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Attaining Social and Cultural Continuity through the Interface of Communication and Socialization in Nigeria

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Abstract
Every rational being communicates to be able to live with other members of the society. This paper discusses the relationship between communication and socialization, and agrees that communication and socialization interwovenly are the processes of interaction and learning that commence from birth and continue to adulthood thereby aiding social learning. It is through communication that a person goes through socialization which enables a person to acquire and internalize the culture and value of the society. This paper therefore is an attempt to explain how and why people acquire, learn and practice the expected norms, values and ethics of social groups to which they belong.

Key Words: *Communication, Socialization, Culture, Social and Cultural Continuity.*

Introduction
Humbagda (2000) cited in Ihebuzor (2014: 1) says that we live in a world of communication. Communication influences all our actions. We learn how to think, feel and judge through the aid of communication. The sharing of intention, experience and wisdom are possible by communication. Relations, conflicts, disagreements are inevitable human phenomena. These are however managed effectively through communication. Indeed, communication is an essential attribute of human existence. It is a condition for the operations of human society. It would be right to suggest that at all levels of human organization; communication is an essential tool for accomplishing societal goals and objectives. This means that communication remains the only phenomenon upon which the totality of social and cultural experiences are founded. The urge for human interaction is necessitated by man's multifaceted needs, which include among others, the need to learn and maintain peace and order in the society, the need for economic survival and the need to socialize with order members of the society.

The interface between communications is a very intimate one. This is because cultures are created through communication. In other words communication is a means of human interaction through which aspects of cultural characteristics such as social expectations, customs, rules, rituals, and laws are created and shared.

Communication
The English word 'communication' is derived from the Latin noun "communis' and the Latin verb 'communicare' that means 'to make common' (Hasan, 2014: 2). So when we communicate, we seek to make things in common in an attempt to increase our shared knowledge.

The most widely accepted definitions of communication, according to Folarin (1998: 1), Is that communication is:

> *the sharing or exchange of ideas, and meanings, a two-way process in which the participants constantly exchange positions as sender and receiver, and not a one way process in which one person is the sender all the time and the other is or are the receiving end all the time.*

According to James, Ode, and Soola (2006: 2) communication touches every sphere of human activities. It informs all of man's actions because it is occasioned by his need to interact with his fellow man. It manifests itself in symbolic, and verbal forms. Animals and trees also communicate but it is the man's ability to create symbols, ascribe meanings and interpret messages that elevates him above the status of the lower animals and gives form and character to his existence. This consideration of communication emphasizes its importance to human interaction and socialization.

Socialization

Sociologists, Social Psychologists, Political Scientists; educationists, and Anthropologists attach great importance to the notion of socialization because man is a cultural being. He is born into a society with a culture; with rules and practices. He has to be socialized to fit properly into an organized way of life by communicating with other members of the society or through interaction with people in different activities (Obi, 2009: 102)

Socialization, according to Hagedorn (1999: 108) is a learning process through which individuals develop selfhood, and acquire the knowledge, skill and motivation required for them to participate in social life. Socialization can also be said to be the process of making a person through the use of appropriate communication to learn to act in ways appropriate to map out roles. This is aptly supported by three communication scholars (Anaeto, Onabajo, and Osifeso (2008: 15) who posited that:

> *Communication is what makes the world go round, a kind of life-giving elixir. It is the engine that works human activities.*

Socialization refer to the long process of learning and of inheriting and disseminating norms, culture and ideologies which provide the individual with the skills and habits necessary for participating with his society. It would be right to suggest that socialization is the means by which social and cultural continuity is attained. In other words, socialization helps in the social placement of an individual within his society and environment. It is a process of learning that commences from birth and continues to adulthood. Socialization does not only lead to human development, it also assists socially to transmit its present culture to future generations (Obi, 2009: 115).

Communication and Socialization

Communication in this paper is the ability of the source to convey in the simplest form, information or idea which the recipient can easily understand. And the ability of the recipient to reciprocate in such a way that the source (sender) can easily understand. This follows that communication is the act that entails passing across an understanding message to another person or persons in a fashion that is clear and precise.

Anaeto, Onabajo, and Osifeso (2008: 15) captures the importance of communication in socialization epigraphically:

> *Without communication – through reading, listening (receptive skills), speaking and writing (the productive skills) – mankind would find it hard to unravel some of the mysteries of life.*

Communication is something one does all the time. Man communicates with one another in order to learn, teach, advise, support; agree; disagree or even in order to survive in our environment. Biologically, any one who is denied of information is no less than a robot, because both the mental and even the physical alertness will be impaired. According to Ihebuzor (2014: 6) through communication, man maintains contact with his environment, therefore enabling human beings to act, adapt and transmit resources for survival. Processes of communication and socialization are the processes that aid social learning. In other words, when new members join a society, they should go through a process of understanding communication forms, the social needs, practices and patterns of behaviour. This process is socialization.

Berelson and Steiner (1964) cited in Faniran (2008: 24) see communication as:

> *The transmission of information, ideas, emotions; skills etc by the use of symbols – words, pictures, figures; graphs, etc. It is the act or process of transmission that is communication.*

This is an agreement of the position that communication is the transfer of understandable message; communication must be understandable to aid both the teaching and learning processes of socialization. This is because if the receiver of any message cannot decode the meaning of the message, or any instruction, then, communication has not taken place. Socialization and learning has not also taken place. Both communication and socialization are social interactions through messages.

In the most general sense, we have socialization and communication whenever one system, a source, influences another, the destination of alternative symbols which can be transmitted over the channel connecting them. These processes enhance man's knowledge and ideas about the society we live in. These can be expressed verbally and non-verbally through speaking, writing, painting; gestures etc. The intention of each message may be to educate, inform, entertain or for change of behaviour in order to make person learn to act in ways appropriate to map out rules in a given society. These processes involve the sharing of meaning and experience for a better coordination, and cooperation in the society.

According to the Online Media (2012) and cited in Alao, Uwom, and Alao (2013: 9):

> *Socialization is the process by which people with the use of appropriate communication strategies are made to behave in ways that are acceptable to their society…. Through the process of socialization media of*

communication help to shape our behaviours, conduct, attitude and belief of people. The process of socialization brings people close and ties them into a single unit.

Today we are living in a world which is growing ever 'smaller' and where as a result, it would seem to be easier for all to be neighbours. It is through communication that a large number of people across countries come to know about each other's traditions and appreciate each other's way of life. It develops integration and tolerance towards each other (Hasan, 2014: 5).

Theoretical Frame Work

This study is premised on social learning theory propounded by Albert Bandura in 1976. The theory posits that people in the society can learn from the people or with the people. This learning process can be via observation, emulation; imitation and modeling. The theory has often been called a bridge between behaviourist and cognitive learning theories because it encompasses attention, memory and motivation.

In both communication and socialization processes, people in different ages and classes learn through observing other people's behaviour, attitudes and outcomes of those behaviour. Most human behaviour is learned observationally. Through modeling from interacting with, and observing others, one forms an idea of how new behaviour is performed on later occasions thus coded information serves a guide for communicative behaviour and other actions.

Social learning theory explains human behaviour in terms of continuous reciprocal and environmental influences. Environmental influences are also agents of socialization. The necessary conditions for effective modeling are: Attention, retention, reproduction and motivation.

Communication and the Agencies of Socialization

The first agent of socialization is the family which is the building block of any society. Every member of the society first and foremost belongs to a family. The family uses different kind of media, verbal and non-verbal, to generate and maintain relationships, sustain values and pursue certain goals. The commonest strategy of communication is interpersonal communication. A member of the family can also become socialized incidentally by unconsciously gaining experience. For instance, a child learns not to play with fire when he has personal encounter with fire.

According to Ihebuzor (2014: 39), the society assigns the family the responsibility for the transformation of the infant into a civilized adult. It is important to note that the family provides for the very identity which may depend on the social location of the family into which one is born (Adisa; 2009: 71)

The second agent of socialization is the peer group, especially the youths in the neighborhood or school mates. In these situations, all forms of communication take place, including the use of the social media such as Facebook, where users may join common interest user groups organized by schools, or other characteristics, and categorize their friends into a list such as 'people from campus' or 'family members.'

The third is the school and other institutions of formal and vocational learning. Here teachers and students interact on a regular basis, building relationship of learning with or from each other.

The fourth is the mass media. These include the print, electronic, alternative media and social media. People get to learn a lot from the mass media.

The fifth agent is the religious institutions such as the Church, Mosque, Synagogues, Temples, Shrine, etc. These generate and use a lot of communication. Worshippers pray, sing and offer scarifies. In some communities, people learn to communicate with deities who are believed to function as intermediaries between Supreme Being and man. This form of communication is known as extra mundane communication

Social Expectations

In every Nigerian society, there are certain standards of communicative behaviour which members must demonstrate and maintain. Maintaining these standards are pre-conditions to social stability. These standards are however shaped by the norms and values of the society. Norms can be regarded as shared rules in a particular culture. These norms tell members of the culture how to behave in a given situation. A cultural value may be defined as widely-held belief that some activities, relationships feelings or goals are important to the societal identity and well being.

Conclusion

It is clearly suggested in this work that the interface between communication and socialization is a very cordial one. The work notes that socialization can only be achieved through the application of various forms and strategies of communication. The hub of all human organization in groups and societies is communication-A strong tool that makes groups, societies and organization possible. This is a means of interaction that transmits societal culture, customs, roles, rules, laws and other patterns created and shared to aid socialization – learning to conform through communication.

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Nigerian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century: A Clamour for Paradigm Shift

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Abstract
Nigeria since independence in 1960 has played a leading role on various issues pertaining to her continent, with Africa being the main thrust of her foreign policy. She attained a golden era in her foreign policy in the 1970s due to oil boom and economic prosperity, and also because past military regimes were assertive and nationalistic. However, dwindling economic fortunes, political instability, poor governance and the rest has led to a decline. The dawn of the 21st century which also coincided with return of democracy has orchestrated an agitation for renaissance in Nigeria's foreign policy and clamour for a Paradigm shift.

Key Words: *Nigerian foreign policy, Paradigm shift, National interest, foreign direct investment, diplomacy.*

Introduction

A country's foreign policy also identified as foreign relations policy consists of self-interest strategies preferred by the state to uphold its national interests and to realise its goals within international relations milieu. The approaches are deliberately employed to interact with other countries. Like all other countries in the world, Nigeria's foreign policy is intended to promote and protect the country's national interests. While it is true that 'national interest' is at the heart of foreign policy, rarely is a country so rude as to stick it to the face of other international actors that its primary concern in its relations with them is the advancement of its 'national interest'.

Since independence, Nigeria has played a leading role on various issues pertaining to the African continent. As a non-aligned state, it was at the forefront of the anti-apartheid and anti-colonial struggles from the 1970s, and is generally regarded within and outside Africa, alongside Egypt and South Africa, as one of Africa's leading states and a global key player from Africa. Nigeria was at the forefront of helping to change the now-defunct Organisation of African Unity (OAU) from a political liberation entity into an organisation that places economic development at the centre of its term of office (Afolabi, 2015).

The essential disposition of Nigeria's foreign policy has been determined as far back as in 1960 when Nigeria became self-governing and, to a large extent, this character has remained unchanged. What has changed and will continue to change is the style and manner of execution of Nigeria's foreign policy. Nigeria's foreign policy has been basically Africa-centred, even till today. An adage in foreign relations says that foreign policy begins where domestic policy ends. A nation's foreign policy is not only a direct continuation of its domestic policy, but it is also a reflection of its way of life (Agbu, 2015). It has become a common practice for the state officials to explain their decisions and actions towards the external environment of the state in terms of National interest.

The main objective of any nation's foreign policy however, is the promotion and furtherance of its national interest. Rosenau (1980: 12) explained national interest from two perspectives one hand, national interest is seen as an analytic concept used in explaining, describing or evaluating the sources or adequacy of a nation's foreign policy. On the other hand, he observes it as an instrument of political action which politicians use to justify and legitimize their policies or to mobilize public support for intended objectives. National interest can therefore be viewed as a highly generalized concept of those elements that constitute the state's most vital need as well as being the fundamental objective and ultimate determinant that guides the decision makers of a state in making foreign policy (Olasupo, 2015: 59).

Foreign policy has always been stimulated by benefits, which means security and prosperity for all the citizens of the state. Regrettably, the valuable aspects of foreign policy are always lost on the people, as well as some officials who perform it. This has led to the complaints on the unproductiveness of foreign policy because the seeds are not always discernible for people to value. Hypothetically, a foreign policy should have the competence to produce welfare for the people, through making feasible economic gains and being able to provide sufficient security for its human and physical components. In a way, citizens of third world countries may be correct, after all, with the position they have taken on the moribund affluence of their countries' foreign policies. Gains of foreign policy, in whatever form, take a long time to arrive, if they ever arrived (Saliu, 2010a: 327; Gambari, 1989).

Nigeria needs to change her foreign policies to align with the current world of globalisation, and the dynamics of international politics that are constantly changing. Former foreign minister, Odion Ajumoghobia has also stressed the need for Nigeria to have an enduring foreign policy. So Nigeria's foreign policy should endure which means she must now define her national interest in a new setting of nuclear politics, in a new setting of independence. Government should adopt or define a policy on the Nigerians in diaspora. The Nigerians in diaspora can be very critical to nation building not necessarily in terms of flow of investments of which emphasis have always been laid. The diaspora should assist in the transfer of technology, not necessarily in terms of establishing entrepreneurial activities. There has to be an arrangement that will enable them as Nigerians in diaspora to transfer knowledge. Nigeria's national interest should revolve more around the survival and prosperity of Nigerians, home and abroad than on the continent of Africa and the globe.

In fact, the deeds of Nigeria in foreign relations should strategically center on Nigerians' interest (Akinterinwa, 2011: 60). Therefore, in view of the realities and several debates that Nigeria's foreign policy seemed to be in decline, a paradigm shift is urgent and the present government of the day must work in this direction, which should include Nigeria's economic prosperity, social welfare, and protection of the nation's national security.

Theoretical Statement

Two major concepts outline the thrust of the subject matter of our dissertation, namely Nigerian foreign policy and Paradigm shift. For the reason of collective understanding, it is relevant to delineate and situate these models so as to underline their significance in the framework of this presentation:

Nigerian foreign policy: It evolved from 1958 when the initial batch of Nigerian Foreign Service employees was recruited in groundwork for the concluding transfer of political power to Nigerians. Reflective of the colonial legacies in Nigeria, foreign policy after independence was still being harmonised by the office of the Prime Minister (PM) with a Senior White Officer serving as an adviser to the PM on foreign policy. Nigeria assumed sovereign independent status on October 1, 1960 and the mantle of leadership fell on Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the first prime minister of Nigeria. The task of taking and pursuing Nigeria's national interest became a task for the pioneering indigenous administration whose ability and capability in performing the roles were limited by experience, lack of precedence, institutional deficiencies, poor operational environment and shortage of foreign policy experts. Nigeria from January 1, 1914 when the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates was formally effected to October 1, 1960 when she attained independence could not pursue an independent foreign policy which could be said to be separate and distinct from that of Britain (Olasupo, 2015: 59-60).

Africa remains the focal point of Nigeria's foreign policy: this implies that in the nation's external relations, Africa received priority attention. Nigeria's declaration of making Africa her preoccupation was informed by certain factors. One, Nigeria is geo-politically located in the African region. Two, it is the most populous African, and black nation on the globe. It is therefore natural for the country to articulate afro-centric concerns. Balewa gave two speeches in October and December 1960 before the United Nations (UN) to herald the principles in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy and these include the following: Peaceful Resolution of Conflict, Equality of States, Multilateralism, Non-alignment, Afrian centre-piece, Non-Interference in the Internal Affairs of other States (Saliu, 2010b: 169-171).

Paradigm shift: A paradigm shift is an axiom that was made trendy by American physicist Thomas Kuhn to depict the character of scientific revolutions, or basic changes in the essential concepts and investigational methods of a scientific order. Kuhn compares these changes to the movement of typical science, which he described as precise work done within an existing structure or pattern. The disposition of scientific revolutions has been an inquiry presented by contemporary philosophy since Immanuel Kant used the expression in the prologue to his Critique of Pure Reason (1781), referring to Greek mathematics and Newtonian physics. Novel dilemmas in the essential concepts of mathematics, physics, and biology invigorated curiosity in the subject in the midst of scholars in the 20th century. It was in view of this dynamic setting that Kuhn published his work and perception of a paradigm shift in his important book in 1962: The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Flavia, 2009: 185).

The notion of a paradigm shift has also been applied in several non-scientific perspectives since the 1960s to explain insightful transformations in a basic model or discernment of events, even though Kuhn himself limited the utilization of the phrase to the inflexible sciences. After a particular subject has altered from one pattern to a different form, it was referred to as a scientific revolution or a paradigm shift according to Kuhn's vocabulary. It is frequently this conclusion, the consequence of the extensive procedure, which is intended when the phrase paradigm shift is used colloquially: it is plainly the variation of worldview, without allusion to the specificities of Kuhn's chronological disagreement. Moreover, the grip of the Kuhnian scrutiny on social science has long been unsubstantiated with the wide relevance of multi-paradigmatic approaches in order to comprehend multifaceted human behaviour (Hassard, 1993: 52). In Kuhn's analysis, the continuation of a single reigning prototype is distinctive of the natural sciences, whereas philosophy and a great deal of social science were distinguished by a "tradition of claims, counterclaims, and debates over fundamentals." Others have engaged Kuhn's concept of paradigm shift to the social sciences. The phrase "paradigm shift" has found uses in other environment, representing the perception of a foremost alteration in a definite thought-pattern and fundamental change in individual viewpoint, intricate systems or organizations, substituting the previous way of thoughts or categorization with a drastically diverse way of belief or arrangement (Kuhn, 1972: 6).

Features of Foreign Policy in the 21st Century

In the contemporary era or what some scholars referred to as "post- September 11 era" international politics have become extremely intricate, and therefore mystifying to the conventional diplomat. Not merely are the issues fresh, unsettling and vastly scientific, but they are also happening at escalating tempo. Internet ascendancy will lay down decisive patterns for the way we administer communication in the future; Ebola outbreak in 2014 presented the world with an instance of the sort of fatal challenges we have to undertake, even as climate change conveys astounding and disturbing upheavals that necessitate difficult and enduring response. Some of the major actors in these crises are non-conventional, and this area is no longer limited to nation-states. International foundations such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation take part in a crucial responsibility in development, Daesh fighters from all over the world are causing disorder in the Middle East, and unclear forces are implicated in the Ukraine crisis. And to conclude, communication, the foundation of diplomacy, has been thoroughly changed by electronic and social media, by chic phones, by the internet. Never in the account of mankind, has the broad-spectrum of the public had so many chances to stay conversant about foreign policy and never before did they expect to be knowledgeable more precisely and more apt than in the present day. It is no overstatement to forecast that by the second decade of the 21st century, foreign affairs will by confronted by more multifaceted issues and disputes (Forster, Stern & Zurich, 2015).

Toyo (2015) cited World Bank Development Report of 2011 that warns that one of the prevalent threats to development in the 21st century is unceasing insecurity, occasioned by a sequence of illegal and political hostility that disregard simple answers. Patterns of international aggression have altered in recent years, with smaller quantity of predictable conflicts between two certain sides. The figure of casualties from civil wars is barely a quarter of what they were 30 years ago. Instead, fluid types of bloodshed, frequently motivated by cross-border misdemeanor, such as drug trafficking has ascended. At the same instance, the epoch of foremost super powers with overstretched authority in the world, seemed to have ended. Countries in diverse continents have not only developed but have extended ties with others; cases in point are China and India. As an outcome, awareness has swung to different places in recent years from the erstwhile focuses that were on the UN and other global institutions, mainly with the conflicts arising from the Middle East and North Africa region. New regions are presently determining the outlook of international relations in extreme and momentous ways than it had done in the past. In addition, the question of resettlement and movement of people continues to be an issue of enormous anxiety, constraining the major powers to rethink issues of boundaries and national autonomy. Democracy has increased in Africa principally; foreign direct investment (FDI) and economies have grown and increased thus elevating the substance of Africa as a business destination, not just a mere beneficiary of development assistance. However, several countries on the continent, including Nigeria, are making efforts to lessen poverty and disproportion; and seem to have failed to build strong public institutions that would give public security and political stability.

The world-wide interconnectedness between nation-states becomes supplemented by globalisation as a process in which basic social arrangements (like power, culture, markets, politics, rights, values, norms, ideology, identity, citizenship, solidarity) become disembedded from their spatial context (mainly the nation-state) due to the acceleration, massification, flexibilisation, diffusion and expansion of transnational flows of people, products, finance, images and information (Vanhaverbeke, Duijsters & Beerkens, 2004: 13). Interactions among different states and countries led to globalisation and in the process hegemony evolved. The nature of relationship in the international system made hegemony inherent, powerful nations sought to have control over others.

On the other hand, the most important challenge in the 21st century has been posed by the terrorist acts in different parts of the world. Terrorists respect no frontiers or boundaries. Terrorism is a crime against humanity. Terrorism is, in fact, premeditated, politically motivated violence committed against innocent civilians and non-combatants by individuals, groups or state agents. The emergence of global terrorism has marked tectonic shifts in this relativistic approach. As a rule, global terrorists commit individual acts of an intentionally provocative nature, which may include threats of murder or the assassination of state and political figures; the seizure of hostages or potentially hazardous facilities; bombings; or the release of poisons, radioactive substances, or biologically active agents. Terrorist acts at potentially hazardous facilities enterprises working with chemicals, radioactive materials, or explosives; hydro technical structures; unique tall buildings; subways, surface rail, and air transport facilities present a great danger to personnel and the public and cause substantial economic damage (Chanchal, 2012: 7). Nigeria has had its fair share with the Boko Haram sect, with its operations affecting neighbouring countries of Niger, Chad and Cameroon with implications for foreign policy choices.

Some Challenges Associated with Nigeria's Foreign Policy

The troubles with Nigeria foreign policy are basically indicative of the predicament of underdevelopment affecting the country in all facets especially in the task of nation-building. Fatunla (2015) argued that since Chief Olusegun Obasanjo saved Nigeria from the representation of a recluse state, Nigeria`s foreign policy has been consigned to the flipside. The country has more often than not failed to gain from high-quality and successful foreign policy, though the focal appendage of its external policy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has been left without the essential and vital resources to act upon. The image of a nation in the international community and that of its people is an express indication of its internal politics and its government. Nigeria`s foreign policy over the years has been incapacitated and damaged by incompetence, dishonesty, bias, leadership breakdown and meager democratic credentials, which have all depressingly affected the global status of the country.

Furthermore, Nigerian foreign policy in the last two decades has been enthralled by a kind of lethargy that has made scholars to ask questions about what has befallen the country's external relations that its attainments and influence are not as outstanding and rewarding when evaluated with its contour in the 1970s. The nation that was reputed to be a trustworthy and dominant voice in Africa has abruptly turn out to be a country that even less gifted countries ridicule and her leaders were not given the handling that suits them as leaders of the colossal nation in Africa. Some instances often cited are the frequent cases of irritation by South Africa, the Gbagbo crisis in Cote d'Ivoire, habitual interferences and meddlesomeness in Nigerian affairs by some other African countries and ambassadors of some Great Power countries serving in Nigeria among others; these are regarded as decline in the country's foreign policy. The country's dealings with the foremost western nations have been fraught with awkwardness informed by too many issues in disagreement especially same-sex marriage, terrorism, elevated altitude of official corruption and others and this has spread to the sphere of international organizations with the Africa Union (AU) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) regrettably reflecting more the retrogressive influence of the country in multilateral affairs (*Nigeria Newspoint*, 2015).

