communication and service delivery in a more cost effective, time reducing and responsive manner to the targeted consumer.

Interrogating the Empirical Nexus between E-Government and Public Service Delivery

One of the important functions of any government is to ensure the needs and demands of the public are satisfied and adequately provide, for, this is the focus of public administration. While, service delivery has continuously faced solvable challenges due to the negligence of government in adopting way and mechanism that would ensure that public service delivery is met in most responsive and effective way. According to Rahim, et al (2017, p.71) efficient flow of information is a necessary precondition for effective day-to-day business of government. In reality, the provision of quality public services reinforces the social contract between government and the citizens, which is a key measure of governance and potent indicator of the wellbeing of a society. Heeks (2002) opined that, the use of ICT is essential in every aspect of citizens – government interactions. ICT governs, manage its

resources, offer services and account for its performance. Furthermore, Adiele (2017, p. 240) stated that:

The place of ICT in the world cannot be underestimated. It is believed that ICT bridges the gap between the government and the people by way of connectivity, thereby bringing the government closer to the masses. Through this means, the service delivery to the masses has been much faster and a lot easier unlike the traditional way which was characterized with time wasting and bureaucratic bottleneck in the public sector. The modern ICT application has largely given rise to hitch free and effective governance with overall improved service delivery to the masses.

In view of this, the application of technology most especially the use of ICT in administration by the government has been and remaining crucial towards meeting the demands of the citizens through e-government. As government no longer rely on the traditional administrative systems that are largely ineffective and inefficient in performing public duties. As Onuigbo and Innocent (2015, p. 20) agrees with the above when they stated that:

E-government is the public sectors use of information and communication technologies with the aim of improving information and service delivery, encouraging citizen participation in the decision making process and making government more accountable, transparent and effective.

According to Abdulakareem (2015, p.45) the concept of e-government began in the early 1990s, which is the use of information technology to improve governance, promote efficiency and effectiveness in the delivery of public service. In the year 2000, the federal government of Nigeria recognized the need to transform the public service into the modern day system through the use of information technology. This way necessitated by the urgent need to improve public service delivery, ensure transparency, make government accessible and ensure that information dissemination is public is in real time. Signore, et al (2005) perceived e-government as a means of improving governance, i.e. the use of information and communication technologies (ICT) to improve the process of governance. While Molnar (2007, p.4) credits e-government as a tool to improve public administration and democratic process (participation, transparency and accountability), using the combination of information technology, organizational changes and new skills in public administration (e-government) could improve the quality of public services, reinforce the democratic process and support community objectives.

On the other hand, Heichlinger (2004, p.26) believes that e-government could improve service delivery to citizens as e-government denotes a set of activities supported by information system with the aim of improving the relationship between government and citizens. On the other hand, Alhabshi (2001) rightly observed that e-government is an essential part of new public management. Public management is specifically a strategy of reforming the operations and service delivery mechanisms of government into a replica of the private sector style of management which is highly result oriented, innovative and cost effective as against the traditional and old public administration which is highly bureaucratic and ineffectual in operation and public service delivery.

Table 1.0 Paradigm Shift in Public Service Delivery

s/n	Operation	Bureaucratic Paradigm	E-government Paradigm
1	Process organization	Functional rationality departmentalization, vertical hierarchy of control	Horizon hierarchy network organization, information sharing.
2	Management principle	Management by rule and mandate	flexible management, interdepartmental team work with central coordination
3	Leadership style	Command and Control	Facilitation and coordination, innovation entrepreneurship.
4	Mode of service	Documentary mode and interpersonal interaction	Electronic exchange non-face to face interaction.
5	Principles of service delivery	Standardization impartiality, equity.	User customization personalization.

Source: Ndou, (2004, p.3)

It is without doubt that e-government has been judged by several scholars to be an effective means through which public service delivery can be enhanced, responsible and effective in meeting the need of citizens, as the government interact with them in the society. On the basis of the foregoing

that Ndou (2004, p. 3) presented a tabulated distinction of the old system of service delivery and the e-government of service delivery.

Table 1.0 highlight the old bureaucratic public service delivery system devoid of the use of modern technology to organize and carried out in the most rigid way without allowing the active participation or involvement of the decision making process by the citizens which constitutes the end users of the public service by the government, this system allows for slow, bottleneck and red-tape and numerous organization challenges to confront the process of service delivery. While e-government paradigm in delivery of public service allows for the quick, systematized and participatory engagement of the citizens in carrying out the duties of government of ministries, departments and agencies of the public sector. Table 2.0, below provides a real time cursory look of the actual manifestation of the above paradigm.

Table 2.0 Comparison between Manual and Electronic Mode of Government Service Delivery

Government Service international passport application	Manually minimum processing time is 90 days and some could last 90 months	Electronically minimum processing time is 1 day and maximum of 3days
Trade Clearance	Requires 7 working days to clear	1 days to clear
National Exam registration (WAEC, NEC and JAMB)	Minimum of 7 days	Minimum of 1 hour
Job Recruitment	2 Months	1 hours of online form completion and instant acknowledgement
Land Allocation	3 to 4months	1 day with geographic information system
Voters registration	5 days to register and get voters card	5 minutes and instant voters card
National Identity registration	Minimum of 18 to 14 months processing	Minimum of 90 days.

Source: Mohammed, et al (2010) in Abdulkareem (2015, p. 51).

In conclusion, e-government can be seen as a more effective, trustworthy, responsive means for the provision of public service to the citizens of a

country. The system is responsive and participatory because it allows for the adoption of modern technology such as, the internet, the website, system, computerized data base, etc. which comprises of the information and communication technology in the provision of government service therefore bring about a reformation in the old way of public administration systems.

Implementation of E-Government in Nigeria: Issues and Challenges confronting Nigeria.

The need to implement the e-government system in most developing or underdeveloped countries has been a real challenge without much success. These challenges have been the product of both political as well as several socio-economic forces or constraints within these societies that has inhibited this implementation process. The use of information and communication technologies in the Public Sector can be seen as a means through which the New Public Administration can be implemented as it ensures that the public sector adopt market oriented approaches, flexible and participatory system that brings about a transformation and reorganization of the old bureaucratic approach into new modern electronic enabled mechanism. Despite, the tremendous benefits of e-government most African countries that fall within the category of under developing nations still finds it difficult. Fatile and Adejunwon (2009, p.199) pointed out, thus;

In Nigerian public administration, e-government has faced a number of challenges that have limited the scope, speed and quality of service rendered.

This fact is even more complex as, without doubt developing or underdeveloped countries have tried in their undertakings of a number of e-government initiatives which have failed to ensure a change from the old ways of carrying out governmental responsibilities. The following are some of the challenges that have confronted the implementation of e-government as the New Public Administration.

- a. **Lack of purpose driven leadership in adopting Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in Government Ministries and Agencies:** Successive government in Nigeria and most other underdeveloped or developing countries have failed to implement the e-government system in most of our public institution. Since the introduction of this system by President Olusegun Obasanjo in the early 1990's and 2000, yet much has not been achieved towards successfully implementing the e-government system. According to Abdulkareem (2015, p. 50) noted that since the policy for ICT was drafted back in the

year 2000 known as the National Information Technology Policy under the supervision of the National Information Technology Agency (NITDA), little has been done by successive government in ensuring that this policy is institutionalized in the public administrative system in Nigeria.

- b. Corruption:** Corruption is rife in most developing and underdeveloped countries which has consequently affected the attempt at institutionalizing the e-government system as the new means for carrying out the business of government in the area of service delivery and the execution of laws and policies by the government. According to the latest publication of the corruption perception index Nigeria rank 18th in the World and sadly most other African countries does not fare better in the area of corruption. This has seriously constrained the effective implementation of the e-government system by installing these ICT materials that will aid government. Corruption affects more sharply, e-government because it leads to insufficiency in financial resources. This corruption is perpetrated by both politicians and bureaucrats that are supposed to facilitate the e-government process.
- c. Absence of infrastructure needed in the Institutionalization of the e-government system:** There is a dearth of infrastructure in most developing countries needed in order to ensure that the new public administration system of e-government thrive. As noted by Fatile and Adejunwon (2009, p.120) that;
 What inhibited Nigeria from truly having an e-government include the infrastructure which is not available for the project to run smoothly, the epileptic power supply in the country was another inhibitor for the smooth running of the E-government. It is noteworthy to state that assessing ICT borne data requires a whole range of overt resources including a telecommunication infrastructure to make ICTS work, a skill infrastructure to keep all technology working.
 The lack as well as the inability of most underdeveloped or developing countries to meet these infrastructure challenge poses a big threat to the successful implementation of e-government system which is a modern, advanced technological system that thrive only within the presence of available and sufficient infrastructure.
- d. The lack of skilled Manpower:** Due to the continuous application of the old bureaucratic method of public administration. Considerably attention has also not been paid in encouraging the development of information communication technological skills needed in the

implementation of the e-government system that operate within the application of trained and specialized education. Also, there is little or no encouragement of bureaucrats and public service to obtain basic ICT education important to make them relevant in adopting this new system of administration. According to Odunfa (2009, p. 29) noted that the low level of e-literacy and education, low awareness, stakeholder's readiness and complexity of the process is one potent challenge in successfully implementing e-government in most underdeveloped or developing countries.

- e. **The failure of power in Nigeria:** The challenge of electricity in most developing countries remains a factor for the implementation of e-government in these societies. Electricity failure which has also constrained the socio-economic development of the societies continues to play a crucial role in inhibiting the use of information communication technology which depends and consumes electricity in order to function. In Nigeria, electricity stability cannot be guaranteed. As the country produced less than what the country need as megawatts. This very sad situation is also a replica in most other developing countries. This reveals the reason why most underdeveloped or developing countries has not made substantial progress in e-government.
- f. **The resistant to change attitude by the civil servants:** Most Civil Servants in underdeveloped or developing countries resist technological change and innovation has it forces them to think and operate in ways they are not known to operate. E-government which is a system of technological application in governance does not set well with civil servants as such they have remained adamant even towards the fact that e-government has the potential to make their jobs easier and more effective in a time efficient manes. The negative attitude to technology in these societies inhibits the implementation of the new public administrative system.

For e-government to be successful implemented as a bureaucratic system as against the old system that is slow, characterized by bottleneck and suffers for administrative red-tape, there is need for there to be a call for regulations that would ensure that the e-government structures are fully operational.

The Prospect of ICT in Building Sustainable Societies in Underdeveloped Countries: Nigeria as a Case Study

Information and Communication (ICT) and its application in recent times has offered many opportunities for economic and human development within

various nations in the global community, Akomaye (2018, p. 6). With its application by modern government in providing public goods to the society, this digitized process in several ways improved the quality, efficiency and cost of governance incurred as a result increase in the socio-economic development of these societies. In building sustainable societies, nations that have institutionalized the Utilization of ICT in an e-government platform, as noted by Baptista (2005, p.167) are able to achieve the underlying advantages in building a society that efficiency, effectiveness, responsiveness and participation are some of its values

The prospect for Nigeria in building a sustainable society/nation through e-government and information communication technology is without doubt a necessity for her development and placement in the comity of nations in the international system responsibility for good governance. The adoption of information communication technology in Nigeria and other underdeveloped countries, first of all has the potential of alleviating poverty. ICT ensure in the provision of qualitative services to her citizen as such it has the potential of addressing poverty in these societies as policies that improve the material existence of the citizen can be effectively enhanced as against the old bureaucratic paper and biro public administration.

Secondly, In Nigeria, the use of information communication technology would help in forestalling and eradicating the traditional system of public administration that alienates the citizens in the provision of government services as well as reduce administrative bottlenecks that have been a major part for the underdevelopment of these societies as against the developed societies that has already adopt and ensure the operationalisation of the information communication technology in their administrative systems.

In addition, the application of the information communication Technology helps to ensure proper planning and evaluation of public services to the society. In Nigeria and many other underdeveloped countries, due to the lack of systematized data as well as its collection, the bureaucracy has always failed to properly plan for the growing citizens as they continuously made use of old data base that a traditionally collected through paper and pen rather than with the computerized system which is easier to update. As such, information communication technology (ICT) through its technological innovation can assist the government and her institutes in adequately planning for the society as new changes occurs whether in populations, birth and market changes.

Finally, information communication technology provides the political leadership appropriate direction in meeting with the pressing need of the society. Through, the e-government system that ensures that government

and the citizen are always in constant communication due to the participatory nature of the e-government, the government as well as the citizens will always be abreast of the programmes and policies of the government, while the government can adequately evaluate the perception of the citizens of its programmes and policy.

Conclusion

The Institutionalization of E-government should be the new focus of public administration in developing and underdeveloped countries. This is because technological innovation through information and communication technologies (ICT) has the potential of addressing the challenges of public service delivery as well as meeting the need of developing in this nation. ICT is important in revolutionizing the old bureaucratic process, operations, and structure of institutions of government which are key in building sustainable societies by achieving sustainable development.

E-government which remains a platform through which government services are delivered, the needs of the citizens are met in an effective and efficient way through the use of the internet and other digital means suffers from numerous set back that have constrained it from changing the face of public administration in this societies. As argued by the paper/study, these challenges cover a wide range of factors, from political, social, economic as well as infrastructural. For instance, due to the poor level of political leadership in ensuring that the e-government system/policy is implemented in 2001 by the president Olusegun Administration in Nigeria, there has been little attention paid by others in building the necessary conditions that would ensure this system service and transforms the public sector by way of institutionalizing transparency, accountability and efficiency in service delivery.

Finally, for underdeveloped or developing countries to break away from this old way of governance, serious attention must be paid towards addressing the issues inhibiting establishing ICT structures in their societies as well as initiate regulatory policies that would strengthen the system from been exploited unduly by anti-change agents.

Recommendation

The paper recommends the following in order to ensure that the adoption of ICT and E-government is strengthen and made a matter of national policy.

1. The political leadership must be conscious and responsive as a matter of urgency initiate policy in case where absent strengthen existing policy in order to build and institutionalized the use of information and communication technologies in government agency.

2. Government of these countries must ensure that they invest in building human capital in order to ensure that there are adequate qualified civil servants to perform. This modernized and revolutionalized public administration.
3. Government in Nigeria and other developing countries should ensure that they address the infrastructural deficit that continue to inhibit and hinder the use of information communication technologies. Infrastructure such as electricity, internet connections must be put in place.
4. Civil society organization should ensure that they engage and if need be put pressure on government and the bureaucratic leadership of countries to ensure there is proper regulatory framework to support the implementation of Information Communication Technologies as for e-government to thrive.
5. There is need for civil society organization to call on government of underdeveloped countries to ensure improve public service delivery, good governance as well as accountability through the adoption of e-government which ensures that government are open, responsive and participatory in decision making which improve access and citizen relationship with public agencies.

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A Patriarchal Reflection on Gender Contest in the Millennial Africa

Adebayo Abidemi Olufemi

Abstract

The advent of feminism in Africa has brought about an attempt by the apologists of the gender ideology to reverse the force of the continent's marital validation instruments. This is targeted at reordering the marital structure of Africa. The attempt by the proponents of the feminist ideology to redirect the conjugal status quo in Africa portends the inclination to wreak havoc in the African social system. The discourse establishes that high spate of divorce in Nigeria these days is the consequence of feminist creed in Africa. Most of the new-generation (millennial) women in Africa have developed the consciousness of resisting patriarchy in Africa. A number of indices suggest this consciousness. These include self-styled definition of feminism, ego, resistance to deep-rooted Africa's nuptial norms, and the collision of Africa's marital statutes and feminist ideology. These vices have emanated from the millennial consciousness among African women, and are responsible for the unbridled cases of marriage dissolutions being experienced on the continent.

Introduction

The millennium pierced the African consciousness with a novel orientation in African women. A group of African women associated the new age with the sense of self consciousness and worth. To them the millennium was synonymous with enlightenment, and this sensibility made the women question the state of their relationship with men, specifically, in term of their marital responsibilities as wives to their husbands. Such an orientation is noted in the quest of the women to establish parity with their male counterparts, especially their husbands. By this they see themselves as new-generation African women. A frantic effort is being made by these 'new-generation' African women to redirect the African conjugal course. The justification adduced for this is the alleged dominance of men over women in the scheme of social engagements on the continent. This category of

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women pursues this philosophy under the auspices of the feminist advocacy. These African women argue that the men folks do oppress and repress them in the course of things as these concern the two sexes. However, this state of affairs has despicable implications for Africa's social system and such has been manifesting.

Feminist Creed in the Millennial Africa

It has been observed that cases of divorce is on the rise on the continent since the outset of the millennium, and marriages in Africa may continue to droop and decimate as long as the tenets and lore of ideological feminism breathe and so breed in the African geographical space. This is neither the perspective of a cynic or that of a pessimist, nor is it that of a misogynist. Rather it is the downright prognostication predicated on the unfolding behavioural pattern of today's African women who claim that the millennium meant a conscientisation on marital freedom. They do manifest this consciousness in the abdication of their traditional social/domestic responsibilities as wives. Such a situation has resulted in gender clash. The gender conflict in Africa needs be resolved through women's admittance of the irreversibility of the African nuptial order. The force of effect of African marital statute is rooted in the culture of the people, and as such it is sacrosanct. The resolution of the gender collision should be attained as soon as this hour as it is a veritable avenue for the advancement that the African continent is in dire need of, hence, yearns for fervently. Peace from the domestic front in Africa translates to progress at the macro social level on the continent.

At this juncture, it is important to identify and explain the link between African marital statute and the feminist ideology strange as it may be, and the link plausibility is situated within the context of operational technicalities of the two concepts. To this end, the term *statute*, for the convenience of this paper, could be seen as a law whose essential feature is *obligation* Omoregbe (1997). Omoregbe asserts 'for law is sacred and it imposes an obligation on all those subject to it' (viii). Contextualising obligation as the central feature of the law/statute in, and applying it to this discourse, it needs to be fore-stated that all the pronouncements from elsewhere in the social system of Africa, apart from the law of the land on marriage are subsumed under the marriage statutes since the law of the land overrules those that may be made by different associations, organisations or institutions such as churches, mosques or clan elders within the State. Therefore, *statute* signifies the performative force inherent in the law of the land, as well as the pronouncements of the clergy in churches or mosques.

The choice of statute to represent itself as well as signify religious and customary/clannish pronouncements on any issue is occasioned by three main factors. The first being that the statute is generic and is the mark and proof of nationhood: the second being that the marital transactions of these institutions could only be and as such, are validated/legitimised by the statute, while the third factor bothers on the fact that the statute and the civil pronouncements do impose obligations and sanctions on citizens, the faithful or clan's members as the case may be.

It needs be established that the core goal of feminist advocacy is gender parity id est equality of women with men in social interactions, dealings and roles as it involves the two. There is general perception among the feminist advocates that the society (African or Western) is constructed such that men are presented as higher than and superior to women in the social scheme of things. The female gender advocates predicate their argument on a number of repressive tendencies ostensibly exhibited by the male folks against women in numerous societies across the globe. The damning statistics of men's onslaught against women in the United States could be seen in such declaration as:

Sexual, verbal and physical abuse of women in the United States occurs at an alarming rate. A woman is battered every 15 seconds, more than 4 million U.S. women are physically assaulted by their partners each year... Violence against girls and women is a persistent problem all over the world, with some countries condoning or legalizing such crimes. Shaw and Lee (2001:395).

This indubitably unsavory development establishes presence in the African social context. Shaw (2013) examines the attitudes of influential African men to women with particular emphasis on Mobutu Seseseko. According to Shaw, Mobutu is egocentric and has a conservative view of women and this has resulted in his 'Paying lip service to progressive notions of gender equity'. It could be understood from the above that Mobutu has a complex of inferiority towards women. This reasoning is hinged on the essence of egocentric dimension to the situation, in addition to the fact that Shaw describes 'gender equity' as 'progressive', which means that Mobutu's view of women is unprogressive.

The unprogressive (conservative) attitude to and view about women, which could have been a cultural super-structure in the Mobutu's Zaire that leaders held about women. If a stereotype is 'generalized *beliefs* we hold about groups – beliefs that reflect what we think members of a particular group are like' Douglas, Neuberg, Robert (2005:356), then, it could be averred that Mobutu's (men's) impression about women (as inferior) is

subjective. That is, women are strong and, arguably, superior. As a result of this, they are at liberty to aspire and lay claim to parity with men. This is a way of checkmating and eliminating the obnoxious acts of violence and oppression embedded in the narratives of Shaw et al and Shaw.

If statute binds (and this is legitimate) and imposes obligation (and this is characteristic), and women have the right to self *determination* and *emancipation*, then, there is a vacuum created, this vacuum is the domain of divorce. Given that the circuit situation and consciousness are constant variables, divorce shows huge productivity to thrive in the marital life of today in Africa. It needs be emphasised that divorce is a creation, not part of the natural marital process and a number of factors do warrant its slot in the conjugal order of the world nowadays. These include misapplication and misconception of the term *gender equality*, egocentricism of the female gender and the perceived conceited psychology of men, social norms in Africa's nuptial construction, as well as the collision of the force of enforcement of statute and the tenets of feminist ideology. This is in parallel to Lamanna and Riedmann's (2000) opinion that the factors responsible for high divorce rate in the United States include lack of constant family conversation, money, (high income), redefinition of marriage as nonpermanent or semi-permanent as well as change in social, legal and moral constraints among other factors. However, it needs be stated that Lamanna and Riedmann factors are West-oriented and macro, while those factors as highlighted earlier are micro.

Today's women in Africa, specifically, in the elite category (*elite* is loosely used here to include the educated women of various levels and virtual exposure) have completely mis-defined, misinterpreted and, in the process, misconceived the rationale behind gender-parity advocacy. Gender-parity advocacy means to accord women self dignity and respect which is a contravention and hence nullification of masculine culture of assault and battery meted out to women. It is an elimination of domestic violence and servitude. However, today's African women have re-defined the concept to justify their inclination towards relinquishing their domestic duties to their male partners in the marital institution. These duties are 'God-ordained duties as a good wife and mother...'

Egbemode (2007:177) after all 'shouldn't it be a man taking care of a woman?' (163). Many an elite African woman does not want to sweep the floor, wash the clothes or cook the food as their primary duties. They want these duties shared after all the woman is a partner and not a slave. This argument could be seen as subjective and diversionary. The actual situation is more of the indolence and unskilledness than neo-patriarchal serfdom. A

substantial number of women below the age of forty years did not acquire culinary skill as they grew up. This would have been as a result of filial inaction or filial detachment. It could also be as a result of inordinate filial expression of love for the daughter such that the daughter would not be subjected to the rigour of domestic chores; and this takes either of two forms – the mother does the work or domestic hands are employed to perform the chores. This leaves the daughter unchallenged, hence, unskilled; and in marriage, she shifts responsibilities. Subsequently, she employs the instruments of sophistry and rhetoric of emotion to pervert truth. At this juncture, it needs be underscored that the question is not that the women is undertaking a cause of emancipation from masculine violence or oppression which itself is a just cause; rather, it is a question of incompetence, indolence and war against the self. The feminist agenda/goal is covertly fallible in this respect.

Egocentrism contributes in no limited measure to the firm position of divorce and its variants (separation, breakup or agreed/arranged coexistence) in the modern marriages. The psychic consciousness of the present-day African women is filled with and occupied by hubris – arrogance, in a plain-term description. It is a novel consciousness. The conceitedness is not borne out of personal accomplishment of the younger-generation African women. The arrogant disposition is the result of exposure to education, especially, at the university level. Other factors could also be *alluring* countenance, elitist birth and residence, acquisition of material things such as trending designer clothes, especially, if it is genuinely original hence expensive, or even if it is genuine but second-hand; gadgets (smart phones and tablets), and (though less often) cars.

All of these are taken for granted in the Western world where these items of conspicuous consumption do come from. One other factor responsible for the egocentric nature of women in the African context is muliebrity as an instrument of gender power: a means of contesting (and perhaps defeating) the over bloated power and influence, even, dominance of the phallus. Again, this is the backlash of feminist campaign. All combined and considered, the modern woman in Africa does wear the toga of huge presence. And the consequence of this is that she feels above the state where she is required by social norms and marital stipulation to foster and sustain constant communication with her partner. Karraker and Grochowski (2012:168)) conclude that ‘On the other hand, when a couple is effective in communicating issues and feelings, even when they are faced with troubling issues inside or outside of their relationship, they are likely to have positive feeling about and be satisfied with their relationship’. In spite of this invaluable

gain of constant liquid communication between a couple, most of the new-generation African women are hardened at heart, and as such, would not communicate with their hubbies especially when the need arises to explain why they have not performed a chore, such as cooking. They would consider it condescension to explain why it is a bad cooking in an instance. They consider it below their *status* to even serve a man as husband, not to talk of packing and washing the plates the man has eaten from. Their disposition arises from, in my opinion, the misconstruing of the claim that both sexes are equal. Therefore, it does not matter the age, political power, financial power, royal status or spiritual position in religious circle of the man

The hubris in women of Africa as highlighted above would not have mattered in itself: the ingrained sense of patriarchal power of African men collides with and resists the feminine hubris. The consequence of this is unquenchable conflagration whose flame is ravaging most African nuptial bonds and agreements. The male gender has arrogated to themselves a sense of dominance, power and control – in other words, a sense of superiority. A number of factors have informed the vantage social position of men: the male gender being the first to be created, according to the Biblical Theory of Creation; the reverence most societies attach to the male child and the norm that the man should host the woman in a marriage. Also, contributing to the man's possession of gender power is the anatomical make up: that the man has nine (9) ribs and the woman has seven (7). In any case, the African man, overtly or covertly, considers himself superior to the African woman. It is not of any relevance whether this is justifiable or valid. Attention is not paid to the validity or justification of male sense of superiority because the perspective of this discourse is not the polemic on gender contest or muliebrity versus maleness.

When, therefore, the woman fails to acknowledge this male power in a man – a power that he considers inborn and irrevocable – strife and agitation begin. The commotion that ensues is the fallout of the woman's failure to note that 'in every known society, past or present, the female is in some sense subordinate to the male' Clark (2003). If the African society is patriarchal, that is, a subjugation of the *rights* of women (and this has been age-long) then, a woman's refusal to honour the status quo would, by default, result in a confrontation with her conjugal host. The woman concerned has failed to realise and accept it that 'all over the world, the oppression of women is affirmed as hard and abiding reality of life'. Abogunrin (2003).

Unless the new-generation of African women is able to reconstruct the African (perhaps, world) conjugal institution she would not be able to sustain her marriage. It is, however, doubted that the group of African women

would be able to achieve the nuptial reconstruction – a feat that the Women Liberation Movement has not been able to attain since about seven decades ago. Therefore, feminine hubris in collision with deep-rooted African patriarchal system contributes immensely to the high rate of divorce cases in Africa these days.

Of immense relevance for consideration as a factor necessitating constant divorce in Africa today is the irreversibility of the conventional, cultural and legal, nuptial norms in Africa. Bamidele, Amadi, Soetan and Pogoson (2005) opine that gender relation and roles are influenced by customs and tradition including religion as well as social expectations, for instance, norms. The cultural dimension encompasses the religious stipulations about gender role in a marital formation. Such stipulations recommend that the man is the head of the marital home. The Bible and the Quran do endorse the man as the head. Again in most societies in Africa, it is the man that hosts the woman under his roof and religious institutions such as The Deeper Life Ministry do commission representatives to inspect the home/house of the would-be husband. This ostensibly is to affirm that the suitor is man enough to host the woman. In the same light, in Nigeria, West Africa, polygyny is an acceptable form of polygamy. Polyandry is forbidden. In fact, the preference of polygyny to the exclusion of polyandry as a reasonable form of polygamy which can co-exist with monogamy is universal. Donagan (1999: 110) echoes this thus: 'in the vast majority of civilized societies, the only varieties found are monogamy and polygyny. Polyandry is very rare'. It is very rare because there is traditional moral objection to it.

Furthermore, social norms in Africa stipulate that the man (husband) should fend for the family while the woman (wife) manages the home in terms of taking good care of the children. It is considered an anomaly if the wife fends for the family especially among the Yoruba, West of Nigeria. The man (husband) should also be older than the woman (wife). All these stipulations on the husband-wife social relation are sealed by the relevant ordinances or legal instruments, including religion pronouncements that bind a marital union. They are ingrained in the social system on marriage in Africa. The attempt that some of the new-generation African wives make to reverse them in the form of subtle or confrontational rebellion constantly brings about divorce. This is because the religious recommendations on the responsibilities of both the husband and the wife cannot be reversed. The social norms are public property; review (if ever possible) can only be unreflective and unprovoked. And the legal instruments that seal marital union in Africa are installed through political influence and can only be amended through same. Yet, the political terrain in Africa is male-driven.

The tenets of the feminist ideology do collide with the instrument of enforcement of a statute in the African context (if not globally). And the collision has provoked an atmosphere of disarray in the psyche of the new-generation African women. The statute, in this discourse, is codified as the legal instrument of the secular state which governs and overrides other pronouncements (theological or traditional) in the land. It presupposes that all other cultural, social or clannish considerations and expectations by the theological and traditional/clannish instruments have been met before granting them validity and legitimacy. By the ratification of the theological and traditional/clannish instrument, the state instrument (statute) enforces the stipulations of the theological and traditional pronouncements on marriage bond and union. And central to the stipulations of the pronouncements is the imposition of obligations (the obligation of submission and care) on the woman. This, the *modern* African woman does not want to accept and implement. She belongs to the feminist creed which maintains that it is servitude if a woman sees domestic chores as her sole responsibility.

That is, the millennial African woman wonders why the man should not see domestic chores as his primary responsibility after all both of them – the wife and the husband – are peers and equals. And because, both of them are in paid employments or do undertake individual economic activities. It is not the focus of this discourse to puncture the veracity of the claim. However, it is intended that the claim be portrayed as it is, in order that the institutionalisation of the nuptial order in the world, particularly in Africa, would not permit such a claim to hold.

That brings to the fore the necessity for and objective of a woman's engagement in a paid employment. Does God want women to be engaged in paid employment or economic activities? A reconsideration of the Biblical instruction that men should fend for their families and care for the home is instructive. Also, so, are the reproductive processes which make the woman carry the baby in her womb for nine (9) months during which there is a lot of pressure on her anatomical structures. To this end, one may arguably aver that God does not want women to work particular during the child-bearing period. But then, without recourse to blasphemy, it is observed that the social milieu of the Biblical time when the instruction came is far different from what obtains in contemporary age. It is the economic age of market-oriented capitalist economy where indices of economic dysfunction occur constantly, specifically, in Africa. Today, we hear of economic depression, the Great Depression, economic meltdown, hyperinflation, currency

devaluation, job loss, and so on, and these are all signs of poverty at the family unit level.

This unambiguously unfavourable economic situation has made it necessary for a woman to work in order to complement her husband's income. This is not to affirm the observation by Clunies-Ross, Forsyth and Hug (2009) that poverty is associated with women in developing countries. The tendency for the need for a woman to complement her husband's income is echoed in the assertion that a woman is likely to use her earnings, no matter how small, for the benefits of her immediate family Yolah (2001).

It is to the credit of women to complement their husbands' efforts. However, it is a contradiction in terms that most contemporary African women explore their financial capabilities as an instrument of empowerment in marriages. This makes them insinuate that performing domestic chores should be a shared responsibility. It is this sensibility and ambition that occasions the perception that there is no powerless woman Egbemode (2007), and as such, she suggests that men are useless. She uses the metaphor of the head and the neck (104). Therefore, it is not a bad idea that a woman should work, but that the woman contributes financially to the upkeep of the home constitutes a contributory factor to the rupture in many marriages in Africa, today.