At the beginning of Yar'Adua administration in 2007, Chief Ojo Maduekwe, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared that the government will espouse what he called Citizens Diplomacy. Although every diplomatic activity must necessarily be centred on the protection of the welfare and wellbeing of the citizens of the country, this administration tried to put citizens as its focus, at least at a conceptual framework. That concept is yet to be properly articulated, its impact is yet to be felt and the result is yet to manifest (Abba, 2009).The criticisms that have followed the introduction and articulation of this new foreign policy thrust have been so much so that nobody takes the government seriously in terms of foreign policy as the government seems to thrive on diplomatic gaffes. Much as it is not clear what the policy thrust is, the much-touted citizens diplomacy is not even clear what it is meant to achieve as the proponent, Ojo Maduekwe, the Foreign Affairs Minister, has not been able to fully explain what he means by that which is known to be an obligation that when a country does not treat another country's nationals right, they could also get the same treatment for their own citizens (Onyechere, 2009).

Toyo (2015) articulates some perspectives on President Jonathan administration's foreign policy. It was argued that under Jonathan, Nigeria lost its teeth in the African Union (AU). The former president was absent at the 50th anniversary of the AU and in the continental effort to find peace in the Central African Republic, Sudan and Congo. That Nigeria failed to take a driver's seat to help the people of Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea in the height of their Ebola days. That Nigeria betrayed the people of Palestine by abstaining from voting for their statehood in the United Nations (UN). That Nigeria helplessly watched as thousands of African youths sank in the Mediterranean in attempts to cross over to Europe. It was also argued that Nigeria attracted condemnation from other African countries for depending on France to fight home-grown terrorism in the Northeast. The country was equally accused of having no official position on the chaos in Libya and the dangerous presence of ISIS in the continent.

Table 1: Nigeria's Foreign Affairs Ministers in the 21st century

Name of Minister	Period
Sule Lamido	1999–2003
Oluyemi Adeniji	2003–2006
Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala	2006-2006
Joy Ogwu	2006–2007
Ojo Maduekwe	2007–2010
Martin Ihoeghian Uhomoibhi (acting)	2010–2011
Olugbenga Ashiru/ Viola Onwuliri	2011–2013
Viola Onwuliri (acting)	2013–2014
Aminu Bashir Wali	2014-2015
Geoffrey Onyeama/ Khadija Abba Ibrahim	2015- till date

Source: http://www.mfa.gov.ng; on 2016-02-09

Neccessity for Paradigm Shift in Nigeria's Foreign Policy

In recent times, however, Afolabi (2015) asserts that Nigeria has not pulled its weight at the continental level for various reasons, such as its inability to produce a coherent continental agenda, and its limited representation at the highest decision-making level of the AU. He added that perhaps, with the development of a coherent foreign policy strategy following the reappraisal of the existing overarching foreign policy strategy, Nigeria can effectively mobilise relevant resources to pursue its objectives. Although the Obasanjo administration made a shift from concentration of Africa as the centre piece of Nigeria's foreign policy to globally focused policy, yet the Obasanjo administration pursued the affairs of her immediate neighbours and Africa as a whole with vigour and great commitment. He played a crucial role in transforming OAU into a more effective African Union (AU). Nigeria under Olusegun Obasanjo worked tirelessly for the creation of new partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) (Olasupo, 2015: 60).

Adibe (2015) delineates attempts by the Jonathan's administration to evolve a paradigm shift for Nigeria's foreign relations. He reported that in late 2010 the National Executive Council (NEC) took a decision that Nigeria would no longer play 'big brother' to countries in trouble "without getting anything in return", and that going forward the nation's foreign interventions and assistance would be guided by the 'national interest'. Babangida Aliyu, who was at that time the Governor of Niger State was quoted as saying: "…we are going to shed that belief that we are big brother where we go to help other people and we never get something in return…So, wherever we go or whoever we relate with, must be because it will help us develop, rather than, as we normally say, that we have gone to help these or that people without getting anything in return." At a seminar to 'review Nigeria's foreign policy' organised by the Presidential Advisory Council on International Relations (PAC-IR) in collaboration with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Abuja from August 1- 4 2011, this point was re-emphasised.

As a corollary, Fatunla (2015) advised Nigeria to learn how to follow up and benefit from its assistance to other nations; he reasons that Nigeria has given so much without any commensurate support. The history of Nigeria's struggle for a seat in the Expanded United Nations Security Council has not been encouraging. Her position in the African Union, the United Nations and its organs, the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, ECOWAS and the Commonwealth etc. needs to be strengthened. While government should honour and respect existing treaties and obligations in reciprocity, government should be ready to harvest the fruits of diplomatic engagements. Nigerian personnel should be encouraged and supported into joining the various international organisations, which would be useful in the future. Ghana, Senegal and some other nations are good examples from which Nigeria could draw from.

Since 2011, when President Goodluck Jonathan assumed office as elected President, Nigeria's foreign policy has been anchored on the realisation of its Transformation Agenda through the attraction of Foreign Direct Investment. Jonathan has said in numerous forums that the major focus of Nigeria's foreign policy is the attraction of greater foreign direct investment to the country. According to him, his administration is committed to the advancement of a knowledge-driven economy, which he explains is the anti-dote to incessant crises and violence that has been the bane of Nigeria. Nigerian Diplomatic Missions abroad have been directed to focus more on attracting investment to support the domestic programmes of government. In a bid to encourage and promote the inflow of Foreign Direct Investment into the country, Nigeria has signed bilateral agreements and MoUs with several countries in the areas of trade, technological cooperation, ICT, education, culture/tourism among others (Maliki & Abdulrahman, 2014).

The increased exchange of high level visits between Nigeria and other countries of the world have certainly enhanced Nigeria's bilateral cooperation with these countries. China, U.S., Britain, Germany, South Africa and some other countries have formed strategic partnerships with Nigeria in investments in power, construction, telecommunication and manufacturing. Infact, relations between Nigeria and China have been very cordial and active; highlights of which include a Joint Commission and several protocols of co-operation. For example, the Abuja-Kaduna wide gauge rail is being undertaken by a Chinese company so also are some of the power projects across the country. This is more of an economic diplomacy and these investments had effect on the Transformation Agenda of President Jonathan. The recent World Economic Forum (WEF) on Africa hosted by Nigeria is a huge image booster for the administration. At the continental level, Nigeria's interventions in the crises in Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali and Libya among others, had fostered its relations with such countries and repositioned the country in the international community (Maliki & Abdulrahman, 2014).

The voting right of Nigeria's Diaspora is another issue of importance to paradigm shift as advocated in this paper for Nigeria's foreign policy. These groups of Nigerians are vital to national growth and development, hence the need to allow them the right to contribute in the choice of the nation's leadership. A World Bank report of 2014, accounted that they brought a whopping $21bn through remittances into the country. Adibe (2015) added that global interest in Nigeria in the last five years has been unprecedented (2010-2015), leading to a huge inflow of foreign direct investments. He advised that Nigeria must sustain and improve on policies that helped optimisms that the country was country being included in the Next 11 emergent economies in 2005 and in MINT countries (Mexico, India, Nigeria and Turkey) that were predicted to become break-out economies before the collapse of oil prices. There is need for continuity in government policy including the gains attained during Goodluck Jonathan's presidency. President Buhari had in August 2015 said legislation, huge finance, and confidence in the electoral system were required before diaspora voting can commence, adding that absentee voting will be possible in the future (Soniyi, 2015). Yet, the government should find ways including political will to actualize this concern faster than expected; the benefits would be commensurate to the efforts, apart from increase in FDI technology transfer and technical support in different sectors in the economy can be derived as Nigerians abroad would have developed a true sense of identity and greater interest in the country.

Afolabi (2015) reiterates that if the Buhari administration wishes to maximise the benefits of Nigeria's previous and ongoing efforts in ensuring the well-being of West Africa, it must consider 4/2 Demonstrating greater interest in sub-regional matters, which it can achieve by en suring a more strategic representation within ECOWAS decision-making structures; Leading negotiations with the EU on the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA); Demonstrating Nigeria's commitment to the regional integration agenda by reaching out more to Francophone Member States, whilst retaining its regional pre-eminence; Demanding greater accountability from the ECOWAS leadership and actively seeking to effectively utilise its pre-eminence in West Africa as a bargaining tool for greater prominence at the AU and UN levels. In comparison to its enormous responsibilities and commitment to peace and stability in Africa, Nigeria remains grossly under-represented at the AU and UN hierarchy levels.

According to Forster, Stern and Zurich (2015), foreign policy is perhaps most renowned for its enormous assortment of strategies and principles, requiring unorthodox methods and approaches. There is no distinct formula for every challenge in foreign policy and there is scarcely another field where the conditions are as vibrant as in foreign policy and consequently, hardly a discipline where ingenuity needs to be emphasised and fully utilised. It is believed that politics will turn out to be more globally inclined with ever more challenges that cannot be undertaken by a single nation-state. Advances in technology, transportation, media and communication among others have made this a reality. Therefore; there is a need for diplomacy to fundamentally change approaches where the Ministries of Foreign Affairs are in an exceptional setting to embrace modern developments. It is suggested that having a system of embassies around the world at their retention and diplomats with skill and knowledge in all regions and a multiplicity of subjects, they are programmed to play an essential role in the international politics of the future. Yet, there is also the need to change their orientation, the field of foreign policy has to become more ground-breaking, more interdisciplinary, and more open and occur much quicker. If they are successful in adjusting to the innovative and multifaceted universal realities, only then will they continue to be important actors.

Table 2: Some performances of Administrations in Foreign Policy (1999 till date)

Administration	Period	Feats In Foreign Policy	Failures In Foreign Policy
Olusegun Obasanjo	1999-2007	Reintegration of Nigeria into Intl community, Foreign debt reduction, front role in AU & NEPAD formation, increase in FDI, intervention in Sudan	President's overbearing strides, loss of AfDB Presidency in 2005, poor initiative in Ivorian crisis, flawed 2007 elections
Umaru Yar'adua	2007-2009	Launch of citizens diplomacy, membership of UN Security council seat	Failure in Guinean crisis, failure to articulate and implement citizens diplomacy
Goodluck Jonathan	2009-2015	2013 cancellation of 3,000 pounds deposit for U.K visa application, intervention in Mali, hosting of World Economic summit, increase in FDI, called off U.S defense partnership, initiation of AfDB Presidency	President Obama failure to visit Nigeria, Hilary Clinton's speech of 2009 on corruption, poor handling of phone conversation with Moroccan monarch
Muhammadu Buhari	2015 – Till Date	Actualize AfDB Presidency, got the support of world powers to fight terrorism and corruption, got global attention on Lake Chad Basin	Major policy pronouncement made abroad, delicate policy on forex, slow economic policies

Recommendations

The following ideas are enunciated in this paper to help alter Nigeria's foreign policies towards continuity and a sound paradigm shift:

i. Economic growth and development is crucial to a vibrant foreign policy, no effort must be spared to attain this urgent goal. It was the catalyst to the 'golden era' of Nigeria's foreign policy in the 1970s.

ii. The good aspects of foreign policies implemented by previous administrations must be sustained and improved upon i.e. the pursuit of FDI at home and abroad by the 106 foreign missions.

iii. A coherent foreign policy for Nigeria must include the need to follow-up and benefit from its assistance to other nations in terms of investment, trade concessions protection for Nigerian citizens, and privileges among others.

iv. The training and orientation of our diplomats must be deepened to embrace modern development around the world which include interdisciplinary and unorthodox approaches.

v. The voting right of Nigerians in Diaspora must be facilitated, it will help our FDI and more importantly the development of technology if properly articulated.

vi. Nigeria needs more representation at the AU and UN chain of command, it should mobilize, lobby and leverage on her contacts and potentials.

Conclusion

A thorough examination of Nigeria's foreign policy in the 21st century showed that the administrations of Obasanjo, Yar'Adua Jonathan and Buhari though still at infancy had mixed successes. Foreign policy does not exist in vacuum, internal policies of government determine to a large extent the directions of the former. If the strategic political and economic goals of placing Nigeria among the top 20 most advanced countries by the year 2025 is to be achieved a sound pragmatic and realistic paradigm shift must be implemented. For instance, Nigeria's foreign policy outside continent Africa is hazy and not anchored on principles that would confer sufficient substance on Nigeria's political or economic merit. There are very strong indications that Nigeria has not adequately funded her 106 foreign missions. Whereas this drift may be attributed to politics of funding, it is proper to state that Nigeria's foreign policy institution and politburo is yet to improve sectoral authenticity by adopting a practical arrangement in explaining the deep-seated objectives to stakeholders in the Nigerian project.

The structure and implementation of Nigeria's foreign policy doubtless requires a paradigm shift. The Buhari administration has also embarked on shuttle diplomacy reminiscent of the Obasanjo administration (1999 to 2007). However, the stakes are higher and much more needs to be done. The roles of the foreign minister, minister of state for foreign affairs and that of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs must not diminish in view of the pervasive visibility of the President in the international circuit. Team work is very essential, it is still imperative to empower the bureaucracy and technocrats in the foreign affairs ministry to execute their respective functions. No matter how knowledgeable a President is on international issues and diplomacy, the synergy and high quality output of a broad and wide ranging consultation cannot be overemphasised. American foreign policy for instance, has a robust process with different layers in the structure, formulation and implementation chain. New international challenges and emerging issues require that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs must be developed to meets the demands in the areas of Economic Diplomacy and Globalization, which needs to be handled by the Ministry, Regional peace and Security, Environment and impact of climate on the economy and other issues of importance have all made a paradigm shift an imperative.

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The Effect of Hip-Hop Music on the Sexual Life of Youths

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Abstract
The erotic nature of hip-hop music and its artistes have aroused the attention of Nigerian youths into adopting hip-hop music as their preferred choice of entertaining themselves and this has impacted negatively on their lifestyle. Such hip-hop music has as its contents; violence, objectification of women, sexual permissiveness, gender bias, false luxurious life and rape myths. This study uses technological determinism and uses and gratification theory, aims at finding out whether through listening and viewing hip-hop music will lead to Nigerian youths demonstrating sexual promiscuity.Three tertiary institutions namely University of Lagos (federal), Lagos State Polytechnic (State) and Wolex Polytechnic (Private) were selected as the population of the study. The study examined the responses of 300 respondents through the use of questionnaire and frequency distribution tables and percentages. The study discovered that although the Nigerian youths are aware of the immoral effects of the sexual content, they are yet to fully demonstrate the traits in their day to day interactions with the opposite sex. This study recommends that the media has a lot to do in its gatekeeping functions so as to only air hip-hop music that has positive connotations.

Keywords: *Music, Hip-Hop, Youths, Sexual life.*

Introduction

Hip-hop is a genre of music that is very popular around the globe. Commonly known as rap music, it originated in the 1970s and since then it has been waxing stronger and today it is considered as one of the main pull of music in the world. Scholars such as Kirmanko (2008), Omobowale and liadi (2011), and Zimmerman (2013) agree that hip-hop music was created by Black Americans and Latinos who resided in Bronx, a suburb of New York City; this is why New York is seen as the capital of hip-hop music. Omobowale and liadi (2011: 1) assert that "hip-hop can no longer be simply viewed as an expression of African-American culture because the genre has enjoyed more global popularity and patronage that transcends the acceptance of most other music genres having extended beyond its historical roots, in the Bronx". Over the years, it spread across different parts of America before moving into different regions of the world through the aid of the Internet and Globalization. People from different parts of the world have been able to infuse hip-hop into their local music thereby giving it different styles and coming up with different sub-genres. Hip-hop music has been able to last this long because of its constantly changing, creative and easy to read devices.

Hip-hop music has been known to have sexual explicit videos. These videos have been known to have a certain effect on young people especially the male gender. According to (Hansen & Hansen, (2000); Ward (2002); Ward & Friedman (2006) and Wright (2009) young people are susceptible to influence of sexual music videos when forming sexual beliefs. This is because Gruber &Grube, (2000), note that sexual beliefs are being formed around this period and in trying to understand this new development (Sexuality), young people pay attention to the media for understanding of sexuality. From research, Roberts & Christenson (2012); Ward & Friedman (2006); Ward, Hansbrough, & Walker (2005) observed that on an average of 10 hours a week and between 30 minutes per day, youths are the most frequent viewers of music videos. More so, Robert (2012) are of the opinion that music is a highly dynamic and an enjoyable medium for youths. Kistler and Lee (2010) discovered that male college undergraduates who observed highly sexual hip-hop music videos expressed greater objectification of women, sexual tolerance, and conventional gender attitudes than male participants who observed less sexual hip-hop videos. Wallis (2011) opines that there is an increase in the availability of music videos and they are more prevalent due to popular websites such as YouTube and numerous viewing podiums, including mobile phones, movable digital video/ music players and computers.

Hip-hop has the potential to attract youths of different races, classes, ethnics, beliefs (Bennett, 1999, Price, 2007 ;). Omobowale and Liadi (2011), Omojola (2006) affirms that this is quite the situation in Nigeria as music appears to have totally encapsulated the entire life of average urban and rural youths as well. Sexual explicit videos are also very common in Nigeria and they too possess a certain level of influence on young people. According to Dunu and Ugbo (2015), what we see in Nigerian hip-hop music is apparently a replication of common trends in popular music globally. What this implies is that the same cycle of sexual explicitness in hip-hop music is being replicated in Nigerian music videos and are bound to have a level of influence on Nigerian youths. This according to Akintayo and Adebola (2015: 2), is due to the influx of foreign programs via Digital Satellite Television and failure of local producers to come up with creative programs to educate them. Although one cannot apportion the blame to them alone as there has been a mass growth in technology which has led to these videos been easily accessed by young people on the Internet (Wallis 2011).

Several cases of sexual explicit hip-hop music videos in Nigeria are 'skilashi' by Reminisce, 'falilaketan', 'story for the gods' by Olamide, 'Expensive shit' by wizkid ,'silifa' by skuki , and 'German juice' by Cynthia Morgan. These are videos that standout when it comes to explicitness with some people categorizing them as "soft Porn". It is important to note that these are celebrated artistes in the Nigerian music scene. Sexual explicitness is well situated in hip-hop music and constant contact with these sexual music videos could lead to illicit sexual practices and rise in sexual transmitted diseases. This study tends to find out if sexual hip-hop music videos have a major influence on the sexual life of Nigerian youths and so these two research questions were asked:

1. What are the views of Nigerian youths on sexual contents in hip-hop music?
2. Will these views find expression in their interactions with the opposite sex?

Theoretical Framework

The Uses and Gratification theory and the diffusion and technology determinism were adopted for this study.

Uses and Gratifications is a model of media study that examines why people use media and what they gain from putting forth the effort and energy to do so. Essentially, Uses and Gratifications' purpose is to identify and explain the appeal of certain media, and why a consumer chooses one medium and disregards the others (Michael 2008). Anaeto, Onabajo, Osifeso (2008) noted that the audience is perceived as active and uses and gratification theory is more concerned with what people do with the media rather than what the media does with the people, thereby placing the theory in the indirect effect category.

They also observed that the propounds of the theory (Katz, Blumer and Gurevtich, 1974) take a more humanistic approach to media usage in the sense that people are not just passive receivers of the messages they get, they also tend to act on the messages effect. This theory is related to this work in the sense that young people who listen to hip-hop music tend to act on what they listen to consciously or unconsciously. Due to the catchy slangs and general attractive nature of hip-hop music, young people would rather listen to songs that help voice out their mind-set at that point in time. This theory is paramount to this study because it looks at what the audience (youths) does with the message (sexual hip-hop music) receivedfrom the media.

The Diffusion and technological determinism Theory was propounded by Rogers (1960) and its main tennents as posited by Anaeto, Onabajo, Osifeso (2008) involves it using "communication to transfer technological innovations from development agencies to their clients so as to create an appetite for change through raising a climate for modernization among members of the public (P.178). Anaeto et al (2008) also observed that the adoption and diffusion procedures are carried out in social and cultural settings which can make them features of dependence and innovation. They noted that among the five diffusion steps of awareness, interest, evaluation, trial and adoption. The mass media is focused with the awareness stage while personal sources will come in at the adoption stage. This theory is well suited for this study because it brings the role of technology in allowing the media function to its full potential and it creates a platform for which those who are exposed to the media adopt any messages that suit their needs be it good or bad.

Literature Review

The media plays a major role in promoting sexual explicitness. Content analyses of sexual messages in television (Heintz-Kowles, 1996, Cope-Farrar & Kunkel, 2002; music/music videosPardun, L'Engle, & Brown, 2005), magazines (Walsh-Childers, Gotthoffer, &Lepre, 2002), and movies (Pardun, 2002) have consistently shown that sexual content is prevalent across the media. Although sexual references in the media have grown in number, the abundance of sexual imagery in television programing is no surprise.

A content analysis of over 1,000 television programs revealed that 64% included sexual content with an average of 4.4 sexual scenes per hour (Kunkel et al., 2003). Prime-time network shows tend to contain even more sexual content (Kunkel, Cope & Colvin, 1996; Kunkel et al., 2003). When individual program genres are examined, more than two-thirds of all shows in television genres including soap operas (96%), television movies (87%), comedy series (73%), and dramas (71%) contain some form of sexual messages (Kunkel et al., 2003), which means that viewers could hardly avoid sexual content when watching shows in these genres.

Across many television programs, women are more likely than men to be sexualized and objectified. In music videos, for example, female characters are much more likely than male characters to dress scantily or provocatively (Seidman, 1992; Hansen& Hansen, 2000), and they typically serve as decorative objects designed to attract men (Gow, 1996). Similar findings were reported by Lin (1998) in his analysis of 505 television commercials. He found that women appeared in revealing clothing more than 3 times as often as men. Women were more likely than men to be objectified. Grauerholz and King (1997) also reported that about 78% of the sexual harassment behaviors depicted on primetime programming focused on the objectification of women's bodies with sexist and demeaning comments.

Popular music has long been criticized for its sexual content (e.g., Hansen & Hansen, 2000; Stern & Handel, 2001). According to Christenson and Roberts (1998), about 40% of songs most popular among adolescents in the mid-1990s contained references to romantic relationships and sexual behavior. Similarly, in a content analysis of early adolescents' favorite television shows, movies, magazines, newspapers, Internet sites, and music, Pardun et al. (2005) found that popular music lyrics had dramatically more sexual content (40%) than other media (movies: 12%; television: 11%; magazines: 8%; Internet : 6%; and newspapers: 1%). While more than half of the sexual content in music focused on relationships and 15% was about sexual intercourse, sexually healthy messages that convey information about sexual development, STIs, condoms, contraception, and so on only accounted for 6% of sexual content. Several studies has shown that since its inception, music videos have been overflowing with sexual content. Often accompanying popular music, the music video is replete with sexual content as well.. In the 1980s and 1990s, studies reported that 40-75% of music videos contained sexual imagery (Leslie, & Singletary, 1985, Baxter, De Riemer, Landini,; Greeson& Williams, 1986; Gow, 1990; Pardun& McKee, 1995).

For example, Baxter et al. (1985) examined the visual portion of music videos. They found that 60% of MTV music videos had at least one occurrence of sexually suggestive content or "the portrayal of sexual feelings or impulses" (p. 337). Greeson and Williams (1986) reported that 47% of the 70 music videos they analysed in their study featured sexual content, either visually or lyrically. Flanagan, Flanagan, and Davis (1993) displayed that 90% of the 30-second intermissions from 40 videos featured obscure imageries of sex.

Most of the published content analyses on this topic were piloted more than 10 to 15 years ago, but today's music videos seem to follow a similar pattern. Smith (2005) argued that modern music video market is even confident of portraying sexual content with examples such as 'Toxic', in which Britney Spears dresses seductively with a transparent bodysuit, and 'This Love' by Maroon 5, which features "a PG-13 roll in the sheets" (Cave, 2004, p.19). Hansen and Hansen (2000) also reported that nudity, previously verboten, can now be seen in a small number of video.