Such an opinion as one held by Nwaka and Josiah (2012) that women are regarded as second-class ostensibly by men, blaming such on religion and traditional practices is a divergent perspective. Nwaka and Josiah hold that 'religion and traditional practices also strengthen the prejudice against women making them a second class both at home and the society at large' (133). However this may not be the absolute presentation of the gender relation realities in Africa. Such a submission tends to leave out the contribution of women to the pathetic situation Nwaka and Josiah describe as above. In any case, the opinion they express is anchored on the perspective of gender violence and the realm of gender oppression. But then, much as the concern in this piece is the consequences of the implementation of the feminist creed in the African milieu, I still would want to pay considerable attention to such a pronouncement because the implication of such pronouncements is that it is an abiding motivation for gender struggle and domestic rebellion in Africa today.

I am of the view that still thinking that prejudice is held or being held against women in the present day is not in tune with the current realities and consciousness among the African families. In what ramification is the prejudice held? Is it in the realm of education? Most African men today would not want to settle in marriages with uneducated women. Those compelled

to do so aspire to get out of the mire. Parents invest in the education of their female children without caution. Those who may not do so, may not, not out of holding a prejudice against the female children, but out of such debilitations as poverty and ignorance. And they may be the African wretched of the earth whom government and civil societies are helping out through awareness campaigns and intervention programmes such as the Alma Njeri school system in the Northern part of Nigeria. In terms of economic activities, most men want their wives to work. Those who might have objected to the idea might have been motivated by compassion for the woman especially in the child-bearing age – having to combine the pain of pregnancy with the rigour of the work place.

Again, the negative economic indices which have imparted negatively on the home front in many African homes have necessitated that wives should work. It is doubted if a couple whose four children are all female would decide not to send them to school because of their sex! What prejudice, then? Therefore, women are no longer at point zero as Nawal el Saadawi once argued. The hostility perpetrated by a single man, for example, cannot and should not be taken for the general characteristic of men of Africa (and of the world at large). May it be maintained that the possible oppression that a man may perpetrate today can only be done by the uneducated (not illiterate) individuals. In that case, such a vice is at the instance of an individual, not collectively. As a result of this, what happens among the uneducated populace should not be made to characterise the entire masculine social system in Africa.

The most significant outcome associated with the feminist ideology and the implementation of its creed in Africa is the many broken homes as witnessed today on the continent. If the family is an important social unit then, it could be deduced that chaos at that micro social level would translate to chaos at the macro social level and vice versa in Africa. As a result of this prognostication, there is the need for sustainable peace in African homes. To attain this, women – new-generation women (the millennial wives and so on) – should put it to keener note that reversing the existing marital order by reconstructing and instituting a novel one as a way of globalizing or Africanizing a weird nuptial orientation can only lead but to commotion and peril. The larger society bears the consequences.

The masculine consciousness on the continent of Africa has moved from the disposition and tendency of absolute oppression to liberal beliefs and relational terms. Again, it is incontrovertible that the culture of a society determines the applicability or otherwise of a creed or practice. Therefore, it should be noted that it is not in all societies of the world that the feminist

creed applies. As a result, it is not applicable in the African context, not even again, since its birth in the United States of America, and advent in Africa. Myers and Sani (2014:609) observe that 'what roles men and women perform in society are influenced by culture, norms and values.' This could only be explained as that the cultures in Africa do not favour the feminist creed: feminism, therefore, is just an advocacy. The African culture is no strange culture after all. Therefore, the African value system stipulates that men should be the heads and hosts, and be revered by their wives.

Conclusion

Above all, the attempt that the new generation of African women has been making to reverse this ordinance has been responsible for the spate of divorces in the African society these days. If the African man is exonerated from the oppression, repression or any kind of abuse that an African woman 'complains' of, it needs be emphasised that the agenda of the new-generation African women to fulfill the feminist ambition in Africa will decimate gender relations on the continent of Africa. Such decimation portends the proclivities to cause chaos in the social life in Africa. This is because a society permeated by failed homes would produce individuals who are unproductive at workplaces, individuals who are intolerant and angry. The society bears the consequences.

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Manifesting the Politics of Gender: Market Women and the Colonial State in Ibadan, 1938-1955

Mutiati Titilope Oladejo

Abstract

Prior to the 1930s, colonial policies created new systems that defined urbanization in western Nigeria and specifically, Ibadan. Women's work of trading in the markets encountered dimensions that entangled them in the politics and economy of the colonial state by the late 1930s. In this, market women in spite of their illiterate status were compelled to question and challenge differing levels of patriarchal tendencies displayed in the actions of the traditional chiefs, the Lebanese, the colonial officials and indigenous politicians/nationalists. Therefore, this work aims to contextualize the forms of responses displayed by market women to wriggle with the patriarchal tendencies of men in these categories. The implication of this study for gender is that the approaches deployed by market women in it were an agglomeration of a political strategy. Their tactics encountering patriarchy varied and it ultimately led to a rethink of the role of women in the colonial economy and indigenous politics. The emergence of party politics of the Action Group (AG) and National Council for Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC) shaped the relevance of market women in the process of electoral campaigns.

Introduction

Strategies and tactics used by women to maintain economic stance in Ibadan markets of the colonial era were meant to question policies hindering profit-making in every day life. Efforts to challenge the colonial state to protect economic interests in commodity trade metamorphosed into social movements that influenced practices for women's development. Invariably Bobby Siu in a study of Chinese women identified the methods used to encounter patriarchy to ensure that the women created social change for reforms on legal rights, childcare, marriage, economy and so on.¹ The approach to resist patriarchy and its experiences differ, but the patterns of

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activities are almost similar. The difference is pronounced as universal in the submission of Egodi Uchendu that race, culture, religion and belief systems, environmental realities and historical experiences influence the notions of masculinities all over the world.² Therefore, the differences should matter in articulating the African experience which already had some structures of equity before European encroachment. Mansbridge and Okin aggregated the questions that underlie women's encounter with patriarchy thus asking:

1. How did male domination arise?
2. Why was it so widely accepted in the past?
3. What are its consequences?
4. How did men manage, with a semblance of legitimacy, to exclude women from formal politics, gainful economic ventures, social recognition, and so on.³

The consequences and realities posed by these questions is that history tends to contend men alone, because they are actors of development. Thus the narratives of and about women becomes a scholarly gap to reconstruct and shape the understanding of the colonial era. Scholarly works on the pre-colonial and colonial economy rarely mention the role of women. This observation brings to fore the place of primary sources such as newspaper evidences, petitions, provincial and divisional papers of Ibadan and Oyo in offering insights into the milieus in which market women encountered patriarchy. Secondary sources on women and gender in Africa, especially on Yoruba women interrogates several issues useful to the historical perspective which this work adopts. In addition, works of political scientists and anthropologists are of importance in engaging a multidisciplinary approach. The 1950s was the era of internal self-rule in western Nigeria. It was an era when party politics mattered in the encounters of market women in the colonial state.

The Context of Gender

The patriarchal model of Yoruba societies is quite difficult to explain using western notions. Admittedly, the universality of patriarchy does not have an ideological base in Africa. In connection, Majorie McIntosh analysed that the peculiarity of the Yoruba is that male dominance could thus exist even without a gender-based ideology. Yet, men and women occupied the public space in different forms for livelihood. Trading in the markets for women was accounted thus:

- T.J. Bowen in the 1850s observed that many men and more women are engaged in trading traffic;

- Richard Burton in 1861 noted that Abeokuta market stalls were the “peculiar privilege” of women;
- Samuel Johnson also noted that Yoruba are keen traders (and) both sexes are engaged in trade, but each in his own line ... (female traders) are purveyors of cooked food, keepers of refreshment stalls, and other branches of dietary for the market.⁴

Given these observations, it is obvious that women played important roles in the economic sphere during the period. The peculiarity of women’s trade in markets of Ibadan was profound in the settlement patterns which were aided by the geopolitics of the war times in the nineteenth century.⁵ This fact was well configured in the work of La Ray Denzer who argued that the work of trading in the markets for the Yoruba was a continuity of economic institutions grounded in the culture of the pre-colonial era.⁶ Understanding the meaning of patriarchy as regards Ibadan market women is to affirm that their experiences were not universal, rather the market women evolved alternate means of dealing with the social practices that had the features of patriarchy.

Patriarchy in Africa has varying interpretations and multiple experiences of it abound. It features systematic ideas and notions rooted in the basic tenets of life in African societies. As a factor in gender relations, patriarchy is not static but possesses changing forms.⁷ Therefore, this chapter sets to examining these forms in the experiences of market women in Ibadan (Western Nigeria) in the colonial era. The episode of colonialism in Nigeria created new forms of patriarchy distinct from the pre-colonial order. Scholars of women’s history in Africa such as Denzer, Awe, Achebe, and so on agree that colonialism held advantages and disadvantages for women. It is in this context that Sylvia Walby’s affirmation that patriarchy had its changing forms seems altruistic.

Ibadan market women had the experiences of patriarchy in various encounters. In order to maintain economic power, they challenged patriarchy in the colonial state.⁸ The specific example of Ibadan market women is significant because of its centrality of the city to the colonial administration in Western Nigeria. Between politics and commerce, Ibadan city was significant to the colonial economy since the nineteenth century. Awe, Mabogunje and Lloyds in *The City of Ibadan* articulate the features that define the relevance of Ibadan as an African city.⁹ The contributions in the book vividly describe the make-up of this emerging modern city in the 1960s. The commercial descriptions portrayed market women as important economic forces that sustained the city. This type of power underlines the

concomitant struggle between men and women over livelihood which ultimately created new perspectives to gender relations. The economic power possessed by market women is buttressed by Toyin Falola's chapter on Yoruba market women which indicated the correlations between trade, power and politics, and agreed that there were challenges encountered.¹⁰

The basis of market women's work of trading is profound in how economic historians clarified their existence. Hopkins argued that markets truly existed for local and foreign purposes in West Africa and they were periodical and seasonal.¹¹ This assertion showed that local markets were of agrarian value, yet they were exposed to the forces of international trade, which Hodder claimed long-distance trade defined the features of exchange.¹² Invariably, the work of women as traders featured in these affirmations. The economic opportunities offered by the markets in the nineteenth century evolved into the twentieth century.

Market Women and Taxation in Ibadan

By the policy of indirect rule, governance was entrusted to Nigerians through the appointment of chiefs as officials and through the Native Authorities as taxes were collected. African agencies formed through the chiefs mainstreamed men and gave them a sense of entitlement along masculine orientations. Mamdani agrees that the colonial policies create empowerment traditions that fostered indigenous political structures. Taxation became a subject of bargaining in response to its imposition. Taxation was new and it was aimed at self-financing the provision of social services to justify the imperial existence. While indigenous institutions were integrating as agencies of colonial tax system, decisions were crafted that disadvantaged the interest of women in the markets. The indigenous agency created for tax collection found it imperative to focus on women. This policy was conveniently crafted given that in the pre-colonial Ibadan economy, men, as chiefs found the markets in the nineteenth century and they were also patrons who received tax-related payments.¹³ Specifically, the indigenous form of tax collection then aided the agency created by colonialism in the twentieth century. Here, patriarchy was given meaning not only by colonialism, but it was also reinforced by culture. This model of entrenching patriarchy was negotiated in the form of tax bargaining.

Tax bargaining was thus an action displayed by market women to challenge patriarchy. In a petition written in 1938 against the hegemony of the Lebanese textile traders in Ibadan, market women agreed that tax payment was a deal.¹⁴ Market women agreed to pay tax as an appeal to the colonial administration and to expedite actions to ward off the Lebanese traders in

Ibadan city and rural markets. Thus, the threat posed by the Lebanese was a reason to agree to tax assessment. For instance, the Union of Women Cotton Goods Traders offered, in their 1938 petition, to pay an annual income tax of two shillings and six pence.¹⁵

Although, taxation was not gender biased, its ramifications meant that more women paid taxes in the market places. To an extent, taxation was a source of revenue to the Native Authorities, such that economically, functional patriarchy manifested in the way the Olubadan-in-Council profoundly managed the markets to ensure constant revenue generation. As such the Iyalode (female chief) line was retained as an extension to represent women and articulates or mobilise to trend with traditional politics. The punishment for tax evasion was terrifying enough to ensure compliance; however, the women chose tax payment in anticipation of the government intervention in the expulsion of the Lebanese and fairer trade deals.

Beyond the concession of interest to pay tax, the rate of collection reached a climax when the women continuously formed groups with educated women to discuss and negotiate for women's rights in the 1940s. The Second World War was a major factor that intensified collection of taxes from Ibadan women. Efforts to mobilise funds and resources in the British colonies influenced economic policies and by extension women traders were subjected to the policies of price controls, diversion of supplies to the army and taxation. The way chiefs in which the Olubadan-in-Council collaborated with colonial administrators indicates less concern for micro-economies that sustained livelihoods in the peripheries.

The bid to guarantee peaceful gender relations in the markets also made women choose tax assessment, but in anticipation for fairer deals and especially to tackle the domineering influence of Lebanese merchants, as noted earlier. However, by the late 1940s, the dimensions of taxation tilted towards resistance influenced mostly by the activities of market women in Abeokuta led by Funmilayo Ransome Kuti.¹⁶

The decision to levy taxes on differing categories of women traders ensured variants of resistance. For instance, market women selling crockery plates in Dugbe market challenged the imposition of tax stalls as the Ibadan Native Authority (INA) identified the commercial spaces they occupied as a means of revenue generation. These interests in women's trade indicate the way men perceived articulating funds to manage the INA and the traditional council. While the decision to tax the women was a result of public complaints forwarded to the INA,¹⁷ the women's resistance was based on the argument that they had already been paying two shillings per annum for a stall.

Their petition inspired INA to focus on the women and therefore distribute notice forms to the market women to appear before it.¹⁸ Despite resistance from the crockery women traders, the INA was resolute on its tax imposition.¹⁹ The protest March to the INA Secretary at Mapo Hall and a delegation sent to Mrs. Funmilayo Kuti in Abeokuta was the women's first step to resist. Ultimately, their agitations coincided with Mrs. Kuti's arrangement to extend membership of the Nigerian Women's Union (NWU) to Ibadan.²⁰ Collectively challenging patriarchy, especially for market women, was desirable because the colonial administrators found the indigenous chiefs powerful enough to counter all forms of resistance from their women. The way of African traditional politics influenced the power assumed by men as traditional rulers and custodians of the society as enshrined by British laws. Entangled in these were the market women who understood the politics of economic survival. Mostly, taxation was not the problematic, but the manner of exploitation and the means of control it afforded to the numerically few African elite which rarely allowed the masses (women inclusive) see the reason for tax payments without offering requisite social services.

Market Women and Lebanese Merchants

From the late nineteenth century, the Lebanese and Syrians (Lebano-Syrians)migrated into West Africa. The description given by Toyin Falola depicts a set of people wandering for fortune who found solace in the commercial spaces of African cities, particularly western Nigeria, where women already dominated the markets.²¹ Indirectly, competition in capitalist terms was indispensable in the context of Hopkins' analysis of the economy of West Africa which indicates the kind of struggle for economic survival in the colonial economy. Thus milieu suffices in the way H.L. Ward-Price describes the politics of Lebanese trade to the extent of their posing an obstacle to indigenous traders.²² The interconnected nature of the markets for textile trade in the Central Business District of Dugbe area accounts for the experiences of gender relations that competitively pitched Ibadan market women against the Lebanese.

The petition written by women textile traders²³ was a way to express their suppression. Categorically, the women questioned the business skills of the Lebanese and found it implausible that strangers sold retail goods (textiles) to rural areas to sell. The organisation of markets from pre-colonial Ibadan already was significant to identify the women's aversion. These markets were organised around short and long distance trade.²⁴ Accounts of Yorubaland in the nineteenth century, as explained by explorers and affirmed by geographers, evidence that women derived their means of livelihood

through trade. In this context, the agitation of women to halt the Lebanese merchants was profound as this reasonably was an encroachment.

The ways to challenge the migrant patriarchy was not articulated initially because the internal patriarchal challenges were imminent and, for men, there existed Ibadan Native Traders Association (INTA) led by Salami Agbaje (a prominent Ibadan chief and merchant).²⁵ The exclusion of women from joining INTA meant that the business of women was regarded as less important in negotiating advantages in the colonial economy. Thus, the experiences market women had with the Lebanese subsequently informed the formation of Union of Women Traders in Cotton Goods and initiated the process to question the Lebanese through petitions beginning in 1938.²⁶ The response from the District Officer L.R.C. Sumner imply a dismissal on the basis that there was no law preventing the Lebanese from expanding their trade to rural Ibadan. Nonetheless, in the view of Claire Robertson, the aggregation of women challenging patriarchy raised self-esteem and assertive control of public spaces for political and economic advantage.²⁷

In their petitions, the market women emphasized that the Lebanese violated two aspects of the bye-laws namely:

- No person shall hawk any goods within 200 yards of any markets in which state fees are collected;
- No person shall ride a bicycle or a horse or drive any mechanically propelled vehicle within the area of any market, while the market is open.²⁸

The features of patriarchy manifested in the administration of justice as the textile women traders were not spared from the repercussion of violation. However, the acts of the Lebanese were not regarded similarly.

The market women's challenge against the hegemony of the Lebanese accounted for part of efforts that made them significant in the articulation of interest groups. Market women became a formidable force in the agitations against economic policies resisted in the late 1940s. Initially, INTA rarely bothered about women's interests as the society was paternalistic and in the typical traditional political system believed that the taxed women should not be expected to complain nor ask for representation. Eventually, the concerns of women were expressed at the Western Region House of Assembly in 1951 when an industrialist, Adeola Odutola, explained reasons to limit Lebanese expansion to Yoruba communities.

Ibadan Market Women and Party Politics

Political parties evolved in Nigeria with the introduction of the Clifford constitution of 1922. These political parties evolved from the elite who tried

to make meaning of being and becoming in a modernising state. In the process, the political parties, formed first in Lagos, such as the Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP), became a source of affiliation beyond Lagos. The membership or support base of NNDP was hinged on the mobilisation of Lagos market women. The ripple effect of this was the prototype manifested in other political parties. Basically, this concerned the formation of parties not just for the elite alone but also the masses.

The Ibadan factor and the involvement of market women, in itself, resulted in encounters with patriarchy, because the leadership and actions of the other major political parties—the Action Group (AG) and the National Council of Nigeria and Camerouns (NCNC)—, controlled by men, were interested in how market women chose to affiliate with them. The experiences of Ibadan were enmeshed in intricacies and intrigues that impacted on national politics. The collaboration between educated and market women implied that the mode of patriarchy was not working for the desired development for women. Several social protection challenges ensued such as the hygienic and sanitary status of markets, access to healthcare.

Elizabeth Adekogbe was obviously dejected from the way AG and NCNC bothered less about pressing issues affecting women, for example she was compelled to leave NCNC to join AG to organise with other women, mostly wives of politicians (such as Madam H.I.D. Awolowo) to form the Women's Wing of AG. For Adegoke Adelabu, NCNC was taken as a rallying point for all Nigerians and its relatively populist ideas were used to construct an ideology of Ibadan being at the centre of regional politics in western Nigeria. The camaraderie of followers and the musical chants that define the competition gear AG—Obafemi Awolowo to strategise means to demobilize market women from NCNC between 1952 and 1954.²⁹ To counter this, Adegoke Adelabu claimed that AG was modeled after colonialism and therefore inequities were imminent. At this point, taxation and tax-related levies assessed on market women were taken as a form of political debate. To an extent, the rivalry between AG and NCNC followers affected the provision and location of social services in Ibadan.³⁰ Madam Humani Apampa, a market woman from Dugbe, Ibadan, led the Adegoke Adelabu interest. The resounding followers from the market influenced the way Obafemi Awolowo responded by ensuring the AG women's wing was formed (in collaboration with Elizabeth Adegoke and Humani Alaga).³¹

Either way, market women's response to patriarchy in party politics was aimed at negotiating power to favour the ambition of market leaders even in the scheme of power relations within the markets. Ultimately, the support

for party politics was an entanglement that rarely worked for genuine women development in the context of modernisation

Beyond Party Politics

The polarization along party lines obviously was immediately observed as not ideal by the educated women that collaborated with the Ibadan market women. Yet, politicians took advantage of the women's boldness to challenge colonial policies. Basically, the dynamics in Ibadan was complicated because Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Chief Adegoke Adelabu were contending nationalist politicians scrambling for the support of market women. Central to this was Elizabeth Adekogbe, a prolific writer and colonial civil servant with columns in *Southern Nigeria Defender*.³² A series of interactions Adekogbe had with international organizations, such as the United States Information Service (USIS), and her membership in women interest groups in the 1940s influenced her perceptions.³³

Elizabeth Adekogbe managed a huge support base with by Dugbe market women and influenced them to engage in collective actions not for the ambitions of male politicians but for women's development. The collaboration manifested in the women's collective action with a prominent leader of the textile traders in Old Gbagi market, Ibadan, Humani Alaga.³⁴ Humani Alaga who had already skillfully engaged women in the markets of Ibadan was a member of the women's section of the Ibadan Progressive Union, Women Improvement Society and Issabatudeen Women Society. Their leadership roles in these associations enabled Elizabeth Adekogbe and Humani Alaga to divert attention of market women to the formation of National Council of Women Societies.³⁵

Conclusion

The encounters of patriarchy were profound in the way market women questioned the colonial state on anti-economic policies inimical to market trade. And invariably, encountering patriarchy geared women to engage men to support their political ambitions. This level of political socialisation was a form cultural diplomacy injected into the twentieth century. In this regard, the action marveled men, but yet it was taken as a political advantage in the era of internal self-rule in the 1950s.

Central to the use of market women during political campaigns was Adegoke Adelabu who led the NCNC-Mabolaje Alliance to victory in Ibadan. Furthermore, such affiliations with party politics with structures managed by men created divisions among market women to either support NCNC or AG. Thus, encountering patriarchy initially was discriminatory, but it was negotiated as an instrument of political relevance, thought citizenship and

economic sustenance of Ibadan markets as spaces of trade that still defines the city. Accounts of market women's efforts in Ibadan brings to fore the continued exclusion of women in public matters. The narratives of actions to organise differently to advance women's causes in the 1950s still manifest in policy actions of contemporary times.

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The Challenges of Labor Migration: A Case Study of Medical Personnel in Nigeria since 1970s

Paul Ilesanmi Akanmidu

Abstract

Labor migration within and across geographical boundaries is a global phenomenon, which had been debated and concluded to be rational behavior of humans. It has also been argued that migration can be naturally or artificially engendered. This study examines the rationales behind the exodus of the medically trained personnel across the frontier. The study revealed that the military intervention in politics and the entrenchment of corruption, which gave rise to mal-administration and bastardization of the Civil Service, job insecurity and dislocation of the principles of due process in recruitments and promotion for career personnel, set the process of migration in Nigeria in motion. Secondly, the necessity for the labor of medical personnel in the frontiers enhanced their emigration to Europe, the Americas and Asia, where enabling environment for the maximization of careers and potentials are provided. It concluded that the trend could only be corrected through total overhauling of the existing socio-political configuration and restructuring of the system where medical personnel will be proud to stay and discharge their duties.

Introduction

Migration of people is a global phenomenon. It has been the social practice among people of different historical backgrounds and it cuts across boundaries. It is however, pungent to mention that the propelling forces that instigate human migration differ considerably from one place to another. In a more practical term, ecological factors had caused the migration of people from one place to the other. Places that are prone to natural disasters such as earthquake, drought and flooding, tornado and hurricane are likely to be deserted overtime to much safer ecological zones where such occurrences are minimal. Another factor responsible for the migration of

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people is labor. Availability of labor is very significant to the economic prosperity and industrial development of any region of the world. The recent argument of Zichocani, (2016) validated this claim that, China is climbing to the topmost level of industrialization of the world because of its population and cheap labor, the country provides. In the case of Nigeria, one major factor that has facilitated the emigration of its citizens across the frontier is systemic dysfunction, which over the years had propelled the emigration of its labor. In China, Paula (2017) stressed that availability of labor attracted American and European origins in the opening decade of the twentieth century.

The availability of cheap labor in China as a result of its huge population favors the drift of several industries from America and Europe to China. The optimum goal in a capitalist oriented economy is usually to maximize profit. Since the cost of production was far cheaper in China than America and Europe, many of the American and European industrialists found China a good industrial zone towards the late 1970s. This was coupled with its enabling political environment, which China portrayed during the same period and the good market it provided for the finished products. In the case of Nigeria, there are similarities and differences we can draw between her and China. While in term of labor, the two countries are similar when we talk in term of huge human labor due to their huge populations; in their political systems, there are concrete differentials. While the former had stable political system, the latter did not, which warranted the military intervention few years after its political independence (Kirk-Green, 1971). The intervention of the military in Nigeria polity signaled the beginning of its economic disequilibrium. This began to manifest in the opening decade of 1970. We can therefore interrogate the structural disjoint and arrogate the economic troubles to the overbearing tendencies, misappropriation of the military and ethnic struggles, which had led to the bastardization of the economy with high profiled unemployment in Nigeria. Consequently, many people began to migrate across geographical zone or across the national boundaries.

This study catalogues the trend of the exodus of medical personnel from Nigeria since 1970s. Copious studies have revealed that Nigeria is one of the highest contributors of medical personnel to developed countries in Europe, America and Asia (Bright, 2012; Anderson, 2014; Jimoh, 2016). It has been estimated that between 1970 and 2015, close to an estimate of six million (6, 000000) medical personnel had left Nigeria shores for other continents (Bureau of Statistics, 2015). This paper also examines the factors that engendered the emigration of this huge figure and its effects on the socio-economic and political well-being of Nigeria as well as their host

communities. The study highlights the implications of the trend for Nigeria. It concludes that until these systemic structural problems are fixed; the trend of losing more medical personnel will be a continuous exercise.

Conceptual Clarification

It is germane at this juncture to conceptualize certain terms, which are used in this study. Labor migration is a term that has been in usage since time immemorial. With the emergence of capital accumulation, labor migration became an inevitable means of human survival. According to Freund (1981), labor migration is a human reaction to economic differentials and inherent desire in most men to better themselves in materials respect. In the worldview of Rovenstein (1989), labor migration is the movement of human resources from one location to another either by voluntary or by force. It is said to be voluntary, when the movement is self-motivated. In this case, the migrants are willing and ready to move from their primary place to another without coercion or force.

The migration of the European to the New Found land (Americas) after the successful voyage of Christopher Columbus in 1492 was a good example. Davidson (1960) argued that many Europeans left Europe to America in order to benefit from its resources, which Columbus had described as the land of opportunities. Ostensibly, many of the European voluntarily left to crave for portion or chunk of land in the New World. Those that lacked the means of getting to America preferred rather to become indenture workers. In this case, the rich sponsored the conveyance of the poor from Europe to America with the intension of settlements of all expenses incurred by their benefactors after they had settled down as plantation workers in Americas.

On the other hand, it is forced when the movement is against the will of the affected persons. Ryder (1980) chronologically accounts for the experiences of Black Africans during the era of Atlantic Slave Trade between 1450 and 1870. The research portrays a good example of forced Migration. From the above analysis, we can infer that labor migration is not a colonial phenomenon. It has been in existence before the era of colonialism.

Medical personnel as used in this study encompass medical doctors and nurses. Paul (2015) gave more insight into the activities of the medical personnel when he emphasized that they are trained to treat illnesses as well as to manage the wellbeing of the people. According to Ambros, (2018), medical personnel are the manager of human life and existence. Anderson (2019) seems to take this further when he argued that they are the spring that holds humans and their productive capacity. The explanation of

Anderson seems to be deeper than the view of Ambros in the sense that the latter connected human existence to his productive capacity. In more historical details, man lives for something, which largely bothers on his economic engagements. This connotes that production capacity of any group of people depend largely on their health balance. People with high profiled health balance will have better productive capacity in every facet of human endeavor. This partly explains substantially the reasons prospective governments invest heavily on the health sectors. Indisputably, the more efficient and effective the health sector of any government is, the more productive her labor forces.

The Signal of Labor Migration in Nigeria: A Case Study of Medical Personnel

The decade of 1970s is very significant in the political history of Nigeria. It is the second decade after her political independence subsequent to several decades of colonialism. It would be recalled that Nigeria attained independence on October 1st, 1960, which led to the handing over of political powers to Nigerian politicians. However, according to Dudley (1985: 180), the First Republic, (1960 -1966), which marked the first experimentation of self rule collapsed as a result of political, social and economic challenges. The collapse of the Republic apparently paved the way for the inglorious entry of the military into Nigerian political scene on January 15, 1966. The military condemned the Nigerian politicians and attributed the collapse of the First Republic to their ignoble desires to perpetrate themselves in power indefinitely because of unmitigated corruption.

The military during this period used all forms of epithets to denigrate the activities of Nigerian politicians as undemocratic. They therefore promised to be umpires for social justice and to nip off deep-rooted corruption, which had eaten deeply into the fabric of average Nigerians as pointed out by Alex (1996). From all indications, it appeared the military only used the strategy to legitimize their inglorious entry onto the political landscape. They promised to put right the wrongs. Paradoxically, overtime, they turned to become social vampires. One of the major challenges noticed as observed in the work of Oyeweso (1986), was the persistent rise of nepotism, tribalism and ethnic cleavages at the detriment of merit as a yardstick for socio-political and economic wellbeing of any country. The most affected part of Nigerian politics was the Civil Service, which administrators have described as the engine of the government. In the first instance, recruitment and promotion of the civil servants under Military regimes was based on the above-mentioned factors. Those who did not know high ranking military officers were not recruited nor promoted. Adejugba

(2018), a retired Permanent Secretary in Nigeria Civil Service, argued that, some who were well connected to the powers that be, commercialized the process to make good deal of bargains for monetary gains. Those who were not favored by way of knowing people on top or have the power to trade their legitimate destinies became rather disillusioned. Appreciable numbers in this category took the risk of relocating outside the country to develop their professional careers.

One of the major professions that were badly affected was medical healthcare. While the challenges on a general note were not peculiar to the profession, they had the privilege of being able to practice their profession across the frontiers. This justified the theory of pool and push factors as logically analyzed in the work of Morawska (2007). As they were being pushed away in their native land because of the prevailing condition, America and India were pulling them because there was availability of job opportunities for them. It was estimated by Adepoju (1995) that in Americas and India, the numbers of medical personnel required to manage their population fell below the number required for their population. This corroborated the argument of Ojo (2019) that the need for medical personnel in Europe and America will continue to increase as the population of the aged continues to increase. This created great avenues for much medical profession to relocate. It was this inadequacy of medical personnel that have triggered the pool of large chunks of Nigerian doctors and nurses to Europe, America and India. The informant further added that most of these jobs are not appealing to the white population in Europe, America and India, making it possible to be exclusive reserve of the immigrants.

The pattern of movement is important for assessment at this juncture. The emigration of medical personnel in Nigeria occurred in phases. Contrary to the notion of mass emigration as encapsulated in the work of Ayodele (2010) that the medical personnel moved in droves or at once. The first phase of notable exodus of medical personnel numerically in Nigeria to Europe and Americas occurred during the Nigerian Civil War. The palpable suffering of the Igbo people in the East as a result of the declaration of the cessation of the region as a sovereign state of the Biafra on September 27th, 1967 under the pragmatic leadership of Lt Col, Odumegwu Ojukwu, instigated maximum reaction from the Nigerian Government according to Chukwu-Ebuka (2018).

The Nigerian Government under the Military Head of State, Lt. Col Yakubu Gowon, moved and mustered all the available powers through the armed forces to halt the cessation tendency of the Eastern Region from Nigeria. The battle, which lasted for about three and half years, was not

without major casualties on both sides of Nigeria and the declared Republic of Biafra. In the first instance, many lives were lost both on the side of the army and the civilians. Aside, the high state of insecurity in the Eastern Region caused great tension among the people. Appreciable number of the Eastern workers from different regions of Nigeria left for their states including the health personnel for the fear of imaginary sporadic attacks or reprisals as buttressed by Benson (2019). It would also be recalled from the studies of Paul, (2016) that penultimate to or on the eve of the war, Lt. Col Ojukwu ordered the returns of the Igbo people from other parts of Nigeria especially from the North. Indeed, several Igbo people who were working in the North left for the East for the fear of being attacked. Their departure for the East did not amount to automatic economic engagements on arrival. Dike (2019) furnished our understanding that the order of Ojukwu for Igbo people to relocate to the East was actually for them to join the war effort on the side of the Biafra forces. This rendered many of them jobless on arrival as many were not willing to give their support. This was eventually followed with hunger and destitution that ravaged the whole of Eastern Nigeria during the war as explored by Christopher (1993).

Several Igbo people began to migrate to Cameroun temporarily as refugees. This was made possible because of the relax migration law of the Republic of Cameroun, a neighboring country. Perhaps, the provision was made by the Cameroonian government to safe lives that had been endangered as a result of the war in Nigeria. With the high spate of insecurity, hunger and destitution, as noted in the work of Francis (1990), many health personnel capitalized on the suffering to emigrate over-board to other neighboring states in West Africa as temporary bases from where several of them found their ways to Europe, America and India. As it was in the East, so it was in other parts of Nigerian regions. Akanmu (2013) argued that many People from the other regions who were working in the East who also fled to their home states suffered similar problems of no jobs on returning home. Appreciable number, especially the medical personnel began to find ways of emigrating to Europe and America. Rowland Weisberg who had done extensive studies on the effects of the Civil War on Nigeria's economic productivity gave statistical estimate of the émigrés of medical personnel as bellow between 1967 and 1972 focusing on five countries:

Year	USA	Canada	United Kingdom	Germany	Saudi Arabia
1967	1432	1346	1511	1298	1347
1968	2594	2477	2609	2303	2419
1969	2487	2396	2503	2259	2393
1970	2539	2405	2607	2288	2506
1971	2456	2423	2732	2314	2563
1972	2645	2512	2849	2458	2345

Source: Rowland Weisberg, "Nigerian Civil War and Its Effects on Economic Productivities, 1967-1975". Ph.D Thesis, Yale University, USA, 1982, 146.

A critical assessment of the table above shows that there was a steady increase in the volume of medical personnel that relocated from Nigeria to Europe, Americas and Asia during the period of Nigerian Civil War.

Apart from the effects of the Civil War, the military maladministration after the Nigerian Civil War marked the beginning of another phase as pointed out by Kirk-Green (1971). This phase, 1974-1984, bred bastardization of the principle of due process. The Civil Service was badly affected. Recruitments and promotions were not based on merit but on favoritism, tribalism and cronyism. It must be noted apparently that many of the Nigerian medical personnel that arrived Europe, America and Asia later facilitated the crossing of their friends, brothers, associates and colleagues. This is similar to the nature of indenture practice, which was used by the nobilities in Europe to facilitate interested Europeans who were longing to leave Europe for America but lacked the means during the evolution of America. Bureau of statistics (1995) established that between 1974 and 1990, over two millions Nigerians medical personnel had relocated. The hardship and suffering that followed the failed Structural Adjustment Program, which General Badamosi Babangida introduced in 1986 shortly after he came to power; saw the emigration of several medical personnel. With the persuasion of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on Nigeria's government to adopt its economic policies as a way out of socio-economic quagmire in Nigeria before 1986, the Nigerian Military Government fell in love with the ideologies as a mean of revamping Nigerian economy. Based on World Bank (2003:15) after adopting the policies, it led to the collapse of Nigerian economy. The suffering of the masses, lack of job opportunities and forceful retirement of the civil servants propelled another phase of medical personnel to emigrate

from Nigeria between 1986 and 1990. The figures below are estimated number of Nigerian Professional Medical Doctors and Nurses in five selected countries from 1974 to 1990.

Year	USA	Canada	United Kingdom	Germany	Saudi Arabia
1974	4,498	3,777	4,559	3,598	3,668
1975	5,784	4,987	5,144	4,879	3,785
1976	6,867	5,122	5,667	4,324	3,987
1977	7,234	5,674	5,886	4,876	4,432
1978	7,874	5,987	6,983	5,125	4,872
1979	8,785	6,321	7,236	5,673	5,129
1980	9,432	6,764	7,653	5,984	5,653
1981	10,347	6,910	7,896	6,231	5,897
1982	10,568	7,329	8,218	6,653	6,194
1983	10,875	7,586	8,985	6,984	6,375
1984	11,321	7,864	9,132	7,312	6,564
1985	11,567	8,132	9,543	7,567	6,785
1986	12,497	8,642	10,432	8,126	7,231
1987	13,653	9,321	11,432	8,643	7,873
1988	14,347	10,542	11,798	8,986	8,236
1989	15,432	11,342	12,442	9,531	8,587
1990	16,175	11,649	13,128	10,321	9,435

Source: Extracted from Paul, I.A. "Socio-Political and Economic Implication of Brain Drain in Nigeria: A Study of Medical Personnel (1966-1990)", *Contemporary Humanities, A Publication of Babcock University of Education and Humanities*, 7(1):123-137; Quoted from Bulletin of Bureau of International Labor and Migration, Nigeria, 1995, pp. 4-5.

The Challenges

Enormous challenges were largely associated with the exodus of Nigerian medical personnel over the years at two levels. At the first level, Paul (2014) argued that while Europe, America and Asia gained tremendously from the exit, Nigeria lost. The phenomenon has reaped off Nigeria the best hands in her health sector. The volume of medical personnel of Nigeria's origin in America, Europe and Asia in the first decade of the twenty-first century was

alarming as statistically indicated in the table above. This is partly what dwarfed the growth and sophistication of Nigeria's health sector. There is no gainsaying the fact that, Nigeria lacks sufficient medical personnel to manage the health needs of its growing population. The accompaniment of this shortfall in Nigeria also gave rise and proliferation of quack doctors and nurses in health sector as often reported in the media. Indeed, the above phenomenon created a large vacuum in Nigerian health sector. This had resulted in the rise of quack doctors and nurses. Quack medical personnel are untrained doctors and nurses who are clandestinely performing the duties of doctors and nurses without requisite training. Some of them had their offices in their homes or at different designated places illegally treating people with ailments for the purpose of monetary gains. They paraded themselves as experts in different specializations in medicine. They charged their clients low compared to what is normally obtainable in normal hospitals. In some privately owned hospitals, the services of quack nurses were hired. These groups of nurses are referred to as Auxiliary Nurses. They were recruited and trained on the job without certification or evidence of attendance of any medical college or institution. This practice was not without implications on Nigerian health sector. In the first instance, it gave rise to complication of medical cases, secondly, lost of lives, thirdly, bastardization of medical professional ethics and misuse of medicinal prescriptions in Nigeria.

However, Nwabueze (2015) seems to have given another dimension to this argument that the Nigerian medical personnel that left the shores of Nigeria as a result of the socio-political challenges during the difficult times did not demonstrate enough commitment and patriotism to their home country. In his argument, he stressed that if everybody in the country left as a result of the problem, there would have been no political space referred to as Nigeria. While the argument of Nwabueze is germane in the sense that Nigeria as a polity would have ceased from existence if all her citizens vaporized to the West, Europe and Asia, we must not also be dazzled from asking the question, the underlining reasons these people left? Most of them left because of socio-political challenges, a high proportion of which were orchestrated by the military rules and their mal-administrations.

It would not however, be historically justifiable to apportion blames on those that left or perceiving them as unpatriotic people during the period of this study. As clearly argued by Omiri (2018) several Nigerians lost their lives during the military rule in Nigeria. He went further to show apparently that no one has evidence to proof if those that left the country when they did were to remain in Nigeria would survive the military excessive killings until several years later when democracy was eventually institutionalized. In

the view of Kinsley (2016), both Nigerians at home and in the Diaspora have contributed to the socio-political and economic development of Nigeria. He emphasized that the exploits of the successful Nigerian medical personnel abroad have also lifted the glory of the nation among the comity of nations globally. Furthermore, he reiterated that their groundbreaking achievements have a way of linking their countries of their abode with their home country, Nigeria. Explaining this further, he remarked that if these Nigerian medical personnel had remained in Nigeria, the type of exposure and high sophisticated training they received in their professional careers; there would not have been the possibility of them having such opportunity back at home. To him, vaporization of Nigerian medical personnel in the Diaspora is an indication of expansionism, growth and development.

Adenike (2017), in her comment on the issue of labor migration affirmed that the Nigerian medical personnel outside the shores of Nigeria serve as symbols of unification between Nigeria and the countries of their abode. She went further to stress that the Nigerian medical personnel in Europe, America and Asia did not disconnect themselves from their native homes. Many of them continued to make available their wealth of experiences when the needs arise. Beside, Gammeltoft (2002), and Adebayo et al (2019), have emphasized that many Nigerian émigré including medical personnel; have continued to contribute their quota to the development of Nigeria through remittance flows. This was estimated as second largest to petroleum export in the financial accruals to Nigeria during the 2015 financial year. This development in their views pumped good healthy relationships between Nigerians and other people around the world. From the above arguments, we can posit that the migration of the medical personnel from Nigeria has both positive and negative impact on Nigeria.

Looking at the global practices, human mobility has been a common phenomenon over the ages and it is not particularly limited to certain group of people in the world as clamored by Mabogunje (1970). Massey (1998) has argued that the Chinese, Indians and Lebanese among others have also witnessed migration across their geographical boundaries to other climes for the entrepreneurial engagements. The point must be made, that no human group in the world outside Atlantic Slave Trade and wars has witnessed the type of migration Nigeria medical personnel had witnessed during the period of study. They moved in droves in such a way that the vacuum created at home as a result of their exit has overwhelming consequences.

As Otite (2017) argued, there is no amount of compensation in terms of materials and human resources we can use to quantify the loss Nigeria suffered in terms of the hemorrhage her medical personnel to Europe,

America and Asia. For instance, looking at the United approval for a standard health sector, as stipulated in Suanf (2000) the ratio of doctors and nurses to the population of 1:1,000 and 1:1200 respectively per square kilometers, it indicates that Nigeria is still far from the standard which was 1:10,000 and 1:1500 respectively as at year 2000. This is incomparable to the situation in the United States of America, which was 1: 800 and 1:1000 per square kilometers in the same year. It is estimated by the United Nations that by year 2030, a standard health sector should be 1: 200 and 1:400 respectively to doctors and nurses. From all indications, it will be practically impossible for Nigeria to meet the target considering the enormity of the high percentage of migration of its medical personnel to Europe, America and Asia. In this regard, Nigeria seems to have no goal or target despite the challenges posed by the Millennium Development Goal (MDG).

Similarly, we must not colorized or over-glamorized the experiences of the Nigerian medical personnel who left the shores of Nigeria during the civil war and after as completely insulated from life challenges or glamorous experiences without pointing out some of the bottle-necks many of them encountered in the process. It might not be totally true as postulated by Anderson (2014) and in several other studies that those that left or relocated were like people that were extradited from land of horror to the land of glory. Indeed, several of them who left were dislocated from their kith and kin. Not only that, many of them as pointed out by Afolayan (1970) lost their family to divorce. Some men who left their families back at home after several months or years had their wives and husbands taken by other men and vice versa. Many of the émigrés did not get jobs so easily in Europe, Americas and Asia as propounded in several quarters due largely to racial discrimination as reiterated by Amin (1995). Several others among them also encountered difficulties in getting working permit in Americas, Europe and Asia as reiterated in the studies of Ediho (2002). It would be recalled that the situation with which many of them left, did not give rooms for getting complete papers at home before relocating. This later contributed serious challenges on arrival at their various destinations.

The recent development in the fringes of Nigeria especially with the high level of insecurity of lives and property in Northeastern Nigeria as a result of the activities of book-haram, there is no way any medical personnel would like to stay around there to practice his/her profession. This obviously justifies the reason the current study carried out by Paul (2019) show that there is acute shortage of medical personnel in the Northeastern part of Nigeria as a result of the activities of boko-haram. This means the possibility and propensity of Nigeria losing her medical personnel to Europe, America

and Asia is high where security of lives and property is better. Not only that, human kidnapping for ransom in the Eastern part of Nigeria is causing serious threat to medical personnel around that region. The abductors target their abductees, and kidnapped him. They thereafter made contact to their relatives, colleagues and associates of the abductees to pay huge amount of money to a designated account or place before the abductees could be released.

They threatened the family members, colleagues and business associates of their abductees' failure of killing the kidnapped if they failed to respond. Many lives have been lost through this act in Nigeria. The fear of people losing their loved ones usually and forcefully made them yield to the demands of the abductors. These horrific occurrences have caused appreciable numbers of medical personnel to deliberately sought placements in America, Europe and Asia. This justifies the reason Babalola (2018) said, Nigeria is a breeding ground of medical personnel for Europe, America and Asia. A profiled interview conducted by the researcher during the Summer of 2018 with many Nigerian medical doctors and nurses in London and America showed that because of the rigorous experience witnessed during their training in the University and other health training schools, many of them claimed they are not ready to waste the experience to untimely death occasioned by the activities of the hoodlums, which appeared had laid siege on Nigeria political space, which the government seems not to have answer to over the years.

Another important issue, which some interviews reiterated while discussing with the researcher was corruption. Tignor (1993) emphasized that corruption is growing in leaps everyday in Nigeria. Virtually, everything in Nigeria has been eclipsed by corruption. Although this experience is not peculiar to medical personnel in Nigeria, it is a phenomenon that cuts across every sector. But the medical personnel have a point to justify their migration outside Nigeria. They argued that their profession is a specialized one and it is different from other because they deal with lives directly. They added further that if enabling environment is not created by the government, there would be no way the ethics of the profession could be maintained by way of keeping to the standard and its unique peculiarities as global best practice. This begins from the caliber of students Medical Colleges admit to study medicine and the quality of instrument or medical apparatus available to the students under training. All these parameters are grossly inadequate in Nigerian Universities and Medical Schools because of corruption that has eaten deeply to the fabric of its structures. Alex (1996) has elucidated that some administrators diverted money meant for purchasing of the equipments

leaving the state and condition of laboratories in limbos. The major effects of these inadequacies on Nigerian doctors were to render them unqualified because of lack of sufficient or adequate trainings required for the profession. Thus, slight opportunity available to the students after graduation from their various Universities or Medical colleges abroad for further studies, made majority never returned to Nigeria. All these have a way of dehydrating the wellness or robustness of Nigerian health sector. Those who were saddled with the responsibility of ensuring that standard and due process are followed in Nigeria in the ways things are done are also neck deep in corruption. This is what Paul (2019) referred to as Cancer of corruption. It is as if as a matter of fact, Nigeria has no way out of the syndrome. With the way the country is technically structured and arranged, corruption is so easy to perpetrate with impunity. Nigerians today worship, adore, reverend, glorify money. Government official bribes another officer to cover up evils and calamitous offences that gestation period goes beyond their generation. This is what Osondi (2018) called crimes against human generation. Any corruption covers up that pertain to health care delivery of any measure falls under this crime. It is on this basis one is poised to argue that for the government to overcome the challenges of medical personnel in Nigeria, an optimum overhauling of the entire structure of the sector will be required.

Conclusion

We can conclude this study based on the analysis above that the migration of the medical personnel from Nigeria to America, Europe and Asia occurred in phases. The first phase coincided with the emergence of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970. Indisputably, the effects of the war left several people in disillusionment while millions of people died leaving large numbers of people jobless and hopeless. Many of the disillusioned medical personnel who had the means capitalized on the relaxed laws of migration to leave Nigeria for Cameroun and other neighboring countries, from where they find their ways to America, Europe and Asia. The Second phase, captured the era of the mal-administration of the military rules after the Nigerian Civil War.

The eras of the military in Nigeria were notoriously noted for injustices, nepotism and cronyism. Promotions of the civil servants were not based on merits but on human factors like who an individual knows in power and to what extent one could maneuvers his/her way illegally without recourse to the principles of due process. Important official matters were not allowed to follow due process. Also, the adoption of Structural Adjustment Programme by the Military Government further created bad economy than

the problem it intended or designed to solve. The policy resulted to bad economy and made several people lost their jobs. This principle discouraged many of the medical personnel who felt that their careers would be in serious jeopardy staying in Nigeria.

Many of these categories of medical personnel left the country for better placement in Americas, Europe and Asia where their careers were presumably safe. The other phase was more intense and fearsome. As the military system of administration became hashed to people, some fearless persons and activists began to criticize the system. The military perceived such people as the enemies of the state and began to hunt them for incarcerations. Some were brutally assassinated while others were maimed. Those who were able to escape as refugees ran to other neighboring states to seek asylum. From there, many of them find their ways to Americas, Europe and Asia. It must be stated clearly here that many of these peoples were not necessarily medical personnel, but indeed, many of them have relatives, children, associates who were trained medical personnel. Overtime, they moved their families and acquaintances over, after securing placements for them abroad.

Closely related to the above is the security challenge in Nigeria. Insecurity exposes lives to dangers of different degrees. Nigeria has witnessed different security challenges, from ethnic militias, resources agitation, and boko-haram presently. All these had constituted different measures and degrees of security threats to Nigerians at different periods. All had facilitated the migration of people from Nigeria abroad at different times. This is aside, those that left Nigeria voluntarily to study medicines/nurses and after completing their studies, they never returned. Other left because of infrastructural deficiencies in the country for a more technologically equipped environment in order to allow their children have access to the best of life. For whatever reasons underlying the migration of Nigerian medical personnel, it is obvious and emphatically debatable that there are more Nigerian medical personnel in Americas, Europe and Asia

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Separatist Movements among Ethnic Minorities in Northern Nigeria: Reflections on the Tiv Opposition to the Northern People's Congress in the First Republic

Ayemga Tor

Abstract

This paper examines the involvement of the Tiv in the development of separatists' consciousness among the Northern minorities from 1945 to 1960. First, we shall trace the emergence of separatist identities and consciousness among the Northern minorities particularly among the Benue Valley people during the era of colonial and in the immediate post-colonial period, a development that later transformed into a Middle Belt Movement as independence approaches. The paper argues that the driving force behind these movements was the desire by the ethnic minorities to assert themselves *vis-a-vis* the Hausa-Fulani who are the major ethnic group in the power matrix with the introduction of party politics. It is the contention of the paper that the introduction of party politics in the run-up independence drastically transformed the individual attempts of ethnic minorities to agitate for political recognition, social justice, and equal status within the political process. Ethnic/tribal unions were to be gradually transformed into powerful and well coordinated movements spearheading the agitations of minority groups' struggles. In Nigeria's northern region, a conglomeration of these tribal organisations was in the course of time, compelled to collapse themselves into one powerful separatist's movement called the Middle Belt Movement that even demanded for a separate state in the northern region. The methodology adopted by the paper is purely historical.

Introduction

Scholars on colonial administrative policies in Northern Nigeria have established that their policy of subordinating the independent ethnic minority groups to the political rule of the Hausa-Fulani groups through the ambit of indirect rule was very much resented by the minority groups especially in the

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Benue Valley Region. However, it was not until the era of party politics that the reactions of the ethnic minority groups against what they perceived as an obnoxious colonial policy developed into massive political movements. These political movements were to later anchor the agitations for the creation of a Middle Belt state within the sub-federation of Northern Nigeria.¹

Specifically, agitations by the Northern minorities particularly the Benue Valley groups were fuelled by three interrelated developments. These were:

1. The formation of ethnic organizations by the majority ethnic groups—the Ibo State Union, the Egbe Omo Oduduwa, and the Jamiyyar Mutanen Arewa,
2. The formation of Nigeria's three major political parties—the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, later changed to the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), the Action group (AG), and the Northern People's Congress (NPC) and,
3. The prospect of independence.

Frederick Schwarz, who studied the relationship between the introduction of party politics and the emergence of ethnic minority movements, observed that ethnic minority movements and agitation for separate states were seriously influenced by ethnic cum cultural associations that metamorphosed into major political parties holding sway in the three regions.² For example, he cited the case of the Egbe Omo Oduduwa—the progenitor of the Yoruba's Action Group party founded in London in 1945 by Chief Obafemi Awolowo and few others as a cultural society, although it was not until June 1948 that it was formally inaugurated at a conference at Ife.

The aims of the Egbe Omo Oduduwa included the unification of the Yorubas, and the emergence of a virile, modernized and efficient Yoruba state with its own individuality within the Federal State of Nigeria, and the encouragement of the creation and continuance of associations similar to the Egbe Omo Oduduwa among the other ethnic groups in Nigeria.³

Similar to the Yoruba cultural association were the Ibo State Union formed in 1934 to cater for the welfare of the Ibos. In 1944, it was converted into the Ibo Federal Union to unite local Ibo associations throughout Nigeria. As mentioned earlier, the formation of ethnic organisations and the prospect of independence were compelling factors contributing to the activation of ethnic consciousness among minority groups in every part of Nigeria including the Northern region.

The Involvement and Participation by the Tiv in Pre-Independence Party Politics

The first form of party politics that the Tiv participated in before the granting of political independence was an election that took place in Tivland in 1951, when the Northern House of Assembly (NHA) was established but these elections were not based on political parties.⁴ Tiv first active involvement in Partisan politics can be traced somewhere around 1950 when the Nigerian Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) was formed with its headquarters in Kano. NEPU attracted a strong ideological appeal among the Tiv but it had no base in Tiv Division.⁵

Although very far from Tivland, NEPU's appeal among the Tiv was as a result of the fact that it had as its declared objectives, the emancipation of the *Talakawas* (the underprivileged people of Hausaland), and the progressive reform of the Native Authority system. The party also did clearly declare its desire to modify the autocratic rule of the traditional Emirs. At about the same time that NEPU was formed precisely in 1951, the Northern People's Congress (NPC), a party that was heavily dominated by the Hausa-Fulani people was also formed⁶. As will be shown shortly, the party had no appeal or support among the Tiv. The reasons were not far-fetched. This was because even before the beginning of political activity, separatist feeling had started to grow in many non-Muslim Benue Valley minorities. This was very much pronounced in areas like the Tiv Division, where the Hausa-Fulani dominated Native Authority structures had been established. The British policy of indirect rule created a situation where Hausa-Fulani men were posted as principal officers of the Native Authorities in non-Hausa speaking areas. This practice produced much resentment among the local inhabitants especially in Tivland. Against this background of the seemingly growing Hausa-Fulani domination of 'pagan' areas, the NPC was regarded as a party of the Hausa-Fulani oligarchy established to safeguard the interests of the Hausa-Fulani ruling elites.⁷

Additionally, because of the existing colonial administrative setup in the North, there was already a growing resentment towards the Hausa-Fulani group among the non-Muslims people particularly in the Benue Valley societies. This growing resentment was already brewing separatist movements in different parts of the North, as a reaction to the Hausa-Fulani hegemony.⁸ It was this opposition that later crystallized into a form of a separatists movement by the Benue Valley minorities at the emergence of party politics in Northern Nigeria.⁹

Elsewhere, it has revealed that resentment to alien Hausa-Fulani colonial officials was not only among the Benue Valley societies. For example in

Ilorin province, whose population was predominantly Yoruba, increasingly demanding for the transfer of the province of Kabba to the Western Region.¹⁰ Additionally, religious considerations further reinforced resentment towards the Hausa- Fulani group especially among the Tiv whose population was dominated by Christians and were prejudiced against Islam. The belief then was that Hausa-Fulani group had floated the NPC to pursue a sinister agenda against the minorities.¹¹ And this perception was forcefully sounded out to the Tiv by the then emerging young Tiv elites.¹² Religious differences though played an insignificant part in the opposition of the Tiv to the NPC. The UMBC, a minority party as will be shown below, was the party which emerged to provide organizational direction to the demands of the minorities in the Benue Valley area. In particular, the party became essentially the organized expression of the Tiv struggles, agitations, hopes and aspirations.

For the benefit of hindsight, it is instructive to note that prior to the emergence of party politics in the Tivland, the Tiv Progressive Union (founded in 1938) served as the most important vehicle for the social mobilization of the Tiv people. This cultural organization is believed to be among one of the oldest in Nigeria.¹³ The TPU served as a channel for expressing general discontent with the colonial administration over its handling of Tiv affairs. For example, the TPU had at several times requested the Lieutenant-Governor of the North to institute a Commission of Inquiry into Tiv affairs.¹⁴ Outside Tivland, soon after the end of the Second World War in 1945, the teachers, ex-servicemen and other educated elements in Jos came together to form the Birom Progressive Union (BPU). Like the TPU, the SPU objected to the domination of the Jos Native Authority by the Hausa-Fulani.

The Union was also always in conflict with the NA. In 1950, some of its members formed the Northern Non-Muslim League with the aid of some Christian missions.¹⁵ This was followed in 1951 by the formation of the Middle Zone League with one Pastor Lot of the Sudan Interior Mission as leader. The aim was to demand a separate state. In 1953, the MZL formed an alliance with the NPC which opposed the demand for a separate state and adopted as its motto: "One North, One People, irrespective of religion or tribe." That the MZL chose to work with the NPC seemed tactically unwise. This move alienated some members of the MZL and culminated in the formation of the Middle Belt People's Party in July, 1953 by a faction of the disgruntled members.¹⁶ The largest single component of this party was the TPU. A founder of that Union, Hon. E. G. Gundu, became the President of the MBPP.¹⁷ The Tiv were the largest and most important group in the MBPP. The party's aims were:

- a. To achieve the creation of a Middle-Belt state.
- b. To bring about reforms in the Native Administration of the North.
- c. To win, in collaboration with other parties (but not the NPC) control of the Federal Government of Nigeria.¹⁸

Following the Federal election of 1954, the MBPP and the MZL came together to form the UMBC during a meeting convened in Kafanchan in June 1955.¹⁹ After the formation of the UMBC, some members muted the idea of forming an alliance with the NPC. While others—such as J. S. Tarka, an influential Tiv politician initially objected. Tarka himself was willing to cooperate with the NPC only if:

- a. The NPC was committed to the creation of a Middle-Belt State and
- b. The NPC agreed that the UMBC should be represented at the 1957 constitutional conference in London.²⁰

This division within the UMBC led the party to split into two factions with one faction led by Moses Rwang Pang and the other by Pastor Lot. Subsequently, however, before the 1956 Regional election, the Lot faction severed its alliance with the NPC and the two factions came together.²¹ At the Lafia Conference held in January 1957, a reconstituted UMBC with a strong leadership emerged with Tarka, a Tiv man elected as the General President. The conference unanimously agreed to rather form an alliance with the Action Group, a Western Region based political party.

Not surprisingly though, the AG warmly welcomed the alliance. It agreed to support the UMBC financially and to back the latter's demand for the creation of a Middle- Belt State. Additionally, by 1957, that is, at the time of the alliance, the AG was just embarking upon its attempt to become a nation-wide party by winning support in the East and the North. For this purpose, it relied not only upon its efficient organization and ample funds but also upon a strong appeal to tribal discontent among the minority groups in these Regions. This it found, a ready support base among the disgruntled groups in the Lower Benue Valley Region particularly the Tiv. This explains why throughout most of the First Republic of Nigeria (1960- 1966), the AG in alliance with minority parties constituted the official opposition to the NPC led government. As said earlier, it was just but a calculated strategy on the part of the AG to win nation-wide support and therefore the control of the Federal Government.

Minority Fears and the Willinks Commission

As the prospect for independence seem eminent, a constitutional conference was convened in London to chart a new federal structure that will best serve the interest of the diverse segments of the Nigerian people. One important

issue which arose at the Constitutional Conference was the demand by ethnic minorities for their own states. The Constitutional Conference overwhelmed with the complexity of ethnic minority problems, decided that a commission of enquiry be appointed to ascertain the facts about the fears of minorities in any part of Nigeria, to propose any means of allaying these fears whether well or ill-informed, and to advise what safeguards should be included for this purpose in the Constitution of Nigeria.²²

The Commission of Enquiry appointed in September 1957 -to report on the fears of minorities and the means of allaying them compiled a report which was contradictory in content, and left the ethnic minority problems practically unsolved. The relevant chapters in the commission's report and recommendations concerning the fears and grievances of ethnic minority groups in Northern Nigeria is as interesting and also intriguing.

In the Northern Region, the commission noted that ethnic minority groups expressed fear of the "Northern System", which after independence could mean "a swing back towards Islamic conservatism and the autocratic rule of the emirs."²³It also noted the compulsory teaching of Hausa in the schools which raised the danger of minorities losing their own languages. This the minorities argued, was of a deliberate plan to strengthen Hausa-Fulani domination in the North.

Furthermore, the minorities also feared that after independence, the sympathy expressed by the NPC for nations of the Middle East, with which it shared the Islamic faith might cause "a grave divergence on foreign policy between different elements in Nigeria".²⁴ Of more concern were religious intolerance and the Muslim Law. Evidence of discrimination by the Muslim against the non-Muslim was brought before the Commission, For example whereas Christian missions had difficulty in getting permission to erect churches, Muslims could build mosques wherever they wanted.

Unnecessary restrictions were placed on the sale of Christian literature, and on the preaching of the Gospel; the Government College at Zaria was reserved for Muslims while Christians even from the neighbourhood of Zaria, were "bussed" to the College at Keffi.²⁵ Religious intolerance on the part of Muslims was not contended before the Commission was informed that "there are many Muslims in the North who regard it as a duty to convert unbelievers by peaceful as well as other means". One case of Muslim intolerance found contemptuous was the refusal of the Muslims to eat with non-Muslims.²⁶

An important matter of concern for ethnic minorities was the North's legal system. Here, three different legal systems were in operation at the same time;

- 1 the Nigerian Law based on the Common Law of England,
- 2 Native Law other than the Muslim Law, and
- 3 the Muslim Law, which was divided into: a) the Koranic Law, and b) the Law arising from the prerogative of the ruler.

The Commission found that to enquire into the relationships between these three systems was a task for a special commission, but ethnic minorities expressed fear over the distinctions made by many Muslim courts between a Muslim and a non-Muslim.

According to the Commission;

It is procedural rather than substantive law that the distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims is most clearly made. In theory—though as we have said, courts do not always insist on this—the evidence of a male Muslim is of greater value than that of a woman, a Christian, or a pagan; indeed, in some traditions the only evidence that is admissible in any degree is that of the adult male Muslim who is regular in his observance of religious duties. Some courts, we do understand, do observe this distinction at present, and since there is no doubt that it does form part of the legal tradition, it is understandable that minorities should be afraid that its observance may spread.²⁷

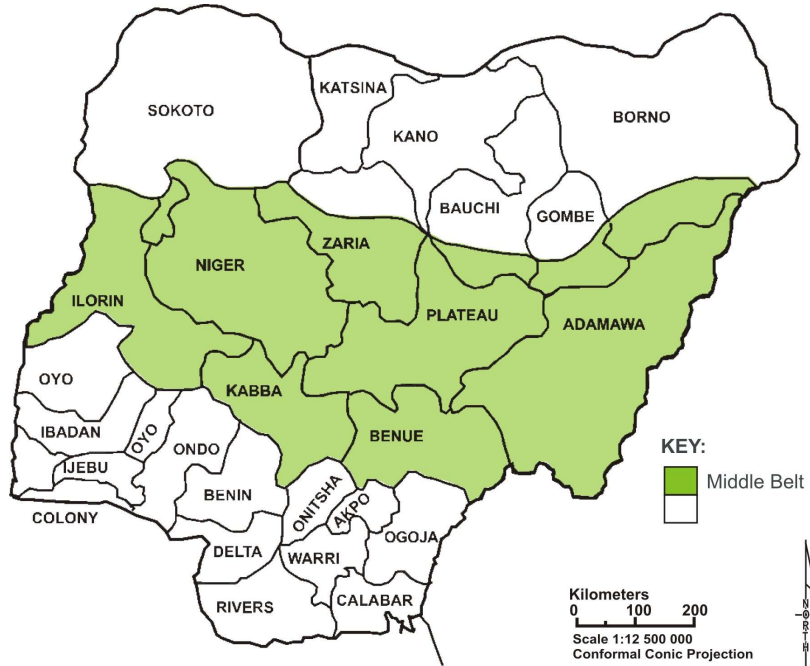
The UMBC demanded for the creation of a Middle Belt State to include four former provinces- Benue, Plateau, Adamawa, and Niger-and the former Ilorin and Kabba provinces minus the former Ilorin and Kabba Divisions, and the southern parts of Bauchi and Zaria.²⁸ The map below shows the Middle Belt as it was conceived between 1950 and 1967.