Studies have shown despite the fact that music videos are full with sexual images, these videos also treat sexual relationships conventionally (Vincent, Davis & Boruszkowski, 1987; Arnett, 2002). These studies (Vincent et al) revealed that the portrayal of men and women is distinguished in terms of sex-role labels. Previous studies (Seidman, 1992; Arnett, 2002) noted that Men are typically portrayed as bossy, daring, and hostile, while women are depicted as reliant and passive. Hansen & Hansen (2000) and Arnett (2002) are of the collective opinion that men are seen as sexual creatures with a persistent need to have sex with women, while women are mostly seen as sexual things whose urgencies are that of physical appearance and sexual attractiveness. The study also noted that women are more likely than male characters to put on skimpy and provoking dress (Seidman, 1992, Hansen & Hansen, 2000). For example, in a content analysis of 1942 characters shown in a sample of 182 music videos, Seidman (1992) found that 36.7% of female characters versus only 4.2% of male characters were dressed seductively. Hansen and Hansen (2000) also reported that women (56.3%) were twice as likely as men (27.1%) to be shown wearing sexually provocative clothing in the videos on MTV. Research examining the sexual content of feature films has been sparse. However, findings that do exist have provided evidence that sexual messages are abundant within films (e.g., Bufkin&Eschholz, 2000). For example, Bufkin and Eschholz (2000) content analyzed the 50 top-grossing films in 1996. They found that the majority of the movies (60%) showed at least one sex scene. Fifty-seven percent of the movies with an R rating and one third of movies rated PG or PG13 had sex scenes. Despite the abundance of sexual content in these 50 movies, only one sex scene acknowledged the use of protection. In addition, sexual acts are more commonly exhibited between unmarried couples than between spouses. For example, Dempsey and Reichert (2000) examined the top 25 movie video rentals of 1998 and reported that 85% of sexual behavior occurred between unmarried couples whereas only 15% occurred between married partners. Moreover, compared to married couples, sexual behaviors between unmarried couples were more advanced and explicit.

Sexual content in mainstream magazines is also widespread, and appears to have increased over the last two decades (e.g., Carpenter, 1998; Scott, 1986). While sexual messages on television are dominated by verbal suggestiveness or innuendo, messages in magazines are more explicit and graphic, often with partially-clad or nude models and specific discussions of dating and love as well as sexual techniques (Duffy &Gotcher, 1996; Reichert & Carpenter, 2004). Heavy emphasis is placed on the need for women to be sexually desirable and attractive to men (Garner, Sterk, & Adams, 1998). Findings show that adolescent girls and young women were repeatedly given advice on how to look and dress, and what fashion and beauty products to use in order to attract the attention of men. Topics such as "sexy outfits," "sexy hair he'll love," and "passionate fingernails" (Garner 1998: 69) are very common in magazine articles and advertisements, which convey the idea that women should look hot and sexy to be desired by men.

The sexual double standard is frequently promoted in mainstream magazines (Carpenter, 1998; Duran &Prusank, 1997). As in music videos, the depiction of male and female sexuality is polarized along the sex-role stereotypic dimension. Men are more likely to be shown as sexual agents. It appears that, for them, sex is more important than love and romance. On the contrary, women are more likely to be portrayed as sexual objects, and their sexual desires and appetites are rarely discussed in magazines (Carpenter, 1998; Garner et al., 1998). In addition, although girls and young women are frequently encouraged to please their guys and to teach them emotional intimacy within romantic relationships, discussions with their men concerning issues of pregnancy, birth control, and the danger of STIs are rarely advised in mainstream magazines (Garner et al., 1998).

Research Methodology

In order to attain the established objectives and provide answers to the research questions identified, the researcher adopted the survey research method as it is an effective means of gathering views of young people on how hip- hop music affects them. This procedure included administering questionnaires to the respondents so that their answers could be coded and examined.

Isaac and Michael(1997: 36) note that the survey research is used to generate answers to questions raised to solve a particular problem that has been noticed, assessment of needs and determine if set goals have been reached and incorporate standards set against future contrasts. They further noted that the survey method serves to "examine trends across time, and generally to describe what exists, in what amount and in what context" (p.36).

Kraemer (1991: 13) opined that there are three distinct characteristics of survey research method. Firstly, it is used to label precise features of a given population. These features involve going through interactions among variables. Secondly, data mandatory for research are obtained from individuals and are mostly biased. Finally, survey method makes use of a picked out sample of the population from which the results can later be generalized back to the population. Pinsonneault and Kraemer (1993: 7) defined survey as a "a method for gathering information about the features, actions, or thoughts of an enormous group of persons.

Sobowale (2008: 27) posits, survey technique is the most often used by behavioural scientists. According to the author goes on to state that "the process includes drawing up a set of questions on various subjects or on various aspects of a subject to which selected members of a population are requested to react". The assertion by the author forms the rationale for the selection of the survey method for this study.

McIntyre (1999: 74-75) opines that it is best selected for amassing views of youths and young adults on their exposure to hip-hop music because it is well suited to collecting demographic data that describes the arrangement of the sample. He also depicts that survey can also provoke evidence about outlooks that are otherwise problematic to measure using observational methods.Bell (1996 : 68) feels "Surveys are inclusive in the types and number of variables that can be studied, require minimal investment to develop and administer, and are relatively easy for making generalizations".

However, (Salant&Dillman, 1994: 13), notes that survey methods only provide approximations for the true population not meticulous measurements.

Population and Sample Size

Population is measured to be any group that shares a set of common trait. (Onabajo, 2010: 127). Also, population, to Ohaja (2003), refers to "People or possessions that fall under the umbrella of the topic or that can be examined to address the research problem or the research objective". The population of the study was 67,314 undergraduate students of University of Lagos, Lagos State Polytechnic and Wolex Polytechnic. The population was selected based on the ownership structure i.e. University of Lagos is a federal institution, Lagos polytechnic is a state institution and Wolex polytechnic is a private institution.

Comrey and Lee (1992) propose a guideline for selecting a sample size for multivariate studies. This guideline was further adopted by Wimmer and Dominick (2006: 101). The authors recommend that 50 for a sample size is very poor; 100 is poor; 200 is fair; 300 is good ; 500 is very good and 1000 is excellent.

Also, in Sobowale (2005: 39), a researcher, on choosing 500 as his/her sample size is willing to accept 4% as the sample error. The multi-stage sampling method was employed in this study due to the fact that the list of the fundamentals of the population could not be retrieved by the researcher, and due to the large population. The researcher decided to use a sample of 300 respondents. In order to get an adequate sample of the population, the researcher decided to divide the population into three groups, based on their ownership structure- Federal, State and private owned institutions.

Using the Simple random sampling method, the researcher used a ballot method to select the population of the study. The researcher wrote all selected tertiary institutions into small pieces of paper and put them into their appropriate groups (A-C). Then the researcher randomly selected a piece of paper from category A which fell under Government owned institutions, category B which was State owned and C which was under private owned institutions.

Instrument for Data Analysis

In a survey, questionnaire is an important instrument for obtaining information from people about their perceptions, opinions, attitudes and behaviours, (Sobowale2008: 46). The questionnaire contained series of questions aimed at stimulating information, with the purpose of answering the research questions. The total number of questions were 28 and they were spread across three sections. The first section and the second section aimed at providing answers to the research questions. In section one and two, a combination of close-ended question types, likert scale and the AWS scale by Kirster and Lee (2010) were used to elicit response from respondents The third section provided the demographic features of the respondents, i.e. age and gender, level and institution etc.

Data Analysis and Presentation

All data collected are analysed and interpreted. Of the over 300 questionnaire distributed, 295 were correctly filled and returned at the stipulated time. This represents 98% which is enough to give us unbiased data needed for the study.

Research Question Analysis

RQ1: What are the views of Nigerian youths on sex and its contents in hip-hop music?

Table 1: Views on Sexual contents of hip-hop Music

Responses	I am aware of the sexual content in hip-hop music	Sexual exposure to hip-hop music can lead to premarital sex	I Believe sexual touching is permitted	I believe that sexual inter course is permitted
Strongly Agree	20.001% (59)	22.03% (65)	30.85% (91)	7.12% (21)
Agree	33.90% (100)	33.90% (100)	33.89% (100)	17.97% (53)
Disagree	9.85% (29)	27.12% (80)	14.92% (44)	24.06% (71)
Strongly Disagree	9.15% (27)	7.12% (21)	12.82% (38)	10.17% (30)
Do not Know	27.12% (80	9.89% (29)	7.46% (22)	40.68% (120)
	100 N=295	100 N=295	100 N=295	100 N=295

From the results in table 1, about 65% of the respondents believed that sexual touching is permitted as against the 28 % who believed otherwise. When asked if sexual intercourse was permitted, 41 % of the respondents didn't know whether it was as opposed to34% who kicked against it. On the other hand, 25 % however felt it was permitted.

The table 1 also showed that about 56% of the respondents felt that exposure to sexual content in hip-hop music can lead to premarital sex whereas 54% of the respondents are aware of the sexual content in hip-hop music as against the 27% who claimed they are unaware.

Results from table 1 also showed that about 65% of the respondents were against the notion of sexual explicit content in hip-hop music could lead to sexual transmitted diseases while 24% inferred that it was possible.

RQ2: Will these views find expression in their interactions with the opposite sex?

Table 2: Feelings and Listening to Hip-hop Music

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Pleasure	130	44.07%
Aroused	91	30.85%
Indifferent	35	11.86%
Irritated	24	8.14%
Disgust	15	5.08%
Total	N=295	100

Table 2 showed that about 44% of the respondents noted that they felt pleasure when listening to hip-hop music while 31% felt aroused while listening to hip-hop music. Results also showed that 12% of the population were indifferent while 8% felt irritated. Lastly 5% expressed utter disgust when listening to hip-hop music.

Table 3: Feelings and Viewing hip-hop music

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Pleasure	88	29.83%
Arousal	186	63.05%
Indifferent	12	4.07%
Disgust	9	3%
	N=295	100%

From the table 4 above, about 30% of the population felt pleasure when viewing hip-hop music as of 63% of the population who felt aroused whenviewing hip-hop music. 4% of the population were indifferent to viewing hip-hop music while 3% felt disgusted.

Table 4: Feelings and interaction with opposite sex

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Feels like coming close	39	13.3%
Feels like kissing	85	28.7%
Feels like having sex	155	52.25
Don't feel anything	16	5.5%
	N=295	100%

Table 4 depicts that about 13% felt like coming close to the opposite sex after listening to hip-hop music while 29% of the population felt like kissing the opposite sex after listening and viewing hip-hop music. 53% of the population felt like having sex with the opposite sex while 6% of the population do not feel like doing anything.

Disscussion of Findings

From responses and findings to RQ1 on the views of Nigerian youths on sexual contents in hip-hop music, the study reveals that about 54% of the respondents were aware of the sexual content in hip-hop music. Again 64% of the respondents also believed sexual touching is allowed. This supports Kistler and Lee (2010) who noted that male college undergraduates who viewed highly sexual hip-hop music videos expressed greater objectification of women, sexual permissiveness, and stereotypical gender attitudes than male participants who viewed less sexual hip-hop videos. On whether sexual intercourse is permitted, many opined that they do not know and this represents 41% of the population. 54% of the population also felt that exposure to sexual hip-hop music can lead to pre-marital sex. The implication is that while youths are aware of the sexual content in hip-hop music, they, to an extent, are permissive to it. This is shown by the sexual touching which is allowed although they were hesitant when it comes to taking part in sexual intercourse.

This could be due to the fear of the negative consequences of having sex or they are not just into it. They also felt that listening to hip-hop music could lead to pre-marital sex. This supports Zhang, Milller and Anderson (2008) claim that students who watched more sexual music videos compared to those who watched less were more likely to hold more views that sex is recreational and inconsequential.

From responses and findings to RQ2 which asked whether these views find expression in their interaction with the opposite sex, Table 2shows that 44% felt pleasure when listening to hip-hop while 31% felt aroused when listening to hip-hop music. 13% who felt disgusted and 12% were indifferent on what they felt. 8% of the population felt irritated while 5 percent felt disgusted. This shows that 71%

of the population were comfortable listening to hip-hop music as against the 13% who had a bad feeling towards listening to hip-hop music. The inference is that majority of therespondents felt that hip-hop music is a genre of music deemed worth listening to.Responses to table 3 depict that 30% of the population felt pleasure when viewing hip-hop music and 63% felt aroused when viewing hip-hop music. 4% of the population were indifferent to viewing hip-hop music while 3% felt disgusted. This infers that majority of the youths were more aroused when viewing hip-hop music than listening to it. This is because in viewing, their imagination comes alive and there are extra scenes added that their minds could not conjure when listening to hip-hop music. This could be from the provocative dressing by the females, how lyrics come alive, dress sense of the artist and the scenery as a whole. The whole point of a music video is to give more flesh to what has been created by listening, hence youths are really attracted to what they see in music videos. This lends credence to (Seidman, 1992; Hansen& Hansen, 2000) who pointed out that, "In music videos, female characters are much more likely than male characters to dress scantily or provocatively. Smith (2005)argues that modern music video market is even confident of portraying sexual content with examples such as 'Toxic', in which Britney Spears dresses seductively with a transparent bodysuit, and 'This Love' by Maroon 5, which features "a PG-13 roll in the sheets".

Table 4 reveals that about 13% felt like coming close to the opposite sex after listening to hip-hop music while 29% of the population felt like kissing the opposite sex after listening and viewing hip-hop music. 53% of the population felt like having sex with the opposite sex while 6% of the population do not feel like doing anything.The implication is that after viewing and listening to sexual content in hip-hop music, youths desire to carry out sexual practices. This varies from coming close, to sexual touching, kissing and eventually having sex. This supportsKirstler and Lee (2010) whose study revealed that male students who viewed highly sexual music videos showed greater signs of objectification of women, categorized gender attitudes and acceptance of rape myths as against male students who viewed less. The study also showed that women who viewed less of highly sexual hip-hop music videos showed greater acceptance of male domination as against women who viewed highly sexual music videos more. This also supports Zhang, Miller and Anderson (2008) study that discovered that young people who viewed more sexual hip-hop music videos were likely to see sex as more entertaining and insignificant than those who viewed them less.

This study also gives credence to the uses and gratification theory and technological determinism and diffusion theory in the sense that the audience is active and the media is a source for them to achieve their goals.For sexual content in hip-hop music, the media is where they can have consistent information and awareness. From the study, it is shown that different youths use hip-hop music for their own unique reasons: To have sex, for pleasure, for arousal etc.; they have what they do with the media and how it satisfies their personal goals. This study alsogives credibility to the technological determinism and diffusion theory in the sense that the media's number one policy is to create awareness and give out information and the society uses it for its personal purposes. From the five phases of the theory (diffusion and technological determinism theory), the media in this study concentrates on the first stage and the youths in the study are at the last stage which is adoption. Technology has helped widen the reach of the media, from the transition of traditional media to the social media, information is now within everyone's reach. An aspect of Technological determinism states that technology is source of so much evil in the society. This can be related to why there is so much exposure and awareness of sexual content in hip-hop music.

Conclusion/Recommendation

This study discovered that a large number of youths are exposed to hip-hop music through listening and viewing which have been made possible through traditional and social media. The youths are also influenced by the sexual content of the genre one way or the other and it generates a lot of emotional feelings in their relationship with the opposite sex after their exposure to the music.Recent studies have shown that in other countries, exposure to hip-hop music has led to a lot of immoral sexual behaviors, however this study has revealed that hip-hop music has only generated erotic feelings which if not checked can lead to sexual promiscuity among Nigerian youths.

The lesson here is that Nigerian media must buckle up in its gate-keeping functions by screening out hip-hop music which have negative contents and promote only those that can positively influence them. Where the social media is concerned, our traditional media should be involved in educational campaigns that will bring to the front burner the harmful effect of unguided exposure to some typesof hip-hop music on this platform.

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Uses and Challenges of the New Media for Rural Development Communication in Nigeria

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Abstract

The paper examines the importance and challenges of new media for rural development communication. This is pertinent as it has become increasingly clear that rural areas in Nigeria are faced with economic and social challenges that have impeded their growth since independence. The paper highlights the advantages of new media in terms of speed, efficiency and high level interaction paramount to growth and advancement in any society. Therefore, for any rural development policy or programme to impact on the lives of people and that of their families, new media should play a critical role in educating, informing and socialising the rural people by making them conscious of what is going on in their immediate environment. Since this is essentially a review paper, it relies extensively on secondary data to effectively highlight the challenges of new media for rural development communication in Nigeria. The paper adopts the development media theory which states that the media must accept and carry out positive development tasks in line with national established policies and that freedom of the media should be open to economic priorities and the development needs of the society. Findings revealed that new media has the capacity to improve the social lifestyle of rural dwellers as well as increase the economic and political information necessary for rapid growth. It concludes that lack of development-related information is a militating factor against rural development in Nigeria.

Key words: *Uses and challenges, New Media, Rural, Development Communication.*

Introduction

The Concept of Development Communication

Moemeka (1991) defines development communication as the application of the process of communication to the development process. This presupposes that development communication applies new models and principles to the development technique as buttressed by Quebral (1973) when he asserts that "Development requires a number of illiterates and low- income earners, as well as the socio-economic qualities associated with it, who first of all must be motivated to use a body of unfamiliar ideas and skills within a short period of time". Goldhaber (1983) posits that the essence of the use of the new media in development communication, especially at the rural level, has "the ultimate aim of communication for development in the facilitation of the exchange of information for increased productivity and development". However, the 1973 conference in Honolulu reviewed the parameters of development which were hitherto conceived as having an all- powerful effect on the lives of the rural populace. The proceedings of the conference brought a fresh perspective to development communication, which emphasises access to the media of communication, participation in communication activities and relevance to the socio-cultural context.

Moemeka (1991) emphasised the teaching of new skills and encouragement of local participation in development which must have a corresponding impact on rural advancement. The report at on the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (WCARRD) held in Rome summarises the association of the new media to development communication thus: "….The use of varieties of media channels and ongoing testing and evaluation in the lives of the rural populace in terms of meeting their education, information and other social needs. This is the crux of what Nwuneli (1993) refers to as "social marketing strategies and information campaigns"

The Concept of Rural Development

Rural communities in Nigeria account for 70% of the country's population. Therefore, any development plan that ignores the rural folk is inconclusive. This concept was succinctly expressed by Opubor (1985) when he asserted that any notion or definition of development in Africa that does not take into account fundamental change for the better in the life style of the peasant farmers, fishermen, petty traders, herdsmen or labourers is grossly inadequate.

The rural areas are the homes of the poor and deprived, whose lives are characterised by abysmal poverty, expressed in unemployment, illiteracy, low maternal mortality rate, poor accommodation, low income and low standard of living. These rural areas are a part of the country alienated from its social, cultural, economic and political activities. In the light of these assertions, the traditional media, which have cultural communication leanings, were used to inform, educate and entertain those in the rural areas. Ugboajah (1990) corroborated this by asserting that the influence of the traditional media in rural areas is a product of the interplay between a traditional community's customs and conflict, harmony and strife, cultural convergences and divergences, culture specific tangibles and intangibles and interpersonal relations. It is not in doubt that the traditional media plays a major role in mobilising rural dwellers for participation in rural development activities. This perhaps explains why Nkala (1990) describes traditional media that existed in any rural community as the medium through which change agents should utilise to provide greater opportunities for rural development. Initially, there were non- coherent ways of signalling specific intentions such as "food"and "danger", but later, according to Mcluhan (1965), more coherent ways of sharing messages were developed. This included; it's hanging. As traditional societies developed, better traditional methods of communication were invented, from the simplest vocal and gesture signals to a whole range of non- verbal means of conveying messages. According to McBride (1980), music, dance, drums, oral messages, fire, drawings and other forms of graphic symbols like pictograms were involed in the dominant life activities of rural dwellers.

These modes of communication have survived and are still very much relevant in rural areas in the ICT/new media. Kombol (2002) argued that the reasons for their persistence is in the fact that they are involved in made up of socially accepted cultural practices and are products of music, linguistics, religion, history, sociology, mythology, the performing art etc. Even though the audience is limited, Kombol (2002) still stressed that the traditional means of communication are consumer-friendly and require no socialised training; they are cheap, non- alienating and bind people together. He concludes that they are people- centred and are regarded as the people's media.

McBride (1980) and Wilson (1990) argue that traditional media are still relevant in rural development because of the underdevelopment of rural areas.They maintain that such oral media are effective for rural development.

Questions that arise at this juncture include the following:

- Are the rural means of communication still relevant in rural development as stated by some authors?
- In what ways have the change agent (the new media) enhanced the traditional media in terms of how message is shared, relayed and disseminated?
- What is the new media all about? What does it entail?
- How does this new media fit into the existing cultural configuration?
- How readily compatible is it with existing rural life styles?
- Will it be acceptable to the generality of the people? Will it be sustainable?
- What are the challenges of the new media for rural development?

These and some other issues are addressed in this paper.

New Media and Rural Development

Nwabueze (2005) defined ICT or the new media as communication gadgets or facilities which improve or enhance the manner in which message is shared, relayed, disseminated, preserved and recalled for meaningful communication purposes.

The new media, otherwise known as ICT, have brought about significant improvements not only in our social lives, but also in all aspects of human development. Uwakwe (2004) clarified the importance of the new media when he noted that they have brought hope to the modern man and that the industrialised West, for instance, effects great transformation in the lives of people due to advances in ICT. There is no doubt that the new media have made it possible to assemble, process, store and disseminate information without any stress.

Okoro (2006), as quoted by Prosper (2007), described the new media as products of a technological convergence aimed at blending technology in the process of message delivery. He went on to describe the new media as the coming together of different media as a result of digitalisation.

He listed the following as the different forms of the new media:

- Micro-computer
- Video conferencing

- Web casting
- Mobile phone
- World Wide Web
- The Internet
- Electronic Mart
- Fax Machine
- Telnet
- Communication Satellite

Udoakah (1998) sees development communication as involving how communication can be used for organised development. It is an attempt to influence the public to accept new ideas, to win citizens over to new ways of doing things. Salawu (2001) also noted that development communication stresses access to the media of communication, participation in communication activities and the relevance of content to the socio-cultural context. He further emphasised that development communication has to do with understanding the needs of people, informing the people and mobilising the people for effective participation in the development process. Arguments from communication scholars hold that the new media have the key to socio-economic development in many societies, including rural areas. Soola (2002) noted that development programmes in the rural areas are enhanced through the combination of the mass media and the new media.

Tehranican (1990), as quoted by Soola *et al* (2002), opined that the new media play a dual role in society; the first role is the opening up of opportunities for centralisation of authority, control and communication typical of the modern industrial state. In a similar direction, Stevenson, Burkett and Myint as quoted by Soola *et al* (2007) believe that the new media can strengthen the centralised, industrial command, economy? or decentralize empowerment for finding creative solutions to local and global problems through new social technologies.

Soola (2002) further noted that increased globalization, facilitated by the new media, has brought about changes which flow through to local communities.

Utilisation of New Media in Rural Development Communication

Many scholars have addressed the issue of new media in rural development communication. For instance, Soola (2002) stressed that media scholars, practitioners, development experts and policy makers have for decades recognised the potentials of information communication as a critical resource input in the socio-economic transformation of society, particularly in the less developed countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Most of the countries in Africa, with particular reference to Nigeria, can be segmented along cultural, political and social- economic strata, with each stratum being markedly different, but not mutually exclusively separable from other strata. Political and industrial capitals and cities provide a haven for the educationally advantaged and socio - economically mobile and politically articulate members of society. Many urban dwellers are civil servants, politicians and members of the increasingly visible officer corps of the armed forces, the intelligentsia, professionals, captains of industries and the organised private sector. This class consists of those who have been referred to as “movers and shakers” of society.

Soola (2002) also stressed that at the other end of social, economic and political spectrum are the rural communities which constitute about 80 per cent of the country’s population but are nonetheless marginalised, cut off, as it were, from the mainstream of sociopolitical and economic development activities. People in rural areas were often deprived of the benefits of modern society such as functional education, good health facilities, good roads and schools. Most schools, even in urban areas, are struggling to have access to ICT as a means of communication and learning. They have minimal access to modern means of communication. The rural people are basically illiterate and largely deprived of opportunities to participate in political activities that could affect their lives. Many scholars of development communication have noted that the rural populace is denied the opportunity to participate in political and economic activities of the country.For instance, Baran (2002) notes that rural dwellers are mainly preoccupied with efforts aimed at securing such basic needs as food, shelter and primary healthcare.

In Nigeria, most rural communities do not have access to social infrastructure like electricity, good roads, hospitals, potable water and quality education. It is not open to dispute that the importance of the new media to rural development communication cannot be overemphasised. This is because, through the new media, people in rural areas can have access to agricultural, health and economy- related information. Modern banking transactions such as funds transfer, receiving credit and debit alerts on account information are part of the benefitsthe new media have brought into the banking sector.

The Central Bank of Nigeria is encouraging the banking sector to develop rural banking, e-commerce and other forms of financial products anchored on electronic means of communication. Suffice it to say that all modern economies revolve around information technology.

Murah and Uzochukwn (2012) note that the new media's offspring have ballooned over the past few years. For instance, Facebook is said to have grown exponentially since 2006 to more than 800 million active users in July, 2011, and Twitter, once a small micro-blogging website, now has over 200 million members worldwide.

From less than 100,000 internet users in 1999, when the country returned to civilian rule, Murah and Uzochukwn note that Nigeria now has 43, 982,200 internet users out of the 110984420 internet users in Africa as of June, 2010, representing 28.9% of the Nigerian population per ITU. The leading global social networking site, Facebook, has 2,189,900 users in Nigeria as of 31 December 2010 out of the 17,607,440 Facebook users in Africa, which represents a 2.0% penetration rate of the Nigerian population.

Through the use of the new media, the lifestyle of people, as regards citizen journalism, has improved tremendously. People no longer rely only on the traditional media to receive their information. Free flow of information has encouraged active participation in politics, the economy and social and rural transformation.

Flowing from the general acceptability of the new media in Nigeria and the extensive usage of mobile telecommunication, the mobile phone, otherwise known as GSM, can now be used to inform rural people on development programmes. Information on family planning, the economy, water and sanitation, politics, agriculture and health can be sent. Development news can be disseminated through the GSM.

More often than not, most of the telephones used for GSM operations have radio, television and internet facilities. Thus, owners of such phones can listen to the radio, watch television and, at the same time, have access to internet facilities. Short messages through the phones are not only cheaper but could also improve the socio -economic wellbeing of the users.

Moemeka (2000) emphasised that the mobile phone has the capacity to aid interpersonal relationships by influencing intimacy and closeness between people. Internet facilities are now available at cheaper rates through ICT.

Facebook

Facebook is a social site network where one can meet new people; old friends can re- unite and exchange information. According to Brown (2002), it enhances globalisation which provides unprecedented benefits for increased social, economic and cultural relationships

E-mail

E-mail is known to have profound effects on promoting the sharing of information, especially in the academic world. It makes it easier for rapid business transaction, supporting global interactions and collaborations among individuals and organisations. Rural dwellers, especially the illiterate, can also make use of e-mails (especially) with the aid of their children. This was buttressed by Richardson (1997) who said that e-mails have the potential of supporting mechanisms that enable the articulation and sharing of information on needs and local knowledge.

World Wide Web: This can be defined as a library of resource available to computer users through the global internet. Through the World Wide Web, users can view a wide variety of information, including magazine archives, current world and business news; information on agriculture, health, climate change, war and disaster are always available through the web. According Baran (2002), who emphasised the speed and success of the web, notes that by July 2002, more than two billion pages were available on the web, and since about 7.3 million new pages are added every day, by the middle of 2001, the number would have reached 4 billion, which implies a rapid progression.

The new media has become an available bridge for rural development communication in Nigeria. It has given rural people the opportunity to regroup and discuss the social, political, cultural and economic issues facing them in their communities.

It has helped tremendously in reducing mobility and thus, making the world a global village. The new media, in this present dispensation, will give development communication a facelift in line with the expectations of the new Millennium Development Goals. It will greatly help in the Change Agenda of the present administration of President Mohammadu Buhari.The new media will greatly bring about vast developments in our rural and urban areas in that they will give knowledge and development a universal character by increasing access and making development communication effective throughout the country.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework adopted for this paper is the development media theory which emphasises the use of the new media in rural development communication in Nigeria. The theory, according to Onabajo (2011), focuses on the use of the mass media in national development and the socio-political and cultural transformation of their environment. Also, the development media theory situates the context of the new media in the pursuit of the cultural and information liberation essential for rural development. The theory posits, among others, the primacy of development in all its ramifications national and rural areas support for democracy and the pursuit of cultural and information access. Therefore, the new media complement existing political activities and government's efforts to advance development at all levels.

The theory thus justifies the positive uses of the new media for rural development programmes

Challenges of the new media in rural development communication

From the foregoing, it is obvious that a lot have been done to highlight the benefits of the new media in rural development communication. However, not much have been done either to map out how these benefits can be optimally realised or to spell out the challenges facing the utilisation of the new media for rural development communication. It is in this area that the present paper intends to build on existing works.

In order to achieve the full benefit of the new media for rural development communication, government at all levels must cooperate. This is in the provision of good roads and other necessary infrastructure such as electricity and enhanced business opportunities in rural and urban areas in the country. In addition, the cost of buying and installing ICT equipment must be reduced and subsidised by the government. Government must also ensure stable electricity supply to enhance the effective use of ICT throughout the country.

ICT training must start from the primary school level to the tertiary level. Its introduction to our educational system from this early stage will not only bring vast development to our national educational system but will also enhance our economic and social advancement.

Scores of challenges have continued to bedevil rural dwellers in Nigeria in their bid to have access to or fully utilise the advantages embedded in the new media of communication.

Some of these challenges can be summarised under three major headings:

- Economic Challenges
- Social Challenges
- Political Challenges

Economic Challenges: An average Nigerian citizen is confronted with a lot of survival problems, ranging from unemployment to under employment or outright disengagement from work. The average class has been demoted by the ruling class to a below-average class as a result of poor government policies, corruption and lack of clear focus on issues that are pertinent to citizens' survival by the ruling class.

The lowest paid worker in Nigeria is expected to collect minimum of ₦19,000 per month and most state governments in Nigeria still have problems paying this minimum wage. This has led to incessant labour strikes and general unrest in the country. About 22 state governments in the country precisely about 22 states owe between five and six months' workers salaries and this has necessitated the present administration working out bail- out strategies to avoid national collapse. Acquisition of ICT skills comes after all basic necessities of life have been met. An average Nigerian citizen will strive hard to meet basic necessities of life before thinking of acquiring computer skills either for basic household use or for economic reasons.

Agriculture is the mainstay of our economy, and most people in the rural areas are farmers and subsistence traders or artisans who appreciate new innovations but lack the financial power to source for it them. There is little or no government encouragement for farmers in Nigeria; thus, farmers, especially the peasant ones, are poor and could can hardly afford the basic necessities of life. Poverty encourages deprivation of social amenities and could also reduce life expectancy value. Because of these deprivations, the gap between the rural poor and the urban rich continues to increase Based on this assumption, it might be prettyInformal; not expected here) difficult for Nigeria to achieve vision 20 20 20 and the much-talked-about Millennium Development Goals.

Social Challenges: There is a high level of illiteracy in Nigeria, and ICT operations go with basic educational skills that enable users enjoy their full benefits of ICT. Government at the federal level has set up the Federal Ministry of ICT to revolutionise ICT in the country by encouraging all and sundry to embrace ICT. To complement this effort, most state governments, especially in the South West region of Nigeria, are giving civil servants laptops in order to increase their efficiency at work. These laptops are given on loan at subsidised interest rates. IT illiteracy is not limited only to rural dwellers only; most educated people that are educated lack basic computer skills, education skill, and this will in no small way affect their efficiency at work effective utilization of it. Schools in urban and rural areas are now being encouraged to have ICT centres so as to improve on their students ICT skills. It is needless to say that since most rural areas in Nigeria lack such basic social amenities as electricity, good roads, good schools and hospitals among others, most network providers find it economically unprofitable to (go and) site their masts in these rural areas. Simply because of lack of social infrastructure like good roads or electricity to power it. All these problems make it difficult for rural development communication to thrive in Nigeria.

Political Challenges: The Nigerian government, since 1999, has shown a marked weakness in disseminating information to people at the (grass root,) grassroots. However, with the advent of ICT, people's access to information consumption of the populace has increased tremendously, to the extent that they need not rely on government or privately-owned media for their information consumption. Prosper (2007) notes that the Nigerian government has not shown enough seriousness in investing actively in ICT as well as formulating and implementing policies that would improve the use of ICTs in the country. He went further to assert that the Nigerian government has not been able to define the purpose, principles and values that should animate their communication systems.

When government has no clear-cut policies on the use of ICT for rural development communication, little can be achieved through private initiatives. Development communication experts have come out with convincing arguments that give credence to the import of making all and sundry appreciate the value of ICT for national development in the 21st century.

Conclusion

The new media of communication is fast growing in Nigerian communication system, and this may be attributed to the general acceptability it enjoys as a result of quick processing and dissemination of news, and information, regardless of distance and space. The impact of the new media is felt in all spheres of life. In the rural community, for instance, a farmer through the telephone, a new media device, can communicate with family memebers, in town or even abroad, from the comfort of his sitting room.

Pictures of important occasions like weddings, birthdays and burial ceremonies can be sent by mail. Facebook is used to communicate with friends and to locate new and old friends, relatives and classmates. Through interaction, ideas and information are exchanged, and this can lead to new ways of life and the economic advancement of the citizenry.

In the area of political development, political parties can make their manifestos available to the public through short messages from the GSM. The President of Nigeria, President Mohammadu Buhari exploited the new media to campaign in the last general elections. The new media also worked for President Goodluck Jonathan in the 2011 general elections. They both opened Facebook accounts where all eligible voters could interact with them, and through this means, they knew what the public was expecting from them. This is an innovation in Nigeria's political history.

Rural development communication has improved significantly through the new media. Information on agricultural innovations can be sent through the GSM, e-mail or phone calls. All these communication devices encourage interpersonal relationships and effective feedback mechanism.

However, the rural populace can only derive maximum benefit from the introduction of ICT if this innovation is integrated with the traditional media. Also, opinion leaders can also be used to champion the cause of ICT in rural areas.

Recommendations

First, government should take steps that would encourage effective utilisation of ICT in both rural and urban areas in the country.

Second, experts in ICT should, on regular basis, be invited to radio and T.V. programmes in order to educate the citizenry on how to use computers and the new media for effective development communication. In addition, government should encourage the teaching of computer science right from the primary school to the university. Computer literacy centres should be opened across the country with a view to encouraging mass computer literacy among the populace.

Lastly, provision of electricity and other social infrastructure should be the major priority of the government at all levels as this is a *sine qua non* for effective ICT utilisation. In addition, Government should formulate a workable ICT policy that would be all encompassing, with adequate budgetary allocation to ICT. More importantly, government at all levels should encourage capacity building. All network service providers should improve on their service delivery at affordable costs. States and local government councils should also establish ICT ministries to complement the efforts and activities of the Federal Government. Development agencies, and multi-lateral organisations should also come to our

aid in the development of ICT through capacity building and funding.
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Subsidy Removal and Deregulation in Nigeria: Implication on National Development

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Abstract:
The oil industry has been contributing immensely to the Nigerian economy and that is why over 80 percent of the country's foreign exchange earnings come from this sector. Since the discovery of oil in commercial quantity, Nigeria has been experiencing consistent increase in revenue earning. Even with this increase, Nigerians are yet to enjoy the basic necessities of life. We have witnessed strikes and demonstrations against poor supplier's incessant increase in the pump price of refined products. In a bid to reduce the burden on the citizenry, the federal government introduced subsidy, which was to make prices of petroleum in the country cheaper for consumers to buy. But, alarmingly the price of the product continues to escalate even with the huge amount of about 1.7 million naira spent on subsidy. Despite the conviction Nigeria give to the present administration in align with the change agenda of President Muhammad Buhari. The Premium Motor Spirit (PMS) increase from #86.50 to #145 per litre. The paper therefore seeks to address issues on subsidy removal, deregulation and its effect on National development starting from the past and present administrations. It is recommended that the government should work out direct cash transfer programme such as subsidized inputs to farmers who are physically working in the farms, effective free education at primary, secondary and vocational levels in public schools, free tuition in the public tertiary institutions, free medical services to all students with school identity cards and certified senior nationals above the age of sixty five years.

Keywords: *Subsidy, Deregulation, Petroleum, Fuel, National Development*

Introduction

Nigeria is the largest in Africa and the sixth largest oil producing country in the world. The country's economic strength is derived largely from its oil and gas wealth, which contribute 99 per-cent of government revenues and 38.8 per of GDP (National Budget, 2010). Despite these positive developments, successive Nigerian governments have been unable to use the oil wealth to significantly reduce poverty, provide basic social and economic services her citizens need (Ering and Akpan, 2012).

Nigerians get a shocking New Year gift from the Federal Government on January 1st 2012. They found long queues at the filling stations where petrol was sold above N140 per liter. Gone was fuel subsidy, which gave way to deregulation. Fuel subsidy removal which the Federal Government under President Goodluck Jonathan has canvassed and lobbied for since he was sworn in last May 29, appeared to have finally got to the blast off stage, Monday, December 12, 2011. That was when the national Economic Council (NEC), headed by vice President Namadi Sambo decided that government should finally remove the subsidy come January 2012. The body which consists of the Vice President, governors, strategic ministers and Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), claimed that subsidy removal had become inevitable to avert the collapse of Nigerian economy.

Subsidizing consumers of petroleum (or fuel) products is a common phenomenon in many developing and emerging economies, including in India. Fuel subsidies generally arise out of a desire to shield consumers, especially poor households, from high and often volatile fuel costs for lighting, cooking, and transportation. However, fuel subsidies are both inefficient and inequitable (IMF, 2008). They encourage overconsumption of fuel, delay the adoption of energy-efficient technologies, and crowd out high-priority public spending, including spending on physical infrastructure, education, health and social protection. Most of the benefits of fuel subsidies also go to higher income groups who tend to consume more fuel (Arze and others, 2012).

The country has four refineries with an installed production capacity of 445,000 barrels of fuel per day, adequate to meet its domestic needs with a surplus for export. However, Nigeria is a large net importer of gasoline and other petroleum products. In spite of efforts to revamp her economy via various reforms, which includes comprehensive non-oil export diversification initiatives, petroleum still contributes an average of 95% of the nation's external earnings (Majekodunmi, 2013). The country increasingly relies on imported petroleum products because the existing refineries are producing below 20% of their installed capacity. In fact, the cost of importing petroleum products has risen so rapidly in recent years that the country's capital expenditures and balance of payment are under threat (Adelabu, 2012).

Despite his electoral promise to reduce petrol pump price from the N87 per litre that he met it, President Muhammadu Buhari increased the price to N145! With this increment, Buhari has further impoverished Nigerians. Nigerians should be reminded that on April 14, 2015, President Buhari's ally and former Minister of Petroleum and Energy, Prof. Tam David-West, told Nigerians that Gen. Muhammadu Buhari (who was then President-elect), will reduce the fuel pump price from N87 to N40 per litre. Buhari did not debunk this statement made by his friend and major supporter. Also, when the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) government of Dr Goodluck Jonathan reduced the petrol pump price from N97 to N87 per litre in January 2015, former Lagos State Governor who is now Minister of Works, Power and Housing, Mr Babatunde Fashola said N10 reduction of the petrol pump price was too low and that Nigerians will get a better deal under Buhari. Fashola tweeted on January 18, 2015; "On PMS price reduction by N10. Now they listen. Oil the raw material drop over 50%, N10 is just about 10%.

It was therefore curious that in the first few months of President Muhammadu Buhari in office, he shelled out nearly N500 billion to marketers as subsidy. Recall that in January 2012, President Goodluck Jonathan took the bold step to finally deregulate the downstream sector after unprecedented fraud was unearthed in the management of subsidy claims by marketers with the active connivance of the regulatory authorities. From the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), Petroleum Products Pricing Regulatory Agency (PPPRA) to port officials, customs, navy, Department of Petroleum Resources (DPR), etc. all colluded to abuse the policy and fleece the country of hundreds of billions of naira.

Hence the continuous and consistent availability of petroleum product in the advanced countries cannot be excluded from the continuous trend of growth and development witnessed in such environment, particularly in building up indigenous capability for national development. The role indigenous technology plays in the build up of these nations can be factor to the availability of energy supply, particularly those derived from petroleum products. The impact of this can be significantly identified in the contribution of locally made product returns to countries' per capital GDP.

This paper evaluates subsidy removal and deregulation in Nigeria, and identifies issues that need to be addressed when designing subsidy reforms. Section II reviews existing analytical work on fuel subsidy and deregulation in Nigeria and its implication on National Development. Section III makes conclusion and section IV makes Recommendation.

Literature Review

Fuel Subsidy

Consumption subsidy is a pricing design that keeps the price consumers pay for products below market levels to specifically make targeted goods and services affordable to consumers who ordinarily may not be able to afford them. Subsidies could benefit people and businesses in the form of tax deductions, grants, exemptions or price control. In Nigeria, fuel subsidy as designed in the Petroleum Product Pricing Regulatory Agency (PPPRA, 2013) template is the compensation due to importers of petroleum products based on the difference between landing cost less ex-depot price of fuel. This is to ensure that consumers pay a regulated amount of gasoline at the same time, ensuring that producers get their real costs remunerated. It is a scheme meant to alleviate poverty by providing energy security for the country. Subsidies affect prices or costs indirectly, such as regulations that tilt the market in favour of a specific fuel, government funded technology or research and development (Adebiyi, 2011).

The subsidy is a form of price manipulation whereby the government fixes the pump price for sale to consumers and pays the retailer the difference between the actual market price and the regulated or official price per litre. Through fuel subsidy, millions of Nigerians have access to cheap refined petroleum products (Iyobhebhe, 2012). Fuel subsidy is one of the critical issues that dominate public debate in oil exporting developing nations and among the G-20. In Nigeria, larger proportion of the citizens are seriously resisting the which according to them is against the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of the government which aim to reduce the number of people living in poverty to less than 50% by 2015.

Some public analysts believed that the pressure to remove subsidy is designed by experts with insufficient understanding of the Nigerian economy or who choose to ignore the inability of client governments to effectively implement anti-poverty programmes (Akinwale, Olaopo & Ogundari, 2013).

However, the proponents of fuel subsidy removal continue to show low efficiency in energy use, wastage of huge sum of resources on subsidies which are needed to transform national development, reduction of CO_2 emissions, higher benefits for the rich with little or no benefits for the poor, and poor technology management of the refinery among others as part of the problems of oil subsidy (Akinwale et al., 2013).

The Nigerian government states that its Medium Term Fiscal Framework won't work unless the fuel subsidy is scrapped or to put it another way: that the scrapping of the subsidy is an integral part of its MTFF. That it needs the US$6B savings for critical infrastructural development projects. This is the view of the Finance Minister & Coordinating Minister for the Economy, Dr. Okonjo Iweala. The government is effectively arguing that the country can no longer afford it and that due to structural inefficiencies in the Nigerian downstream industry the ordinary man that was intended to benefit from fuel subsidy does not really get the benefit as retailers refuse to pass on the subsidy to consumers at petrol stations. Government says they inherited the scheme. They are simply trying to get rid of a policy that various governments have attempted to reform but failed (Iyobhebhe, 2012).

In a popular parlance, to deregulate means to do away with the regulations concerning financial markets and trades. Ernest and Young (1988) posit that deregulation and privatization are elements of economic reform programmes charged with the ultimate goal of improving the overall economy through properly spelt out ways. For example, freeing government from the bondage of continuous financing of extensive projects which are best suited for private investment by the sale of such enterprises; encouraging efficiency and effectiveness in resources utilization; reducing government borrowing while raising revenue; promoting healthy market competition in a free market environment; improving returns from investment and broadening enterprises share ownership thus engendering capital market development (Izibili and Aiya, 2007).

Electricity is an essential tool which drives industrialization and hence a key factor in national economic growth and development. The generation of electricity is pivotal to the availability of electricity for energy consumption. There are several medium for the generation of electricity but the bulk of electricity generation in developing countries is through the use of petroleum product or fuel; Turbines are run on fuel powered generators. This implied the significance of fuel to national development. Thus whatever happens to fuel supply will has impact on economic growth and development. It has been shown in the past that any significant increase in the fuel price often cause economic recession, such as witnessed in 1973 and 1979. One way in which the government had made fuel sufficiently available and affordable to the low – income earner is through subsidy. The introduction of subsidy indirectly promote economic growth and development as a result of the affordability of the price of goods which provides an enabling point for the middle class citizen to contribute significantly to the economy.

Deregulation

Deregulation in economics means the reduction or removal of government control in a particular sector or industry so as to create more and better competition within that industry. It is the elimination of government interference in the running of a system (Akinwumi, *et al*, 2005). This means that the market forces are allowed to determine the swings of operations rather than the state. Deregulation does not allow for restrictions in enterprises and services. One highly conflicting issue in Nigeria is perhaps the question of petroleum industry deregulation, which has been generating debates from its protagonists and antagonists.

The protagonists postulate that the liberalization of the petroleum downstream sector would finally actualize the objective of ending persistent fuel scarcity and maintaining sustainable fuel supply across the society. Also, liberalization and deregulation of the sector would open it up for foreign investments, and, the cases of petroleum products smuggling and inefficiencies in the sector will be greatly mitigated. By the deregulation of the sector, the government would be able to channel funds to other sectors of the economy. The antagonists oppose the total deregulation and liberalization of the petroleum sector for whatever reason but can only be partially reformed for efficiency purposes. As such, the overall national interest will be achieved, (Obayi, *et al*, 2012).

Matters arising from fuel subsidy entanglement

As soon as government announced the bombshell of higher petrol price, the polity practically went up in flames. The anger in the land was almost to the point of explosion. Since no one could match the government on account of its financial muscles, the masses appeared to have been subdued, before the crippling national strike commenced. In any case, the people were the apparent losers as the decision further impoverished them. Certain issues became apparent during the crisis.

The Role of the Labour Unions

The Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) and Trade Union Congress (TUC) have given the federal government a three-day ultimatum to reverse its decision to remove subsidy on petroleum motor spirit (PMS), which led to the increase in the pump price of the product to N145 per litre from N86.50 per litre, or the workers would shut down the whole country at the expiration of the ultimatum.

NLC President, Comrade Ayuba Wabba, Trade Union Congress (TUC) President, Comrade Bobboi Kaigama, who spoke at a press conference that also included Chairman of Labour and Civil Society Coalition (LACSCO), Dr. Dipo Fashina, insisted that the organised labour would make good their threat, should the government fail to reverse the pump price.

According Wabba, "in the event government fails to accede to these demands on or before 12 midnight on Tuesday, May 17, 2016, the Nigeria Labour Congress, the Trade Union Congress and their civil society allies resolve to commence the following actions with effect from Wednesday, May 18, 2016: Mobilise to the streets across the country, ordinary and helpless Nigerians to whom they owe the duty of protection. Shut down all Banks, Sea and Airports, Government and private offices as well as Markets; Commence indefinite nationwide strike action.