In its “Conclusion and Recommendations” the commission decided that ‘unity’ would have the same effect as ‘separatism’ as a remedy for ethnic minority problems, that, although unity could not be manufactured by a Commission, machinery could be devised which aimed at holding the state together rather than dividing it. It recommended that reforms in the administrative and governmental sectors and the inclusion of ‘clauses in the constitution, guaranteeing human rights, would eliminate Nigeria’s ethnic minority problems.’²⁹

The question of more states was raised again at the 1958 Constitutional Conference, but the Secretary of State, in a diplomatic and psychological manoeuvre, argued that the creation of new states was not, for practical reasons, compatible with the request for independence in 1960, that if the matter were reopened by the Federal Government, which would be formed after the next general elections, a new situation would be created which would

necessitate a further Conference in London to review the situation before independence was granted.³⁰

The Middle Belt as Conceived between 1950 and 1967



Source: Adapted from S. G. Tyoden, *The Middle Belt in Nigeria Politics*, Aha Publishers Jos, 1993, p15.

The map above show the Middle Belt State as it was conceived and used before the Minorities Commission of 1957/58.

Whereupon the Conference split into two camps: those in favour of the creation of new states before or after independence—the AG, and those opposed to the creation of new states—the NCNC and the NPC. Since Britain, operating from the recommendations of the Commission of Enquiry into Minority Fears, was opposed to the creation of new states, it came to be the spokesman for the latter position. The AG did not consider that the creation of more states was incompatible with the demand for independence in 1960. It thus supported, along with the other political parties, Nigeria’s demand for independence in 1960, while maintaining that it would make the creation of more states before 1960 an issue for the general elections of 1959.

The stand of the AG led to a warning from the Secretary of State that should the Party or coalition of parties, which won the 1959 elections, - ask Britain to create new states before independence, such a demand would not be consonant with his responsibilities to transfer power to Nigeria in 1960 because such states would be “puny, inexperienced, inefficiently staffed and unstable”. But the AG was not dismayed. It persisted in its attempt to make the creation of more states an election issue in 1959, whereupon the NPC and NCNC was provoked to openly opposed the creation of new states.

The question has not so much been why the commission failed to recommend the creation of more states as why the British did not directly consider the creating of more states as the basis for a united and stable Nigeria before granting independence. It should be noted that the terms of reference of the commission were too rigid for an enquiry of such importance; the prerogative of the commission to recommend proposals outside the “terms” were very limited. It was instructed to consider first the constitutional safeguards and to discuss the creation of new states only if such safeguards seemed insufficient.

How sufficiently the constitutional safeguards the commission recommended were for the peaceful political development of Nigeria’s ethnic minority groups was to be seen in the political crisis that engulfed Nigeria in the First Republic. However, the fact is that any criticism of the commission, or its recommendation, can only be correctly construed as criticism of British Administrative and colonial policies.

Elections and Repressive Policies in Tivland

In the ensuing political activities that followed, the Tiv vehemently rejected the NPC. The Tiv hinged their opposition to the NPC by stating that they were never conquered by the Fulani and that they would therefore never continue to be subjugated politically by the Hausa-Fulani.³¹

Aside this were other factors like the Tiv egalitarian and the perception of Hausa-colonial officials in Tivland as agents of colonial rule and coercion. In the 1956 Regional election, the UMBC and NEPU opposition parties won eleven seats and together formed the only significant opposition to the dominant NPC led Northern Regional Government.

In a democratic political system, the opportunities for legitimate political action open to an opposition party largely depend on the rules and rule-enforcing agencies in the society. A particular set of rules may not be overtly discriminatory and restrictive, but the application of these rules may cause hardship to specific groups. If democratic government is to be upheld, the operating system of rules must not be used at the expense of the opposition.

When this basic rule is not honoured, constitutionalism—government according to constitutional principles—and the continued existence of the opposition will be threatened.³² Such was the plight of the opposition UMBC in the North. Although the UMBC was able to hold out especially in Tiv Division, because of its popularity and widespread support among the Tiv, its existence was subjected to the severest test through the application of all forms of pressure by the NPC led Regional Government through the Tiv Native Authority.

The Native Authority and its agencies constituted the major weapon of rule by the Regional ruling party. The traditional structure of the administration of the Northern region was such that the NPC was in effect, in control of the whole administrative structure of the Native Authority system. The party was in fact represented by the Emirs, the District Heads and the Alkalis. As we will see subsequently, this complete control of the NA system by the NPC meant that opposition to the NA was regarded as opposition to the NPC. This scenario was the situation that the Tiv were to find themselves immediately after the 1956 elections and it was to say the least, not funny.

The instruments of coercion employed by the various organs of the Northern Region Government against the opposition, as they were applied to the Tiv Division, included, among others, the extensive administrative, judicial and police powers of the Native Authorities. The machinery of control was extensive. First, since the day-to-day maintenance of law and order was a duty of the NA. Specifically, the NA Law of 1954 among others sweeping powers, gave the NAs the power to make orders regulating the holding of public meetings and processions.³³

In particular, permission to hold a public meeting had to be obtained from the NA (in this case of the Tiv, duly signed by the Tor Tiv). Additionally, this approval must be sought at least twenty-four hours in advance.³⁴ While the requirement of notice was often waived in favour of the NPC, the UMBC was always refused a permit. Besides this, the NA might require the subjects or topics to be discussed at such meetings to be specified in the permit, a departure from which would then render sponsors and the lead speakers at the meeting liable for arrest for infringement of the conditions laid down in the permit.³⁵ In this case, many Tiv UMBC supporters were imprisoned in Tiv Division for holding public meetings not approved by the NA which alone defined what constituted a public meeting.

The Tiv and the UMBC were thus, seriously harassed and oppressed. The high point in this oppression was in 1960 when a Tiv UMBC member of the Northern House of Assembly, Mr Vincent Orjime, was arrested and

imprisoned for six months under the Public Meeting Ordinance in Lafia, a neighbouring Tiv Division.³⁶ Secondly, the NPC used the Native Courts Clerks to intimidate supporters of the UMBC since the appointment, promotion, remuneration and dismissal of court Presidents and members depended on the NA. Additionally, in Tiv Division, there was no separation of executive and judicial powers at the clan level; the clan heads were automatically Presidents of the Grade D courts. They had powers of imprisonment of up to nine months and no right of appeal was allowed for their judgment. The partisanship of the courts made most opposition UMBC supporters to rule out the courts as a forum to redress their grievances.

The courts were used to victimise and imprison the opposition supporters for a variety of reasons, mostly for cases which appeared to have arisen from the “framing” of certain individuals for offences, such as assault, shouting the names of the UMBC leader Tarka, and Awolowo the AG national leader, singing party songs, and failure to produce tax receipts for the past three years upon impromptu demand.³⁷ Largely because of this repressive measures by the NPC led government in the North, Tiv UMBC supporters vehemently denounced the courts as instruments of oppression and injustice and as a forum for the display of party allegiance and many logically ignored court summonses. This resulted in a large number of them being imprisoned for contempt of court.³⁸ On various occasions, UMBC supporters would often on the flimsiest pretext be arrested and jailed. On the other hand, criminal charges against NPC supporters were sometimes withdrawn. This practice, in effect, offended the Tiv conception of natural justice. Indeed, the oppressive use of the courts led to over-crowding in Gboko prison, especially as those that were arbitrary arrested and found ‘guilty’ were rarely given the option of fine.³⁹

The NA police was another weapon of control. The latter constituted a weapon of oppression in the hands of the Clan-Heads, Tax- Collectors and the Tor Tiv who was in constant fear of incurring the wrath of the NPC regional government. In the Districts where policemen were attached to Clan courts, they were closely under the influence of the Clan-Heads who invariably used them against political opponents.⁴⁰ Thus, many of the policemen came to be dreaded and hated by those Tiv who were unlawfully detained on the instructions of one or another of the Clan-Heads. It is on record that one notorious Clan-Head arrested and detained tax defaulters in his own compound where he had a private cell.⁴¹ The Tiv NA police took little or no notice of complaints unless they were bribed to do so, while they arrested and charged people at will.⁴²

Another source of oppression against the Tiv was the NA's control of patronage— especially control over appointments and promotions in the NA. One of the qualifications required for NA appointment was loyal identification with the NPC. Anyone who refused to show sympathy for the party stood little chance of securing a job with the NA; and, if he was already an employee, he could be laid off. Thus, in September 1959, the Tor Tiv succeeded in obtaining the dissolution of the Tiv NA council which in consultation with him, ran the day-to-day affairs of the Tiv Division. It was replaced by a new council of Ten which comprised people with NPC connections or sympathies—those loyal to the Tor Tiv.⁴³

Similar strong-arm tactics were also applied on the Clan-Heads. These tactics were geared towards breaking their resistance and to make them drop their support for the UMBC. Those who refused to cross over to the NPC party were similarly dismissed. Thus, Tarka Nachi, father of the UMBC leader, was dismissed by the Tor Tiv as the Head of Mbakor.⁴⁴ Chief Shaawan of Mbalagh clan, suffered the same fate on the grounds that he was slow in collecting taxes; and it was further noted that the latter, of all the fifty-eight Clan-Heads of Tiv, was the only one who had an AG poster displayed conspicuously in his compound whereas most of the other Chiefs had displayed NPC posters. The granting of trading licenses was another avenue to deny the Tiv UMBC supporters of the required permit to participate or continue in liquor business. Native liquor was brewed by a large number of Tiv women, who required a NA permit.

The wives of UMBC-AG supporters were often refused liquor permits. Similar permits were also needed for the purchase of the two cash crops in Tiv Division, Soyabeans and Benni-seeds. Licences for the purchase of cash crops in the Division were issued according to party preferences. Similarly, a considerable number of Tiv local traders drop out of this business since they were denied the license to participate in the business because of their perceived sympathy to the UMBC.⁴⁵ Arbitrary taxation, brutal and barbaric method of collection was another weapon of victimization. Membership of the UMBC party attracted arbitrary and heavy levies. The tax raid procedure made Tax Rate Clerks 'terrors' in the rural areas.⁴⁶ People, particularly Tax defaulters, would run away on sighting them. Defaulters were arrested and taken forcibly to the council office or to the police station where they were either locked up in a cell or displayed in the sun. Some defaulters, who were UMBC supporters, were severely humiliated and sometimes jailed for a period not less than six months.⁴⁷

There was desperate attempt by the NPC Regional Government to use the then Tor Tiv, Gondo Aluor, to coerce his people into the NPC. A great

deal of trouble ensued in Tiv Division as a result of the partisan role of the Tor Tiv and his Deputy and his deputy Bendega Ukpada.⁴⁸ To enhance the power of the Tor Tiv, his office was changed from Chief-and-council to Chief-in-council. These additional powers were to give him complete control over the NA since he could now take decisions without consulting or seeking the approval of council members. Apart from the coercive techniques of ruling, the uneven distribution and even the outright denial of amenities was another punitive strategy used against the Tiv. Tiv division was denied its fair share of government scholarships, loans and jobs as well as social and welfare amenities. The Tiv believed that this was the handiwork of the Regional Government to use this weapon against them.

There was also deliberate neglect and discrimination against the Tiv in the distribution of social welfare services and governmental patronage. Dent also collaborated this when he noted that in the period after Regional Self-Government (1959), the Tiv undoubtedly received less than proportionate share of the good things which the Regional Government had to give.⁴⁹ With the exclusion of UMBC members who formed an overwhelming majority of the population in Tiv Division from exercising power and taking part in decision affecting them, a far more dangerous conflict situation between the competing parties was created.

Recriminations and Revolts in Tivland

The NPC's increasing use of force stimulated violence and counter-violence in the Tiv Division. The repression and all forms of pressure described above did not stifle the Tiv UMBC members. In respect to constituted authority, in August, 1960 a petition summarizing the grievances and frustrations of the opposition in Tiv Division, was prepared and sent to the Premier, through Tarka, the UMBC leader. The reaction of the Premier, the Sardauna of Sokoto, however, convinced the opposition that they would never receive justice at the hands of the Regional Government.

The Premier found Tarka's complaint to be false and grossly exaggerated.⁵⁰ There followed a period when UMBC-AG supporters openly defied the authority. As the Tiv adage goes, *Ivo je kpa ka wa za i yol gben yo, ka i nyimogh* (meaning, Even a goat when pushed to the wall, will bite). Leslie Macfarlane has pointed out that where unjust rule becomes habitual and oppressive, men may pass over from passive political disobedience to active political resistance.⁵¹ The climax to this was the famed Tiv riots of the 1960s an episode that culminated in the Tiv unleashing violence against themselves.

The 1960 *Nande-Nande* Violence in Tiv Division

The violent protest that engulfed Tivland from 1960 to 1964 has been adequately captured in scholarly works.⁵² The first violence termed in local parlance as *Nande Nande* (literary translated as ‘burn burn’) was characterized by indiscriminate burning of houses across the entire Tivland. In 1959, Nigeria conducted an election to the Federal House of Representatives in Lagos, preparatory to the granting of independence in October 1960. Despite the growing public disenchantment with the local N.A. in Tivland, the NA police managed to maintain peace until March 1960, when there was an outbreak of violence in the neighbouring divisions of Wukari and Lafia.⁵³ This was followed by widespread outbursts of political disobedience in Tiv division as well. The majority of Tiv had become totally disillusioned with the injustices meted out to them under the leadership of the overt partisan Tiv NA which was controlled by the NPC. Indeed, at a time when all Nigerian should have been jubilating at the prospect of independence from the British, the Tiv were rioting as the Tor Tiv imposed unpopular kindred heads which infuriated the people.⁵⁴

Thus, in August 1960, two months to the granting of independence, an armed crowd gathered to meet the Tor Tiv, to protest against the imposition of unpopular Kindred Heads. In clans like Mbativ and Mbakor, hotbeds of UMBC, the people protested, not so much against unpopular kindred heads, as against the serving of court summonses. In Yandev clan, the excesses of Ol Ako, the Clan Head, resulted in widespread violence that affected the whole of Tivland. Mr Ol Ako was determined to exploit the rivalry between the NPC and the UMBC. As a staunch supporter of NPC, he secured the approval and cooperation of some NA policemen to seal a local market that was largely patronized by the opposition UMBC. Named after Kumbul Akapi, its founder, the market was established under the Tiv NA law. On 8 August 1960, Mr Ol Ako, the clan head of Yandev, addressed his people in the market, urging them to refrain from rendering open support for the opposition party.

He also forbade the shouting of party slogans such as “Tarka! Awo! When his order was not obeyed, he sought to enforce it by employing the assistance of Tiv NA police. On 25 August 1960, a whole riot squad of Tiv NA police, Armed with batons and shields, was sent to enforce the order to close the market.⁵⁵ However, the police contingent was overwhelmed by the angry mob armed with poisoned bows and arrows. Three policemen were wounded in the process. Subsequent attempts to arrest some of the mob leaders were warded off through mob action. This initial advantage by the rioters seemed to have encouraged open defiance against constituted authority in Tivland.

For about one week, there was a total breakdown of law and order, not only in Yandev clan, but in Tivland as a whole. The target of rioters was those in authority in Tiv Division. Collectively, they were regarded as the potent symbol of Tiv unfair treatment by the NPC. The extent of damage to property was assessed by the Fletcher Commission which was able to establish that about 30,000 houses were burnt, and the estimated cost was put at £1,011,954.⁵⁶ Many people were rendered homeless. A large number of Tiv persons became internally displaced and had to move away from their farmlands to the urban centres. Despite the heavy casualties and costs of the 1960 riots to the Tiv, the Northern Regional Government went ahead to impose heavy taxes on Tiv male adults. The Northern regional premier directed that 'the sum of £1,011,954 shall be appropriated amongst and payable by every adult male tax payer resident in the area in the financial year 1961/62'.⁵⁷

This unjust, arbitrary, oppressive taxation imposed by the regional government created grounds for the outbreak of the 1964 riots in Tivland. To begin with, the 1960 riots were indeed an embarrassment to the government of the Northern Region. After several weeks of lawlessness, which threatened the basic functions of government, the government issued orders banning political demonstrations and processions in Tiv Division. But the ban was not heeded. This compelled the government to deploy a large number of policemen to keep the peace in Tivland. Some half-hearted attempts were made to address specific Tiv grievances. The Tor Tiv's consultation with the regional premier yielded initial gains for the rioters. The government dissolved the Tiv NA and the senior Divisional Officers were vested with powers to carry on with the task of the local NA administration. The dissolution of the Tiv NA council and the dismissal of Atim Ateze, the Administrative Secretary, was seen largely as a victory for the Tiv.⁵⁸ However, the actions by the government desperate to save its face could not stop the wave of violence in Tivland. Other changes initiated by the government, including reforms in the administration of law and justice to help the sole native authority, did eventually restore peace and order in Tivland. Attempts made to reconcile previously discredited clan and kindred heads with their subjects.⁵⁹

This seemingly good intention on the part of government fell short of the need to provide adequate safeguards against tyranny. Native courts were generally oppressive. The presidency of each of the Grade D Courts was held by the clan head himself. Thus a combination of the executive and judicial powers in the clan head negated the principle of rule of law which emphasized that the judiciary be separated from the executive. The courts

presidents were thus able to apply their power of criminal jurisdiction arbitrary, as an instrument of coercion, to the detriment of the opposition.

The 1964 *Atem Ityough* Violence in Tiv Division

By 1964, there were indications of rising tensions among the various conflicting groups in Tivland. In 1964, there was an outbreak of another round of violence in Tivland popularly referred to in local parlance as *Atem Ityo* (literary translated as 'smashing of heads'). The immediate cause of the 1964 riots was the attempt by the government to force the Tiv to pay a riot damage fine of £4.0 per head.⁶⁰ The said amount was to be paid in addition to the general annual tax of £4.50. Thus, in that year, a tax payer was expected to pay £8.50. This amount was to be within three weeks, in default of which he would be sent to prison for six months. The imposition of this arbitrary taxation caused so much frustration and resentment among Tiv people. A good number felt that this riot damage fine was not only vindictive but oppressive. Matter came to a head on 12 February 1964 with the killing of Gbargbar Apinega, the clan head of Mbalagh, and three other persons the same day.

The killing of Gbargbar, in his compound in Tombo clan, developed into full scale violence between NPC and UMBC supporters.⁶¹ In order to bring the situation under control, a detachment of the Nigerian police was quickly drafted to the scene of the riot. On their way, however, an armed gang ambushed them. In the ensuing incident, six of the police were reportedly killed, with several seriously wounded, and others reported missing.

As in 1960 riots, the violence quickly spread to other parts of the Division. Before the disturbance could be contained, it had spread to most clan in Tivland, including Buruku, Udei, Ugba, Sevav and Zaki-Biam. Those targeted for attacks by the rioters were persons in authority such as clan and kindred heads, tax collectors, court presidents, and policemen. In several areas, policemen were ambushed and killed or wounded. On the whole, a total of twelve policemen were officially confirmed dead. Several others were reported missing. Unofficial estimates put the number of people killed at between 2,000 and 4,000, with several hundreds wounded. It was the heavy presence of soldiers that ultimately led to the restoration of peace in Tivland.

Conclusion

This paper has examined the involvement of the Tiv in the development of separatists' consciousness among the Northern minorities from 1945 to 1960. It traced the development of Tiv and other minority group consciousness

and separatists' feelings, a feeling that was increasingly growing in the many non-Muslim areas of the North particularly in the Benue Valley Region in the period under study.

In doing this, we have tried to reconstruct the emergence and development separatists feelings in the era of party politics among the Northern minorities culminating to the formation of the United Middle Belt Congress, UMBC. We then proceed to piece together, the underlying reasons for Tiv fierce opposition to the party of the Northern oligarchy, Northern People's Congress, NPC. We have also appraised the Tiv response and reaction to deep rooted grievances bothering on political indignation over the then prevailing arrangements of power and authority in the North and in Tivland in particular. We then concluded by examining the reaction of the NPC controlled Northern regional government to the Tiv opposition politics and the riots that was to engulf Tivland.

It is pertinent to emphasise here that in every social setting, a minimum degree of social justice is necessary for peace and stability, especially in political systems. The background to the Tiv disturbances indicated that this was absent in Tiv Division, a sub-polity of the Northern Region. The relations between NPC led Northern regional government and opposition majority Tiv UMBC members were bitter. In order to secure itself against the majority Tiv opposition, the Government resorted to 'strong-arm' measures. The people, increasingly frustrated by the tendency of the NPC to perpetuate its autocratic power, reacted violently. Thus, violence broke out. In this situation, Lewis Coser aptly notes:

Violence comes about when some groups cannot get heard or when some groups feel that they have a vested interest in suppressing voices being raised and resort to violence rather than opening up the political structure.⁶²

Endnotes

- 1 See U. Ukpu, *"Ethnic Minority Problems in Nigerian Politics: 1960-1965"*, A Ph.D Dissertation presented to Department of History, Uppsala University, Sweden, March, 1977, p51.
- 2 F. Swartz, *Nigeria, The Tribes, The Nation, or the Race-The Politics of Independence?* MIT Press, London: Cambridge, 1965, p87
- 3 O. Awolowo, *Awo: The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1960, pp168-169
- 4 G. N. Hembé, *J. S. Tarka: The Dilemma of Ethnic Minority Politics In Nigeria*, p.110
- 5 An interview with Pa Tyozua Iorgbir, a politician and farmer.
- 6 See B. J. Dudley, *Parties and Politics in Nigeria*, London, Frank Cass: 1968, pp77-90

- 7 R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, Lagos: Nok Publishers: 2003, p84
- 8 R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, p84
- 9 S. G. Nyityo, *Political Centralization in Nigeria: Nature and Transformation of Tiv Society, 1900-1965*, Ibadan: Book Builders, 2001, p.119
- 10 The Ilorin Talaka Parapo (ITP) was the organisational vehicle for this purpose. It was supported by the A.G in its demand for the transfer to western region.
- 11 personal interview with Pa Atim Iorfa, an elder and community leader at Igbor, 2013.
- 12 Oral interview with Pa Bernard Akor Tor, 60+, retired civil servant and community leader, Ikpayongo, Gwer Local Government Area, Aliade, 2013.
- 13 It is older than the Egbe Omo Oduduwa (Society of the descendants of Oduduwa – the cultural hero and mythical progenitor of the Yoruba people) founded in 1945.
- 14 See TPU letters to D.O. in NAK, (Gboko Div.) Vol.1. No. 246, and TPU/42. No. 1.
- 15 R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, p86
- 16 R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, p84
- 17 R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, p84
- 18 R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, p84
- 19 R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, p84
- 20 R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, p84
- 21 R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, p85
- 22 Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and the means of allaying them, Willinks Commission, London, 1958 pp1-2
- 23 Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and the means of allaying them, p26, 58
- 24 Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and the means of allaying them, p.61
- 25 Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and the means of allaying them, pp.64-65
- 26 Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and the means of allaying them, p.59
- 27 Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and the means of allaying them, p.67
- 28 Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and the means of allaying them, p.71
- 29 Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the fears of Minorities and the means of allaying them, pp.87-106
- 30 Nigerian Constitutional Conference, 1958, Final Press Communique, London 1958, p.4 quoted by U. Ukpu, "Ethnic Minority Problems in Nigerian Politics: 1960-1965", p.74
- 31 Personal interview with Pa Jam Gbinde 75, Gyohov clan, Gwer Local Government Aliade

- 32 M. Kilson, "Authoritarian and Single-Party Tendencies in African Politics", World Politics, Aristide Zolberg: Vol.15, No. 2, 1963, pp262-294, quoted in R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, p92
- 33 These laws were spelt out in the Northern Region laws of 1954 section 37, 41 and 47. The NA exercised powers conferred on them by other laws and ordinances or imposed on them by the Native law and custom
- 34 It has been revealed that by 90 percent of applications made by the UMBC in the Tiv Division were turned down while all the applications by NPC were approved. For details see R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, p97
- 35 This fact has been alluded in the works of Remi Anifowose and Godwin Hembe. For details see R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, and G. N. Hembe, *J. S. Tarka: The Dilemma of Ethnic Minority Politics in Nigeria*.
- 36 Nigerian Citizen, 3rd September, 1960 cited by R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*,...p100
- 37 For details see R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, and G. N. Hembe, *J. S. Tarka: The Dilemma of Ethnic Minority Politics In Nigeria*.
- 38 M. D. Dent, *A Minority Party – The UMBC*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1966, pp476-477 cited by R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*,
- 39 R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*
- 40 For details see R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, and G. N. Hembe, *J. S. Tarka: The Dilemma of Ethnic Minority Politics In Nigeria*.
- 41 see R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, p112
- 42 see R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, and G. N. Hembe, *J. S. Tarka: The Dilemma of Ethnic Minority Politics In Nigeria*.
- 43 see R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, p108
- 44 An excuse for his dismissal was a fight in a compound near his clan, in which an NPC man was seriously beaten up and it was alleged that Tarkar Nachi has taken no action to deal with the case. For details see R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, p109
- 45 see R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, p110
- 46 Personal interview with Pa Orjuku Kortenger, Elder and politician, at Aliade, Gwer LGA, Benue State. 2013.
- 47 The author was told by an elder of the barbaric and cruel methods that were applied in dealing with UMBC sympathetic tax defaulters in our village Mbalom council, Gwer Local Government Area by the NPC appointed tax officials. Confirmed members of UMBC that defaulted in paying tax were stripped to

their pants and mercilessly flogged. And that this humiliation was sometimes carried out in presence of their own family members.

- 48 G. N. Hembe, *J. S. Tarka: The Dilemma of Ethnic Minority Politics in Nigeria*.
- 49 M. Dent graphically shows how from 1956-1966, no ministry was headed by Tiv in the Regional government. See M. D. Dent, *A Minority Party – The UMBC*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1966, p475
- 50 see R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*,p112
- 51 M. D. Dent, *A Minority Party – The UMBC*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1966
- 52 For details, see R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, Nok Publishers: 2003, T. Makar, *The History of Political Among the Tiv in the 9th and 20th Centuries*, Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1994.
- 53 R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*,
- 54 R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*, pp123-124
- 55 R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*,
- 56 R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*,
- 57 R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*,
- 58 R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*,
- 59 R. Anifowose, *Violence and Politics in Nigeria: The Tiv and Yoruba Experience*,
- 60 See Government White paper for the Rehabilitation of Tiv N.A, p6
- 61 T. Abeghe, n.d. *The Tiv Riots*.
- 62 H. Bienen, *Violence and Social Change* , Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1968, p24

Effect of Performance Appraisal Technique on Employee's Performance in Federal Capital Development Authority Abuja- Nigeria

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Abstract

The study examined the effect of performance appraisal technique on employee's performance in Federal Capital Development Authority. Performance appraisal technique influenced the performance of employees in an organization. The study adopted survey and analysis of existing research design; the population of the study comprise the staff of Federal Capital Development Authority. A total of 210 populations were selected as sample size using purposive sampling technique. Both primary and secondary method of data collection was used to source for data. The primary data was analyzed using simple percentage. System theory by David Easton was adopted as theoretical framework for the study. Finding from the study reveals that, Annual Performance Evaluation Appraisal Report in Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA) is carryout at departmental level Performance appraisal technique has significant influences on management decision for staff promotion in FCDA. The study recommends that The Management of Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA) should ensure Annual Performance Evaluation Appraisal Report is carryout at departmental level with most sincerity in the use of grading methods for all staff of the authority. The Management of Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA) should encourage staff do more so as to upgrade their level of performance from their current grade level D to A & B in subsequent exercise.

Introduction

Performance appraisal is one of the basic tools that make workers very effective and active at work. A critical look out on this may bring about the

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need for motivation, allowances, development, training and good human relationship in an organization.

Performance appraisal is seen as “a structural formal interview between subordinate and supervisor, that usually takes the form of periodic interview (annually or semi-annually), in which the work performance of the subordinate is examined and discussed, with the view of identifying the weaknesses, strengths as well as opportunities for improvement and development” (Decenzo & Robbins, 1995: 358). The essence of performance for most organizations is delivering products and services that meet or exceed customer expectations, thereby creating a competitive advantage so that customers are retained and market share is increased (Sasson, Alvero and Austin 2006).

The major concern of performance appraisal is basically with a review of the individual's performance during a set period to identify his area of strengths and weaknesses, and establish targets for him to achieve within the overall corporate objectives of the organization. The growing recognition that business results are largely attributable to employee performance is leading many executives to seek creative ways of significantly improving that performance (Jimgris, 2007). Job value or size is measured by comparing the incidence of various factors in a job. However, it is the task of top management to coordinate the efforts of managers to improve productivity. Performance appraisal systems in Nigeria have been largely characterized by non-disclosure of appraisal results to the employees (Ubeku, 1975).

This apparent secrecy over performance appraisal results tends to put in the hands of supervisors and managers, a potential tool of cracking down on “recalcitrant” employees with impunity. They indicated that promotions and pay increases could be based on objectives performance data rather than on favoritism, subjectivity, observations or opinions. There are numerous appraisal techniques in evaluating workers' performance base on the organization one finds himself. By using any of these appraisal techniques in evaluating the employees' achievements, management helps them to discover their strengths and weaknesses. This should motivate the employees to raise their levels of performance. It is in this regard that the study examines the effect of appraisal techniques on workers' performance in the Federal Capital development Authority (FCDA) with a view to showing how it can be used as a basis for promotion.

The basic aim of every organization is to achieve its objectives, goals or targets successfully. In order to achieve this, there is need to focus on performance appraisal viz-a-viz the appraisal technique in use. Performance appraisal is not only considered to have a positive influence on performance

of employees in an organization (Fletcher, 2004), but also may have a negative impact on motivation, role perceptions, and turnover if it is poorly designed or administered (Hannabuss, 1991). Performance appraisal should be linked to attractive incentive to employees, enabling workers to demonstrate higher performance. Most organizations in the competitive market fail since their workers perform below standard for they are not encouraged to work harder. Employees are the life blood of every organization. If management does not invest much into the welfare of their workers, problems are bound to arise leading to industrial strike actions, low commitment to work, low morale and low productivity of goods and services. Attractive appraisal techniques are established by some organizations to help motivate their employees to strive hard to be recognized and rewarded. Once employees are motivated, their performance reflects on performance. Employees strive hard by pooling together skills, knowledge and efforts to achieve maximum output.

Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA), Abuja has implemented performance appraisal policy to enhance employee performance. However, reports generated from their Human Resource Information Systems revealed mixed results about employee performance due to the improper implementation of the performance appraisal system. This study therefore sought to investigate the effect of appraisal technique workers' performance in Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA), Abuja.

The main objective of this study is to examine the effect of Performance appraisal technique on employee's performance in Federal Capital Development Authority. The specific objectives are to demonstrate how performance appraisals are carried out in Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA); to determine whether performance appraisal system actually reveals the level of staff Performance in FCDA; to ascertain whether performance appraisal techniques has influences on management decision toward staff promotion; to find out whether performance appraisal is an effective tool for identify the training needs of an employees in FCDA; to investigate whether favoritism influences performance appraisal rating in FCDA.

Literature Review

Concept of Performance Appraisal

Performance appraisal is a means of measuring or assessing employees' achievements within a stated period of time using reliable measurement criteria with the ultimate goal of providing information to superiors on how to improve employees' effectiveness. There are literatures on performance appraisal. The term has been synonymous with performance management, performance review and performance evaluation.

According to Esu (2009), Performance appraisal is “a systematic and holistic process of work, planning, monitoring and measurement aimed at continuously improving the teams and individual employee’s contribution to achievement of organizational goals”. This depicts that performance appraisal is used as a means of establishing future goals, monitoring employees’ progress based on specified job description, and measuring performance, teamwork and achievements based on specified tasks that can be linked with organizational goals and objectives. Performance appraisal is used to formally determine employees’ effectiveness and contribution (Ikramullah, Mohammed & Khan 2011).

In addition, Fletcher (2001) opined performance appraisal as a means by which organizations develop competency, improve employee motivation and achieve equitable allocation of resources. In essence, performance appraisal achieves multiple purposes from measurement to motivation and resource allocation. As noted by Cleveland, Murphy, and Williams (1989), performance appraisal systems can be used to motivate employees through remuneration, promotions, retrenchment, and the improvement of skills, competence and expertise. In addition, performance evaluation can be said to be a process of measuring employees’ contribution which turns out to be beneficial, both to the staff and the organization at large if carried out properly.

Moreover, Sally and Sowa (2011) believed that the ultimate objective of any evaluation procedure is aligning individual goals and objectives with organizational objectives and priorities while individual performance should be reflected in how they contribute to organizational growth and development. According to Bassey, Esu and Inyang (2009), performance appraisal system is a means of investigating employee achievement over a certain period of time for achieving organizational goals. Consequently, performance appraisal is a means of knowledge sharing among subordinates and superiors to adequately measure the progress of the employee which will aid in making strategic human resource decisions.

Uses of Performance Appraisal

For many organizations, the primary goal of an appraisal system is to improve individual and organizational performance. There may be other goals, however. A potential problem with Performance Appraisal, and a possible cause of much dissatisfaction, is expecting too much from one appraisal plan. For example, a plan that is effective for developing employees may not be the best for determining pay increases. Yet, a properly designed system can help achieve organizational objectives and enhance employee

performance. In fact, Performance Appraisal data are potentially valuable for virtually every human resource functional area.

Human Resource Planning

In assessing an organisation's human resources, data must be available to identify those who have the potential to be promoted or for any area of internal employee relations. Through performance appraisal it may be discovered that there is an insufficient number of workers who are prepared to enter management. Plans can then be made for greater emphasis on management development. Succession planning is a key concern for all organizations. A well-designed appraisal system provides a profile of the organization's human resource strengths and weaknesses to support this effort.

Recruitment and Selection

Performance evaluation ratings may be helpful in predicting the performance of job applicants. For example, it may be determined that an organisation's successful employees (identified through performance evaluations) exhibit certain behaviours when performing key tasks. These data may then provide benchmarks for evaluating applicant responses obtained through behavioural interviews. Also, in validating selection tests, employee ratings may be used as the variable against which test scores are compared. In this instance, determination of the selection test's validity would depend on the accuracy of appraisal results.

Training and Development

Performance appraisal should point out an employee's specific needs for training and development. For instance, if Patience's job requires skill in technical writing and her evaluation reveals a deficiency in this factor, she may need additional training in written communication. If an organisation finds that a number of first-line supervisors are having difficulty in administering disciplinary action, training sessions addressing this problem may be appropriate. By identifying deficiencies that adversely affect performance, T and D programs can be developed that permit individuals to build on their strengths and minimize their deficiencies. An appraisal system does not guarantee properly trained and developed employees. However, determining T and D needs is more precise when appraisal data are available.

Assessment of Employee Potential

Some organizations attempt to assess an employee's potential as they appraise his or her job performance. Although past behaviours may be a good predictor of future behaviours in some jobs, an employee's past performance may not accurately indicate future performance in other jobs. The best salesperson in the company may not have what it takes to become a successful district sales manager, where the tasks are distinctly different. Similarly, the best systems analyst may, if promoted, be a disaster as an information technology manager. Overemphasizing technical skills and ignoring other equally important skills is a common error in promoting employees into management jobs. Recognition of this problem has led some firms to separate the appraisal of performance, which focuses on past behaviour, from the assessment of potential, which is future-oriented.

Established Performance Criteria (Standards)

There is an old adage that says "What gets watched gets done." Therefore, management must carefully select performance criteria as it pertains to achieving corporate goals. The most common appraisal criteria are traits, behaviours, competencies, goal achievement, and improvement potential.

Traits

Certain employee traits such as attitude, appearance, and initiative are the basis for some evaluations. However, many of these commonly used qualities are subjective and may be either unrelated to job performance or difficult to define. In such cases, inaccurate evaluations may occur and create legal problems for the organization as well.

Behaviours

When an individual's task outcome is difficult to determine; organizations may evaluate the person's task-related behaviour or competencies. For example, an appropriate behaviour to evaluate for a manager might be leadership style. For individuals working in teams, developing others, teamwork and cooperation, or customer service orientation might be appropriate. Desired behaviours may be appropriate as evaluation criteria because if they are recognized and rewarded, employees tend to repeat them. If certain behaviours result in desired outcomes, there is merit in using them in the evaluation process.

Competencies

Competencies include a broad range of knowledge, skills, traits, and behaviours that may be technical in nature, relate to interpersonal skills, or are business-oriented. Some managers recommend that cultural competencies

such as ethics and integrity be used for all jobs. There are also competencies that are job-specific. For example, analytical thinking and achievement orientation might be essential in professional jobs. In leadership jobs, relevant competencies might include developing talent, delegating authority, and people management skills. The competencies selected for evaluation purposes should be those that are closely associated with job success.

Goal Achievement

If organizations consider ends more important than means, goal achievement outcomes become an appropriate factor to evaluate. The outcomes established should be within the control of the individual or team and should be those results that lead to the organization's success. At upper levels, the goals might deal with financial aspects of the organization such as profit or cash flow, and market considerations such as market share or position in the market. At lower organizational levels, the outcomes might be meeting the customer's quality requirements and delivering according to the promised schedule.

Improvement Potential

When organizations evaluate their employees' performance, many of the criteria used focus on the past. From a performance management viewpoint, the problem is that you cannot change the past. Unless a firm takes further steps, the evaluation data become merely historical documents. Therefore, firms should emphasize the future, including the behaviours and outcomes needed to develop the employee, and, in the process, achieve the firm's goals. This involves an assessment of the employee's potential. Including potential in the evaluation process helps to ensure more effective career planning and development.

Performance Appraisal Methods

Managers may choose from among a number of appraisal methods. The type of performance appraisal system used depends on its purpose. If the major emphasis is on selecting people for promotion, training, and merit pay increases, a traditional method, such as rating scales, may be appropriate. Collaborative methods, including input from the employees themselves, may prove to be more suitable for developing employees.

The 360-Degree Feedback Evaluation Method

The 360-degree feedback evaluation method is a popular performance appraisal method that involves evaluation input from multiple levels within the firm as well as external sources. The 360-degree method is unlike traditional performance reviews, which provide employees with feedback

only from supervisors. In this method, people all around the rated employee may provide ratings, including senior managers, the employee himself or herself, supervisors, subordinates, peers, team members, and internal or external customers. As many as 90 percent of Fortune 500 companies use some form of 360-degree feedback for either employee evaluation or development.

Rating Scales Method

The rating scales method is a performance appraisal method that rates employees according to defined factors. Using this approach, evaluators record their judgments about performance on a scale. The scale includes several categories, normally 5–7 in number, defined by adjectives such as outstanding, meets expectations, or needs improvement. Although, organizations often provide an overall rating, the rating scales method generally allows for the use of more than one performance criterion. One reason for the popularity of the rating scales method is its simplicity, which permits quick evaluations of many employees. When you quantify the ratings, the method facilitates comparison of employees' performances. The factors chosen for evaluation are typically of two types: job-related and personal characteristics. Job-related factors include quality and quantity of work, whereas personal factors include such behaviors as interpersonal skills and traits, like adaptability.

Critical Incident Method

The critical incident method is a performance appraisal method that requires keeping written records of highly favourable and unfavourable employee work actions. When such an action, a "critical incident," affects the department's effectiveness significantly, either positively or negatively, the manager writes it down. At the end of the appraisal period, the ratings use these records along with other data to evaluate employee performance. With this method, the appraisal is more likely to cover the entire evaluation period and not focus on the past few weeks or months.

Essay Method

The essay method is a performance appraisal method in which the ratings write a brief narrative describing the employee's performance. This method tends to focus on extreme behaviour in the employee's work rather than on routine day-to-day performance. Ratings of this type depend heavily on the evaluator's writing ability. Supervisors with excellent writing skills, if so inclined, can make a marginal worker sound like a top performer. Comparing essay evaluations might be difficult because no common criteria exist.

However, some managers believe that the essay method is not only the simplest but also an acceptable approach to employee evaluation.

Work Standards Method

The work standards method is a performance appraisal method that compares each employee's performance to a predetermined standard or expected level of output. Standards reflect the normal output of an average worker operating at a normal pace. Firms may apply work standards to virtually all types of jobs, but production jobs generally receive the most attention. An obvious advantage of using standards as appraisal criteria is objectivity. However, in order for employees to perceive that the standards are objective, they should understand clearly how the standards were set. Management must also explain the rationale for any changes to the standards.

Ranking Method

The ranking method is a performance appraisal method in which the ratings rank all employees from a group in order of overall performance. For example, the best employee in the group is ranked highest, and the poorest is ranked lowest. You follow this procedure until you rank all employees. A difficulty occurs when all individuals have performed at comparable levels (as perceived by the evaluator).

Results-Based System

The manager and subordinate jointly agree on objectives for the next appraisal period in a results-based system. This is just a form of Management By Objectives.

In such a system, one objective might be, for example, to cut waste by 10 percent. At the end of the appraisal period, an evaluation focuses on how well the employee achieved this objective.

The theoretical framework employed for this study is systems theory, according to Ikelegbe (1991) a system is a whole that functions as a whole virtue of its several interrelated parts. David Easton is the first political scientist who has developed a systematic framework on the basis of the systems approach for the study of politics instead of merely adapting it from anthropology or sociology. "The system theory sees development as an output of the local government. The output itself is conceived as the result of various environment variable acted upon the principle system" (Cook and Crossman, 2004). Therefore, for the purpose of this research work, which centers on the effects of appraisal technique on workers' performance, using Federal Capital Development Authority as a case study, system approach has been adopted because it deals with units and part of a

system. The FCDA which deals with departments, without the coming together of this various departments, the Federal Capital Development Authority will not function and operate the way it should towards the achievement of organizational goal and performance. To this fact, the System Theory is seen by the researcher as the relevant theory to be used for this research work.

Methodology

The study adopted a survey and Documentary research design. Survey and research design was chosen because it elicits data from a target population through either questionnaire or interview instrument and subjecting such data to statistical analysis for the purpose of drawing conclusion. Survey method is preferred to other methods in social science and administrative research because it gathers data at a particular point in time. Documentary research design was chosen because obtain information from the official record and work of past researchers. The population of the study comprises of employees of Federal Capital Development Authority.

The study used proportionate purposive random sampling method to obtain a sample to generate confident that findings could be generalized to the whole, Primary data for this research sourced from the questionnaire administered on staff of the Federal Capital Development Authority while the Secondary data were sourced from FCDA Annual Performance Appraisal Reports (APER) textbooks on Performance Appraisal, newspapers on staff performance, magazine, journal annual reports Performance, The data collected were analyzed and converted into simple percentage and result narrated descriptively and tabulated using Weighed Mean score to analyze the research proposition under a defined rule.

The population of the study comprises of employees of Federal Capital Development Authority. The Federal Capital Development Authority has the total of 3,745 employees according to FCTA monthly magazine. This study used proportionate purposive random sampling method to obtain a sample to generate confident that findings could be generalized to the whole. This resulted to a sample size of 200 respondents which represents approximately sixty percent of the total population.

Results and Discussion

To what extent has performance appraisal system reveals the level of staff Performance in FCDA?

Table 1: 2014 Performance Appraisal Rating

Departments	70-100 Grade A Outstanding	60-69 B Very good	50-59 C Good	40-49 D Satisfactory	30-39 E Fair	0-29 F Poor	Total
Engineering	2	3	2	3	-	-	10
Survey and Mapping	3	3	2	2	-	-	10
Mass Housing	2	4	4	2	-	-	10
Resettlement & compensation	4	2	3	1	-	-	10
Engineering Design and Evaluation	2	3	2	3	-	-	10
Finance and Administration	2	3	1	4	-	-	10
Procurement	2	2	4	2			10

Source: FCDA Appraisal Form, 2014

Table 2: 2015 Performance Appraisal Rating

Departments	70-100 Grade A Outstanding	60-69 B Very good	50-59 C Good	40-49 D Satisfactory	30-39 E Fair	0-29 F Poor	Total
Engineering	1	2	4	3	-	-	10
Survey and Mapping	2	1	3	4	-	-	10
Mass Housing	2	2	3	2	1	-	10
Resettlement & compensation	1	3	4	2	-	-	10
Engineering Design and Evaluation	0	3	2	5	-	-	10
Finance and Administration	2	2	3	2	1	-	10
Procurement	0	1	5	4			10
Total							70

Source: FCDA Appraisal Form, 2015

Table 1 shows that, in engineering department, 2 employees were rated with outstanding performance; 3 with very good performance; 2 with good performance and 3 were rated satisfactory. Survey and Mapping department rated 3 employees were rated with outstanding performance; 3 with very good performance; 2 with good performance while 2 were rated satisfactory. Mass Housing department rated 2 employees with outstanding performance; 4 with very good performance; 4 with good performance while 2 were rated satisfactory. Resettlement & compensation department rated 4 employees with outstanding performance; 2 with very good performance; 3 with good performance while 1 was rated satisfactory.

Table 2 shows that, in engineering department, 1 employee was rated with outstanding performance when compare to 2 in 2014; 2 with very good performance when compare to 3 that were rated in 2014; 4 with good performance and 3 were rated satisfactory.

Survey and Mapping department rated 2 employees were rated with outstanding performance; 1 with very good performance; 3 with good performance while 4 were rated satisfactory.

Mass Housing department rated 2 employees with outstanding performance; 2 with very good performance; 3 with good performance while 2 were rated satisfactory.

Table 3: 2016 Performance Appraisal Rating

Departments	70-100 Grade A Outstanding	60-69 B Very good	50-59 C Good	40-49 D Satisfactory	30-39 E Fair	0-29 F Poor	Total
Engineering	2	4	1	3	-	-	10
Survey and Mapping	1	1	3	5	-	-	10
Mass Housing	0	3	2	4	1	-	10
Resettlement & compensation	0	2	4	4	-	-	10
Engineering Design and Evaluation	1	4	2	3	-	-	10
Finance and Administration	0	2	2	3	1	-	10
Procurement	2	3	3	1	1	-	10
Total							70

Source: FCDA Appraisal Form, 2016

Table 3 shows that, in engineering department, 2 employees were rated with outstanding performance; 4 with very good performance; 1 were rated with good performance and 3 were rated satisfactory.

Survey and Mapping department rated 1 employees were rated with outstanding performance; 1 with very good performance; 3 with good performance while 5 were rated satisfactory.

Mass Housing department rated 0 employees with outstanding performance; 3 with very good performance; 2 with good performance; 4 was rated satisfactory while 1 was rated fair.

Resettlement & compensation department rated 0 employees with outstanding performance; 2 with very good performance; 4 with good performance while 4 was rated satisfactory.

Engineering Design and Evaluation department rated 1 employee with outstanding performance; 4 with very good performance; 2 with good performance while 3 were rated satisfactory.

Finance and Administration department rated 0 employees with outstanding performance; 2 with very good performance; 2 with good performance; 3 were rated satisfactory while, 1 were rated fair. Procurement department rated 2 employees with outstanding performance; 3 with very good performance; 3 with good performance; 1 was rated satisfactory while 1 were rated fair.

Table 4: 2017 Performance Appraisal Rating

Departments	70-100 Grade A Outstanding	60-69 B Very good	50-59 C Good	40-49 D Satisfactory	30-39 E Fair	0-29 F Poor	Total
Engineering	0	2	4	4	-	-	10
Survey and Mapping	2	1	5	2	-	-	10
Mass Housing	2	4	1	3	1	-	10
Resettlement & compensation	1	3	1	4	2	-	10
Engineering Design and Evaluation	2	3	1	4	-	-	10
Finance and Administration	1	4	2	3	-	-	10
Procurement	0	2	2	5	1	-	10
Total							70

Source: FCDA Appraisal Form, 2017

Table 4 shows that, in engineering department, 0 employees were rated with outstanding performance; 2 with very good performance; 4 were rated with good performance and 4 were rated satisfactory. Survey and Mapping department rated 2 employees were rated with outstanding performance; 1 with very good performance; 5 with good performance while 2 were rated satisfactory. Mass Housing department rated 2 employees with outstanding performance; 4 with very good performance; 1 with good performance; 3 was rated satisfactory while 1 was rated fair. Resettlement & compensation department rated 1 employees with outstanding performance; 3 with very good performance; 1 with good performance; 4 was rated satisfactory while, 2 were rated fair.

Table 5: 2018 Performance Appraisal Rating

Departments	70-100 Grade A Outstanding	60-69 B Very good	50-59 C Good	40-49 D Satisfactory	30-39 E Fair	0-29 F Poor	Total
Engineering	1	1	3	5	-	-	10
Survey and Mapping	0	1	5	4	-	-	10
Mass Housing	2	3	2	1	2	-	10
Resettlement & compensation	0	0	4	4	2	-	10
Engineering Design and Evaluation	1	2	3	3	1	-	10
Finance and Administration	1	0	2	7	-	-	10
Procurement	2	2	2	3	1	-	10
Total							70

Source: FCDA Appraisal Form, 2018

Table 5 shows that, in engineering department, 1 employee were rated with outstanding performance; 1 with very good performance; 3 were rated with good performance and 5 were rated satisfactory.

Survey and Mapping department rated 0 employees were rated with outstanding performance; 1 with very good performance; 5 with good performance while 4 were rated satisfactory.

Mass Housing department rated 2 employees with outstanding performance; 3 with very good performance; 2 with good performance; 1 was rated satisfactory while 2 was rated fair.

Resettlement & compensation department rated 0 employees with outstanding performance; 0 with very good performance; 4 with good performance; 4 was rated satisfactory while, 2 were rated fair.

Table 6: Calculation of Critical Value of Weighted Mean Score

Variable	SA	A	U	D	SD	Total Number of Respondents/Score	Weighted Mean
Responses	28	35	14	82	14	173	500/173
Grading	5	4	3	2	1	-	-
Total Value	140	140	42	164	14	500	2.9
Decision	-	-	-	-	-	-	Rejected

Self-Computation

The analysis in table 6 shows that, Weighted Mean Score of value of weighted means score 2.9. This means that, the calculated value is not scientifically significant because, the result is less than 3.5 which represent the value for none significant. We therefore agreed that, we therefore agreed that, Performance Appraisal rating system is not a source of motivation for further performance in FCDA. We can conclude that, Performance Appraisal rating system is not a source of motivation for further performance in Federal Capital Development Authority.

Does favoritism influences performance appraisal rating in FCDA?

The Result of the Analysis shows that, 63% of the study population agreed that favoritism influences performance appraisal rating in FCDA, as against the 37% performance appraisal rating was not influenced favoritism in FCDA. This means that, most the performance appraisal rating in FCDA was largely influences by favoritism between the management and the subordinate or between the superior officer and the subordinate.

Table 7: Calculation of Critical Value of Weighted Mean Score

Variable	SA	A	U	D	SD	Total Number of Respondents/Score	Weighted Mean
Responses	69	41	5	39	19	173	621/173
Grading	5	4	3	2	1	-	-
Total Value	345	164	15	78	19	621	3.6
Decision	-	-	-	-	-	-	Accepted

Self-Computation

The above analysis shows that, Weighted Mean Score of value of weighted means score 3.5. This means that, the calculated value is scientifically significant because, the result is more than 3.5 which represent the value for significant. We therefore agreed that, favoritism significantly influences

performance appraisal rating in FCDA. We can conclude that favoritism significantly influences performance appraisal rating in Federal Capital Development Authority.

Conclusion and Recommendation

This study presents Performance appraisal system as an important drive that looks for better, more accurate, more cost-effective ways of evaluating job performance and employee motivation. Performance appraisal system is a significant technique aimed at enhancing the performance of the employee in the organization. Performance appraisal is essential as it gives updates on the performance of the employees; it identifies training needs and come up with plans for employee development. Performance appraisal system is usually identified as a critical element for boosting employee motivation.

Performance appraisal technique is an important drive that looks for better, more accurate, more cost-effective ways of evaluating job performance and employee motivation. Performance appraisal system is a significant technique aimed at enhancing the performance of the employee in the organization. Performance appraisal is often considered one of the most important human resource management functions, and an effective performance appraisal and management system is an integral part of organization's human resource management effectiveness

Competent appraisal of individual performance in an organization serves to improve the overall effectiveness of the entity. The informative function is fulfilled when the appraisal system supplies data to managers and appraises about employees' strengths and weaknesses. Finally, the motivational role entails creating a learning experience that motivates workers to improve their performance.

The study recommended the followings:

- i. The Management of Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA) should ensure Annual Performance Evaluation Appraisal Report is carryout at departmental level with most sincerity in the use of grading methods for all staff of the authority.
- ii. The Management of Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA) should encourage staff do more so as to upgrade their level of performance from their current grade level D to A & B in subsequent exercise
- iii. The Management of Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA) should sustain decision of reviewing APER for three years to an average of 60% and examine usually carry 40%. This would reduce poor performance, reduce absenteeism, and improve staff productivity.

- iv. The Management of Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA) should ensure that, performance appraisal should be redesign to further identify staff training needs and capacity building or regular training for staff FCDA.
- v. The Management of Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA) should reduce the influences of favoritism between the management and the subordinate or between the superior officer and the subordinate in order that, performance appraisal system in FCDA is transparent and as well reflects the employees output.

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Colonial Educational Legacy and its Challenge of Development in Nigeria

Olasupo Olusola

Abstract

It is not a gainsay that Nigeria educational system has not been able to transform into technological advancement which is a catalyst for development of any nation. The study, using qualitative research method reveals the challenges of educational system provided by Nigeria's colonial master which was mainly targeted towards the ease of the administration of colonial government and not development oriented. The findings shows that the slow pace of development in Nigeria is as a result of her inability to improve on educational legacy left behind by her colonial master and look inward for a more indigenous aggressive educational system. This study conclude that except there is a deliberate effort to re-orientate the country's mentality and a general reform of her educational system where focus will be shifted from theoretical perspective to a more assertive drive for technological development which will enhance sustainable development, Nigeria may remain a developing nation. The study therefore recommends technical vocation education as a way forward to national development.

Introduction

Many years after independence in most African state Nigeria inclusive, it does not occur to them that the legacies left behind by the colonial masters will continue to shapen the development of the continent. The intention by the African nationalists who fought for the freedom of Africa that the development of the continent will be faster after the independence has been undermined by the some of the colonial legacies left behind by the colonial masters. They saw the end of colonialism as a solution to the challenges of Africa.

One of such colonial legacies is the form of education left behind by the colonial masters. Western education in Nigeria during the colonial rule was mainly for the administrative convenience of the colonial administrations. Nigerians were only trained to read, write and count in order to serve the

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cadre positions. This type of education lack development skills and cannot be sustained after the colonial rule, it was only aimed to serve the Europeans. This understanding has led to National Policy on Education by the federal government of Nigeria which first started in 1977 with several educational policy revisions. These efforts until now has not been able to take care of Nigerian education emphasis on certificate other than skills required for development.

Education is the major tool to discover individual's talent and promote an egalitarian society where people will be entitled to equal opportunities (Nsofor & Gambo, 2012). Any country without a system of education that is geared towards skill acquisition will perpetually remain underdeveloped. The present developing nature of Nigeria's economy, science and technology is traceable to the type of education that does not fortify people with the required skills for development (Nwagwu, 2007).

Education as we all know is the acquisition of skills, knowledge, value for the improvement of individual and the development of society at large. The wealth of any nation is determined by the skills and abilities of her human resources because they are the instrument of political, economical and social development of any nation (Imam, 2012). Any country that produce graduates without skills for self reliance will have high numbers of unemployed (Odukoya, 2009). Therefore, Any form of education that does not lead to development is regarded as unprofitable.

For a growing country like Nigeria, education remains a powerful dynamics for eliminating poverty. Lack, backwardness, illiteracy and transforming the catastrophe of under development. There is always a great connection linking the general state of development of any given country and the system of education practiced. A high level of development is an outcome of a productive educational system.

Nigeria educational sector has been consuming quite a large proportion of the annual budgets although still far from meeting up with the UNESCO's 26% benchmark in educational funding, it is believed that the expenditure on this sector is largely regarded as an investment. But the problem which is currently confronting the Nigerian educational system is the usual gap between the expected and the actual quality of output. Nigeria's educational system seems to be unproductive and our educational managers have always been busy managing crises or facing crises of management because of the issues of the absence of clearly defined educational system which tends towards development. This paper therefore focus on colonial educational legacy and the challenge of development in Nigeria.

Conceptual Analysis

Education

Education is the life wire of any society. It is like the blood running in the veins without which there is no life. It is the nucleus upon which every forms of development in the society rotate. According to Rt. Reverend M. O. Akinwale in a lecture titled “Non Functional Education in Nigeria: The Bane of Unemployment in Third World Countries” delivered at Wesley University of Science and Technology, Ondo during the 5th Founder’s Day Anniversary on May 14, 2013, he stated that education is the means of the transformation of people from their raw state of existence to a state of finished product in which the total personality of the individual is developed to culminate into a finished product that will consequently bring about development to individual, his immediate community and total transformation of the larger society. He stated further that education is not only a social process but a life changing process that wholistically deals with the individual so that the skills and character which such an individual has acquired will impact the society positively and bring about social development, economic development, technological development, mental independence and effective development of the general society.

The word ‘education’ is absolutely utilized for the improvement of man in the mental, emotional, psychomotor and psycho-productive domains. There is a consensus among professionals and teachers that education encompasses a delightful transformation in human attitude through the teaching-learning activities. This denotes that any man that display unacceptable character from the judgement of the appropriate societal values will not be considered a learned fellow, irrespective of being exposed to formal education. There is a high demand from the learned fellow by the general public.

Education was defined by Fafunwa (1974) as legacies given by one generation to the other, that positively affects their behaviour, talents, proficiency and other attitudes that positively impact the general public where they live. This argument is from social point of view.

Consequently, education may be defined as a purposive, conscious or unconscious, psychological, sociological, scientific and philosophical process, which brings about the development of the individual to the fullest extent and also the maximum development of society in such a way that both enjoy maximum happiness and prosperity. In Short, education is the development of individual according to his needs and demands of society, of which he is an integral part.

Colonialism

Several writers of African decent such as Ake (1981), Walter Rodney (1972), and the host of others have condemned colonialism by exposing the evil it did to African continent. According to them, the human and resources exploitation by the colonial master have weaken the continent's ability to develop. Rodney, 1972, argued that the activities of the colonial masters were the production of raw materials from Africa for the survival of the industries in Europe. This same view is uphold by Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson, 2001 & 2002.

On the contrary, Obadina 2008 claimed that colonial rules despite the exploitation activities of the colonial masters came with some positive activities such as bridging the gap between Africa and Europe by exposing the continent to western education, suppressed inhuman activities such as cannibalism and killing of twins. Although these two arguments on the advantages and disadvantages of colonialism have makes it seemingly impossible to strike an agreement on its legacies, the truth still remains that the educational structure being one of the legacies left behind by colonial rule cannot sustain Nigeria's development as its purpose ends with colonial rule.

Development vs Education

The present development the world has encountered, which took hundreds of years to come by and numbers of scientific and technological insurrections to revolutionize did not come so easily. It came into being through a conscious and intellectually nurtured research that emanated from western education as a result of their determination to produce knowledge, high skilled human resources and relevant services. The West gives education highest priority due to their understanding of it as the most effective and most reliable means of advancing economic growth and development.

The outstanding record of development in the West through education has motivated the continent of Africa and Asia to rise up to the challenge of quality education by engaging in research activities through education funding, adoption of National System of Innovation (NSI), creation of research institutes, establishment of Universities, Polytechnics, technical colleges and other institutes of research. Several scholars and researchers were produced from this process in Nigeria and they engage in research with great outputs that are enough to engender development of Nigeria. The impact of education and development surpass all areas of human undertakings be it economical, social, educational, political, science and technology. It clearly serves as determinant of growth and development of the society. Increase

in knowledge improve on science and technology that later leads to industrialization, improved production of goods and services, job opportunities, increase income, wealth creation, improved standard of living, better communication and transportation system, national integration socially, economically and politically.

Development is a 'worthy transformation' as opined by Chambers (1997), although, this is not as simple as it sounds. For example, who determines this worthy transformation? Thomas (2000) elucidated on the three ways the word 'development' is utilized. Development as a foresight: that is the picture of how beautiful a society should be, development from historical progression: According to Thomas (2000), development is the social transformation that transpires over a long period of time and space as a result of unavoidable activities and development as action: Thomas describe this form of development as a deliberate determination for a better transformation.

Theoretical Framework

The author adopts system theory for this study. David Easton has provided the foremost elaboration on the system analysis. The concept of system itself originated in the biological sciences. David Easton (1965) has provided elaborate attempt to apply system theory to the study of political science notably in his two works "*A Framework for Political Analysis* and *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*". According to Almond and Powell (1966, 1969) "A system means the relationship of parts, and a boundary of some kind between it and its environment. By 'interdependence' we mean that when the properties of one component in a system change, all the other components and the system as a whole are affected.

In a nutshell, a system may be defined as a sequence of interconnected and interdependent component parts in a way that the relationship of any part (Sub-System) affects the whole system. This theory rely on the principle that systems have various parts or sub-system performing different functions. But in such a way that each part interacts and is interdependent with the other parts and the environment around it. As a result, whatever affects a part of the system affects the other parts in the system and its environment just like the environment also affects the system.

Educational system in Nigeria over years has been bedeviled by several ineffective policies ranging from the colonial period and long years of military rule to this present democratic era. The failure of this very important sub-system has brought multiple negative effects on other systems such as the economic system, political system and socio-cultural system which ultimately affects the overall development in Nigeria.

History of Western Education in Nigeria

The Christian missionary has entered Nigeria prior 1842. The Portuguese traders has earlier come to Benin and Lagos since 1472. The Catholic Missionaries in 1515 by the support of the Portuguese merchants had opened a basic school in the palace for the king's wards. This led to the conversion of the king and his chiefs to Christian religion. The activities of the Catholic missionary spread across to other towns close to Benin such as Brass, Akassa, Warri where they built churches and schools. The slave trade that took over the West Africa for almost three hundred years nearly destroyed the influence of catholic (Fafunwa 1974)

The main objective of the education then was to equip the Africans effectively to partake in trade. The Portuguese major concern was in trade but they however knew that if Africans were to be clients, they must be exposed to formal education and embrace Christian religion. (Fafunwa 1974 p 74).