The Role of the Nigerian Social Media Community

Nigerians, particularly social media users have welcomed the removal of fuel subsidy with shock and disbelief. They wondered why President Buhari's party, APC, which rejected the removal of subsidy during Goodluck Jonathan's regime has eaten back its word. Already, many of them have threatened to shutdown the nation in protest against the development, which has skyrocketed price of the product from N86 to N145 per litre. They raised concerns that the latest hike in fuel price will surely affect everything, whereas the minimum wage still remains N18,000.

The Role of ASUU

National President of Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), Professor Biodun Ogunyemi, has mobilised members of the union for strike and mass action commencing today to force the federal government to revert the pump price from N145 to N86. In a letter sent to members of the congress nationwide and read at the University of Ibadan chapter where the Chairman, Dr Deji Omole mobilised members to get ready go for mass resistance to what he called obnoxious and callous policy of fuel price increment. According to Omole, the policy of subsidy removal was the most criminal ambush from the Muhammadu Buhari-led federal government to empower the rich and cripple the poor.

The ASUU boss who said the common denominator to all Nigerians is poverty added that the same APC government that failed to pay civil servants for months is now celebrating budget signing with the legalization of black market. Omole who noted that many state governors who now align with the removal of subsidy ran their states aground through wasteful spending added that the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) should beam search lights on state governors. ASUU boss noted that the coup against the masses adding that since Nigeria runs motorised economy, Nigerians cannot be forced to carry the problems created by the rich and friends of government.

Corruption

The subsidy imbroglio has again brought to the fore the issue of pervasive corruption in Nigeria. Nwanne (2011, p.11) had drawn attention to the link between corruption and stunted development in Nigeria, stating that "corruption is perhaps the single most important reason Nigeria remains largely underdeveloped". As a follow-up to the January 8, 2012 Resolution of the House in which the executive arm was urged to revert to status quo with regards to fuel pump price, it decided to investigate the entire subsidy regime. The Committee Chaired by Lawan Farouk was later accused of accepting bribes from Femi Otedola, an oil magnate,found monumental corruption in the administration of the fuel subsidy funds which is very close to the heart of the average Nigerian who sees the relatively cheap fuel price as the only visible advantage of being a citizen of a major oil producing and exporting country.

Fuel Subsidy Removal, Bailout Fund: Matters Arising

Past governments have tried to remove the tainted fuel subsidy regime but have backed down in the face of widespread public protests, and reduced it instead. The steep drop in world oil prices would have cushioned consumers from any withdrawal of subsidies, but petrol prices would still jump by roughly 30 per cent if the current capped price of 87 naira per litre is allowed to move closer to the 115 it would cost without the government support.

Additionally, as subsidies cover the difference between the capped price and the cost to buy the fuel on the international market, marketers worry Nigeria could end the payments without letting capped prices rise, leaving them to shoulder the potentially sizeable price difference. Tuesday, May 5, 2015, the 7th House of Representatives rejected a motion seeking the removal of the fuel subsidy regime by the then incoming Gen. Muhammadu Buhari administration. The motion entitled: "*The recurring crisis of fuel subsidy*", was sponsored by Hon. Sunday Karimi (Kogi/PDP). Karimi called for a "permanent solution" to the lingering nationwide fuel scarcities while urging the Buhari administration to "muster the necessary political will" to end the fuel subsidy regime.

Nigeria is Africa's biggest oil producer exporting around two million barrels per day of crude, but imports refined petrol. Inadequate refineries, years of mismanagement and corruption has made Nigeria almost wholly reliant on imports for the 40 million litres per day of petrol it consumes. The effort is expensive, accounting for an average of 2.5 per cent its gross domestic product from 2006-2012, according to the IMF. The government set aside 914 billion naira ($4.6 billion) for it in 2014.

Clearly, the daunting challenge that confronted many governors shortly after their inauguration in May was how to pay arrears of salaries owed workers in their respective states. Many affected governors said they met an empty treasury and staggering wage bill arrears, a development that forced the President Muhammadu Buhari-led administration to approve multi-billion bailouts at the prompting of the 'bankrupt' state governments.
According to monitors, a number of reasons account for the inability of states to pay workers' salaries: dwindling allocations from the federal purse as crude oil prices tumble in the international market; lack of creativity on the part of governors to develop new ways of generating funds internally, outside of the monthly handouts from the Federation Account; high cost of governance coupled with the huge debts incurred by the past administration and outright theft/missappropriation of state funds.

Politics of Subsidy Removal: Issues under past and Present Administration

Flashback to 1 January 2012 Goodluck Jonathan removed fuel subsidy on New Year's Day in 2012. This took fuel price from N65 to N141 at filling stations. This led to massive protests by civil-rights groups, labour unions, and Nigerians generally. APC, the opposition party at that time, took political advantage of the situation by identifying with the suffering and criticizing the Jonathan administration for removing subsidy. Goodluck Jonathan eventually backtracked. Fuel subsidy was restored. Four years later President Buhari officially removes fuel subsidy. Millions of Nigerians are angry. Nigerians are understandably accusing the present administration of cowardice, deception, and hypocrisy. This may be true. But are we not mixing up issues? Are the facts and figures under Goodluck Jonathan's leadership from 2010-2015 the same under President Buhari's leadership from June 2015 till date?

How much was oil price in 2011? Oil price was $113 per barrel. Today, oil price is $44 after going below 30 dollars early this year.

What about exchange rate? Under Goodluck Jonathan's leadership, the exchange rate was $1 to N162. Today, exchange rate is officially N199 to a dollar; N320-N340 in the parallel market. * And foreign reserves? Nigeria's foreign reserves stood at $35billion in January 2012 and $29.61billion as at 28 May 2015, the eve of hand over to President Buhari. Today, foreign reserve is $27.1 billion, amid myriad of restrictive measures to stem the steady slide in the economy's external sector.

Under the previous administration, Nigeria was enjoying an economic-growth rate of 6% averagely. Thanks to Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) riding on the back of a devalued naira. President Jonathan also, largely, had the right economic mix. But corruption and terrorism were two of its greatest challenges. There were allegations of massive corruption, particularly what was reported to be a fuel-subsidy scam right under Goodluck Jonathan's nose. Rather than tackle these allegations by investigating and prosecuting those involved in the scam, President Jonathan decided to remove subsidy as the solution to the problem. The administration claimed removing fuel subsidy would free up funds for capital projects. But Nigerians had little or no trust in the administration. The administration was incompetent and corrupt. How can it be trusted to save for the future? This was a fundamental issue. So #OccupyNigeria shot down Nigeria's economy in January 2012, not simply because Goodluck Jonathan increased fuel price but mainly because millions of Nigerians did not trust the administration with the money it claimed it would "save" for the future. The rest is history. Today there are strong reasons to believe that if fuel-subsidy removal had been allowed in 2012, most of it would have ended up in private bank accounts.

Under Buhari administration, though partly due to some of its own reactive and over-restrictive economic policies, the Nigerian economy is sick. There is scarcity of foreign exchange. Oil marketers are finding it extremely difficult to import petroleum products into the country. FDI has nose-dived. The low international-oil price meant there was no need for it. So fuel price at filling stations became 86.5 per litre. Now that international-oil price is rising again, prices are expected to go higher. This time, the APC-led administration, the same party that criticised the last administration's removal of fuel subsidy has done exactly the same thing. No fuel subsidy in its 2016 budget. It says it does not have the money it needs to sustain subsidy. National Assembly did not object. The budget was passed. Now that fuel price has increased internationally, we expect the government to subsidize to alleviate people's suffering. The Buhari administration says 'No. We don't have enough foreign exchange to do so." Oil marketers are having difficulties opening letters of credit to import petroleum products. The result is that NNPC alone has had to supply over 90% of petroleum products since October 2015. This has not always been so.

NNPC used to supply 48% of petroleum products. Since NNPC does not have what it takes to supply so much, there will continue to be fuel scarcity. To tackle the scarcity problem, the government painfully decides to free up the oil-supply system by allowing the international-oil price determine fuel price locally without any fiscal intervention. Oil marketers are now accessing foreign exchange (through secondary sources) to import petroleum products into the country since N145 naira per litre provides some reasonable profit margin after supply costs. Meanwhile, the government is taking measures to block leakages through zero budgeting, Single Treasury Account (TSA), and its Anti-Corruption Agenda (even though one-sided).

Table1: Subsidy Removal Regime in Nigeria

Year	Date	President	Justification by government	Old price	New price
1973		Yakubu Gowon		6.00k	8.45k
1976		Murtala Mohammed		8.45k	9.00k
1978	Oct 1	Olusegun Obasanjo		9.00k	15.37k
1982	April 20	Shehu Shagari		15.30k	20.00k
1986	March 31	Ibrahim Babangida	Devaluation of the Naira	20.00k	39.50k
1988	Apri 10	Ibrahim Babangida	Subsidy is a burden to government purse	39.50k	42.00k
1989	Dec 19	Ibrahim Babangida		42.00k	60.00k
1991	March 6	Ibrahim Babangida		60.00k	70.00k
1993	Nov 8	Ernest Shonekan	Subsidy is primary budgetary burdens	70.00k	N5.00
1993	Nov 22	Sani Abacha	To gain public support	N5.00	N3.25
1994	Oct 2	Sani Abacha		N3.50	N15.00
1994	Oct 4	Sani Abacha	Response to labour and public resistance	N15.00	N11.00
1998	Dec 20	Abdulsalami Abubakar		N11.00	N25.00
1999	Jan 6	Abdulsalami Abubakar	Response to labour and public resistance	N25.00	N20.00
2000	June 1	Olusegun Obasanjo	To eliminate waste	N20.00	N30.00
2000	June 8	Olusegun Obasanjo	Respond to labour and public resistance	N30.00	N22.00
2002	Jan 1	Olusegun Obasanjo	Free government funds	N22.00	N26.00
2003	June 6	Olusegun Obasanjo	Encourage foreign and local investment	N26.00	N40.00
			in upstream sector		
2003	Oct 1	Olusegun Obasanjo	Respond to labour and public resistance	N40	N34
2004	May 29	Olusegun Obasanjo		N34	N50.00
2005	Aug	Olusegun Obasanjo		N50.00	N65.00
2007	May 27	Olusegun Obasanjo		N65	N75
2007		Umoru Musa Yar'adu	Compassion for Nigerians	N75	N65
2012	Jan 1	Goodluck Jonathan		N65	N141
2012	Feb	Goodluck Jonathan	Respond to labour and public resistance	N141	N97
2016	May	Muhammudu Buhari	Reduction in Oil Price and Exchange Rate	N86	N145

Source: Compiled from various Sources

National development

The term national development is a term that refers to a sustainable growth and development of a nation to a more desirable one. National development is people oriented and its success is evaluated in terms of the impact it has had in improving the lot of the masses. National development therefore can be described as the overall development or a collective socio-economic, political as well as religious advancement of a country or nation. This is best achieved through development planning, which can be described as the country's collection of strategies mapped out by the government. Elugbe, (1994), 'national development refers among other things, to the growth of the nation in terms of unity, education, economic well-being and mass participation in government. In summary development entails the provision of all the necessary materials and equipments that will guarantee that man in every society make a living and essence out of life.

Implications of the Fuel Subsidy on National Development

The abolishment of fuel subsidy creates local winners and losers on the short to medium term. Losers include the state/welfare services sector, education, health, standard of living for the poor will suffer, state security, the poor and vulnerable groups, elderly, students, women and lower middle class (Centre for Public Policy Alternatives, 2011). There are contending arguments on the merits and demerits of fuel subsidy increases or removal. The protagonists argue that fuel subsidy removal is a step in the right direction and in the interest of Nigerians.

An interesting matter from the economy is the issue of fuel subsidy removal, which has been of a great controversy for Nigerians. They are disappointed that despite their disapproval of the plan, government has remained adamant. The issue of fuel subsidy removal has been on in Nigeria for some decades of which different governments have tried the reform but were unsuccessful due to fierce public demonstration of its disapproval. Subsidy, in economic sense, exists when consumers of a given commodity are assisted by the government to pay less than the prevailing market price of it. In respect of fuel subsidy, it means that consumers would pay less than the pump price per litre of gasoline. Also, fuel subsidy could be described as the difference between the actual market price of petroleum products per litre and what the final consumers pay for those same products. Developing countries have used fossil fuel subsidies for consumers primarily as a means of achieving certain social, economic, and environmental objectives, as identified by Bazilian and Onyeji, (2012). These include alleviating energy poverty and improving equity, increasing domestic supply, national resource wealth redistribution, correction of externalities and controlling inflation.

Fuel subsidy removal Jonathan and his cohorts argue that it will trigger private sector investment in a deregulated downstream petroleum sector and enthrone efficiency and catapult the development of the nation's productive sector such as agriculture and industries. And according to the 2012 – 2012 Medium Term Fiscal Framework (MTFF) and the Fiscal Strategy Paper (FSP) which President Jonathan sent to the national assembly,he stated among other things, that fuel subsidy will free up to about N1.3 trillion, that is, about $8 billion dollars in savings. This money he added will be deployed into providing safety nets for segment of the society which will help to ameliorate the effects of subsidy removal (Ering and Akpan, 2012).

Furthermore, subsidy removal and the money generated would guarantee the success of the (MTFF). Money realized will be used to build more refineries and buy buses that will help cushion the effect of the subsidy removal. The point however that is since the protests were called-off the strategies that were initially rushed have suddenly disappeared. The antagonists of the fuel subsidy removal present a contrary view. They argue that the total amount that will be generated and the actual sharing have not been revealed by the federal government. In other words what will actually go to the states and local governments and what will be left for the federal government has not been worked out. The effect this will have on the infrastructural development as being put by the president and his economic advisers has not really been clear (Ering and Akpan, 2012).

Therefore, it was premature to speak of the benefits of the removal of subsidy. Fuel subsidy removal automatically leads to increases in the pump price of fuel. This was shown by the difference pump prices witnessed across the country when the subsidy removal was announced and these ranged from N141 to N200 naira per litre. In some other states especially eastern states of the country, a litre of petrol was sold for as much as N250 naira. Other marketers created artificial scarcity in order to raise the pump price. Therefore, certain sectors of the economy were adversely affected.

Conclusion

This research has been able to show that an increase in fuel price would lead to subsequent increase in every commercial aspect, as a result having a negative impact on the standard of living of the citizen, in terms of transportation, housing, foods, education and some other basic needs. However, the strong and transparent institutional framework that could transform the money saved from subsidy removal to economic growth is very weak in Nigeria. Nigeria government should ensure that policies that will improve the welfare of the low income citizens, strong institutional framework and improved refinery technology are enforced before fuel subsidy is totally phased out. There is the need to meet the short term plan before the long term plan can be actualized.

Deregulation or Subsidy removal is a germane economic policy for sustainable democratic transformation of Nigeria, provided social vices like unethical marketing practices of middlemen in the purchase, and distribution of the petroleum products are removed. The corrupt practices of both officials of NNPC and government must be avoided while the proceeds from the downstream should be used to provide social infrastructure, which will also accelerate self-employment, job creation and efficient mass transportation. With deregulation, subsidy, which has been a conduit pipe and source of fraud in Nigeria, will be a forgotten issue. Furthermore, competition which is an important component of deregulation policy will encourage private sector participation in building new refineries, thereby increasing refining capacities in Nigeria.

Recommendation

Government should create an enabling environment to stimulate private investment for the purpose of improving the local refining capacity with a view to meeting the ever increasing local demand of petroleum products as well as for exports. Related to the above is the need to use the oil windfall proceeds and the savings realized by the federal government from the withdrawal of subsidy to be channeled towards rehabilitation of the existing refineries, building additional ones and upgrading and developing of infrastructure within the polity, in areas such as waterways, rail and mass transit system, thus providing cheaper alternative transportation methods. The Nigerian government should seek to consider as an alternative policy measure, the use of efficiency subsidies, such as fuel efficiency automobiles in order to shift the demand curve of gasoline inwards. This will inevitably reduce the need for future subsidies and its impact on the transportation sector and other sectors at large. Therefore the government should create a policy that would be able to ease the pain of his people and also support development, through lucidity.

The government should work out direct cash transfer programme such as subsidized inputs to farmers who are physically working in the farms, effective free education at primary, secondary and vocational levels in public schools, free tuition in the public tertiary institutions, free medical services to all students with school identity cards and certified senior nationals above the age of sixty five years.

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Religion, Politics and Electoral Outcomes in Nigeria: The 2015 Presidential Election in Perspective

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Abstract
Religion has always been one of the major determinants of electoral behavior in most democracies despite attempts and claims by most states at running secular regimes. This paper examines the roles played by the two major religions, Islam and Christianity, with respect to the outcome of the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. Although, this study made do with secondary data as sourced from the Independent National Electoral Commission, INEC, it however adopts a combination of both the quantitative and qualitative techniques in analyzing the outcomes of the election. Running a critical analysis of the presidential election results, with respect to the strongholds of the candidates of the two leading political parties, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), and All Progressive Congress (APC), vis-à-vis the strongholds of the two major religions in the country, a strong nexus is drawn between religion, politics and electoral outcome in Nigeria. Anchoring on the nexus so drawn, it was revealed that the two major religions, Christianity and Islam played major and critical roles in the determination of electoral outcomes in the 2015 presidential election. This paper therefore posits that more than any other factor, and more than ever before, religion plays a critical role in determining electoral outcomes in Nigeria; and further suggests that for the nation to witness any meaningful development, we need to, as a people allow our democracy, grow far above religion among other diversities plaguing Nigeria as a state.

Key words: *Religion, Politics, Elections, Electoral Outcomes.*

Introduction

There are several narratives concerning the separation of religion from politics. But however convincing some of these narratives may appear to be, we should not forget the fact that for most of human history, politics and religion have gone hand in hand.

In the great ancient civilizations of the world, kingship and priesthood were very closely related. At times it was not too clear whether we were dealing with a king with sacred powers, or a priest with political authority. The priest- king was a common phenomenon. Examples cut across all continents: the Egyptians in Africa, the Assyrians in the Middle East, the Greeks and Roman empires in Europe, and the Inkas in Americas, to mention a few. Similarly, in African traditional societies, political life was shot through and through by religion. The rulers were agents of the gods of the land and custodians of the wishes of the ancestors. The people on their parts accepted the political arrangements governing their lives as religious obligations. (Onaiyekan, 1993).

Today, Nigeria is troubled because of internal issues such as ethnic and religious tensions, social and economic inequities, high unemployment and severe poverty. Due to its historical beginnings, particularly the divide and rule decisions made during its formative years by the British colonial ruling officials, and the effect on the competing ethnic and religious groups, Nigeria is potentially on the path of becoming a "failed state" according to a recent United States Air Force Air War College Study (Mac Allum et.al, 2011).

Among the numerous internal issues plaguing Nigeria today, coupled with the government's inability to address them, are the main two different religious beliefs that separate the country. With their diverse Muslim and Christian communities and the growth in religious strife, the Nigerian government must take extraordinary steps if not to solve, to at least address the problems to build a future for the country (Weatherstone, 2012).

The question of the relationship of religion and politics is therefore an inevitable and important one. The strident call for a separation of politics from religion often becomes a slogan used according to the convenience of the moment. The reality is that both are tied together, by the very nature of things- and this for at least two reasons: First, there is something inherently sacred about political power. History has shown that power can only be properly exercised when handled with sacred attention. In religious parlance, we say, '*all powers belong to God*'. Secondly, it is the same concrete human person who assumes both political and religious identity, and one necessarily affects the other. No wonder, even nations which make much of separation of religion and politics find many ways in practice to act against this principle (Onaiyekan, 1993).

If truly politics is all about 'authoritative allocation of values' (Easton, 1957), or "who gets what, when and how"(Lasswell, 1930); if it also remains uncontroverted that politics and religion are inseparable within the Nigerian political matrix, logically, we therefore, may be tempted to accept the fact that religion could produce variation in our electoral outcomes. In light of the above, this paper raises the following fundamental research questions:

i. To what extent has religion influenced politics in Nigeria?
ii. How far has religion produced variation in electoral outcomes in Nigeria?
iii. How can we remedy the situation?

This paper therefore investigates how far the two major religions have influenced electoral outcomes in Nigeria, using the 2015 presidential election as our point of analysis. It also attempts to seek lasting solution to this disintegrative phenomenon in our society.

The paper is divided into eight sections. The first section is the introduction. The second section explores relevant literatures with respect to the subject matter. The third section explains conceptual and theoretical framework. The fourth section explains the methods of analysis, the types and sources of data. The fifth section explores the nexus between religion, politics and electoral outcomes in Nigeria. The sixth section puts the 2015 presidential election in perspective. The seventh section discusses and analyses the data, while the last section contains the conclusion, recommendations and suggestion for further research.

Literature Review

Religion has played a major role throughout Nigerian history, right from the colonial administration, right through the post independence period, and up to the present republic. In fact the 'religious question' is only a part of the larger 'national question' about 'what Nigeria is'. Today, both Islam and Christianity are straddled across the Nigerian polity, each no longer knocking and pleading to be admitted, but seeking to take over the architectural design and construction of the Nigeria polity. In matters of religion and political competition, despite the claims to democratic procedures as spelt out in the legal and political documents, the realities belie the claim (Kukah, 1993). The Bishop equally noted that, because of the fact that all forms of political discourse and articulation at the national levels tend to rely on the English language, the larger segment of the society who are not literate in the language continue to float outside the political process, unable to make their contributions.

It is amidst this climate that a tiny minority, through its access to the media, imposed its will on the nation. These cliques according to the clergy, claimed to be the representatives of their people, thereby facilitating their access to the 'national cake'. However, to enhance the people's participation and reduce alienation, he asserted that, these cliques result to primordial sentiments and religious ideologies as instruments of legitimizing themselves in power.

The competition for power as a means of resource allocation has meant that the ethnic elites within the Nigerian state have had to fall back on what can, and will, enhance their prospects of capturing and retaining power for their immediate constituencies. In Northern Nigeria, the hegemony of the ruling class has been prefixed on the veneer of the Islamic religion.

In response to the above claims, many Christians would seem to have come to the conclusion that since religion has been a major factor in determining the staying power of the Muslims, it has become imperative for Christians now to use religion for achieving their socio-political activities and the place of religion in the political process, are being redefined as a means of dealing with these new political realities (Kukah, 1993).

In a similar vein, Dr. Julius Adekunle, editor of the book *Religion in Politics: Secularism and National Integration in Modern Nigeria* and a Professor of African History at Monmouth University in New Jersey states that, religion is a distinct part of and plays an important role in nearly every aspect of Nigerian life, from public to social and especially in the political realm (Adekunle, 2009). This position is reinforced by a 2006 Pew Research Study that was carried out just before the 2007 presidential election in Nigeria, where it was discovered that "91 percent of Muslim and 76 percent of Christian respondents claimed that religion was the most important issue to them (Rudy and Shah, 2007).

The convergence of large numbers of people practicing both the Muslim and Christian faiths, the two major religions in the country that account for well over 90% of the population, makes it "a prototypical test case in accommodating religious balance (Paden, 2008). This is a manifestation of the fact that the role of religion in Nigerian life is deeply embedded in the social fabric of the country and that the historical origins of each religion provide a glimpse as to why they are so important (Adekunle, 2009).

The last of the religious groups, also the smallest, are the Animists, those who share the indigenous beliefs of early African culture. In its earliest beginnings, the indigenous religions of Nigeria were based on worshiping gods associated with the land, rivers and the physical surroundings of the early tribes, commonly known as African Tribal Religion (ATR) (Omotola, 2009). It was these religious beliefs that governing bodies of the early Hausa people of the north, and Yoruba and Igbo ethnic groups, from the south and west, in pre-colonial Nigeria used to establish their political and legal authorities (Adekunle, 2009). These beliefs are currently held by a very small part of Nigerian society, anywhere between two and ten percent. Their lack of size in terms of population has pushed them to the margins of Nigerian politics while the leaders of Islam and Christianity have assumed key roles with the government (Omotola, 2009).