The Methodist Society in 1842 sent Rev. Thomas Birch Freeman, the overseer of the Methodist community at Cape Coast, to Badagry. This was a reaction to the official request by the Yoruba settler from Sierra-leone that had established at Badagry. Freeman went together with Mr. and Mrs. William de Graft, that later founded basic schools at Badagry. Mr. William de Graft was also a national of African, born at Cape coast (Osokoya 1989). Rev. Samuel Ajayi Crowther, Mr. Henry Townsend and Rev. C. A. Gollmer from the Church Missionary Society got to Badagry for the sake of mission in 1843. They later migrated to Abeokuta in 1846 and established two schools; a boys and girls school.

In 1846 the Presbyterian Mission got to Calabar and established a station there. The Southern Baptist Convention in 1853 started a school at Ijaye, Ogbomoso and Lagos in 1955 respectively. From 1842 to 1964 many missionary group have established themselves mostly in Calabar, Lagos and across the Niger areas.

Aims of Colonial Education in Nigeria

The education established by the colonial administration in Nigeria was absolutely discriminatory, serviceable and traditional. There was different between the mode of education by the colonial government and that of the missionaries. The followings therefore are the aims and objectives of British colonial education in Nigeria

1. To produce cheap labour and low level human resources for the ease of colonial administration such as the interpreters, office attendants, craftpersons and clerical staff.

2. To train some local youths that could asslegacyist the non professional rural farmers to plant crops, harvest and process cash crops for export purpose to Europe as raw materials for their companies.
3. To train half-educated local individuals who could fit in and be engaged as mechanism for achieving the British colonial ideology (Nduka 1975).

Effects of Bretton Wood Institutions on Nigeria's Education and Development

It has become very difficult for most observers to understand the reason why Nigeria is yet to develop regardless of the oil boom. The Nigeria's economic problems is traceable to the agreement to the institution of Bretton Woods's control of important national economic policy. The severe policy recommendation of the mutual conglomerate and the unruly internal socio-political dynamics are affecting the growth and development of the Nigerian economy. The world's economy crumbled after World War 1 (1914-1918) and the world political geograghy was changed. The impacts of the war culminated in the Great Depression of the 1930s. Both the United States and Great Britain were not resourceful enough to solely avert the global economic depression of that time. The quest to transform the world's economy ravaged by war initiated the Bretton Woods Conference in New Hampshire in July 1944 that created the bilateral institutions such as IMF, the IBRD -later the World Bank- and the International Trade Organization, which were jointly named according to the city of Bretton Woods.

International Monetary Fund gives short-term financial aid, while the World Bank provides a long-term development loans to needy countries. Regrettably, Nigeria is one of the nations that rely on the IMF and the World Bank for development loan. The severe economic conditions impose on beneficial nations by these world financial institutions have wrecked and destroyed their economic fortune. James Sackey, former World Bank Country delegate in Sierra Leone states that these policies include privatizations, commerce liberalization, high interest rates etc. Commerce liberalization for developing and under-developed economies could have some adverse impacts. One of such negative impact is turning the developing and under-developed nations to a dumping ground for cheap and sub quality products from outside. The inferior products such as clothes, food, shoes, drugs, cosmetics, technologies to mention few are streams markets in developing economies. This affects the local industries that manufacture or intend to manufacture the same products due to their inability to favourably compete because of the high cost of production and lack of acceptability due. Nigeria's young companies could not take off under extensive trade liberalization.

This is also very critical with respect to imported food such as rice, wheat, milk, and used vehicles popularly known as tokunbo. Developed economies with excess food items slash their prices and export them to Nigeria as a way of getting rid of them. If such importation is not banned, Nigeria would never be able to manufacture its own food. However, the drastic measure currently taken by President Buhari's administration to close Nigeria borders against dumping of foreign products earlier mentioned by the author has beginning to improve on local productions most importantly food production such as rice which is mostly consumed by Nigerians.

Although border closure has inflicted so much pains on Nigerians. It is argued that local productions is supposed to have gained much more ground before the decision to close Nigerian borders. It is however believed that Nigeria will soon be able to feed her citizens if this policy is allowed to continue with total support to agriculture and local industries by Nigerian government.

The height of the evil of policies by IMF and World Bank in developing nations such as Nigeria is the compulsory condition for reduction in government spendings in major sectors such as education, health, and housing amongst others that will suffer from the cut in government expenditure. The result is that reduction in government spendings ends up harming the citizen's welfare.

The effects of these conditions especially the reduction in education budget has degenerated Nigeria's education to a reading and writing one which was the case during the colonial era and this has brought multiple effects on Nigeria development. The quality and quantity of human resources Nigeria's educational system is producing cannot bring about the development required.

National Measure to Improve on Colonial Educational Legacy

National Policy on Education in Nigeria

The need for Nigeria to look inward for an indigenous educational system that is familiar with the country's ancient and development challenges resulted into the Nigerian National Policies on Education NPE (1981). The first edition of this policy was introduced in 1981 with the aims of achieving individual accomplishment, self and national effectiveness, national harmony, social-cultural, political, economic, science and technological enhancement. This policy was divided into three stages:

1. The first stage was Six (6) years of basic primary education.
2. The second stage was five (5) to seven (7) years of post basic primary education for secondary and teachers training College.

3. The third stage was four (4) to six (6) years of higher education in University, Polytechnic and College of education. Fafunwa (1982) criticized the exclusive nature of the policy and portrayed it as not sensitive to the needs and desires of Nigerians.

The weaknesses of this policy led to its abandonment in embrace of the 6-3-3-4 in 1985. The first stage of six (6) years was meant for primary school pupils between the age of six (6) to ten (11). The second stage and the third stage is for both the Junior Secondary School (JSS) and Senior Secondary School (SSS) while the final stage of four (4) years is meant for higher institution. Uwaifo and Uddin (2009) defined the policy as an educational system that was job-focused for putting the best on technical skills, manual accomplishment, esteem for labour and economic effectiveness.

The 2004 national education policy embrace education as a mechanism for national development. The objectives of education was described in line with its application to individual and societal needs in association with the environment, veracity of globalized world and fast social changes NPE (2004). This policy emphasized skill acquisition.

The educational reform of 2006 in Nigeria concentrated on skill acquisition, entrepreneurship and readjustment of curriculum in line with the evolving needs of the world economy and society UNESCO (2007). The reform established a new system of education referred to as the Universal Basic Education with 9-3-4 arrangement. The first stage of nine (9) years was the merger of the first two stages which involved primary and junior secondary school education in the previous educational arrangement and these two stages were made compulsory. The second stage of three (3) years was meant for the Senior Secondary School, while the last stage comprising four (4) years was meant for tertiary education. The curriculum for this policy was drawn in compliance to the Millennium Development Goals which declared education for all programme.

Vocational Technical Education: The Way Forward

Vocational technical education was defined by the Nigerian National Policy on Education (NPE) as all inclusive term relating to those aspects of the educational process linking, in addendum to general education, the study of technologies and connected sciences and the acquiring of practical skills, attitudes, understanding and knowledge relating to professions in different sectors of economic and social life. Technical education can therefore be seen as the proper preparation of persons to become specialist in various occupations. Therefore any education that is equipped towards imparting

technical expertise and behaviour appropriate to such expertise can be considered as technical education.

In his own views, Uwaifo (2009) posited that technical education is the preparation of technically oriented human resources who are to be the inventors, organizers and implementers of technological development of a nation.

The speedy technological advancement during the millennia era affect education and employment. The high level of unemployment and unstable economic, political and social-cultural have provoked new educational policies that emphasis vocational technical education to assist both the youths and adults to become self reliant. According to Cinterfor & Ilo (2006), vocational education can be an instrument to reduce the damaging impact of unemployment by enhancing more employment opportunites. Federal Republic of Nigeria (2004) said that vocational technical education is a part of the educational method comprising, in appendage to conventional education, the learning of technologies and sciences attainment of applied expertise, behaviour, knowledge and understanding suitable to the careers in different parts of economy and human life. Before now, Nigerians have believed vocational technical education to be meant for downtrodden, dulled and less advantaged (Okoro, 1993, Eze & Okorafor, 2012). Currently, the advanced system of the present age is moving in the direction of professional courses of study that can enhance development. Daniel (2001) argued that the major educational reforms have been centered on skills acquisition. According to him, several nations of the world adopted technical vocational education using diverse framework.

Therefore, Nigeria has joined other nations of the world in improving and moving vocational technical education towards ascertaining a nationwide approach of vocational technical education by providing for Education Trust Fund (ETF) that was established in 1993 to support and enhance the quality of vocational technical education in the country Olakunri (2006). The national government adopted a three-year accomplishment plan to improve vocational technical education by using Education Trust Fund (ETF). The Federal government arranged for the total sum of N5 billion to cover three years achievement plan from 2005 to 2007 Olakunri (2006).

Roles of Technical Vocational Education in National Development

Technical Vocational Education assists to:

1. Lead to transformation of attitudes to favour occupation where there are employable prospects.
2. Provide a part of skilled manpower for foreign investment.

3. Reduce poverty through access to higher income occupation for those who do not succeed academically in general education.
4. Lead to rapid economic development and prosperity arising from improvement.
5. Motivate industrialization in various developed countries of the world.

Problems Facing Technical Vocational Education in Nigeria

1. Inadequate funding: unlike other levels of education, technical vocational education is more capital intensive in terms of facilities and equipments, instructors and teachers . Nigeria has never met UNESCO's 26% benchmark in education funding.
2. Curricula Deficiency: (Uwaifo, 2009), most aspects of the curricula operated in vocational technical schools have been adjudged to be too academic and overloaded with intellectual content at the expense of basic engineering and technology.
3. Economic misfortune and collapse of industries: many manufacturing industries have relocated to Ghana and South Africa where power supply is considered stable enough.
4. Inadequate supply of teaching/learning materials: Olaitan (1996) reveals that our schools are overcrowded, laboratories, workshop facilities and output are deteriorating, consumables are depleting, library books are obsolete leading to poor quality of input process.
5. Bad attitude towards technical education: Negative attitude to technical education in contrast to regular academic degrees must be corrected. The National Policy on Education Section 6, Sub-Section 47 decried Nigerians' disregard for technical education which at the moment is somewhat considered as inferior to other types of education.

Recommendations

In order to achieve the vocational technical education objectives of Nigerian National Policy on Education to promote the national development and overcome the problems confronting development in Nigeria, the following recommendations should be followed to letter.

Engage Qualified Vocational Teachers

The need to appoint skilled and qualified vocational professionals as a drive to produce technical oriented human capacity for national development is very important. In order to catch up with the economic, social and political advancement in the world, Nigeria's vocational technical education must utilize qualified skilled teachers that is capable of carrying out the vocational technical education programme towards the national development. According

to Manfred & Jennifer (2004), the professional teachers possesses all the requisites expertise, capacity and capabilities for implementing the VTE programmes since technical education solely depends on qualified VTE teachers and trainers.

Integrate Vocational Technical Education in the Curriculum from Primary School to Tertiary Level

One of the major challenge that is facing vocational technical education in Nigeria is lack of continuity of vocational education from basic school to the tertiary educational level. The need for continuity is very important for equipping students with technical skills from basic school to tertiary educational level. This continuity and long training will fortify the students for self independence and enhance national development. Also, vocational technical education should be more of practicals other than the theoretical. The application of the theory becomes difficult due to unavailability of modern an well equipped laboratories, library and modern technologies.

Provision of Adequate Teaching and Learning Materials

Nigerian government should be committed to the provision of adequate and modern teaching and learning materials for vocational technical education. Modern laboratories, well furnished workshop, consumables, well equipped library, and new teaching technologies should be provided for teaching and learning process in Nigeria's Polytechnics and technical schools to improve skill acquisition that will eventually bring the desired development.

Teaching and Learning should Take place in Industries

For vocational technical education to be real an effective, teaching and learning process must take place in a real working environment. This will enhance the level of assimilation of the students beyond the theoretical knowledge. The students will have access to machines, equipments, and professionals on the field. They will be able to see, feel, touch and practicalize their vocational experience which will later lead to industrialization and development.

Reduce Emphasis on Certificate

Nigeria government should de-emphasize the emphasis placed on certificate. The nation should be much concern with producing graduates that can be self dependent and reliant with capacity to create employment. The emphasis on certificates over times in Nigeria has discouraged the interest in vocational education as people seek to possess certificates which is mostly recognise by Nigeria other than technical certificate. The placement of University degrees

over Polytechnic and other vocational institution certificates is worrisome. The wide gap in placement and disparity between University degrees and vocational certificates has made even people that are naturally endowed and technically oriented to settle for degrees that is mostly not relevant to the national development.

Adequate Funding

Vocational technical education should be adequately funded. The understanding that every kobo that goes into vocational technical education will come back into the economy by producing human capacity for development should encourage the government to spend without holding back. Vocational technical education is capital intensive and government should be willing to supply adequate funding to establish this sector of education bearing in mind that it will bring the desired national development. The cost of modern technologies, equipments, machines and professional is very high and the government must be committed to it.

Positive Attitude Towards Vocational Technical Education

Negative attitude to technical education in contrast to regular academic degrees must be corrected. The National Policy on Education Section 6, Sub-Section 47 decried Nigerians' disregard for technical education which at the moment is somewhat considered as inferior to other types of education. Vocational technical education is considered to be meant for less advantaged, the poor, people with disabilities and the less brilliant students and this bad notion must be corrected with campaign and greater support to vocational technical education.

Conclusion

The author study the impacts of colonial education on Nigeria's development. Despite the fact that colonial education was targeted towards the administrative convenience of the colonial masters to produce cheap labour, it is also observed that colonial education also have some advantages as mentioned in this paper. The inability of Nigerian government and her educational sectors to improve on and further the educational legacy provided by the colonial masters towards a development oriented one since Nigeria's independence in 1960 to date should be blamed. In order for Nigeria to overcome the current economic and social challenges being experienced, and the need to favourably compete with the advanced world, vocational technical education must be given the priority it deserve. The priority placed on certificate should be transfered on skill acquisitions that is capable of bringing desired national development.

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Battles of Third Marine Commando of the Nigerian Civil War in Uyo, Ikot-Ekpene Axis, 1967-1970

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Abstract

The Nigerian Civil War of 1967-1970 was basically an armed conflict between the Federal Government of Nigeria and the Biafran government. After all diplomatic means including the Aburi accord failed to resolve the dispute between Colonel Yakubu Gowon and Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu, the next alternative was a resort to that armed conflict. It has been demonstrated that the issues that led to the war could be categorized under both the remote and the immediate causes. The present study however discusses the war but with specific reference to the Uyo, Ikot Ekpene axis owing to the negligence in scholarly attention that this region has suffered. This study identifies the strategic position of this axis in the war as well as its crucial role in the Federal offensive operation against Biafra. Occupied mainly by the Annang and the Ibibio groups, the people of this axis maintained a strong opposition to the Biafran cause. The main aim of this study is to bring to light this unique position of the Ibilio in the entire civil war. The paper generated its data from both primary and secondary sources, but the bult of the data was derived from secondary sources. The conclusion supports the view that the success of the 3rd Marin Commando in the Uyo, Ikot Ekpene axis was due to the superior fire power and better training exhibited by the Federal troops in the battle field and equally important was the opposition of the Ibibio to the cause of the Igbo in the Civil War.

Introduction

Uyo, Itu and Ikot-Ekpene are local government areas in the present day Akwa-Ibom State of the Federal Republic of Nigeria with slight variations in dialect. While Uyo and Itu are a part of the Ibibio nation, Ikot-Ekpene is host to the Annang group. Interestingly, this variation in ethnic groups is taken seriously by the people as it borders on their political, religious, economic and social lives although strangers and non-indigenes of Akwa

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Ibom State see all the ethnic groups collectively under the nomenclature, Ibibio. Therefore, the people of AkwaIbom are viewed as the Ibibio but they are different ethnic groups. The Ibibio-speaking people occupy a part of the south-south geo-political region of Nigeria. They share boundary with the Ijo of Bayelsa State; the Igbo of the Imo State; with the Ekoi of Cross River State and other ethnic groups in the Camerouns and of course the Bight of Bonny.¹

The Ibibio have a coastline homeland which stretches from the Akpayafe river at the Nigeria-Cameroun border in the east to the Andonai river in the west, a distance of more than 130 kilometres; it extends for more than 110 kilometres northwards to ItuMbon Uso² which lies southeast of Bende in the Imo State.³ There are two vegetation belts in the area:- the mangrove swamp forest which fringes the coast, and the rain forest belt which lies north of the mangrove forest. The rainfall is heavy, being 3000 mm a year at Calabar and 2500 mm a year at Uyo. The area is generally flat with a few hills around Itu in the north and Oban in the east. There are innumerable rivers; from east to west – the Ikang, the Calabar, the Cross, the Kwa Iboe, the Imo, and the Andonai rivers with their innumerable creeks.⁴

The Annang is a sub-group of Ibibio dominant in Ikot Ekpene. The Annang are not different from the Ibibio in origin. The first mention of the name Annang was in 1854 in a book written by Sigismund Wilhelm Koelle, a German missionary in Sierra Leone. In his book, *Polyglotta Africana*, Koelle reported that was one of the languages spoken by those liberated by a British war ship, after which he settled in Waterloo, in Sierra Leone. He stated that there were at least two hundred other “kalaba” (Calabar) people in Sierra Leone. Koelle collected specimens of the languages spoken with the help of one Ibibio man and later, an Annang man.⁵ Evidence available showed that Annang is a sub-group of the Ibibio. In 1933, the senior Resident, Calabar Province, wrote a covering note to the Acting Lieutenant Governor, Southern Provinces indicating that the Annang are the Ibibio people, speaking a dialect of Ibibio and populating the areas covered by the Abak Division and the Western half of the Ikot Ekpene Division.⁶

Again, the Efik group developed from small communities of eastern Ibibio to the riverine area to form small fishing settlements, some of which later developed into big trading centers like Creek town and Duke town. K. O. Dike, agrees that the Efik are a branch of the Ibibio and says that it was due to the lucrative trade in slaves that the Efik moved from the Ibibio interior to their present home.⁷ Reconstructing the detailed migration of each of these groups presents a daunting task but the common signature

among the diverse groups is the identity they share in language which distills from a common stock, Ibibio.

South-Eastern State was created from the former Eastern Region of Nigeria by the regime of Lieutenant Colonel Yakubu Gowon in 1967. Its name was later changed from South Eastern State to Cross-River State in 1976 by the Murtala Mohammed regime with Calabar as its state capital.

The cultures of both groups share great affinities demonstrated in their music, drumming, religion, pattern of injunctions, dances as well as mode of dressing. The people basically involve in trade, farming, hunting, etc., and Ikot Ekpene specifically at the time was a nerve center of commerce because of its dealings with raffia, and so was called the raffia city. In the absence of a large scale machinery of political organization among the Ibibio, the British invaders concluded that the Ibibio had no political and legal systems which were worth preserving.

However studies have shown that the Ibibio political organization was based on social organization and consisted of six administrative divisions including *IdipEte, Ufok, Ekpuk, Obio or Idung, Oduk, Ikpaisong*. The Ibibio and Annang people of Uyo-Ikot Ekpene axis appeared not to be on the part of resistance during the civil war. For the most part, the average Ibibio never consented to the war being fought in their territory perhaps due to the belief that the Igbo were a domineering group and had not sought proper consultation from them before taking the step to initiate the war. Perhaps, this could also account for the incident of the Ibibio taking up the positions of sabotage in a bid to frustrate the efforts of the Biafrans as will be seen in the later part of this work.

As popularly established, the Third Marine Commando commanded by Benjamin Adekunle was in charge of liberating the area under study although Col. Olusegun Obasanjo was later dispatched to take over the command.

Plans by the Federal Troops Battle Order (The Third Marine Commando)

The place of the Third Marine Commando in the Nigerian Civil war remains unique. The command became the first unit to embark on an amphibious landing in Africa. Comprising of the Army, Navy and Air force, this command represented a fighting force that could not easily be dislodged by the Biafrans. Their efforts extended down into the Uyo, Ikot Ekpene axis of the war. The 3MCDO troop strength was put between 35,000 and 40,000 and comprise of street thugs, outlaws, renegades⁸ which were trained to become a formidable fighting force. Adekunle holds that when the boys of the Division were first presented to him, with the exception of a few officers, they were

raw, ill- trained, ill-disciplined set of ruffians. A driving force had to be instilled into them, the beauty of fighting and dying if need be for their fatherland. According to him, he proceeded to drill these lessons into the men with all the force at his command. To achieve the given tasks, certain factors had to be accorded detailed examination by a four- man team comprising Admiral (then Captain) Soroh, designated as the Task Forces Commander, Commander Rowe, Lt. Colonel B.A.M Adekunle, military forces commander and Major Gibson Jalo.⁹

Furthermore, the command was divided into 4 sectors. Sector 1 was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Godwin Ally and it comprised of 15 and 16 Brigade, 2 Sector by Lt Colonel Akinrade comprised of 14 and 17 Brigade, 3 Sector by Lt. Col. AlabiIsama, comprised of 12 Brigade, 13 Brigade and 18 Brigade and 4 Sector by Ayo Ariyo. 15 Brigade, under Major Yemi Alaibi (and later by Major Makanjuola) and 16 Brigade commanded by Major Utuk were tasked to conquer Owerri. 12 Brigade under Captain Isemede and 17 Brigade under Philemon Shande were given the responsibility to conquer Aba. 13 Brigade commanded by Major Tuoyo and 18 Brigade under Major Aliyu were given the task of capturing Umuahia. 14 Brigade commanded by Major George Innih was to provide the link between Owerri and Aba.¹⁰

Battle Order and Plans by the Biafran Forces

All the Biafran forces in Calabar, Uyo and Eket provinces were regrouped during the month of January, 1968 to form the 12 Division under Colonel Akagha. The 12 Division had the 55 and 56 Brigades under command initially, but when the tactical situation made it impossible for the 55 Brigade to remain under the control of 12 Division, the 58 Brigade was formed to replace it. The 56 Brigade under Colonel Simon Uwakwe, was based in Arochukwu while the 58 under Colonel Ifeanyi Aniebo who had just come back from a mission abroad was based at Uyo. The new 58 Brigade was nothing more than a weak battalion made up of remnants of units that took part in the Calabar battle.¹¹ However, at the end of the Annang-Uyo battles as will be seen, the original Biafra 58 Brigade under Colonel Aniebo had split into a new 58 Brigade under Major Olehi and the 62 Brigade.¹²

The Loss of Uyo and Annang Provinces to the Federal Troops

In March, 1968, the federal forces commenced a massive daily air bombardment of the entire area between Oron and Ikot Ekpene. Originally, it was intended that 13 and 14 Brigades should open the new campaign with an amphibious operation in Itu about mid- March. 16, 17 and 19 Brigades landed in Oron and Eket and, linked up with 14 Brigade, proceeded to Port

Harcourt. The new campaign did not hold and so the amphibious operation of 13 and 14 Brigades failed at Itu. When the first canoe came up with the men of 8 Battalion, a barrage of Biafran fire drove them back. Despite this set back, the Oron landing proceeded as planned. The Nigerian Navy and the Air force pounded Oron and James beaches but resistance at Oron Wharf did not yield to the pounding. The landing had to be diverted to the Allen Saw Mills from where 33 Battalion dispersed through the town and gained complete control of the town and all approaches to it.

The Oron and Itu forces linked up at Uyo, cutting off substantial quantities of federal supplies and troops who later surrendered. Ikot Ekpene became so threatened that rebel forces almost completely abandoned it, running into the bush in civilian dresses.¹³ It is on record that Biafran forces did not spare towns, villages or important institutions or establishments. Specifically, the Mission hospital reputed to have been one of the outstanding hospitals in Itu at the time came under a particularly heavy and daily air bombardment until it finally collapsed with a tragedy of killing the patients inside the hospital. Madiebo further stated from his own position that on the 6th of April, 1968, the federal forces initiated a heavy artillery bombardment of Oron beach. In addition, throughout the day, two jet bombers ran shuttles from Calabar to off load their bombs on Oron beach head at thirty minutes intervals. During the first 48 hours of battle, the Biafran troops situated at Oron, supported by a reserve company from Uyo, foiled four federal attempts to land a brigade on Oron beach. Three boats belonging to the federal side were sunk by Biafra's lone artillery gun firing directly at the boats before the Nigeria Air Force planes discovered the position of the Biafrans troops and destroyed it.¹⁴

The Biafrans got a similar experience during the landings at Bonny beach where they failed to prevent the federal troops from landing on the Island. As strategic as the Bonny Island was to the Biafrans, it fell quickly to the superior fire power of the Federal troops within quite a short period of time. This strategic blunder perhaps failed to support the assertion put forward by Adekunle who called the Island an attacker's nightmare and a defender's paradise owing to the fact that the Biafrans failed to utilize the Island to their advantage.¹⁵ To this end, perhaps the Biafrans had or had not learnt from their previous mistake at Bonny. For one thing, perhaps they did their 'best' to fight off the federal troops from landing at the beach head in Oron before their onward march into Uyo and Ikot Ekpene and for the other, it could be concluded that their best efforts were not effective enough to stop the federal troops from landing at the Oron beach notwithstanding the lessons gotten from Bonny.

On the 9th of March, the Federal troops landed successfully at Oron after several difficult attempts and from then on, no one including the Brigade Commander Aniebo, seemed to have a knowledge about what was happening until Ikot-Ekpene, 50 miles from Oron fell. The speed employed here supported the allusion to the Blitzkrieg strategy employed by the Germans in WWII. However, within hours of enemy landing, there was firing in many towns and villages between Oron and Uyo. Thereafter, wherever the Biafran Commanders tried to deploy troops to resist troops of the Third Marine Commando that was already advancing in full speed, they fell into ambush. That confusion continued until the 11th of March, when firing started inside Uyo town and it was soon discovered that the Federal troops were already in Uyo town.¹⁶ Locals in the area recount bombs dropping from the jet fighters and on landing on the ground usually sunk a big and deep hole that later grew into valleys. Again they reported occasions of bombs dropping on innocent civilians and turning them completely charred and black.¹⁷

This was an expected scenario from the federal troops due to the strategic planning they had on ground. For an effective positioning of Federal troops and for the dislodging of the Biafrans, the route- Abala in Nwa division, connecting Urua Inyang to Utu Etim Ekpo and then to central Annang in Ikot Ekpena was mapped out by the Federal side. Intelligence gathering reaching the Federal troops at the time had disclosed that the Biafran soldiers were occupying Nung Ukim Native Court, Ukpum Awana Native court and parts of Eastern Ibibio Ikono from where they attempted to infiltrate into the heart of IkotEkpena. Also they attempted to infiltrate into Ikot Okpora-South from Ikpe Ikot Nkon and Atan Oku in Eniong Division through Cross River.¹⁸

From intelligence report with the Third Marine Commando, Ojukwu had an underground hideout at the Presbyterian Church premises at Assang in Eniong division. He arrived at Assang from Arochukwu on 9th July, 1968 and stayed in the bunker or hideout. Three battalions of Biafran soldiers were positioned at Obot Ito, Ikpa Nta and Idoro villages in Eniong division. It was gathered that buildings camouflaged with palm fronds and grasses were housing locally manufactured tanks and vehicles. A radio transmitter was also mounted on a Land Rover with black pole. It was believed that the federal side were planning to launch an attack on Itu from these positions. The School of Technology about six miles along Aba- Ikot Ekpena Road was converted by the Biafrans to Military Intelligence Office. It was known that the Biafrans had their external Broadcasting Station at Umuahia behind Girls Secondary School, about a mile from the heart of the town along Umuahia- Uzuakoli Road. In the same locality, there was a big valley where

the federal sides trained their men in guerilla warfare¹⁹ which will later be used by the Federal side in the recapture of Ikot Ekpene as will be seen subsequently in the later part of this study. Alexander Madiebo holds that Uyo had fallen not so long after the Federal side proceeded from Oron. Following up to this, the Biafran troops were pulling back in disarray, disoriented and absolutely unable to establish a defensive position anywhere along the route.²⁰

While the confusion appeared to be unending, Ikot Ekpene fell on the 12th of April barely six days after the Oron Landing. Realistically speaking, the Federal troops had covered a distance of 50 miles from Oron to Ikot Ekpene within that short period without any serious battle. The reason for this is quite clear. Right before the campaign to liberate the area, the Federal side recruited and organized local collaborators in all the towns and villages in the area. They readily supplied them with information on the routes and the whereabouts of the Biafran troops. The recruitment was not quite a difficult feat owing to the fact that most of the locals were never in support of the Biafran agenda. Under this scenario, they demonstrated their loyalty and support.²¹

From the foregoing, the arriver of the Third Marine Commando at Oron, signaled the formation of various saboteur groups who dressed up in Nigerian Army Uniforms and operated in accordance with the timing and landing.²²This particular strategy took the Biafrans totally by surprise. Of course the Biafrans knew that there were locals *abinitio* who were not in support of the Biafran project, but then the extent to which the collaborators expressed their reservations in this case was unimaginable.²³

It is a “slippery” thought to hold when Madiebo in his book, addressed the issues between the Igbo and the locals as ‘minor domestic differences’.²⁴This position is far from the reality consequent upon the data that was generated from the field in the course of this study. More often than not, the local people had a form of certainty and uniformity in their positions. They saw the problems between the Igbo and the locals as serious issues that ultimately bred paranoia, fear and suspicion even before the war and right into the war. The locals maintained the position that the Igbo were oppressors and had the intention to create a form of internal imperialism. As such they were bound to resist this move by any means possible. Perchance, the Civil War afforded them the opportunity to act as saboteurs to the highest level possible. This shall be looked into in diverse circumstances soon.

Indeed, if the confusion that emerged in the Biafran army in the form of sabotage had continued without a quick fix for another 48 hours, Umuahia or Aba or perhaps both could have fallen into the federal hands. But after

Ikot-Ekpene, the Federal troops did not enjoy the cooperation of local inhabitants due to the fact that they were now in the Igbo heartland. On arriving at Ikot Ekpene, Umuahia, 35 miles away, and Aba, 24 miles away, the Federal troops and the Biafran Army were badly threatened. The Biafran army seemed to lack an organized resistance on any of the axes which were completely jammed with thousands of refugees. In a desperate move, Colonel Ivenso was sent to replace Aniebo. Very soon, there were complains and the Head of State was forced to remove him in few days. He was then posted to Army Headquarters as the Adjutant General. It was at this point that Colonel Aghanya, acting on his own initiative collected a platoon of 30 men and with it inched forward on the Aba- Ikot Ekpene road until he got to Uwa Bridge just outside Ikot Ekpene. He prepared and blew the bridge and established some defences behind it. Major Olehi, a battalion commander later took over the defence of the bridge. Interestingly, his unit began as a battalion inside Uyo Province and came out of it as a weak platoon, later advanced into the popular and strong 58 Brigade of the Biafran Army.²⁵ This only goes ahead to reveal the unsteady nature things assumed in the Biafran army. Decisions seemed to be taken in desperation and anxiety in the Biafran army with commanders shuttled in a manner that suggested a reactive and defensive warfare notwithstanding the fact that Military mistakes more often than not, are not only dangerous but deadly and suicidal.

Perhaps the Biafran army was not only ill prepared for the battle in the axis but also lacked the wherewithal to command and control. Again on the Ikot Ekpene-Umuahia road, the situation was even more explosive as most of the officers were not still out of the confusion and there was nobody immediately available to reorganize the troops and establish defences. At that stage, Major Oji who was still undergoing treatment at Queen Elizabeth Hospital at Umuahia as a result of the injuries he sustained at the battle in Calabar, volunteered to leave the hospital in order to go and command the troops along Umuahia-Ikot Ekpene road. His left hand was still in very bad shape and there was still a good chance of him being amputated. He however put so much pressure on the Head of State and as such Ojukwu could not refuse his request, so he had to let him go. Major Oji collected a company of armed men from various administrative units around Umuahia and advanced towards Ikot Ekpene on the 14th of April. On his way, he also collected and reorganized all troops he could find and marched with them. His force was a weak battalion when he came in contact with the federal troops six miles from Ikot-Ekpene town. Following this, a two hour fierce battle took place before the enemy withdrew into Ikot Ekpene town. Oji's battalion moved to within half a mile from Ikot Ekpene and there established a strong and

permanent defence. This force later grew into the 62 and 52 Brigade and Oji became the first Brigade Commander. Therefore at the end of the Annang-Uyo battles, the original Biafra 58 Brigade under Colonel Aniebo had split into a new 58 Brigade under Major Olehi and the 62 Brigade under Major Oji.²⁶



This Annang man explained to the International Observers how Biafran troops destroyed his home and killed all his family.



International observers visited destroyed homes of Annang people at Uyo, Ikot-Ekpene, Abak, Itu and Etinan 1969.

Source: G.A Isama, *The Tragedy of Victory*

As was expected, civilians all over Biafra and particularly those around Aba and Umuahia were furious with the people of Uyo and Annang provinces for the role some of them played in the collapse of these provinces. More so

as there were still Annang villages within ten miles from Ikot Ekpene towards Aba and Umuahia many people held the fear that a repetition of the previous disaster was not only probable but imminent.²⁷

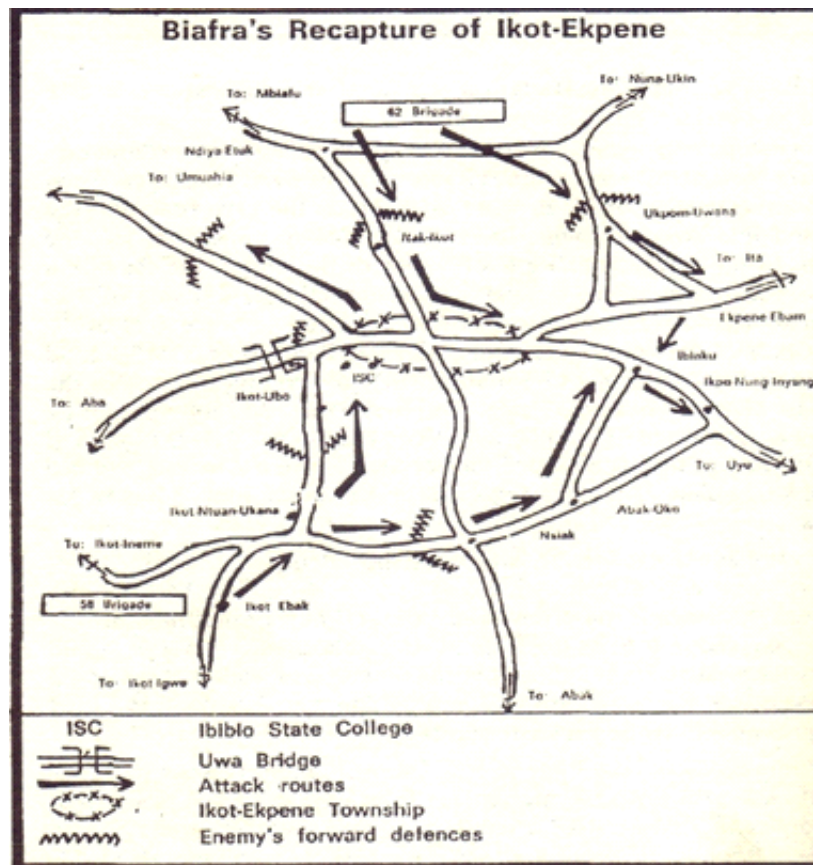
Civil Defence Organisations, from Umuahia and Aba which were acting on their own, without taking orders from the Biafran Headquarters launched an offensive to get rid of real and perceived saboteurs in the Annang land. They carried out violent attacks on the people including innocent ones. Although the army denied issuing this order, the leaders of Annang and Uyo provinces held Major Oji responsible for all the damage done to their villages by the Civil Defence. They maintained that Oji was in a position to halt violence.

From then on, till the end of the war in 1970, Ojukwu came under pressure to lay off Oji as the Commander yet Ojukwu refused till the last fortnight of the war when he finally obliged to do so. It was then that Oji was sacked from the army to please the people of Annang and Uyo, unknown to them that the war was soon to be over.²⁸ However, it was believed that if a competent authority had explained to Annang leaders the reasons for the combing exercise and apologized for the excesses, the whole incidence may have ended quite amicably. Rather, it was thought that by so doing, the loyalty (if any) of Annang and Uyo might be lost.²⁹

The Recapture of Ikot Ekpene by Biafran Forces

There is no doubt that Ikot Ekpene was a strategic town and hence was heavily contested for by both sides in the war. This was because the town provided the main gateway to Igbo heartland and as such a Federal control of the town would not only signal Biafra's vulnerability to imminent defeat. The battle to recapture Ikot Ekpene from the Federal troops was a task that must be achieved in order to keep the war going.

The Federal troops expected Biafran counter attacks and so defences were put up by the Federal side on the outskirts of the town. Perhaps the Federal government wanted to avoid being forced into fighting troops from the core Igbo land before their desired "H-Hour". However, there were contingencies in place should the original plan be threatened given that in warfare, the unintended and unexpected must always be expected. Lt. Col. Obeya was therefore at Itu with 18 Brigade in reserve, which was why he did not see the action during the capture of Port Harcourt. He was holding a very strategic position in order to avoid Biafran troops springing a surprise by attacking either Calabar from Ikot-Okpota, or attack Ikot- Ekpene from Umuahia, or attack Opobo from Aba. Ekpene was therefore attacked in June 1968 by the Biafrans.



Source: A. Madiebo, *The Nigerian Revolution and The Biafran War*

On reaching Uyo, at the Brigade HQ, Isama was briefed on the map on the military situation and generally on what transpired. The battalion commander at Ikot Ekpene, Capt. Audu Jalingo had captured some prisoners of war who were visibly hungry and worn out. They were reported to have gone without food for three days. Again, most of the refugees returning to Ikot Ekpene were so lean and sick that Audu gave them some food and fed the Biafran Prisoners of War (POWs).³⁰

The Biafrans before now had already organized their forces ready to take on the federal troops in different areas of the town. They had set in place logistics made to recapture the town again the third time from the Federal government but yet their best efforts seemed not sufficient to dislodge the brilliant move and tactics that was adopted by the Federal side.³¹

All the Federal supplies and ammunition including the newly supplied Russian artillery gun with which the Federal side was training with was captured. As usual the Biafrans got bogged down inside Ikot Ekpene fighting the federal company on guard duties at Ibibio State College on the outskirts of the town. The company holding out was ordered to hold on to their position and then spread in sections of ten across the town. They were not to be reinforced but must be in possession of sufficient ammunition to hold on for a day. Sequel to this, patrols were dispatched to Ikot- Ineme, Uwa, Obot Akara, and to Ikot Ekpene itself to gather sufficient information about the position of the Biafrans.³²

The move made by the Federal side to contain the Biafrans subsequently was a double envelopment. While the troops on the main axis of Ikot Ekpene-Uyo road would be dug- in at Ikpe junction, western envelopment would advance from Abak on the left and the eastern development would advance from Itu on the right while the troops holding on at Ikot Ekpene would withdraw from to the already planned rendezvous by running to the rendezvous at Ikpe junction, which was the place prepared as a killing ground according to the plan. It was calculated that should the Biafrans see the Federal troops withdrawing in a feigned desperate frenzy, it would trigger a hot pursuit from the Biafrans who were unaware of the plans. Unfortunately, the Biafrans on seeing the Federal troops pursued them as calculated until they got to Ikpe junction, about 20 kilometers south of Ikot Ekpene, on Uyo road towards Oron waterside. The Federal troops were dug- in at Ikpe junction awaiting the advancing Biafran troops. The counter attack was for 06.00a.m and 23.00 pm that night, it was reported by Audu that all his troops had arrived at Ikpe junction. Audu also made his report to the Commander of the Brigade that he had only one soldier shot on the thigh. He wanted to start the offensive that night due to the growing impatience to retaliate for the betrayal of the Biafrans took out on them during the football match. He was refused as that would have gone contrary to the plan. By this time, the patrol sent to gather reports and intelligence had arrived with information.³³

The advance plan was formulated thus; all 13 Brigade officers and men were battle ready. Major Tuoyo, 5.5 Tomoye, Capts. Ighodalo, Musa Wamba, Haruna, Gagara, Ekpo, Basse, Ishola and Olatunbosun were ready with their units and itching for battle. At 6.00am Musa Wamba to the left from Abak took off while Gagara to the right also commenced advance towards Ikot Ekpene in the envelopment plan. Sunny Tyouyo, Tomoye and Alabilsama proceeded frontally, on Uyo- Ikot Ekpene road. Musa Wamba was given orders to capture Uwa on Ikot Ekpene- Aba road while Gagara would capture

Obot Akara on Ikot Ekpene- Umuahia road. These were their positions before the soccer match. Audu was not allowed to advance with the others because his battalion was in reserve at Ikpe junction. By 14:00pm, Ikot Ekpene was retaken by the Federal side. Isama captured Uyo-Ikot Ekpene road without a fight but they went around it, in envelopment tactics.³⁴

Audu Jalingo's troops then went back into Ikot Ekpene and took over their trenches to defend the town. In the meantime, Audu alone went over to assist Gagara to the right on the right flank advance. It was after the recapture of this town that Audu saw some Biafran troops who happened to have been cut off on Ikot Ekpene Itu road to the right running away. At this point, Audu stood up and took some steps towards them, he placed his foot on one of the home made Biafran mines, Ogbunigwe. What ensued was tragic as his two legs were ripped off by the mine right into the sky, yet he survived but was to live on crutches for the remaining part of his life. Apart from Audu, who lost his legs, casualty rate on the Federal side was minimal during the recapture of Ikot Ekpene but the casualty figures on the Biafran side were heavy including Lt. Col. Archibong, one of the Biafran Commanders who was buried at St. Luke's Hospital, Anua in Uyo.³⁵

While the above submission happens to be the position advanced basically by the Nigerian side, the Biafrans did not fail to put up their position regarding the recapture of Ikot Ekpene. It has been gathered that the Biafrans had put plans on ground and had executed some of the plans to a considerable extent in bid to recapture Ikot Ekpene. Both the 58 and 62 Brigades of the Biafran army were to be responsible for the offensive at Ikot Ekpene. However the major challenge to a proper execution of their plans was perhaps the shortage of weapons.³⁶

Judging from the amount of ammunition captured at Umuabayi, the 12 Division would have had no ammunition difficulties for quite some time. Unfortunately, the bulk of the small arms ammunition was of a caliber that could not be fired by any weapon in use within the Biafran army. Those that could have been of use were taken over by the Army Headquarters and shared to all units apart from a small extra quantity given to 12 Division as her prize for the successful offensive. The outline plan for the offensive was as follows;

The 58 Brigade, the First battalion was to move from Ikot Ebak to capture Ikot-Nturen-Ukana on the Abak road. Having made preparation to protect its rear, the Battalion would move on to clear Nsiak, Abak-Okoko and then Ibiaku on the Ikot Ekpene- Uyo road. Thereafter it was expected to exploit its success to a limit of Ikpe-Nung-Inyang town and from there to be prepared to advance to Uyo. The Second Battalion of the Brigade had

the task of moving northwards from the Ikot-Ntuen Ukana to clear Ibibio state College on the outskirts of Ikot Ekpene town. As soon as Ikot Ekpene had been taken completely, this Battalion moved, on order to Ntuen Ukana to reorganize and be prepared to clear Ikwak. The third Battalion remained in its location in defensive position, with a reserve force for the Brigade.³⁷

The 21 Battalion of the 62 Brigade moved from Ndiya-Etuk to clear Ukpom-Uwanalkot-Nyoho and Ekpene Ebam on the Ikot-Ekpenetu road. It moved from there to establish a link with the 58 Brigade on the Uyo- Ikot Ekpene road. A successful completion of that task sealed off enemy troops inside Ikot Ekpene town. The 22 Battalion of the Brigade moved from Ndiya-Etuk through Itak-Ikot and cleared the right half of Ikot Ekpene. The 23 Battalion remained in a defensive role and acted as a Brigade reserve force as well. The operation was well conducted and the Federal troops retreated on almost all the axes after a short resistance. The First Battalion astrided the Uyo-Ikot Ekpene town and further went ahead to clear the entire town. Eventually, the 22nd Battalion of 62 Brigade also moved into the town. Even though the 21st Battalion of 62 Brigade could not advance further than Ukpom Anwana, they had completely cleared Ikot Ekpene and up to a minimum of six miles.³⁸

Wireless intercepts from the federal side showed that the Biafrans were disoriented and were evacuating from Uyo to Oron. There were no sufficient weapons to carry our plans to a logical conclusion otherwise perhaps the Biafrans would have beaten the federal government in the battle of Ikot Ekpene. After the town was captured, prisoners released had been starved to the extent that their skins were closer to their bones. Madiebo blamed the Federal government for imposing economic sanctions on the Biafrans during the war. The most significant item capture from the counter offensive was a brand new 105mm artillery gun. Colonel Eze, the motivation behind the offensive was promoted to the rank of Brigadier by Ojukwu.³⁹

It is necessary to interrogate the positions submitted by both the Biafran and the Federal side though their plans and executions were bound to be different. However, a careful look at some of the statements forwarded by the two sides show to some extent their authenticity. The Biafrans no doubt had a constructive plan to dislodge the Third Marine Commando (3MC) but it appears their ambition was more theoretical than practical. This is so because the plans on ground were encompassing and should have swallowed the 3MC in a flawless defeat. Looking at the roots they had mapped out to rid the Federal troops from Ikot Ekpene, it amounted to a little time before the 3MC was thrown out of the town. Again it appears the ambitious plans of Biafrans failed owing to the lack of weapons to prosecute their plans.

Weapons to a large extent is 'the blood line' that gives life to war and failure to supply the needed quantity only leaves war "starved and malnourished." Thus it only amounted to a noble dream for Biafrans who decided to create an ideal environment for the prosecution of war on paper but lacked the means to drive the war. Madiebo captures this very fact when he stated thus;

We were still waiting for ammunition when the enemy completed his reorganistaion and launched a massive counter attack heavily supported by artillery, mortars and jet bombers and fighters. We gradually withdrew to our former defences, disappointed but not exactly demoralized. For apart from large quantities of stores, equipment and food we captured, we had proved to all Biafrans that given adequate supplies, the enemy could be removed from any Biafran town he occupied without much difficulty.⁴⁰

Conclusion

The paper discussed the military operations in the Uyo, Ikot Ekpene axis of the Nigerian civil war (1967-1970) emphasizing on the battle order on both the Nigerian and the Biafran sides. Indeed, it has been stated that though the Biafrans were inbuilt with an element of resolve to oust the 3MC from the axis, through the recapture attempts, their military prowess(military hardware) and logistics proved insufficient to supplant the federal troops who were better organized, trained and equipped for the battle in the axis. The Biafrans were thrown aback into an unsteady and uncollected position. The importance of Ikot Ekpene must have forced the Biafrans to fight fiercely to keep the town from falling three times. However, as collected from available evidence, the fire Power of the Biafran side was not effective enough to keep the 3MC away from recapturing Ikot Ekpene. Again, it has been discussed that the ethnic minorities were highly instrumental to the victory of the Federal troops and to the defeat of the Biafrans. Among other ways, they expressed their dissatisfaction, opposition and indifference to the Biafran project through sabotage, provision of food and drinks to the federal troops, reconnaissance, militia support, etc. Finally, it must be emphasized that the role of the people of Uyo and Ikot-Ekpene, as well as the unpreparedness of the Biafrans determined the outcome of the battles.

Endnotes

1. See Administrative Map of Nigeria, 6th ed. (Lagos: Federal Survey, 1967). This indicates the direction of the migration of these people- the Itu. These were artistic people from Itu who migrated to their present home.
2. This indicates the direction of the migration of these people – the Itu. These were artistic people from Itu who migrated to their present home. *MbonUso*(artists).

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Ideological Mutation and New Dimension in Nigeria's Leadership Project: Wole Soyinka's *Alapata Apata* Considered

Elisha Dareng Rwang

Abstract

Leadership question remains a dominant discourse in the Nigerian literary landscape and the literary drama in particular. Right from the days of independence to date, the Nigeria project has had to contend with the problem of the right kind of leadership among other problems. It is also a known fact too that the ideologies of the playwrights in Nigeria have been so thought to be accordingly, polarised between advocates of an elitist and conservative leadership style and those who favour a populist and a revolutionary kind of leadership. This paper thus explores the ideological mutation and new dimension in Soyinka's play *Alùpatà ÀpÚta* (2011). Using a qualitative methodology by content analysis and relying on the New Historicists and Cultural Materialist theoretical framework, this paper critiques the play *Alùpatà ÀpÚta* towards asserting that there is a new orientation in the playwright's visioning of Nigeria's leadership project. The hermeneutics of theatre entails readers/ audience response. This paper benefits from performance indices which demonstrate a new understanding of the playwright's envisioning of a new leadership project for Nigeria through audience survey.

Introduction

No matter how far we try to distance literature from ideology as the 2000 Nobel laureate Gao Xingjian argues, the literary drama like all productions of the literary art remains an ideological process. Ideology in literature in the new century 2000 onward as averred by Xingjian has come to an end or perhaps needs to come to an end. Therefore, for the literary giant, all revolution he says, in literature and literatures of revolutionary struggle are yielding to new forms of aestheticism which is compelling it to address the urgent needs and demands of individual human existence. Xingjian (608) asserts that:

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The new century has already arrived. I will not bother about whether or not it is in fact new but it would seem that the revolution in literature and revolutionary literature, and even ideology may have all come to an end. The illusion of a social utopia that enshrouded more than a century has vanished and when literature throws off the fetters of this and that -ism it will still have to return to the dilemmas of human existence. However the dilemmas of human existence have changed very little and will continue to be eternal topic of literature.

It is indeed a fact the literature of the present century has numerous issues bothering on human need and cooperate survival than to continue to harp on an aestheticism or rather the pursuit of philosophical debate that only enshrouds the sociological vitality of the literature.

Yet, despite this denial of ideology in literature and looking at the question of society and the existential nature of the human needs as necessary componential in the arts in general, one is forced to conclude that Xingjian's proposition is all the same ambivalent. What is more that in trying to shun ideology and all shades of consciousness in literature, Xingjian (599), appears to have aligned with Ideology after all when he argues that "literature does not simply make a replica of reality but penetrates the surface layers and reaches deep into the inner workings of reality; it removes false illusions, looks down from great heights at ordinary happenings, and with a broad perspective reveals happenings in their entirety". This statement in itself is a proposition for ideological refocusing of all literary arts. It thus raises the question, whether ideology is really likely to be non-existent in the literature of the new century 2000 or alternatively, is Xingjian proposing a different variant of ideology that does not necessarily emphasise the notion of class consciousness and its attendant call for social utopia?

To contextualize ideology in this study, we stick to Eagleton (14), who states that "By 'ideology' I mean, roughly, the ways in which what we say and believe connects with the power-structure and power relations of the society we live in". Eagleton's conception of literary productions as ideological process therefore avers that:

A literary text is related to GI (General Ideology) not only by how it deploys language but the particular language it deploys. Language, that most innocent and spontaneous of common currencies, is in reality a terrain scarred, fissured and divided by the cataclysm of political history, strewn with relics of imperialist nationalist, regionalist and class combat. (54)

The language of literature, so to speak, is not innocent rather it predicates the mood and perhaps also the action associated with the social consciousness

that is produced by the historical realities of a giving society. Ideology as contained in all arts informs people of their being in relation to others and in the manner of their material relations; that is the “haves” and the “have not” the “Oppressor” and the “oppressed” the “same” and the “other” in that order. Likewise, literature as a product of ideology reifies such relations within its language structure and aesthetic values as such ideology is hardly absent in any artistic production.

It is argued further then, that literature and indeed drama remains an ideological production in so far as the society remains trapped in the web of power play and discourse vis-a-vis the functionality of the art and drama in particular. Right from the time the art became concerned with the affairs of man and his physical environment, art definitely assumes a posture in pursuance of ideology. Dramatic literature pushes toward not passive receptivity but for didacticism and spiritual, also emotional encounter. All what we see in ideology is power-play between not less than two competing and more or less conflicting viewpoints. Dramatic literature therefore, gives us certain socially determined representations of the real situation of society. It is in this context that ideology is attributed to literature to refer to the life aspirations of man and his living condition caught in the cross-fire of material contest. These material situations also have proven not to be stable but always in a state of flux and therefore influencing the nature of artistic production, thereby prompting ideological mutations.

Ideological mutation equally means the fluidity with which a playwright handles his subject matter, projecting his view points to reflect the social and historical realities prevalent in his time. As wa Thiong'o (47) notes about the writer, his art and societal change that:

A writer responds, with his total personality, to social environment which changes all the time. Being a kind of sensitive needle, he registers, with varying degree of accuracy and success, the conflict and tension in his changing society. Thus the same writer will produce different types of work, sometimes contradictory in mood, sentiment, degree of optimism and even world view. For a writer himself lives in, and is shaped by history.

It is in the same light also, conveying the same argument in its most contemporary sense that Lindfors, (30), remarks that:

Writers in each era have chosen forms appropriate for conveying a political message to a particular audience and have switched to other forms when environmental conditions have altered. Thus in morphology as well as ideology, literary art has been responsive to the wind of change that swept across sub-Saharan Africa in the mid-

twentieth century. The intellectual history of a continent undergoing rapid cultural transformation can be discerned in the significant mutation such literatures manifest (Emphasis mine).

It suffices to say that ideological mutation is consequent from historical change. This is manifestly represented in the temperament the playwright takes to tackle a particular issue. The Nigerian playwrights irrespective of their acclaimed aesthetic and ideological preoccupations have had cause to redefine their dramaturgy given the prevailing historical circumstances. This accounts for new dimension in the plays of our selected playwright. In his post-military engagement in drama, there is a consensus of opinion by critics like Jeyifo (91) Akoh (266) that Wole Soyinka has had cause to redefine his ideo-aesthetic commitment to embrace socialist realism while maintaining his critical stance. This, in the opinion of the present discourse is a pointer to ideological mutation as would be contextualised further using the leadership question in the selected play.

There is no doubt that the question of the right kind of leadership and the consequences of a defective leadership style have in either ways preoccupy the thematic focus of the literary drama in Nigeria. Leadership being a necessary coefficient of human existence has been at the centre of human concern, as to whether or not any society is progressing from a monolithic to a complex and integrated community. The sociologist Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) has classified leadership among what he calls “social facts” inevitably those forces and structures and institutions that are external to and control the individual. The institution of leadership of any kind serves to direct the individuals in any society toward greater ideals. Where this latent function comes under doubt and where society begins to alter and reorder these institutions of leadership is where the leadership question comes to mind.

The leadership question in Nigeria according to Reuben Embu (500) is one issue that is being discussed daily in human circles because of its importance to our national growth. He notes particularly that it has to do with “the calibre of people we have as leaders in Nigeria in all arms of government which give one a cause for concern”. He states further that “the problem in this country is that generation after generation, we have the same kind of people in government” (504) reinforcing the aphorism of “recycling of leaders”. Thus in his critique of Musa Ena’s *The King’s Guard* (2000) Embu identifies in the play, a revolutionary kind of leadership proposed by the playwright in the manner of the post war dramatists’ quest for the right kind of leadership in Nigeria.

The leadership question in Nigeria has also been looked at in a more extended context by Mowah who avers that Nigeria's myriad of problems could not be divorced from the problem with its leadership. He stressed further that "leadership problem in the country becomes an issue also, since the problems which are legion are deliberately created by the leaders and allowed to overwhelm the entire country" (12). Following this perspective of the argument, playwrights in Nigeria have tried to place the inertias of the leadership for criticism by projecting especially their excesses or charlatantry as seen in most of Soyinka's political satires. Most often too, these analyses of the leadership question naturally leaves out the complicity of the followership in the kind of dilemma the country finds itself in.

All attempts to discuss the problems of leadership are definitely a call to reorientation and therefore, a lot thrown for the enforcement of a new order. This is the conception of leadership project in this study as it concerns Nigeria. Wole Soyinka's *Afẹ́patà Àpẹ́tá* (2011) represents the playwright's consistent interrogation of leadership and the quest for good governance. The play questions the character of leadership succession in Nigeria's politics and brings to task the role of the followership in determining the choice of leadership it deserves.

Theoretical Framework

This paper is hinged on New Historicism and Cultural Materialism as a critical method which "points toward a historical critique of representation, one that takes into consideration the context of literary works as fundamental to their interpretation" (Castle, 121). In other words, the concern of this theory is with literature and the art in general as integral structure of other social life. Through this complex process of interaction proponents of this theory argue that both literature and history in particular; make up the general culture of an era. Therefore, New Historicism proposes a parallel reading of both literary and non-literary texts to arrive at the ultimate meaning in the criticism of a text.

Cultural materialism on the other hand is a refinement of New Historicists' methodology with close emphasis on political changes and responses through the literary text. Graham Holderness cited in Barry (182) describes it as "a politicised form of historiography". That is, it is the study of historical and cultural materials through the agency or politicised framework of the present which the literary work has in some way helped to shape. Cultural Materialism seeks to establish in literary criticism among other objectives, the historical context of a text, its theoretical method and its political commitment. Alfred Barry (184) posits that in criticism:

The result is that cultural materialism is much more optimistic about the possibility of change and is willing at times to see literature as a source of oppositional value. Cultural materialism particularly involves using the past to 'read' the present, revealing the politics of our own society by what we choose to emphasize or suppress of the past.

The present analysis in the methodology of the New Historicists and Cultural Materialists argues therefore, that just like the historical process itself, ideology in dramatic productions mutates with history of political change and the leadership project as represented in plays of Wole Soyinka as well, cannot be seen as locked up in the fix historiography of nihilistic and conservative discourse. This position affirms the views of New Historicists and also Cultural Materialists that history is not a homogeneous and stable pattern of facts. The events which serve as the "background" to the literature of an era and which literature can simply reflect, or which can be adverted to are very much related. As such, the changes that occur in history affect the aesthetic and ideological focus of a playwright and his works.

Dramatic Literature and the Climate of Socio-political Change in Nigeria

Like the drama of the last century following, drama in Nigerian in the present century 2000 to date has continued to draw from the traumatic socio-political and cultural changes called upon by the combined years of civil and military misrule. These experiences needless to say, have their attendant psychological effect on society. There is no gain saying that part of the shocks the Nigerian state had to face in the early decades of the twenty-first century is the unfolding of events arising from her return to civil rule from 1999 to date. There have been the persistent questions of leadership succession made rife by democracy, military adventurism, civil unrest and insurgency, ecological and national questions among other issues. During this period we have seen so far what appears to be the broadening and/or the narrowing of interest of the playwright in these issues. This is not without corresponding shifts in their dramaturgy, especially of our selected playwright in the play *Àlùpatà Àpùta*.

Looking at the play thematically, it can be deciphered that the play's conflict bothers on leadership and the collective will of the people under a democratic regime. The people are perceived as consciously or unconsciously pushing their destinies by their collective will. In a democracy, this is thought to be the case and therefore, their choice of leadership is equally thought to be well deserved. It is the argument of this paper also that while Soyinka projects ideologically, the strength of the common people to chart a cause

for their common good, this is not without satirical punches on the pitfalls of such zealousness and misplaced priority.

Furthermore, unlike most of his previous comic satires, in the present play, he assigns an active role to the common people, the class of commoners including the working class, itself comprising mechanics, commercial motorcyclists (Okada), traders and office workers. Others include students and peasant farmers. All these form the moving force for the play's conflict. Nevertheless, Soyinka satirical depiction of this revolutionary mood or class consciousness, rather questions the authenticity of the desired goal(s) as much as the vectors of change themselves.

Nigeria's democratic process since 1999 has raised a lot of questions that are seeking answers in the new dispensation, as far as the leadership project is concerned. The stark reality is that once more, the will to select by popular mandate, credible leaders is being thrust to the people. Yet, the narrative of the people's choice of "credible leadership" is leaving much to be desired. Besides a circumscribed process that favours incumbents and hegemonic return of past leaders by change of offices, the vexed culture of the return of the military in civilian garb is plaguing the new leadership project. This forms part of the thematic concerns for many literary drama of the post-military era which applies to the present analysis.

Soyinka's *AIÛpatà ÀpÛta* and the Leadership Project: Questioning Leadership beyond the Stereotype

The play *AIÛpatà ÀpÛta* forms part of Wole Soyinka's corpus of comic satires. Like most of these comic satires therefore, Soyinka tries to deploy his well known technique of weaving into play the trickster motif for political and social commentaries. With a slight modification on the trickster leitmotif, he makes yet, almost similar attacks on the social and political life of the contemporary Nigerian society with his satirical jibes. It is the argument of this paper that like his past satires where Soyinka directs his satirical barbs mostly on the leadership which plays tricks on the followership (*Jero Plays, The Lion and the Jewell, The Road*) for example, in the present play, the leadership question is revisited, but unlike the foregoing plays, Soyinka questions leadership beyond the nihilistic view. He holds society accountable rather, for playing tricks at leadership more than the leadership playing tricks at it.

Thus, in *AIÛpatà ÀpÛta* it appears that the extremities and the tricks of the political class have hardened the citizenry which has become accustomed to the game to have applied it to its erstwhile manipulators. The psychological war between the rulers and the ruled has created a reversed form of psychological torture where the rulers now become susceptible to the antics

of their erstwhile manipulated lots. Furthermore, this paper highlights how the playwright interrogates leadership succession especially by retired civilian and/or military figures. The study also aims at how the followership dictates these entire schemes consciously or unconsciously and the net result on the national psyche.

The interpretation of leadership quality and its inadequacies as represented in the present play bespeaks Soyinka's resort to the alternative character of *Esu* and humans' relationship. By implication, rather than seeing *Esu*'s trickster machination as embodied in a lone protagonist, we are directed to appreciate the alternative view in the people around the hero. ÀlàbŪ is the pivotal character. In his personality Soyinka finds a rallying point for all the conflicts that ensued in the play. Our attention is drawn to the *Esu* motif in this play from the description in the opening scene which suggests that the action of the play takes place at a crossroads. This is enough to generate the needed anxiety that drives the play. Accordingly, we get the real intent in the exchange between the farmer who points to the fact that ÀlàbŪ's sitting at the cross-road portend a sinister motive for himself and the passers-by. Thus the Second Farmer says it all:

2nd Farmer: And what is there on earth into which *Esu* cannot transform himself into? Whose body can he not occupy—man or woman? Whose identity can he not borrow when he wants to sow confusion? *Esu LŪ-à-lú. (Voice and body beginning to intone)* Is *Esu* not contrary one who threw himself into a burning house and still complained he was freezing? He sat in the palace courtyard but kept screaming that the space was too small for him, then he squeezed himself into the palm kernel and finally trenched himself into contentment. Ah, *Esu, léghara*, I beg you, don't mess around with my peace of mind... (Soyinka, 22-3).

ÀlàbŪ, is not *Esu* as he is ironically thought to be. The complainant is the one under the spell of *Esu* and not his suspect. This would be discussed further in due course.