Considering religion as a means to an end, numerous authors have written about the re-introduction of Shari'a law in the northern Muslim states. The recurring theme is a lack of governance, rule of law and general lack of support by the Federal government. Shari'a was "seen by the population as a way to fight the corruption and bad government, immorality, and ostentatious wealth" that were accumulated by only those in power."(Roman, 2007). Others have proposed that religious violence, especially in Nigeria is inevitable as Islam asserts itself within the world vis-à-vis Huntington's "clash of civilizations" debate (Sakah, 2009). As such, the re- introduction of Sharia should not be seen as an option towards achieving political ends.

In support of the above position, Kukah (1993), affirms that, for a long time, Christian activism in Nigerian politics and effort to redefine the gospel in the light of Nigerian realities, though fragmented, have been stalled owing to historical antecedents. Things have since begun to turn, from Christians protesting against discrimination and domination by Muslims, to Christians seeking to shape the direction and content of Nigerian politics.

However, some scholars believed that the only way out of this religion laden political contestations, is for Nigeria to strengthen her secular status as embedded in the constitution. While some believe that secularism is the way out of this quagmire, others, like Omotola (2009) with contrary view, argues that, the application of secularism in Nigeria is woefully inadequate due to the constant use of religion by politicians for personal gain. He also argues that the government provides funding for the construction of various religious buildings as well as sponsors pilgrimages for citizens of the two major religions but fails to appropriately recognize and fund the smaller, tribal animist religions. He concludes that the Nigerian government and its role as a secular state has been "severely compromised" and it should be redesigned without the current religious overtones and practice true secularism. Though this counter argument may appear highly illuminating, it may not be the correct path to solving the current *theo-politics* issues given the central role that religion plays in Nigerian life.

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

Religion, like other concepts, cannot be easily and simply defined. Definitions usually vary in accordance with the level of education and experience of the definers, that is, in relation to how they were brought up, what they have heard or read, where they have been and what they have gone through in life (Jamiu, 2012).

The difficulty stems not merely from the fact that the living and the dead religions of the world present all too varying concepts, with hardly anything as common in regards to the basic functions of religion as such. What makes the matters all the more difficult is that no definition of religion, whatsoever, not even the simplest one, is able to resolve the problem at a glance (Pratt, 1947). However, the difficulty in defining the concept should not deter us from exploring the possibility of tinkering with some and put them into use in this research work. This, in essence is our main focus under this section. We intend to concern ourselves in this discussion with what religion means to people of different ideological coloration, shades of perception and interpretation, to examine the interdependence of religion and politics, if there is any, as well as the nature and roles of religion in society. For the purpose of this paper, we shall explore the following definitions:

Bilton (1977) defines religion as:

"*a system of belief about the individual's place in the world, providing an order to that world and a reason for existence within it*". In a similar vein, Durkheim (1951) conceptualizes religion as "*a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden…beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community… and all those who adhere to them.*"

While trying to explain the concept, some Marxist scholars of the socialist and communist background adopted the *Liberation Theory.* This set of Marxists see religion as *the opium of the masses,* a creation of the ruling and the property owning class, used to uphold an exploitative and oppressive social order favorable to that same ruling class in the society. Their views are commonly represented by Karl Marx (1918) who wrote that:

"*Religion is the sign of the oppressed cultures, the sentiment of a heartless world, as it is the spirit of the spiritless conditions, it is the opium of the people.*"

While Durkheim, and Bilton , who are of the sociological extraction, agree on the positive role of religion, Nwolise (1988) stressed Lewis Coser's observation on religion's dysfunctional role. He is of the view that though religion can pull people, especially of one religion together, it can also disintegrate them and set them against each other. The views of Marxists, socialist and communists about religion as depicted by Karl Marx's assertion quoted earlier sees nothing good either in religion or in its adherents. Rather, it is just an instrument of exploitation and oppression (Jamiu, 2012). This conflicting role assigned to religion by western scholars, probably prompted Nwolise (1988) to attempt to strike a balance between the two extreme views.

To Nwolise, the problem is not with religion per se but with its organizers. He therefore regards religion as:

"*A system of beliefs and practices which if organized along the will of the Creator helps in explaining the uncertainties of human life, securing moral behavior and ensuring that people have smooth social relation on earth as prelude to having everlasting happy life with God after death; but which if run according to the dictates of evil forces brings fire and brimstone on the society whether multi-religious or mono-religious*" (Nwolise, 1988).

According to Jamiu (2012), Nwolise's reason for defining religion as above is not far- fetched. To him, religion is a matter of emotion rather than reason.

Since it is one of the main objectives of this research piece to establish a nexus between religion, politics and electoral outcomes, it is therefore incumbent upon us to take the pain in going through the conceptual explorations of "politics' and "electoral outcomes".

Politics is exciting because people disagree. They disagree about how they should live. Who should get what? How should power and other resources be distributed? Should society be based on cooperation or conflict? And so on. They also disagree about how such matters should be resolved. How should collective decisions be made? Who should have a say? How much influence should each person have? And so forth. For Aristotle, this made politics the 'master science': that is, nothing less than the activity through which human beings attempt to improve their lives and create the Good Society. Politics is, above all, a social activity. It is always a dialogue, and never a monologue (Baker, 1962).

In their attempt to find the answer to what politics is all about, Anifowose and Enemuo (1999), notes that: a search through political science textbooks confounds the student with numerous definitions, stating that '*politics is the process of making and execution of governmental decisions or policies*' (Lasswell and Kaplan, 1950; Dahl, 1995); '*the authoritative allocation of values'* (Easton, 1957); *or 'who gets what, when and how'* (Lasswell, 1930); *'the quest for power, order and justice'* (Merki, 1967); *'the art of influencing, manipulating and controlling others'* (Wright, 1955); *a process of resolution of conflicts in society'* (Ranny, 1975), *and 'a struggle among actors pursuing conflicting desires on public issues'* (Dyke, 1960).

While there is a wide range of definitions, most can be classified as either classicalist or behavioralist school of thoughts The classicalist identify politics with government or the state, while the behavioralists, revolve around the notions of 'power', 'authority' and conflict (Anifowose and Enemuo ,1999). For those who believe that politics involves power and influence, politics gives an answer to the question, "who gets what, when and how? The Eastonian definition of politics as the "authoritative allocation of values for a society" is considered very useful by political scientists. It emphasizes political activity rather than institutions (Anifowose and Enemuo 1999).

The authoritative allocations of values, is, Easton argues, the kind of activity we should be interested in. The first assumption is that in every society, values are desired, that is people have different interests or objectives, and these must be allocated, or distributed by someone or something. In essence, it is a power and conflict situation. Every society has different political systems allocating values authoritatively. A policy is said to be authoritative when the people to whom it is intended to apply or who are affected by it consider that they must or ought to obey it (Easton, 1965). According to Anifowose and Enemuo (1999), Herbert Winter and Bellows suggest a definition that contains elements of the thoughts by Vermon Dyke and David Easton, that "politics is a struggle between actors pursuing conflicting desires on issues that may result in an authoritative allocation of values"(Winter and Bellows, 1981).

However, while there is no best definition of politics, as advanced by many scholars while attempting to define the concept, most political scientists agree that politics has something to do with power, influence and authority, which are the central organizing concepts of the study of politics. Incidentally, these three central organizing concepts of politics- 'power', 'influence' and 'authority' are essentially, highly, and critically explored in any contemporary religion study.

Moreover, in any democratic society, where authority requires legitimacy, through popular participation, the process of election in choosing those who represent the people becomes highly imperative. Murana, Salahu and Ibrahim (2014), while shedding light on this, support Powell's position: *that elections are means of selecting those to represent the people in different public positions within the polity. Election provides citizens with influence over policy making* (Powell, 2000).This suggests that elections could be ratificatory in the sense that they may aim at giving a sitting government some appearances of popularity and mobilize the people for popular participation in development.

Under liberal democracy, elections play wider roles such as: instruments of accountability, mobilization of the people, promotion of legitimacy, among other functions. Competitive political elections are vital to the survival of the liberal variant of democracy. This democratic method of arriving at acceptable political leaders is well expanded in Schumpeter's (1942) articulation of this arrangement as the: *Institutional arrangement for arriving at political, legislative and administrative decisions.* It is a method by which the individual acquires the power to participate in decisions by means of a competitive struggle for the people's votes.

It is instructive to note that, under liberal democracy, phrase like "competitive struggle" tends to be emphasized more than the consensual approach to politics. Thus, central to the survival of this democratic method is the imperative of playing by the rule of the game. It is the conformity with this stated imperative that allows for uninterrupted transfer of power from one administration to the other. Once a sitting government knows that it can be voted out of power within the framework of periodic election, it strives to pursue the socio-economic and political interests of the electorates who may switch allegiance to opposition parties if such government fails to meet their expectations. Thus, the legitimacy that is "the capacity of the political system to engender and maintain the belief that the existing political institutions are the most appropriate ones for society" is seen as central to the survival of liberal democracy (Lipset, 1963). Although electoral outcomes in some instances could include the results of an election and other consequences that follows such election, but for the purpose of this study, electoral outcomes, according to the researcher, therefore, refers solely to the results of elections.

For the purpose of analysis, literature on religion and political practices is privileged over theories of governance and politics. These theories have, among other things, negatively served dishonest leaders in their manipulation of the ignorant and gullible masses in the name of religion (Jamiu, 2012). '*The Manipulation of Religion in Nigeria',* a work by Usman (1987), explains this theory, especially, from Marxist perspective. According to Jamiu (2012), Usman gives what one could describe as a socio-economic and political analysis through a hierarchical structure of the bourgeoisie, or what he terms as "local national", meaning agents of the international bourgeoisie. He presents some hypotheses which he observed some theorists used in explaining the manifestation of the manipulation of religion in Nigeria. These include the *Nigerian character.*

Derived from the scholar's analysis, it is clear that either as Muslims or Christians, politicians in Nigeria have tended to use their religious tenets to deceive the electorate in the name of serving the interests of the latter (Jamiu, 2012). As argued in his book, the manipulators cannot (as intermediary bourgeoisie) claim political leadership openly on the ground that any one of them is or wants to be an exporter-importer, a contractor, commission-agent, shareholder or rich bureaucrat. Rather they have to take cover as Muslims or Christians, take posture as a 'majority or minority, take debates on issues like *Shari'ah,* for or against, depending on which side their electorates will admire and see them as serving their interests, while in the real sense of it the Muslim and Christian politicians serve their own ulterior motives and goals by playing the role of 'local nationals' (Usman, 1987).

Methodology

Although this study relies heavily on secondary data sourced from the Independent National Electoral Commission, INEC, it however adopts a combination of both the quantitative and qualitative techniques in analyzing the outcomes of the 2015 presidential election. Also, a combination of quantitative and qualitative data was used in the course of our analysis. Quantitative data were generated from the INEC data base and analyzed using simple percentage as the statistical instrument of analysis, while qualitative data for the purpose of this study were sourced from academic journals, academic textbooks, and newspapers' reports on the 2015 presidential election. For the purpose of this study, we are chiefly interested in the results of the two main political parties, PDP and APC, since it was a contest virtually between the two parties. Note that, out of the 28,587,564 total valid votes cast during the election, 28,278,083 votes were shared between these two parties, PDP and APC, while 309,481 votes were shared among the other twelve political parties.

Religion, Politics and Electoral Outcomes: Exploring the Nexus

Nigerians of different orientations hold divergent views on whether Nigeria is a religious, secular or an ecumenical state. The individual opinions are based on the perspectives through which the country is assessed. In the first assumption, it is believed that since there is hardly anything done or embarked upon in Nigeria without directly or indirectly mentioning the name of God Almighty, the country should therefore, be considered as a religious or a multi-religious state. This religious nature of Nigeria therefore, may take the form of formal or informal acknowledgement of one religion or another: Islam, Christianity or African Traditional religion.

The second assumption contends that, the fact that no one specific religion is adopted as an official state religion in Nigeria, even though the country's constitution guarantees freedom of religion for the citizens, Nigeria remains a secular state. The third assumption is more of an intellectual conviction. It holds the view that Nigeria is neither a secular nor a theocratic state. The argument here is that a secular state is where religion is not given any role to play in its affairs. However, contrary to all arguments, this school of thought believes that religion is a big factor in Nigerian politics. To it, Nigeria is an "ecumenical state where deals are made between the state and religious institutions involving power sharing without reducing these deals into law"(The Democrat; Friday, September 6, 1994).

Although, the political development under the banner of federalism, requires that the government of the federation or of a state shall not adopt any religion as state religion, individuals, groups or even government officials perform and function within the realm of religion in force, be it paganism, atheism, Christianity or Islam.(Jamiu, 2012). This is to say that the spirit of the constitution of Nigeria favours religion of any kind. What the constitution objects to is an attempt by either the federal or state government to adopt any religion as state religion.

However, in reality, what is obtainable is some states in Nigeria today is an unofficial adoption of either Christianity or Islam as state religion, to the extent that individuals in some states are denied certain political rights, just because they belong to the 'minority' religion. The situation is such that in a predominantly Muslim state, all is against the emergence of a Christian Governor. The situation is no different in a predominantly Christian state.

With this scenario and the constitution provision in mind, it will therefore be pertinent for us to take a look at some issues which could be considered as politicization of religion in Nigeria. Although there had been few cases of politicization of religion right from the introduction of colonial rules in the country, but this development did not fully manifest in Nigeria, until the time when the debate on the Draft Constitution triggered off controversy over issues of the demand for the inclusion of Shari'ah in the constitution by the Constituent Assembly between December 1976 and June1978.

Notably, as observed by Jamiu (2012), neither the Jama'at Nasril Islam (JNI) nor the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), before then was conscious, or ready to express its awareness of any implication of government decision on its religious principle or practices. Within this period, some events started craving the indulgence of these religious organizations to rise to their feet and safeguard the interest or their religions politically. One of such outstanding events was a meeting between the Christian leaders and the federal government which took place in February, 1976 at the instance of the latter (Jamiu,2012).

As recorded by Rev. Kukah from Rev. Aledeino, who said that "at the meeting, one member asked that the participants at least round off with a prayer, despite the fact that the meeting had not opened with a prayer. Brigadier Yar'adua, the host, continued the account, said that since there were various denominations, he did not know who could be called upon to lead the prayer. Consequently, the worries from such observation by the government spontaneously precipitated the formation of a more nation-widely represented Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) from the already existing Christian Council of Nigeria (CCN) and Northern Christian Association (NCA) with headquarters in Oyo and Kaduna respectively (Kukah, 1993).

The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) was in reality the coming together of Christians from the dealings with the government, as observed by Kukah (1993). It could be observed here that the formation of CAN in 1976 was the beginning of real politicization of religion in Nigeria, because there was also a spontaneous response from the Muslim side. It included re-activation of JNI's and Da'awah activities and Muslim Students Society (MSS) literary activities towards political awareness. The formation of the CAN and the re-activation of the JNI and the MSS, which came about as a result of their adherents' re-commitment to religious call to propagate their religions, set in motion all the subsequent events, simply referred to politicization of religion. The Muslim and Christian organizations started watching jealously one another's activities with suspicion; and more often than not with fear of one attempting to dominate the other through numerical strength or by occupying strategic positions in government, both at the federal and state levels (Jamiu, 2012).

Another issue was the establishment of Muslim and Christian pilgrim welfare boards at the state and federal levels for the followers of the two religions. The establishment of the Muslim Pilgrims Welfare Board dates as far as 1958 and 1959 when Western Region and the Northern Region established their own boards respectively. In response to that, the Christians in Nigeria demanded for what was termed "equal treatment and right' for the establishment of the pilgrims welfare boards for both Muslims and Christians in Nigeria. The request was granted by the government and the Boards were established for both Muslims and Christians in Nigeria.

During the formation of political parties in the Second Republic, two major factors were paramount in deciding the nature of party officials' nation-wide; ethnic affiliation, geographical spread and religious inclination. These factors were represented in who occupy which position in the party offices. In the light of this, when a Muslim presidential candidate comes from the North for a party, his Vice-President running-mate should be a Christian from the south. The same thing was applicable to the office of the Chairman and the Secretary of the five registered political parties in 1978, except in the UPN whose presidential candidate and party chairman was one and the same person- Chief Obafemi Awolowo. His running-mate also a Christian came from the south, Anambra state, in person of Mr. Philip Umeadi. This strategy might not be unconnected with the failure of the UPN in the 1979 General Elections (Jamiu, 2012). It should be noted that the situation is not different from what was obtainable during the 2015 Presidential Election in Nigeria, with APC fielding General Muhamadu Buhari, a northern Muslim and Professor Yemi Osinbajo, a southern Christian as the presidential and vice- presidential candidates respectively. The same could be said of the PDP's presidential flag-bearers- Former President Goodluck Jonathan and Vice-president Namadi Sambo, who also rode on a "Christian- Muslim ticket".

It is worthy to note that the "Muslim-Christian ticket" or the "Christian- Muslim ticket" has always been the '*Electoral- talisman',* when it comes to winning elections in Nigeria. As such, this type of political development does confirm the fact that the impact of religion on Nigerian politics, and by extension, on the outcomes of elections in the country appears and remains unquestionable.

The 2015 Presidential Election in Perspective

Since the return to civilian rule in 1999 till 2015, the Peoples Democratic Party, (PDP), had always enjoyed overwhelming victories in elections, both at the state and national levels. Most of these victories were attributable to its membership size in relation to the other parties, national spread and the fact that the opposition parties had always been very weak in the arts of opposition politics.

The 2015 elections presented a serious challenge to the PDPs political hegemony over other political parties. This was partly due to the merger secured by the Action Congress of Nigeria, (ACN), led by Asiwaju Ahmed Tinubu, the General Muhammadu Buhari led CPC and other smaller political parties in the opposition then; and the crisis within the PDP, which eventually led to five PDP governors joining the party that was formed as a result of the above merger, the All Progressive Congress, APC.

Undoubtedly, the emergence of General Muhammadu Buhari as the winner of the APC presidential primary election sent a negative signal to the PDP's camp; and threw up rays of revolutionary hope, as witnessed in the ways and manners in which an average commoner in the country associated with the *change mantra* on which the APC eventually rode to power. In fact, with regards to the emergence of the APC presidential flag-bearer, *The Nation Newspaper* on Sunday, December 14th, 2014, in one of its columns had the following as its opener:

> "Given *his landslide victory at the just concluded APC presidential primary, General Muhammadu Buhari seems to be on cusp of history once again. It is history steeped in and dripping with paradox. It has been said that thunder does not strike twice. But if the loud rumblings for change across the country and the sudden tectonic shift in favour of a sanitizing presidency are anything to go by, the Daura-born general has another rendezvous with history"* (Alamu,2014, p.3).

The battle for Nigeria's presidency therefore became a two-man contest between the then incumbent, President Goodluck Jonathan, and his main rival, Muhammadu Buhari. It was indeed the closest election since the return to civilian rule in 1999. Nigeria's Presidential and National Assembly elections took place on 28 March. The election was postponed from the original date of 14 February to allow the military to launch an operation against the Boko Haram insurgency in the northeast of the country. Notwithstanding rumours of another last-minute postponement or challenges to the legality of General Buhari's eligibility, the election was a test of the use of new technology by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). In an attempt to combat the fraud that had plagued previous elections in the country, INEC had to produce permanent voter cards for the Nigeria's 68 million registered voters which were expected to match their personal details to a biometric register. However, there were widespread concerns that the system, though sound in theory, may fail in practice.

There were serious insinuations that the card-readers would not work and that even if the accreditation and voting processes were smooth, the process would still be vulnerable at the point of collation. Some even believed that, even in the event of a free and fair election, the period was likely to trigger some level of violence, as inflammatory language coming from supporters of the two main parties could only make the mood more toxic. It was so unfortunate, the election revealed that the political elite class in Nigeria lacks what was required in terms of political skills, hence the engagement of mindless campaign by the two main political parties, deploying every political and religious antics in running down political opponents. In relation to the mindless campaigns, there was a piece in The Nation Newspaper on Sunday, December 14th, 2014, p.14, which warned the political elite class that:

> "*Citizens are more likely to want to hear from all the candidates how each of them plans to address the real issue: corruption, security, an economy that appears to have been degraded by the diminishing value of petroleum, an education and health sector in shambles, a polity being broken into two by the diversionary tactics of Christian and Islamic fanatics besotted to political power at all cost"* (Sekoni, 2014,p. 14).

Also, there were serious allegation and counter-allegations, on the part of the two main parties over plots to use religion for votes hauling. There were allegations that some pastors collected six billion naira on behalf of CAN to campaign against the APC candidate, Gen. Muhammadu Buhari, during church services. There was also counter- allegation that billions of naira were made available to Islamic clergies to preach in mosques against the emergence of President Goodluck Jonathan as the winner of the 2015 presidential election.

However, amidst all these fear and endless, mindless campaigns, INEC was able to conduct the election with a reasonable mark of success, the outcomes accepted by the political parties, the civil society, domestic and international observers, and adjudged as the best election that had ever been conducted in the country. It is important to note that there were large number of defections between the two main political parties, the PDP and APC. It is equally important to note that the new technology, the introduction of card reader reduced the rate of electoral fraud to the barest minimum. This, interestingly, placed the opposition party almost on equal pedestal with the then ruling People's Democratic Party, and by extension, the eventual victory of the opposition party, APC. The election was certainly historic, as the continent's most populous country moved from democratic transition to consolidation with a truly open contest that ushered in a new government formed by the opposition party, APC. Indeed, it was a mark departure from what was, -intra-party transition, to inter-party transition of administrations in Nigeria.

Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion

To avoid analysis paralysis, it is important we present the 2015 presidential election results as released by INEC, tabulating these results according to each Geo-political zone for easy analysis. As such, each state's results shall be placed under their respective geo-political zones. It is equally important to note that, for the purpose of this study, we are chiefly interested in the results of the two main political parties, PDP and APC, since it was virtually a contest between the two parties. Although, fourteen political parties participated in the election, but it is interesting to note that out of 28,587,564 valid votes cast during the election, 28,278,083 votes were shared between these two parties, PDP and APC, while 309,481 votes were shared among the other twelve political parties. Below is a table containing the 2015 Presidential Election's results generated from the Independent National Electoral Commission's database.