Retirement means for ÀlàbŪ means a moment of total disconnect from his work life and finding rest and if possible, play advisory role if and only when it presents itself. However, it is ironic as we gather from this dialogue involving the Teacher, the Trader and her friend, the culpability of society in hatching their kind of leadership at any given time. This is also attributed to the meddlesome nature of *Esu* in people or people in *Esu* as express in the above passage. The dialogue runs:

Trader: Same goes for debit. The spelling spell debit.

Teacher: Sorry I don't get you.

Trader: The spelling..

Friend: My friend here is trying to tell you that although the painting casts a spell, the spelling causes a fainting spell.
(Soyinka, 102-3)

It is in the Teacher's final response that we understand that the "spell" which ordinary is referring to the error in the accents on the inscriptions on the new signboard is inducing a metaphysical dimension to the overall conflict of the play. He says:

Teacher: A-ah, cast a spell is right. We are all under a spell since last night, and you are fortunate to come under the spell. Soon the spell shall overwhelm the entire nation and abroad. And we owe it all to the spell cast by AlÜpatà himself...Ladies, this retirement of our *Syya* Master will prove the catalyst of much that is yet to come. This is the beginning. We shall prove that, simply by doing nothing, a man can still make his mark. Indelibly, ÀlàbÜ the Butcher will achieve more through inactivity than anyone ever did in active office. It's all a matter of genius. (Soyinka, 103-4).

The foregoing remarks hold a lot about both the thematic thrust of the play and as well, the ironic configuration of its conflicts. The fact that someone can achieve more feats by inactivity or by being out of office is the paradox in this play. Furthermore, the allusion to knowing that everyone is under a "spell" underscores the active role of the people in determining the course of unfolding events. The Teacher explains that like the "carnival spirit" (Soyinka, 102), the people's will to direct their destinies is echoed in this metaphoric representation. There is little wonder then that even ÀlàbÜ has come to accept that the society has played a trick at him and he accepts as an act of fate. In his words as he describes his situation:

ÀlàbÜ: (*Sighs*) I keep saying I'm a retired man but see what fate had been keeping in store for me. The wives of Generals— some of them were my best customers, you know, those ones who never haggled over the price of meat— well they used to complain that their husbands were not allowed to retire, even with all that RTD after their names. They kept their uniforms spick and span, hanging in their wardrobes, with camphor balls, all shinny with medals and ribbons. I'm beginning to think that *IjÜ* has decided that this should also be my fate. Before I retired, I use to put animals out of their pains. Now it seems I am fated to put people out of their misery. Always on call, one way or the other, even without my knives and apron. I am beginning to think it's on account of this rock. No matter what, I accept my fate. So, what is the problem? (Soyinka, 119-20).

In Nigeria's historical context, retired personnel have found themselves back into the circle of leadership positioning both in civil and the military regimes. Persons retired from active service have been called upon to assume active leadership roles in politics, public service and traditional leadership institutions. Cases to illustrate these are many. For instance, there are cases where past military personnel are called upon to take leadership roles as traditional rulers or in elective and appointed positions in democratic rule including governorship, ministerial positions and office of the president. Likewise, retired personnel from the civil service are equally "recycled" in various positions during military regimes. This practice points to the hypocrisy of society and the double standard with which leadership is maintained. Dàani'lébo the governor makes this clear in his encounter with ÀlàbÜ. He believes that even in retirement there is still power. That is why he thinks ÀlàbÜ's retirement cannot be any different from that of people before him. Dàani'lébo cites the example of the Military General his mentor, who is contesting both power and wealth with him, and even the supposed treasure he hopes for under ÀlàbÜ's rock. He says:

Dàani'lébo: Yes, but you didn't know. He was here this morning. The General who came to attack your rock. Like you he pretends to be retired, but he keeps putting back his uniform, changing from military to civilian and back to military, to monetary and bribery and chicanery and giving me trouble. He came here looking for something, at crack of dawn... (Soyinka, 135-6).

The scenario mentioned above depicts the Nigerian situation where there is hardly any difference between civil rule and military dictatorship. The two have blended almost perfectly. Of course, by the invitation of the society the retired soldiers have resurfaced as key players in democratic rule contesting for relevance with the civilian actors. The irony in all these is that the society is left at the peril of the leadership she has curled up for herself. Where it concerns the coming back of the military in civilian garb, the repercussions have been grave, not quite as different as under the military dictatorship. This is captured in ÀlàbÜ's words when he says, "what else can one expect, governor? You can take soja-man out of uniform, but you cannot take uniform out of soja-man". (Soyinka, 138).

Like the General, ÀlàbÜ himself acknowledges that his predicament is the making of the people who would not want him to retire but to find space to serve them in one way or the other. Perhaps it is in this paradoxical character of active retirement that one finds him in active service all the same. He says:

ÀlàbŪ: Every one told me not to retire. They asked me, where will office workers go to buy their *Suya*, and even the ground meat for *beefibogas* and *hamubogas* that are becoming popular with the younger generation? They said it could lead to student riot. 'ÀlàbŪ' they said, 'you're the expert, your fame is the fame of the village. You put us on the world map—in fact, but for you, no one would know we exist...' (Soyinka, 162).

This is a reminiscence of society's short-sightedness that the best human resources are very scarce to come by and therefore, the very few known "experts" must be reinvested in the circle of leadership. In this euphoria too, is this eulogy of ÀlàbŪ's exploits which further explains the people's complicity in a misguided quest for leadership:

1st Student: Dàani'lébo—you turned his *juju* to water. Son of Alóngé, we salute you. Ultimate Icon. Living legend. We are behind you all the way. Count on oursolidarity. As for the decadent, reactionary, parasitic monarchs who trooped here to pay homage—don't trust them. They are simply jumping on the bandwagon. *A luta continua!*

Farmer: *Tó tó fín.* Honour to whom honour is due. We mistook the presiding deity—it is not *Esu*, but our own *Òrìsà-òkò*, god of plenty. With the defeat of the locus in khaki, then their clone, Dàani'lébo, we foresee a bumper harvest. (Soyinka, 173).

These among other praises showered on ÀlàbŪ are a further parody of how society collaborates against itself to perpetuate the return of messianic despots and sit-tight leaders. In this case, ÀlàbŪ is hardly to blame because the people in their follies create not only the "King" that he is never one, but also a "god" in him.

There is no difference from what Soyinka infers in the dialogue between ÀlàbŪ and the Teacher over "recycling" of leaders. In this exchange the playwright remarks that both fame and economic conditions make leadership attractive. Thus, the retired person would naturally yield to the slightest invitation to the reins of power.

Teacher: Fame is a drug. Public adulation, even where you have a rented crowd, is oxygen to many. Why do you think boxers return to ring again and again after they have retired? Or retired generals—like our own local commodity?

ÀlàbŪ: I hear some of them retired broke. They never learnt to manage their resources.

Teacher: Deeper, my dear Emeritus. The reason goes deeper. They cannot bear to be out of the lime light, that's the truth. The word is—relevant. They want to remain relevant... (Soyinka, 37-8).

Thus, Soyinka's *Alùpatà ÀpÛta* is crafted as a commentary on leadership and the collective resolve of the society. The playwright envisions a society where the collective will of the people could be misdirected, even in moments that the ultimate choice resides with them. He therefore, throws this up as a parable drawing our attention to the fact that the judgements or misconceptions people hold about themselves, ultimately lead to the kind of leadership they get. We see this warning sign as one among many that society needs to heed to at the return of democracy in this new era of politics in the twenty first century Nigeria.

Conclusion

This study contends that ideology is an ever recurring subject in literature and as in the present study, dramatic literature. That ideology in the hands of any playwright also is not constant but a phenomenon that is receiving varying attention giving the changing situations that are calling a particular value reorientation. The flux in society's realities has caused a reshaping of the ideological focus of playwrights in Nigeria, hence our conception of ideological mutation in dramatic literature. In the context of this study, Wole Soyinka in the play *Alùpatà ÀpÛta* has shown an ideological mutation in the handling of the Nigerian leadership question. From a conservative and elitists' outlook, we see our playwright ideology reforming into a populist proposition as a solution to the leadership problem in Nigeria. Yet this is not without gibes at the people's sense of discretion.

This paper argues that the usual allusion to the failure of leadership as necessarily in the manner in which the cream of people called into leadership manipulate their subjects in Soyinka's plays is redirected to the antics of the followership. In this satirical gibing of the quest for a populist leadership reorientation, Soyinka while accepting the power of solidarity and the will of the citizenry to form a leadership for itself, however, condemns the way the masses have conspired against themselves in facilitating the return of retired or past leaders whether in military or civilian garb. This, the playwright believes raises a new challenge to the quest for good leadership. In the final analysis, this paper concludes that the message in this play points to Soyinka's new belief that the people get the leadership they deserve through their collective resolve as well as their collective deviance.

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Theories and Practices of Federalism: A Focus on USA and Nigeria

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Abstract

It is on record that many states across the globe practice federal system of government in a manner that best suit them. These states include USA, Austria, Australia, Belgium, India, Brazil, Mexico, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Pakistan, etc. This paper compared the similarities and differences between the American and Nigerian federal political systems with a view to revealing the plural nature and role of institutions and structures in accommodating diversities inherent in the two political systems. It examined key variables, such as fiscal federalism, resource control, heterogeneity/diversity, ethnic minority groups and the principle of autonomy and made a comparative appraisal of American and Nigerian federalism. The paper posited that both countries inhabit people from various backgrounds who are formed into distinct and identifiable groups by differences in culture, norms and values but yet, the countries continually make attempts to ensure that the plural character of their environment enhances their ability for greatness.

Introduction

There is no universal definition of the concept “federalism”. However, the theoretical assumption of federalism is based on the notion of division of powers between the central government on the one hand, and component units (states or regions, as the case may be) on the other. Thus, federalism as a system of government allows for the sharing of constitutional powers between the central government and its constituent units. It is a system mostly adapt in pluralistic states so as to manage their heterogeneous population. Nigeria, as a country with over 350 ethnic group coupled with different

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religious groups and diverse languages adopts federalism as a union of several politically independent states or units under one sovereign government with retentive of the component units some powers as enshrined in its 1999 Constitution (Emuedo, 2014; and Edoh, 2001). It is in the light of this that Elazar (1987) describes federalism as the combination of “self-rule” and “shared rule” in a contractual linkage providing for power sharing. He added that in a world marked by fragmentation, ethnic conflicts and heightened nationalism, various forms of federal arrangements combining self-rule and shared rule may provide a key to peace. Thus, federalism is that form of government where the component units of political organization participate in sharing powers and functions in a cooperative manner though the combined forces of ethnic pluralism and cultural diversity, among others, tend to pull the people apart (Tamuno, 2004: 13). It has emerged as a particular kind of political and functional arrangement between ethnic communities or desperate people for living and working together nationally, while preserving a measure of separate identity (Dunmoye, 2002).

Watts (1999: 6) asserts that “there is no single pure model of federation that is applicable anywhere in the world”, since federations and states vary. As such, federalism is patterned in accordance to the nature of challenges that brought the federal option into consideration in the first instance. Therefore, every federal state is unique in terms of its experience and historical antecedents, and thus adopts institutions, structures and processes that best suits its needs, or seeks alternative arrangements for centralized states because of the weaknesses inherent in the arrangement of centrality. Sagay (2004, cited in Atelhe, 2008) noted that in a federation, each government enjoys autonomy; a separate existence and independence of the control of any other government. However, this varies in practice, as not all federating units enjoy autonomy in federal states.

Arguably, the most authoritative explanation of federalism is that presented by one of the iconic researchers of federal political system in the twentieth century, Kenneth C. Wheare. According to Wheare (1967), federalism is a system of government in which there is, “a division of functions between co-ordinate authorities, which are in no way subordinate to one another either in the extent or in the exercise of their allotted functions”. In achieving this kind of arrangement, Wheare submits that there would be “the method of dividing powers so that the general and regional governments are each, within a sphere, coordinate and independent”. He listed the following as the essential ingredients of federalism:

- a. Division of powers among governments;
- b. A written constitution showing the division of powers; and

- c. Coordinate supremacy of two order of the government, with regards to their respective functions.

Similarly, Dunmoye (2002), in reaffirming Wheare's position, noted that federalism must have the following basic features:

1. Division of powers between regions and centre is done in such a way that each government is able to carry out functions assigned to it under the constitution, such that as much as possible every tier is financially independent of one another.
2. Government at the centre must be democratic and representative at all times.
3. A judicial or independent body specifically charged with power of pronouncing on the legality or validity of laws passed either by a state legislature or federal especially in areas of conflict.

The second feature in the latter category seems to be the most essential ingredient of federalism, because when democracy is in place, the fear of domination of group(s) over the other(s) is restrained. Therefore, the fundamental difference between American and Nigerian federalism lies here. For instance, American federalism has been democratic and representative right from the beginning, while Nigerian federalism has suffered the brunt of dictatorship and in fact most of the federal structures in Nigeria were installed by the military dictators.

It is against the above background that this paper examines the theories and practices of federalism with a focus on USA and Nigeria, as there are many other countries, such as Austria, Australia, Belgium, India, Brazil, Mexico, Ethiopia, Pakistan, etc. that are practicing federalism in a manner that best suit them. The paper is divided into six parts. These include the ongoing introduction; evolution of American federalism; evolution of Nigerian federalism; theoretical framework; comparative appraisal of American and Nigerian federalism; and conclusion.

Evolution of American Federalism

The origin of the United States of America has always been a subject of debate among historians. The most popular legend is that of the arrival of Christopher Columbus in 1492 in modern day America (Encarta, 2009). The United States of America was the first modern federation, and indeed, the federal constitution can be regarded as America's contribution to constitution-making. America was originally a confederation of thirteen states (Elazar, 1990) that later came together to form a federal union in 1787. The United States of America embodies a number of racial stocks. Currently,

the United States is a federal system with fifty individual states, each having its own position of legal autonomy and political significance. The American Constitution of 1787 established an association of states so organized that powers are divided between a central government which in certain matters is independent of government of associated states and state governments which in certain matters are, in turn, independent of the central government.

In his analyses of American federalism, Elazar explains the origin, development and the forces that seem to be moving it in a new direction. He stressed that, to remedy the defects of the Articles of Confederation, George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, John Jay and other nationalists called upon the states to send delegates to a constitutional convention to meet in the city of Philadelphia in May, 1787. It was, of course, the convention that produced the Constitution of the United States of America. The framers of the Constitution rejected both confederal and unitary models of governance. Instead, they based the new American government on an entirely new theory –federalism.

The exact direction or evolutionary path a given federation adopts at any given time depends on a number of factors. Dye (1990) focusing on the United States, traces the evolution of American federalism in the United States through the following:

- State – Centered Federalism (1787 - 1868); a situation where the states are not only administrative units that exist only to implement policies made by central government, they are fully functioning constitutional polities in their own right.
- Dual Federalism (1869 - 1913); a system in which the national government and states have totally separate sets of responsibilities.
- Cooperative Federalism (1913 - 1969); a system by which the national and state governments may cooperate with each other to deal with a wide range of social and economic problems.
- Contemporary federalism, the period from 1970 to the present, has been characterized by shifts in the intergovernmental grant system, the growth of unfunded federal mandates, concerns about federal regulations, and continuing disputes over the nature of the federal system. This was done in order to avoid duplication, fragmentation, overlap, and confusion.

Evolution of Nigerian Federalism

Nigeria is the Africa's longest standing example of a federal system of government. Like every other political phenomenon, federalism in Nigeria began as soon as it was legislated into being, thus from a humble beginning

of three regions, federalism has evolved into 36 states, each with its full complement of legislative, executive and judicial institutions (Osaghae, 1984). The emergence of federalism in Nigeria according to Osaghae is traceable to the Richard's Constitution of 1946 when it balkanized the amalgamated Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria into three regions –North, East and West. It went ahead to create three administrative capitals (Kaduna, Enugu and Ibadan) for the regions, as well as establishing legislatures for each region. These new structures existed side by side with the central executive and legislative structures. This situation, Osaghae added made Nigeria to meet some of the fundamental attributes of federalism thus: existence of national government side by side with governments of component units; existence of component units called group of provinces or regions; a vertical division of governmental powers; and finally the presence of a constitution.

Osaghae further posits that the federation of Nigeria as it is known today has never really been one homogenous country, for its widely differing peoples and tribes. This obvious fact notwithstanding, the former colonial master decided to keep the country one in order to effectively control her vital resources for their economic interests. He further submits that Nigeria is “a collection of independent native states, separated from one another by great distances, by differences of history and traditions and by ethnological, tribal, political, social and religious barriers”.

The formal adoption of a federal system in Nigeria occurred in 1954 during British rule. The British considered federalism as a means to accommodate the diverse ethnic, religious and linguistic composition of Nigeria (Adamolekun and Ayo, 1989). This is because a federal structure required a division of power sharing between the central, regional and local governments, thus federalism was deemed especially beneficial for plural societies seeking unity while retaining aspects of their individual identities.

The military takeover in 1966 marked a turning point in Nigeria's political history and ushered in a political framework of military rule that dominated Nigeria for about three decades. Military rule in Nigeria changed the balance of power between the central government and the regional governments in favour of the central government. One of the strategic steps taken by the Federal Military Government (FMG) under the leadership of General Gowon (1966-1975) was the restructuring of the federation into twelve states. Another significant move by the federal government in an effort to increase its administrative dominance, was the initiation of local government reforms in 1976 and the creation of seven additional states. Again, states creation was done more or less along ethnic lines. Ethnicity is key to understanding Nigeria's pluralistic and often divisive society. The implementation of

federalism, rooted in ethno-regional identity, inevitably led to the politicization of ethnicity in Nigerian political landscape and exacerbated ethnic conflict. Eventually, ethnic discrimination and the regional struggle for wealth played a role in the events leading to the Nigerian civil war in 1967 (Jinadu, 1974).

Theoretical Framework

In a paper like this, it is pertinent to use a theory within the framework of which analysis will be made. For this purpose, the pluralist theoretical perception is adopted to guide the analysis. According to Haralambos and Heald (1980:114), pluralism is all about the idea that in society, "power is dispersed among a variety of groups". They explain that as society grows, diverse groups spring up expressing varied opinions on social issues. This phenomenon calls for interests and the fostering of it at societal level bringing into focus representation by organized groups.

The major underlying argument of the theory is on the plurality of society and the dynamic social, economic and anthropological organizational processes and structures, which inherently lead to conflicts of interest between social groups. Early Pluralist theorists, such as Albion Small (1885), his student, Arthur Bentley (1908), James Bryce (1909) and Harold Laski (1917) posit that while politics and decision making are located primarily within the framework of government, there are many nongovernmental groups, who can and do use their resources to exert influence on those with the power to make policy (Garson, 1978). Inherent to this framework are the ideas that no one group has a claim on the general will; group interests are multiple and shifting, and any inequalities of power or access created by disparate resources are resolved by the democratic process of election.

Pluralism is portrayed as the dominant theory of groups. However, the beginning of group theory is really the acknowledgement that the state is composed of actors, both institutional and non-institutional, and these actors are a product of their historical, socio-economic and political as well as other various contexts. Implicit in this concept is the idea that groups have competing sets of interests and the State acts as a control mechanism.

Pluralism takes different dimensions; from religion, culture, creeds, tribes, clans, cults, traditions, norms and values to demography, among others. The inability of these plural groups to harmonize their divergent and conflicting interest procreates competition among groups. The competition for hegemony and control is a source of conflict. These competition sometimes results into violent conflicts which serve as threats to national security. These threats to national security manifest in the form of agitations for state creation, the indigene/settler dichotomy as witness in Plateau state and the

North/South dichotomy, resource control and so on affect national stability, progress and development.

Comparative Appraisal of American and Nigerian Federalism with References to Some Selected Variables

Comparative politics is an area of study and a method. As an area of study, it tries to assess similarities and differences between political systems, institutions, structures, forms of government and political processes. It also aimed at identifying and comparing uniformities and occurrences of political events or phenomena. As a method, it furnishes comparativists with different tools used in comparing two or more objects of comparison. These methods of comparison include but not limited to the following:

- Single factor difference;
- Double method of agreement;
- Comparism using statistical approach; and
- Comparism with a view to key variables.

In view of the above, this paper adopts the last method to compare the United States of American and Nigerian federalism. In doing so, a number of variables were selected and analyzed within the context of both countries. These variables include fiscal federalism, resource control, heterogeneity/diversity, ethnic minority groups and the principle of autonomy.

Fiscal Federalism

Fiscal federalism refers to the complex interrelationship between the federal government and the states/provinces/cantons in the area of finance. Scholars have argued that in its working and processes, fiscal federalism is very much in accord with the American model of federalism. The following explanations by Riker (1987) bear true resemblance to the nature of fiscal federalism in the USA:

- American federalism is a function of institutional arrangement purposely bothering on maintaining unity while at the same time preserving diversity. This implies that each tier of government is coordinate in its sphere of authority and should have appropriate taxing powers to exploit its independent sources of revenue. The relationship between the central government and the authorities of the component units is that of partners in progress and therefore, as much as possible the state governments avoid requesting for grants and subsidies from the central government in order to preserved their rights and maintain coordinate relationship as against subordinate relationship. However, financial

subordination is antithetical to the principles of federalism but unfortunately is the order of the day in Nigerian federalism.

- In US, both states and federal authorities have their power enshrined in the constitution to have access to control their own financial resources. Each must have a power to tax and to borrow for the financing of its own services. This is in line with the notion that federalism as an arrangement whereby powers within a country are shared between central and component units in such a way that each unit operates directly within their jurisdiction. The cardinal principle of federalism that says no level of government is subordinate to another is held sacrosanct in the case of American federalism.

In comparison, apart from the First Republic however, the successive constitutions of Nigerian federalism have always vested the responsibility for the collection of a large proportion of national revenue in the federal government, a situation that tends to enrich the centre at the expense of the federating units. The federal fiscal hegemony which has over the years financially incapacitated the federating units has led to incessant controversy on the vertical revenue allocation. This unilateral usurpation of fiscal responsibility by the federal government represents part of the military legacy in the Nigerian fiscal relationship.

Resource Control

In the US, every state has the exclusive right to the ownership and control of resources both natural and artificial within its territory. But in Nigeria, the reverse is the case because the federal government owns and controls the natural resources found within the enclave of states. The American federalism however, contrasts the Nigerian federal experience. The experience of American federalism with respect to resource control has been described as a competitive federalism. The various states of the American federation have more control of their resources, such as agriculture, energy, environment, etc. from where they are expected to generate revenues to provide the bulk of public services including public education, police protection, road and sanitation, public welfare and health. This makes states to become stronger and more vigorous than ever, especially from the time of Reagan administration (Dye, 1990). The twentieth century American federalism exhibits much more of sharing of fiscal functions and resource control as well as greater interplay among levels of government in the management and funding of public programmes.

Resource control has been consistently defined and redefined to suit different interests at play within the Nigeria political environment. At the

(2008) reveals that revenue allocation in Nigeria based on derivation was 50% in 1953 up to 1960, by 1970; Gowon's regime reduced it to 45% and later reduced it to 20 %. In 1975, Obasanjo fixed to 24% before Shagari reduced it to 5% in 1981. Under Buhari in 1983, it was crashed to 1.5% while Babangida raised it to 3%. Atelhe reaffirmed that it took the rise of Saro Wiwa phenomenon for consideration to be given to a 13% rise in the principle of derivation as proposed in 1995 and effected in the 1999 constitution.

Therefore, the deliberate reductions in the derivation principle of various military regimes in Nigeria have posed a challenge to the Niger Delta people to call for the control of their resources. Atelhe concludes that the neglect of the oil mineral producing areas is tantamount to acute injustice, when combined with the near jettisoning of the principle of derivation of revenue allocation. He asserts that the continued reliance by government on the use of such revenue allocation principles as population and land mass, both of which do not favour the southern States, has continued to short change the southern zones relative to other zones of the country. However, whether the money deriving from resource control is being used to transform the oil producing states, tackle environmental degradation and create employment opportunities or be misappropriated by those in authority are questions put forward by Dunmoye (2002). Without any iota of doubt, one may be forced to admit that those in authority are more often than not, misappropriated the accrued money made to transform the oil producing states for their personal aggrandizement. Example include the arrest and prosecution of two former South-South governors in the UK.

Heterogeneity/Diversity

One of the most significant elements that guarantee the best for a heterogeneous society is the institutionalization of enduring democratic culture. When democracy is in place, the fear of domination of one group over the other(s) is restrained. The Nigerian state is heterogeneous in cultural, ethnic and linguistic dimensions. Thus, Nigerians rather than harnessing their diversities towards national development, they are more often engaged in primordial ties that are considered fundamental to the existence and legitimacy of the state. Over the years, since independence there have been cases of ethnic violence resulting from allegiance to one's ethnic group and this has hindered development in Nigeria. The inability to manage these diversities generated mistrust and hatred among Nigerians which often led to deep-seated acrimony. On the other hand, its proper management puts the Americans in an advantageous position over its peers, and strengthens

its capacity for growth and development. In political management strategies, Fleiner (2000) suggests that states have been known to develop two approaches; one is the recognition and institutionalization of diversity, while the other approach is the attempt to erase the lines of diversity, by uniting all the various independent entities within it. In the US, people of different races and colours, religions, customs and values live together in one accord, on the basis that they are well-represented through democratic means.

In Nigeria, just like the current Vice President of the country, Yemi Osinbajo, a pastor and professor of law was quoted saying “leaders in various facets of the country play politics with everything, including religion and tribe”. A nation that is divided against itself is like a kingdom divided against itself, which the Bible says, shall remain desolate” (www.premiumtimesng.com). Identity politics in Nigeria and many other African states are based on primordial ties, such as tribe, region, kinship, and ethnicity among others and not usually on the basis of civil ties, class, political party affiliation, interest group membership, etc. like in the USA. In comparison, the United States has transformed its primordial instincts into civil ties, especially in the area of liberty. Identity politics is therefore not based on issues of subjective considerations of ancestral linkages, but rather on the basis of civil ties derived from objective and well-thought commonalities.

Ethnic Minority Group

A minority may be one with a small population or one with very little power to influence decisions in the public domain within society. It can be applied to ethnic, racial or religious groups. It has different meanings and consequences in different places and at different times. The minority groups vary depending on whether they are geographically concentrated or dispersed, whether they seek participation in, or isolation from, the broader political system, and whether the policies of the majority groups are made to enhance the liberation, continued subordination or elimination of such minorities (Tamuno, 2004).

In Nigeria on the one hand, the fear of possible domination by the majority group often creates tension and anxiety from the minority groups, hence, the persistent calls for constitutional protection. The age-long minority challenge in Nigeria can be attributed to three key factors according to Tamuno (2004) include;

1. The structure of the Nigerian state, coupled with the role of the state as the major controller of resources;
2. The absence of constitutional protection of minority rights; and

3. The minority problem can also be traced to the ill-conceived colonial policy, which merged diverse groups under so-called regional formation that marked the beginning of the politics of domination in the country.

In northern Nigeria for instance, colonial chauvinism entrenched Hausa/Fulani as the regional identity and coercively integrated the minority groups, thereby super-imposing the language, culture, religions and socio-political organization of the superior, dominant group. Hence, minorities were either assimilated or suppressed. In the southern Nigeria, the Yoruba and Ibo regularly dominate, suppress and exploit the numerous minorities who mostly reside in the south-south zone. For instance, the marginalization of the minority, many scholars believed is partly responsible for the abolition of the regional government and the creation of states in Nigeria political history.

In the case of United States on the other hand, minority status has more to do with the distribution of resources and powers than with simple numbers. According to Harris (1982), a minority group has four characteristics, thus;

- The members of the group experience a pattern of disadvantage or inequality. Inequality, whether it extends to wealth, jobs, housing, political power, police protection, or health-care services. This pattern of disadvantage is the key characteristic of a minority group because the group has less of what is valued by society. The term subordinate group is sometimes used instead of minority group.
- The members of the group share a visible trait or characteristic that differentiates them from other groups. The trait can be cultural (e.g., language, religion, speech patterns, or dress styles), physical (e.g., skin colour, stature, or facial features), or both. In the context of minority relations, groups that are defined primarily by their cultural characteristics are called ethnic minority groups. Examples of such groups are Irish-Americans and Jewish-Americans. Groups defined primarily by their physical characteristics are racial minority groups, such as African-Americans or Native Americans.
- The minority group is a self-conscious social unit aware of their differentiation from the dominant group and of their shared 'disabilities'. This shared social status can provide the basis for strong intra-group bonds and a sense of solidarity and can lead to views of the world that are quite different from those of the dominant group and other minority group.
- Membership in the group is usually determined at birth. The traits that identify minority group membership are typically not easy to change,

and minority group status is usually involuntary and for life.

In the United State the constitution was used to manage the diversity and cater for the minorities, who have political and economic control through the residual list of the federal constitution. While in Nigeria, federalism is clouded with the challenge of how the various components of the state can accommodate one another in terms of resource distribution as well as power sharing among them.

The Principle of Autonomy

Osaghae (1984) and Suberu (2001) opined that of all the federations, the United States represents a remarkable political achievement, the result of stitching together state and federal interests into a self-sustaining union. Every state has representation in the governance of the whole, and contributes to the overall success of the federation. Also, every state maintains in trust a part of the nation's overall cultural and socio-political heritage and plays a vital role in safeguarding and preserving America's future generations.

This principle is based on the notion of the liberty of the federating units. Essentially, it presupposes a constitutionally-backed coordinate rather than a subordinate relationship between the two orders of government; the central and the regional. It is this arrangement that shows that federalism is an intermediate between the unitary system and confederacy (autonomous unit). Unitary system emphasizes the unity of all parts while the confederal system emphasizes autonomy and justifies it on the basis of diversity. For federalism, it is a merger of both systems to evolve a system of unity in diversity. However, Izah (2016) asserts that the current agitations in for restructuring in Nigeria is largely because the centre is too powerful while the states cannot provide the needed services and/or even pay salaries of their workers. He states that the reason for making the centre too powerful in Nigeria is simply to make states weaker and the centre stronger so that no single state would have the capacity to challenge the centre and even attempt secession. It was made with a good intention to enhance nation building after the civil war (www.dailytruts.com.ng/news).

The creation of states in Nigeria began with the creation of Midwest in 1967 and this continued up to the 36 States and Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). Consequently, Izah maintains that those who are agitating for the creation of more states should be reminded that they are suggesting for the creation of new majorities and minorities, and more demands on the already depleted centre would come up. Simply put "many unviable states were created in Nigeria because state creation became part of inter-majority competition for the so-called 'National Cake'".

Conclusion

There exist mechanisms for ensuring that plurality, which is derived from heterogeneous society impacts positively on the development and advancement of the whole among the various parts of contemporary world. The United States of America is composed of people from various backgrounds who are formed into groups that are distinct and identifiable by the differences in culture, norms and values, yet, the continually make attempts to ensure that the plural character of their environment enhances their ability for greatness.

A federal state supposes to guarantee and protect the rights and interests of the citizens, so that no one or group is discriminated against on the basis of color, religion, ethnicity, and other socio-political factors. Though, the foundation and general outcome of the practice of Nigerian federalism was laid in the colonial era and eventually to military dictatorship. The strength of the centre and the contradicting tendencies, as well as the hegemony of the federal might which was already in place during the colonial days was passed on to the post-colonial Nigerian state. Undisputedly, the constitution preserves the autonomy of each tier of government but there is no denying the extent of federal power. Finally, it is interesting to note that in both Nigeria and US, citizens give their loyalty to more than one constituted authority and so their rights ought to be defended by these authorities' i.e. the federal, state and sometimes local government authorities.

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