Table 1: 2015 Presidential Election Results of the Two Main Political Parties, PDP and APC

s/n	Geo-Political Zone	State	APC	% of Votes Cast (APC)	PDP	% 0f Votes Cast (PDP)	Total Votes Cast
1	North-West	Kano	1,903,999	88%	215,779	10%	2,172,447
2	,,	Kaduna	1,127,760	68%	484,085	29%	1,650,201
3	,,	Katsina	1,345,441	91%	98,937	7%	1,481,714
4	,,	Kebbi	567,833	79%	100,972	14%	715,122
5	,,	Jigawa	885,988	83%	142,904	13%	1,071,889
6	,,	Sokoto	671,926	77%	152,199	17%	876,369
7	,,	Zamfara	612,202	78%	144,833	19%	780,179
			7,115,149		**1,339,709**		**8,747,921**
8	North-East	Bauchi	931,598	90%	86,085	8%	1,039,775
9	,,	Yobe	446,265	91%	25,526	5%	491,767
10	,,	Gombe	361,245	76%	96,873	20%	473,444
11	,,	Adamawa	374,701	57%	251,664	38%	661,210
12	,,	Taraba	261,326	43%	310,800	52%	602,716
13	,,	Borno	473,543	92%	25,640	5%	515,008
			2,848,678		**796588**		**3783920**
14	North-Central	Benue	373,961	53%	303,737	43%	703,131
15	,,	Kogi	264,851	60%	149,987	34%	439,287
16	,,	Kwara	302,146	65%	132,602	29%	461,401
17	,,	Niger	657,678	78%	149,222	18%	844,683
18	,,	Plateau	429,140	43%	549,615	55%	1,000,692
19	,,	Nasarawa	236,838	45%	273,460	51%	532,641
			2,264,614		**1,558,623**		**3,981,835**
20	South-West	Lagos	792,460	53%	632,327	42%	1,495,975
21	,,	Oyo	528,620	57%	303,376	33%	928,606
22	,,	Osun	383,603	58%	249,929	38%	663,373
23	,,	Ondo	299,889	51%	251,368	43%	582,435
24	,,	Ekiti	120,331	39%	176,466	57%	309,445
25	,,	Ogun	308,290	55%	207,950	37%	559,613
			2 ,433,193		**1,821,416**		**4,539,447**
26	South-East	Imo	133,253	18%	559,185	76%	731,921
27	,,	Enugu	14,157	2%	553,003	94%	585,632
28	,,	Anambra	17,926	3%	660,762	94%	703,409
29	,,	Ebonyi	19,518	5%	323,658	82%	393,337
30	,,	Abia	13,394	3%	368,303	92%	401,049
			198,248		**2,464,911**		**,815,348**
31	South-South	Akwa Ibom	58,411	6%	953,304	93%	1,028,551
32	,,	Bayelsa	5,194	1%	361,209	97%	371,739
33	,,	Rivers	69,238	4%	1,487,075	94%	1,584,768
34	,,	Cross Rivers	28,368	6%	414,863	89%	465,906
35	,,	Edo	208,469	40%	286,869	55%	522,785
36	,,	Delta	48,910	4%	1,211,405	94%	1,284,848
			418,590		**4,714,725**		**1,258,597**
37	FCT	FCT	146,399	46%	157,195	50%	316,015
			146,399		**157,195**		**316,015**
Total (valid votes)			**15,424,921**		**12,853,162**		**28,587,564**

Source: Generated from the INEC database by the researcher.

In addition to the above presented data, it is also critically important to run a brief description of the distribution of religion in the country with regards to the six-geopolitical zones before proceeding to the analysis of the quantitative data. Note that Nigeria is nearly equally divided between Christianity and Islam. The majority of Nigerian Muslims are concentrated in the northern area of the country, while Christians dominate in the south. Muslims form a slight majority of the nation, comprising 50.8% of the population, while Christians make up 47.9%. According to the 2001 CIA Factbook and other sources 50% of the population is Muslim, 40% Christian and 10% follows traditional beliefs. But in some recent reports, the Christian population is now slightly larger than the Muslim population. An 18 December 2012 report on religion and public life by the Pew Research Center stated that in 2010, 49.3 percent of Nigeria's population was Christian, 48.8 percent was Muslim, and 1.9 percent were followers of indigenous and other religions, or unaffiliated (Pew, 2012).

However, whichever report we choose to adopt, one thing is clear, most of these reports agree in clear terms, on some qualitative descriptions as regards religion distribution with reference to each geo-political zone. This is represented below in table 2 as follows:

Table 2: Religion Distribution of the Six Geo-political Zones

s/n	Geo-political Zone	Number of State	Description of Religion Distribution
1	North-West	7	Predominantly Muslim(Some communities in Kaduna state have Christian majorities)
2	North-East	6	Predominantly Muslim (In Taraba state, Christians holds a slight majority)
3	North-Central	6	Almost equal mix of Christians and Muslims(none of the two predominates)
4	South-West	6	Almost equal mix of Christians and Muslims(none of the two predominates)
5	South-East	5	Predominantly Christian (Muslims are insignificantly few in this region)
6	South-South	6	Predominantly Christian (Edo has a number of communities with Muslim majorities)

Source: Derived from PEW's 2011, PRB's 2005 Survey Reports and the Researcher's field study.

**Note that there are more Christians in the North-West and North-East than there are Muslims in the South-East and South-South geo-political zones.*

From Table 1, it is clear that the 2015 Presidential election was a tight contest between APC and PDP. Out of the 29,432,083 total votes cast during the election, 28,587,564 were valid votes, while 844,519 votes were rejected. Note that out of the 28,587,564 valid votes, 28,278,083 were shared between the two political parties, leaving just 309,481 to be shared among the other 12 political parties. APC had 15,424,921, while PDP had 12,853,162 votes. Although, for every contest, there must be a winner, however this study is not really interested in which party wins or loses in the election. The main thrust of our analysis is to show how each of the two candidates performs in terms of electoral outcomes in each geo-political zones, juxtaposing the outcomes with the religion distribution pattern of each of these geo-political zones.

As shown in Table 2, the North-West geo-political zone is made up of seven states, all predominantly Muslim states. Table 1 also shows that this same geo-political zone, which is predominantly a Muslim region, recorded a total of 8,747,921 votes out of the overall total valid votes cast in the country, which stands at 28,587,564. It is interesting to note that out of the 8,747,921 votes in the region, APC's candidate, Gen. Muhammadu Buhari, a Muslim, polled a whopping 7,115,149 votes as against the PDP's candidate, former President Good luck Jonathan, a Christian, managed to poll just 1,339,709 votes across the seven states that made up the North-West geo-political zone.

The situation was not too different in the North-East with the exception of Taraba state, where PDP won with 310,800 votes as against APC's 261,326 votes. It should be noted that the slight victory had by PDP in the state could be attributed to the fact that the Christians are on a slight majority in the state. The above presented data suggests that in the two predominantly Muslim geo-political zones in the country, the North-West and North-East, the APC's Muslim candidate polled 9,963,827 votes, 79.5% of the total vote cast in the two geo-political zones; while the PDP's candidate, a Christian managed to poll just 2,136,297 votes, 17% of the votes from the two regions.

On the contrary, the reverse is the case, looking at the data recorded in terms of INEC results in the same election from the South-South and the South-East zones. Table 1 reveals that in all the five states that make-up the South-East, there was no state where the APC candidate, a Muslim, scored above 18% of the total votes cast in the state. In fact it was only in Imo state that the APC's candidate had 18%. In the other four states, the party polled between 2% and 5%. Going into the South-South, a predominantly Christian region, PDP's candidate, a Christian, polled an overwhelming 4,714,725 votes, 90%; while APC's candidate, a Muslim, polled 418,590 votes, 8% of a total 5,258,597 votes cast in the region. It is evidently clear from table 1 that, it is only in Edo state within this region, that APC gave a good fight. Though, PDP got 55% of the votes, APC was able to poll 40% of the votes. This could also be attributed to the fact that Edo state has a number of communities that are predominantly Muslim communities.

Data from the two geo-political zones, South-South and South-East reveals that about 56% of the PDP total votes (12,853,162) come from these two predominantly Christian regions. In a similar vein, the APC's candidate, a Muslim, got 65% of his total votes of 15,424,921votes from the North-West and North-East, the two predominantly Muslim regions in the country. It is equally interesting to note that the battle ground in terms of contest between the two political parties were the North-Central, the South-West and the Federal Capital Territory, FCT. In all of these regions and territory, there were no landslide victories, which could be attributed to the almost equal mix of Christians and Muslims in terms of distribution, as presented in table 2. It is clear that no single religion, according to the information on the table, predominates in these two regions and the FCT, hence the slight victories witnessed by the two parties in these regions.

It is also clear from the above analysis that certain revelations were made, which seemingly appear uncontroverted. In the first instance, premised on our analysis, it becomes clearer that the Christian candidate of the PDP got 56% of his total votes from just two out of 6 geo-political zones in the country. Incidentally, these zones are the only two predominantly Christian regions in the country, South-South and South- East. The same candidate got just about 16% of his total votes from the North-West and the North-East combined. This, we know are predominantly Muslim regions. Similarly, from our analysis, the APC candidate, a Muslim, got about 65% of his total votes from just two geo-political zones, North-West and North-East, which incidentally are the two predominantly Muslim regions in the country.

In the course of our analysis, it was noted that those geo-political zones, where there was stiff contest between the two major political parties, PDP and APC, are those geo-political zones where we have almost an equal mix of Christians and Muslims, the South-West and North-Central.

Conclusion and Recommendations

According to our analysis, based on the electoral outcomes as presented in our data, it is evidently clear that the 2015 Presidential election presents another case of "Religion in Politics" in Nigeria. This paper in clear terms, based on the outcome of our analysis, has been able to establish and affirms that voters in predominantly Christian regions voted more for a Christian candidate, while voters in predominantly Muslim geo-political zones voted more for a Muslim candidate. On these notes and in the final analysis, this paper therefore concludes that more than ever before and more than any other factor, religion to a larg extent determines who gets what, when and how and by extension varies the outcomes of elections in Nigeria.

Although, constitutionally, Nigeria remains a secular state, but in the real sense of it, Nigeria is a multi- religion state. For the nation to witness any meaningful development, this paper recommends that we need to, as a people allow our democracy, grow far above religion among other diversities plaguing Nigeria as a state. The role of Nigeria as a secular state has been severely compromised, as such; it should be redesigned without the current religious overtones and practice true secularism as entrenched in our constitution.

The paper equally recommends that there is the need for mass re-orientation of the citizen to eschew religious bigotry. There is the need for the government to strengthen the National Orientation Agency, NOA, Federal and States' Ministries of Information; and fund relevant Civil Society Organizations in other to achieve this goal. This effort can be reinforced by encouraging frequent collaborative efforts among adherents of the two prominent religions, Islam and Christianity, especially in areas of nation-building.

And finally, legal sanctions should be introduced within our legal framework against any individuals or groups that promote 'Religion in Politics'. This would serve as a deterrent to those religion bigots, who pre occupy themselves with promoting religious-laden 'hate statements' especially in critical political periods, such as in election campaign periods. In fact, this paper suggests a jail sentence, with no option of fine. These will in no small measure drive the nation close to the secular status as entrenched in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

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Solar Power as Unparalleled Alternative, Renewable Energy for a Self-Reliant and Sustainable Economy in Nigeria

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Abstract
Nigeria is a greatly endowed nation as far as nature is concerned. With respect to human resources, she is equally blessed with industrious people. Unfortunately, colonial penetration deeply subjected her to a whopping 100 years of slavery which affected her creativity and self-discovery as a people. After decolonization, the case was exacerbated by the type of political leadership that midwifed the transition from colonization to independence subjecting her to neocolonialism and underdevelopment. Despite the poverty of leadership, Nigerians are not deficient in wonderful ideas; in fact, all known development strategies had been employed to turn around the nation's developmental predicament but to no avail. This paper strongly believes that Nigeria should for once solve one of the greatest problems besetting her development, which is energy, pointing out that the country has abundant renewable energy particularly, solar energy. In fact, Nigeria has great comparative advantage in solar energy production that can make her a giant exporter as is the case with gas. Considering the capacity of photovoltaic in Nigeria, it has been proven that at any given location produces above 1,000 kW – h / kWh, of solar power, a huge electricity generation potential that is more than sufficient for Nigeria to take care of her energy requirements. This paper, while adopting qualitative and comparative methodology, canvassed for an exemplary shift from non-renewable, insufficient cumbersome energy to renewable, nature- endowed, cheap super-abundant energy and superabundant the solar energy for a self-reliant and sustainable economy in Nigeria.

***Keywords**: technology, underdevelopment, colonization, leadership, renewable energy, non-renewable energy, solar energy, photovoltaic, electricity*

Introduction
The current socio-economic challenges besetting the country and which have deepened to recession is not only worrisome but calls for dramatic solutions before the situation escalates to depression. While the causes have been adequately diagnosed, the current leadership must muster the political will to confront the *socio-economic challenges*. Contrary to popular opinion, the nation's major problem is not lack of diversification of the economy but that of power. I mean energy to power the resources and until Nigerian leaders and policy makers begin to understand that the amount of energy available to a community dictates its level of development, they may not be able to critically proffer radical solutions to Nigeria's persistent underdevelopment. Going by the economic indices for 2014 as released by the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) and Nigerian Bureau of Statistics (NBS), the gross external reserves which stood at US 4.285 billion dollars by 31st December, 2013 (has) decreased by US 0.98 billion dollars or 2.23 percent when compared to the figures recorded as at the end of December, 2012 which stood at US 43, 83 billion dollars. The entire picture can be captured going by the decrease of oil revenue in the first quarter of 2014 to the gross domestic product estimated at about 14.75 percent compared to 15.80 percent as against same period in 2013. The decline in revenue from the oil sector has remained unresolved due to instability in crude oil production, compounded by the vagaries in the international oil commodity prices. (CBN, 2014; NBS, 2014)

From the foregoing statistics, the major problem of this country is the over-reliance on non-renewable petroleum products as the major source for revenue sources to the detriment of renewable superabundant energy and other non-oil sources. The leadership is so comfortable and complacent with the money from oil export which forms the bulk of the nation's revenue. As a result, and despite calls from every quarter for diversification of the resource base, the leadership, being the product of the status quo ante, wants to remain conservative, even with the harsh economic realities. Otherwise, why should the government commit huge sums of money for prospecting for oil in the Chad Basin and other locations in the northern part of Nigeria especially at this period of recession? After all, oil as a source of non-renewable energy has been projected to last for a maximum of 50 – 56 years, implying that it will soon go into extinction all over the world. So, policy makers have not taken the most economically rational decision. That money now being invested in the Chad Basin could still be reinvested in the northern part of Nigeria, but for other sources of energy- preferably renewable energy sources which are also in superabundance in that part of the country. The entire North and the Middle Belt region are profusely well endowed with abundant solar radiation, hence solar energy which must be tapped now. The focus of this paper is to advance a total shift from how we have been doing it to breaking new grounds and challenging the problem of energy being the greatest problem of this nation by massively investing in renewable energy sources, especially with particular reference to solar energy. Investing, therefore, in solar energy, a renewable energy source, which is an everlasting, renewable energy is also at the same time investing in poverty eradication, unemployment and the eradication of youth restiveness.

Conceptual Framework and Theoretical Investigation

The economics of the sun is demonstrated by its huge potential as the most readily and extensively available renewable energy source, with overwhelming capacity to satisfy the needs of the human race. This ability is astoundingly evident by the enormous energy output of the sun, the solar constant which is equivalent to 3.8×10^{33}ergs / see, being the amount of energy emitted within forty minutes of its radiation on the planet earth. This quantity of energy discharged by the sun has been proven to be adequate to meet the energy requirements of the entire world for a whole year. Paradoxically, less than one percent of this amount of energy discharged by the sun is effectively exploited and transformed for the benefit of humanity (Chinnammai, 2013). Interestingly, the sun is an enduring and everlasting star, forming the solar system which the earth orbits. The sun and other stars in the solar system are called the galaxies. The earth as one of the planets of the solar system is also a galaxy. It is referred to as the Milky Way galaxy, being the only planet conducive to living organisms, human beings, animals, plants and what have you (Allen, R.E. 1991 Brand – Wein et al, 1970).

The aspect of the sun's capacity to continuously provide replenishment and continuous sources of energy as stable, clean, renewable and conducive energy power took scientists centuries to unveil, which was why man turned to non-renewable fossil sources of energy which are now going into reaching extinction. The discovery of the sun's energy radiating the earth as a stable sunlight and its ability to emit the right amount of energy all the year round have made scientists refer to it as the Power House (Awake, 2009; Chinnammai, 2013). This energy reaching the earth is steady and constant, and has been referred to as solar constant. It is renewable, intangible and unending energy supply accessible to man, depending on geographical location, time and season. Along the equatorial axis, sunlight is of high intensity while elsewhere outside this axis, the sun's energy concentration is low. Generally, solar energy can be obtained wherever the sun shines. All over the world, lots of developments have been made in the utilisation of solar energy resources, but at varying degree. While in some parts of the world, it is highly developed, in other climes, it is the contrary. At this point in the evolution of the world where effort is towards diversification in energy supply, with particular reference to renewable energy sources, some countries remain dependent on perishable, non-renewable fossil energy.

Considering a country like Nigeria, what are the implications of remaining a consuming and not a creative nation, is interrogating on the theoretical exegesis of the country, not much as an underdeveloped country, rather as a country with superabundance of natural resources including solar energy but remains pathetically underdeveloped, plagued with poverty, unemployment and the declining or collapsing of manufacturing sector. All over the world, the manufacturing and agriculture sectors constitute the engine of growth, in fact, of development. They are also the highest employers of labour. In countries with a superabundance of natural resources, there is a tendency for the leadership to abandon the slightest effort to develop the real economic sectors and concentrate on revenue from natural resources such as oil. The Nigerian scenario is typical of this theoretical analysis described as *resource curse or the Dutch disease*. One example argument of a resource curse which is devastatingly affecting Nigeria is the penchant for dependence on oil by policy makers to the extent that the entire economy, policy formulation, budget, revenue allocation or sharing to the three tiers of governments are all tied to revenue from oil. The centre has been so conceived as a pool for sharing of revenue of non-productive sector, hence the neglect of productive sectors such as manufacturing and agriculture. In Nigeria, the theory of resource curse has practically changed to resource corruption as if the Federal Government only exists for sharing the revenue from oil, hence the entire political elite scheme to always belong to where the action is, that is, the party in power. When it was PDP, they were there; now that it is APC, they are still the same politicians, changing camps without apology. And with all the poverty and joblessness in the land, the APC government, knowing fully well the uniqueness of energy with particular reference to renewable energy to wipe out poverty and despite the abundance of solar energy, cheap, clean and easy to install, the authorities have not deemed it important to invest in it.

Statement of the Problem: The Comatose State of the Energy Sector

The problem of Nigeria has been well captured by the twin theories of resource abundance/ curse and the Dutch Disease. But with the economic recession and the much talked about diversification, the interrogation for further probing is this: what diversification? From the economic standpoint, there is a relationship between the discovery of oil for export and the decrease in manufacturing. There is also relationship between lack of energy supply and poverty. If we marry the two economic statements, the problem of Nigeria can be traced to crude oil dependence, under-development, capacity under-utilisation, unemployment and poverty. But how did Nigeria get here?

Nigeria is a country abundantly endowed with virtually all types of natural resources. As a colonial state, her technological progress was interrupted by colonial hegemony as depicted by the advancement the Yoruba had made in cloth manufacturing (Smith, 1979; Adeola, 2014), such that 95 percent of the cloth was consumed locally. It was an affront to the British textile industry, denying Britain 30 million yards of cloth per year. The colonial master forthwith legislated against this competition, thereby putting paid to Yoruba technological prowess.

Britain, however, allowed Africans to thrive in the production of cash crops production such as cocoa, palm kernel, oil palm, cotton and groundnut. At the exit of Britain in 1960, Nigeria had comparative advantage in the export of cash crop products. It was from the revenue accruing from these products that the First Development Plan, 1962 – 1968, was financed. Nigeria was making her mark on the international commodity market when this was interrupted by oil exportation.

The discovery of oil in 1956 gradually replaced the agricultural cash products such that by the 1970s oil had completely displaced these products as the major source of revenue for the country. The rest is history, but this painfully marked the genesis of the nation's underdevelopment. The oil boom of those years led to total abandonment of key sectors, the agricultural and manufacturing sectors and consequently, employment generation.

Nigeria, with a growing population put at over 170 million, with 53% living in urban areas and 47% in an urban agglomeration, is a country with abundant sunshine, being located a little above the equator, between longitudes 3 degrees and 14 degrees and latitudes 4 degrees and 140 degrees (Nigeria Embassy; 2013). In other words, the country is superabundantly endowed with both non-renewable energy such as the fossil fuels, crude oil, gas and coal among others as well as renewable energy.

Less than 20% of Nigerians are connected to the national grid and over 80% are not connected. Most of those not connected are rural dwellers and they belong to the household sector. According to a report involving the partitioning of the economy into industry, transport, commercial, household and agricultural sectors, the household sector was by far the highest consumer of energy. An analysis of the use of some sources of energy shows that wood topped the list with 82%; kerosene 13%; electricity 4% and LPG 1% (Akinbami, (J.F.K.), 2001; Oladosu (G. A.) and Adegbuluge, (A. O.,) 1994 cited by Oji, *et al*, 2012).

The deepened problem of the country can thus be appreciated from the abysmal and erratic power supply. It is the singular problem with multiplier effect resulting into a vicious circle of underdevelopment and poverty. This can best be understood when we consider an economic law which states that the amount of energy available to a community dictates the level of development and well-being of its people.This aptly describes the Nigerian problem as socio/political rather than economic, which has economic implications. This is a country amply blessed in both non-renewable and renewable energy but still lacking energy for development.

Therefore, to quickly alleviate the unacceptable poverty and unemployment ravaging the country, there is the need to deploy all energies to bring to materialization renewable energy with particular attention to solar energy for the benefit of the vast rural dwellers in particular and the generality of

Nigerians. The irrevocability of this policy is timely and with the recession which the country has plunged into, caused by over-reliance on non-renewable oil export, and as the country is stridently and laboriously looking for alternative solutions, caution must be taken not to fall back investing the scarce resources developing non-renewable energy for various reasons.

Fundamentally, Nigerian policymakers and the executive arm of the_government must be prevailed upon to divert to renewable sources of energy. Extant scholarly predictions have posited the unavoidable exhaustion of non-renewable energy, the fossil fuels, within the next 8 – 20 years in global production (Campbell & Laherrere, 2011; Hatfield, 2009; Swami, 2012). Already, petroleum oil has become highly expensive, with dwindling reserves and enormous pressure arising from population explosion, (high demand in urban agglomeration and rural dwellers (Oji, *et al*, 2012). This is particularly evident in Nigeria where there is no reliable population data but where energy demand is increasing astronomically due to uncontrollable and accelerated urban growth.

Available statistics (Oseni, 2012) show that Nigeria consumed 8.41 million tonnes of petroleum products in 2007, with over 93% imported. The implication is that though Nigeria is a major producer and exporter of fossil fuel (oil & gas) yet a most internal energy needs are filled by expensive imports for lack of functioning refineries.

Coupled with insufficient energy to meet her needs is the environmental problems caused by oil spillage and gas flaring. The amount of carbon dioxide emitted into the atmosphere through fossil fuel combustion and flaring is put at about 20×10^{12} kg (Swami, (R). 2012). Presently, the plants cannot absorb the huge amount of excess carbondioxide which continue to accumulate in the atmosphere resulting in global warming, ozone layer depletion and other harmful atmospheric hazards. As a result, the ultimate alternative is to revert to renewable, clean and environment- friendly energy, with particular focus on solar energy.

Exploiting the Superabundant Solar Energy Resources for Development

The current world energy projections are emphatic on the decline of non-renewable fossil fuels (oil, gas, coal etc.). Owing to their harmful effects on the inhabitants of this planet, calls for a proactive and urgent action to find alternative energy, a solution already pursued by some developed countries, are being made. The strategy is based on energy mix or energy utilization balance between non-renewable and renewable energy potentials. While some countries are already investing substantial resources in its prosecution, others are still scouting or prospecting for non-renewable crude oil. Be that as it may, the hard truth is that the current fossil fuel can only meet the world's requirement for a few more decades, and so the answer is to research on and develop renewable energy since it is a constant source of energy for humanity.

Energy can be categorised into renewable or non-renewable. Non-renewable fossil fuels (stored beneath the earth are crude oil, natural gas and coal. Renewable energy is derived from natural resources that can be regenerated without end. The sun that emits solar energy can be adjudged the catalyst of all other types of renewable energy such as wind, tides and rain. In other words, electrical energy, heat, kinetic and chemical energy are products of solar energy conversion (Tyagi *et al,* 2013, as cited by Ikponmwosa, *et al* 2014). The energy generated from the sun is clean, non-polluting, ideal and infinite. Its source is nuclear fusion which uses high temperatures and densities to produce radiant and thermal energies for ages and has enough hydrogen for reproduction for the next hundred billion years ad infinitum (Chinnammai, 2013).

Solar energy can be exploited in two forms: directly by converting sunlight into electricity using silicon cells, also referred to as photovoltaic (PV) cells. The technology of solar-electric conversion of sunlight into electricity is achieved through a balance of system (BOS) of photovoltaic. The process consists of erecting structures for modules, power conditioning equipment, tracking structures, concentrator systems and storage devices. Photovoltaic so converted could be on a small scale for individuals or on a large scale connected to the national grid. The energy so generated is used for lighting, water pumping, drying and other electrical applications.

The United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development has canvassed for global access to solar energy as a means of increasing energy supply worldwide, create jobs and drastically reduce poverty. The rationale for this advocacy is inherent in its ease of installation, application and deployment. Individuals have easy access to its acquisition, utilisation and transportation. According to Akinboro *et al* (2013), there is no transformer needed, only PV (panels) which can be easily carried, deployed and installed on individual basis at a minimum cost anywhere and at any time in Nigeria.

Solar thermal, which is also a direct application of solar energy for generating heat, is the commonest and has been a source of energy for drying for generations all over the world, though more profoundly and widely used in Africa. Solar thermal, also referred to as concentrated solar power (CSP), can be converted into electricity indirectly by the use of lenses or mirrors and tracking systems to focus a large area of sunlight into a receiver that heats a liquid; the excessively heated liquid is used to make steam to produce electricity, exactly (the same process) what coal plants do (Oji *et al,* 2012). This technique is by far a less complex and more adaptable method of generating electricity. It is equally a great opportunity for a country like Nigeria that lags behind in energy production, to acquire renewable energy at a minimal cost as well as overcome the embarrassing condition of dependence on fossil fuels. For countries like Nigeria, solar panels and other devices have the capacity to store energy and, after sunset, to generate power which is ideal for street lighting and house utilisation.

This should be a great challenge to Nigeria or any country with abundant sunshine. If Poland, which is in the cold region, could develop a technology capable of storing solar energy in the ground during the summer season when there is abundant sunlight and making use of it in winter, this should spur African countries to invest in such technology. The technology is such that the heat energy from the sun is stored under the ground through a fluid heat converter system. During the winter season the stored energy is to be discharged to heat household, churches, shopping malls, public establishments etc.

The potentiality of solar energy technologies is quite unique as since it is not just a renewable energy but one that, in the long run, has a payback period that is quite cost effective and ideal for a continent like Africa, devastated by poverty. The potentiality is inherent in the enormous opportunity for research in the technology to produce materials to harness its sun's energy resources. According to Charters (1997), solar energy can be obtained directly or indirectly, using any of the technologies. The direct and indirect technologies through which solar energy may be obtained are highlighted in Table 1.

Table 1: Direct and Indirect Solar Technologies

Solar Direct	Solar Indirect
(a) Photovoltaic	Hydropower
(b) Photochemical	Wind power
(c) Photo galvanic	Biomass power
(d) Solar thermal	Solar thermal power

For instance, if we consider evolving technologies in the production of PV, according to Lorenz, Pinner & Seitz (2008: 4), three technologies are compete for cost of production. These are silicon-wafer-based photovoltaic, thin-film photovoltaic and concentrated solar thermal power.

On global scale, silicon-wafer-based photo-voltaic, though costlier to produce, is more popular and constitute up to 90% of installed capacity of solar panels. The other one is the thin-film photovoltaic, just recently being produced for commercial purposes; the cost structure is half of the silicon-wafer-based photovoltaic technology. The third significant solar technology is the concentrated solar thermal power, the cheapest available PV in use today (Lorenz & *et al.* 2008).

The need for the production of solar cells should be a matter of policy as highlighted by Swami (2012), since their advantages include low maintenance costs and an unhindered supply of electricity.They are very appropriate for those living in far remote places, far from the national electricity grid, highly cost effective for rural dwellers.They are also noiseless and non-polluting, clean sources of energy and very ideal for tourist sites, caravans and campers, and flexible sources of small quantity of power for laptop, calculators, cameras, high pad, watches and lamps; very timely and renewable sources of energy, providential for mitigating global warming.

The inexhaustibility, non-polluting and environment-friendly nature of solar energy makes it the world's ideal substitutable energy for non-renewable fossil fuels. Some countries far from the Equator have made spectacular advancements in tapping into the immense resources provided by its exploitation, particularly countries in Europe such as Germany, Spain, Italy and France. The United States of America and Japan have made outstanding progress in the production and marketing of solar PV. Based on the material used, the different types of solar cells are shown in Figure 1.

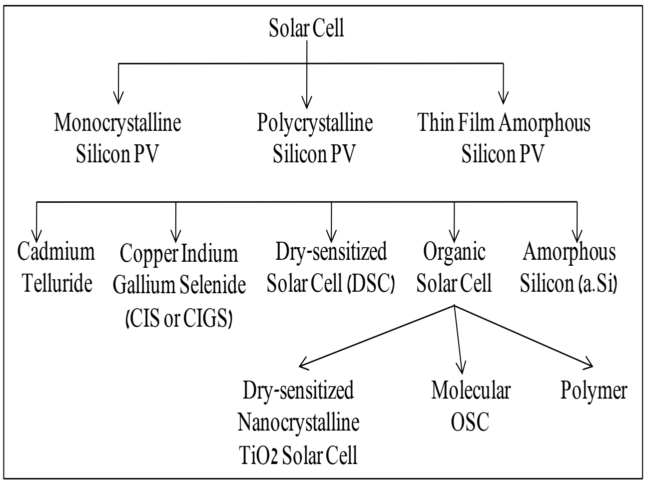

Figure 1: Types of Solar Cells
Source: Swami, R. (2012)

Table 2 shows world photovoltaic installations as at 2001. From the installed capacity, Japan is as far ahead of all other countries, followed by the United States of America and Germany, in that order. (WEC, 2001, as cited by Obienusi *et al,* 2015).

The distribution of photovoltaic installations shows there is high competition among developing countries, with Japan with the highest installed capacity and India recording a leading position in the industrial production as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Global Photovoltaic Installation Distribution, 2001

	Continent	Country	Installed Capacity KWp.
1	Africa	Morocco	3,000
		Egypt	2,000
		South Africa	1,160
		Senegal	1,000
		Botswana	600
		Ghana	196
		Swaziland	60
2	Asia	Japan	205,000
		India	44,000
		China	8,800
		Indonesia	5,000
		Thailand	4,600
		Korea Rep.	3,459
		Nepal	1,122
		Philippines	217
		Turkey	150
3	Europe	Germany	69,000
		Italy	18,475
		Switzerland	13,400
		France	9121
		Netherlands	9,105
		Spain	9,080
		Norway	5,670
		Austria	3,672
		Sweden	2,584
		Finland	2,302
		United Kingdom	1,131
		Denmark	1,070
		Portugal	503
		Slovenia	50
		Croatia	10
		Czeh. Rep.	10
		Romania	6
4	North America	United States	117,300
		Mexico	12,922
		Canada	5,826
5	South America	Argentina	5,000
		Bolivia	470
6	Oceania	Australia	25,320

Source: WEC Survey of Solar Energy Resources, 2011

Solar equipment according to Chinnammai (2013) has reached 7 MW/year. There are other countries such as China, Malaysia, Taiwan and Bangladesh. Bangladesh, for instance, has designed various household programmes based on solar energy; one of such was the solar home system (SHS) with a total installed capacity of 32.586KWP. Another project under Renewable Energy Technologies (RET) have a cumulative installed capacity of 40.5KWp based on solar systems, among others, such that 30% of household work can be effected through the SHS (Abu (Md *et al.*. 2013), pointing to steady advancement of solar energy application in Bangladesh. In the worldwide development of PV panels, China has taken the lead in solar PV production due to a government policy which encourages subsidised investment in the production of solar panels. As for installations, European countries have the advantage (Tyagi *et al*, 2013; Bilby and Zhu, 2013, as cited (quoted) by Ikponwonsa, 2014).

Africa, which supposed to be in the forefront in solar energy acquisition and application based on her strategic location within the Equatorial Belt, has been handicapped by low technology. However, some countries such as Morocco, Egypt, South Africa, Senegal and Kenya (Obienusi, 2015) are making inroads in solar energy development and application. In fact, Kenya awakening to solar energy resources is commendable. As noted by Ikponwonsa (2014), over 30,000 small solar panels are sold annually in Kenya. (Accordingly, more Kenyans are reverting to the solar system of power supply. Even though Nigeria was not featured in Table1, the story has gradually changed as the country is now adopting the technology, going by the number of solar panels mounted for street lighting in cities like Lagos. Since 2014 or thereabout, imported small solar panels are being sold in Nigeria. They are mainly for households, for lighting and charging small appliances such as handsets, I-pads and watches among others. But given Nigeria's energy situation, the impact of solar energy on the overall energy consumption is highly infinitesimal. This is an area Nigerian policy makers will have to beam their searchlight and direct investments to, given the level of poverty and the potential of energy in reducing poverty and engineer driving development.

Harnessing Solar Energy Resources in Revolutionising Nigeria's Rural Sector

The Nigeria's current economic situation which has slide into recession is a result of years of lackadaisical handling of public policies. The effect of non-implementation of various policies has turned

Nigeria into a mono-dependent economy, with the resultant deepening trade imbalance in favour of major international partners, the devastation of the manufacturing and agricultural sectors, which constitute the engine of growth, and the generally praetorian state of the economy. A situation compounded by unstable monetary and fiscal policies that have plunged the naira into an all-time low against major international currencies, making businesses highly uncompetitive and a host of other challenges, in particular, mounting unemployment and poverty biting terribly hard in the rural areas.

These challenges can be traced to epileptic energy supply, (as supported by most economic theories and reached by the UNDP (2015). In Nigeria, inadequate energy supply is the greatest bane and as it is, there is no immediate solution in sight. Going by the population that is increasing astronomically something drastic must be evolved. Instead of the government committing stupendous resources to prospecting for oil in the Lake Chad Basin, such resources should, as a matter of policy reversal, be invested in developing solar energy since it is the most appropriate and superabundant renewable energy. The government does not need to spend money prospecting for it. It is a ubiquitous energy, available wherever the sun shines. In Nigeria, it is everywhere all year round.

All over the world, lots of solar energy technologies have been developed to supply energy for household consumption, factories, street lighting, automobiles and a host of other things. It has become a perfect alternative for non-renewable fossil fuels which are becoming expensive; their prices are also unstable in the world commodity market.

Moreover, the rapidly growing world population, coupled with the concomitant climate change due to excessive emission of CO_2 on the environment and other societal and economic factors, have made the switch to renewable energy, with particular attention to solar energy, inevitable. The availability of renewable energy sources to supply the whole world is possible in the next 10 – 15 years.

According to a research anchored by Jacobson and Delucchi (2011 p. 1154) as cited by Timmons, Harris & Roach (2014), solar photovoltaic energy has a global availability of about 6,500 trillion Watts and it is the highest amongst other renewable energy sources such as wind, wave, geothermal, hydro-electric, and tidal. In terms of developable locations for solar photovoltaic sells, 340 trillion Watts can be generated while wind, wave, geothermal, hydro-electric, and tidal all combined were estimated to have less than 100 trillion Watts as illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3: Availability of Global Renewable Energy

Energy source	Total global availability (trillion watts)	Availability in Like-Developable Locations (trillion watts)
Wind	1700	40 – 85
Wave	> 2.7	0.5
Geothermal	45	0.07 – 0.14
Hydroelectric	1.9	1.6
Tidal	3.7	0.02
Solar photovoltaic	6500	340
Concentrated	4600	240

Source: Jacobson and Delucchi (2011) (cited by Timmon *et al*, 2014)

Table 4: Infrastructural Requirements for the Supply of All Global Energy in 2030 from Renewable Sources

Energy source	Percentage of 2030 Global Power Supply	Number of Plants/Devices Needed Worldwide
Wind turbines	50	3,800,000
Wave power plants	1	720,000
Geothermal plants	4	5,350
Hydroelectric plants	4	900
Tidal turbines	1	490,000
Rooftop Solar PV Systems	6	1.7 billion
Solar PV power plants	14	40,000
Concentrated solar power plants	20	49,000
Total	100	

Source: Jacobson and Delucchi (2011) (quoted by Timmon *et al*, 2014)

Wind, water and sunlight (abbreviated as WWS; excluding biomass) are capable, by 2030, of producing worldwide renewable energy which will replace the current non-renewable energy source by 2050 as presented in Table 4. Projected world energy demand is 17 trillion watts. It can be seen in Table 2 that the (availability of) energy from the wind and the sun alone is more than sufficient to meet global energy requirements (Jacobson & Delucchi, 2011).

The estimate of the infrastructure that would be needed to supply the global energy from WWS in 2030, based on the assumption that 90% the world's energy comes from the wind and the sun and the remaining 10% from other renewable sources, is presented in Table 3. Land requirement for the infrastructure was considered. Total land requirement amount to about 2% of the total global land (Jacobson & Delucchi, 2011).

In this irreversible energy revolution, given the amount of pollution and toxicity associated with non-renewable, fossil fuels present an environment-friendly solution to the energy conundrum. In another study on evolving technology, as shown in Fig. 2, the rapid increase and worldwide demand of PV is staggering. Where does Nigeria stand in this energy revolution? And for how long will the country continue to wait? It is therefore pertinent to promote diversification in energy production, supply and distribution to meet absolute requirements of every Nigerian with a focus on renewable energy sources. Nigeria is greatly endowed with virtually all sources of renewable energy, be they geothermal plants, hydroelectric plants and solar PV power plants among others. From the analysis given above in this section, if Nigeria can devote substantial resources to the development of wind and solar energies, they will be enough to satisfy the energy needs demand of the country and poverty would be greatly alleviated. However, the emphasis should be on solar energy and all its applications.

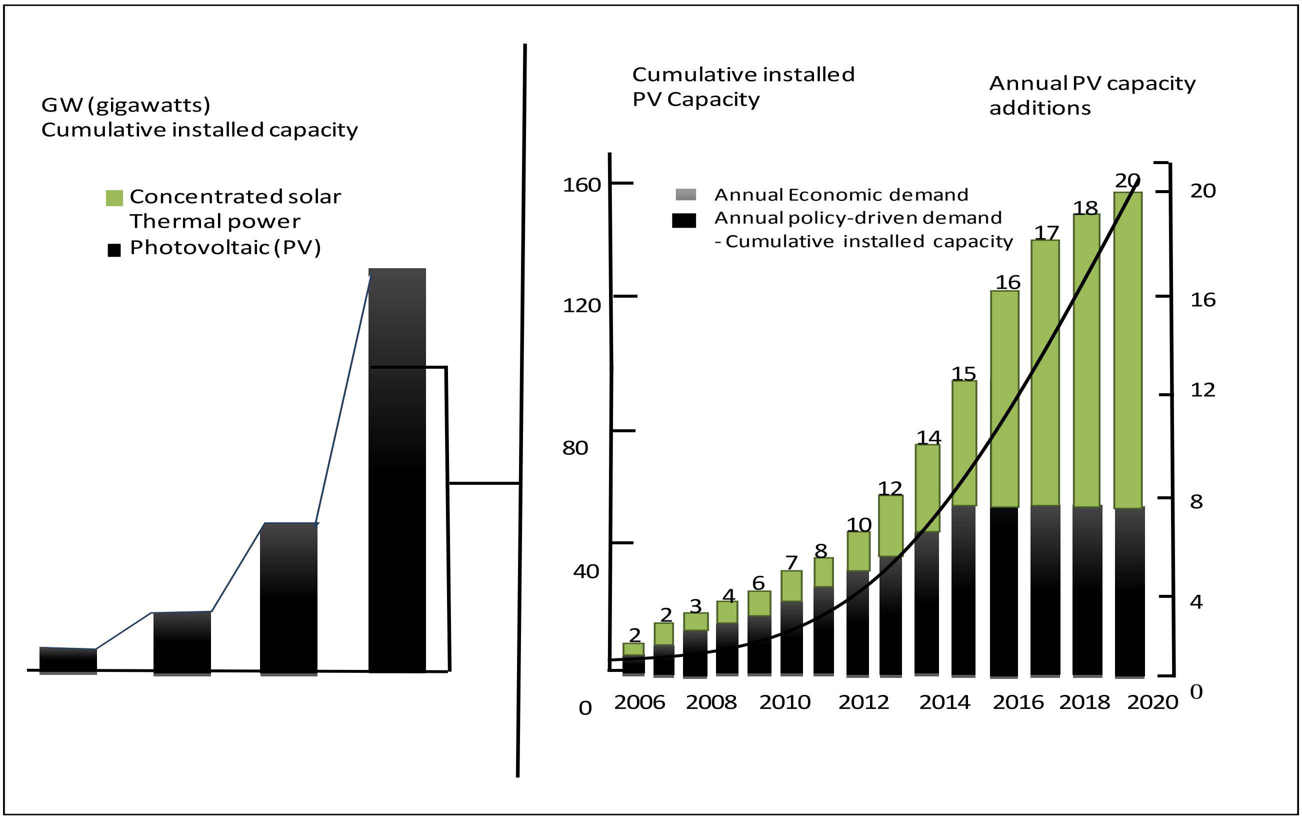

Figure 2: Projected Global Solar Market in 2020
Source:

A solar energy revolution is strongly canvassed to bail the country out of its energy doldrums, epileptic power supply and the near comatose state of the productive sector. The ongoing plan to revive the economy from depression must focus on the renewable energy sector, with particular reference to solar energy, to cater for households and the manufacturing and agricultural sectors. The three sectors are vital to revamping the economy. While manufacturing and agriculture have the capacity to provide jobs and mop up the rising unemployment, it must be borne in mind that the household is equally critical to reviving the economy. This is because most small scale businesses are household based. For instance, tailoring, fashion designing, electrical work, computer and ICT businesses and mechanical work, among others, are categorised as household businesses and draw their energy requirements from the household structure. Renewable Energy Technologies (RET) based on solar energy can be deployed in communities and estates by installing solar- based energy systems such as those developed in Bangladesh called Solar Home Systems (SHS). Rural homes can be (flooded) through this solar programme. The beauty of the solar energy equipment is its adaptability. That is to say, it can be fabricated with varying degrees of sophistication and in a broad range of sizes and costs. In other words, it can be used in homes for various purposes as well as on a large scale by farmers to dry grains or to pump water for irrigation.

In respect to the agricultural sector, it has been discovered that tractors can be powered through solar energy technology. In fact, in the agricultural sector, Nigeria has no business with non-renewable energy. While Nigeria's engineers and scientists, in partnership with local manufacturing companies, partner with foreign manufacturers of PV panels, government needs to subsidise the cost of the solar energy equipment needed by farmers. The issue of epileptic power supply would, consequently, become a thing of the past.

Another important characteristic of solar energy is that it can be connected to the national grid. As we have seen, solar energy is a complete and comprehensive energy that can be harnessed directly or indirectly. As such, the dormant manufacturing industry can be profoundly revived if solar energy technology is deployed appropriately to manufacturing companies all over the country. Nigeria is so blessed that solar energy can be complemented by wind energy and devices installed in such companies. Solar energy can also be stored under the ground through a technique developed in Poland. In this respect, Nigeria has no reason not to be self-sufficient in power generation. A proactive policy will save the manufacturing sector from the exorbitant amount of money spent on generators. Besides, the environmental pollution resulting from the fumes emitted therefrom would be eliminated.

In the 21st century, it is a breach of faith and imprudence on the part of the government to allow any establishment for that matter to operate without adequate electricity supply. The discovery of solar energy, its ubiquity and unfailing supply makes it inadmissible for any government or its agents not to deploy this type of energy to power the nation's hospitals and public institutions generally.

If we consider the 10 countries with the largest installed solar energy capacities (Table 5), apart from China and Australia, the rest are in Europe and America. It is very clear that Germany takes the lead as the biggest solar power producer but interestingly, as mentioned above, China has taken the lead in the production of PVCs as a result of government's energetic and Policies purposeful policy which grants generous subsidy to PV panel manufacturers, coupled with relatively cheap labour. China has been able to overtake Europe in the production of PV panels, although Germany still has an edge in respect of the actual number installed (Table 5). This should be a great challenge to Nigerian policy makers who have to approach critical issues of development in a different way. Various strategies could be adopted, ranging from collaboration, partnership, training, subsidised plant location, tax holiday and many more to acquire the technology. Nigeria cannot afford not to be a major player in the production of PV panels and all the new solar energy technologies.The policy should be sustainable since renewable energy, with particular reference to solar energy, never runs out. It is the everlasting energy of the future, rapidly displacing non-renewable and polluting energy.

Table 5: Top Ten Largest Installed Solar Power Capacity Country in the World

Rank	Country Name	Installed (GW)
1.	Germany	35. 736
2.	China	18. 528
3.	Italy	17. 861
4.	Japan	13. 947
5.	United States	12. 035
6.	Spain	5. 375
7.	France	4. 639
8.	Australia	3. 524
9.	Belgium	3. 470
10,	United Kingdom	3. 316

Source: Jacobson and Delucchi (2011)

At this juncture, it must be asked why it has been impossible for government to engineer a white paper on renewable energy and a sound policy on solar energy. Despite the nation's technological backwardness, solar energy technology cannot be said to be too complicated or complex for Nigerian scientists, physicists and engineers to develop. (What happened to Nigeria with non-renewable energy, the petroleum industry where the nation has remained a rentier state ever since. (At this point all possible strategies must be designed to be on top of solar energy technology.

It is imperative for government to develop renewable energy technology with special focus on solar energy, given its potential to transform the rural areas in Nigeria. It is ideal for Nigeria because of its low cost, uncomplicated installation and easy transportability. It is pollution free and can be stored in the ground and in the battery. An inexhaustible energy appropriate to turn life around for rural dwellers and the vast households condemned to permanent darkness by supplying lighting for cooking, pumping water for general household use, poultry and horticultural farms and a host of other uses of this highly profitable, ideal and easy to master solar energy technology

The major problem is the political will, which is anchored on lack of visionary leadership. Nigeria which is looked up to to lead the continent to industrial and technological breakthroughs, remains a sleeping giant. Despite this assertion and great expectation, the nation's opportunistic leaders remain dwarf unambitious and defective in taking hard decisions that will turn the nation around, not to talk of leading the entire Africa.

Closely related to the above is the lack of neither institutional mechanisms nor and a comprehensive, well-articulated energy policy, well-articulated proactively formulated to take care of non-renewable finite energy and the renewable energy of the future. The issue may, at the end of the day, not have to do with policies but with conscientious and dogged implementation. The third, which is equally critical, is the lack of technological adaptability, capability and businesslike. Since Nigerians are used to the easy lifeSure developing indigenous technologies is culturally resisted; even when individuals have made breakthroughs, they will not be encouraged but frustrated by the comprador bourgeoisie. Importers/exporters of finished goods in collusion with multinational company's partners will not allow such an engineering feat to thrive. All the same, there must be synergy between engineering research institutes and manufacturing companies to make inroads in solar energy technology, especially in the manufacturing of PVCs and other solar equipment. There is also a lack of an engineering or a technical culture. Though some people may look at it as financial handicap but the truth is that Nigerian, generally want quick solution to issues, the same mentality as in business In short, Nigerian investors do not like investing in long-term business ventures, which may not be good enough for developing indigenous solar energy technology in the country.

The failure of mastering petroleum technology must teach Nigerians lesson not to lack behind in developing appropriate solar energy technology. Nigeria as a nation must take bold steps to move from a consumer of foreign, ready-made goods to creating, developing and manufacturing goods for domestic consumption, before thinking of exporting. The money realised from The Single Account (TSA) must be deployed to finance solar energy technology. Candidly speaking, this is a technology Nigeria can conveniently master and become proficient in.

There is also the overwhelming ignorance of the public on the various sources of available energy which has translated into lack of adequate information and awareness on the potentials of solar energy, its everlasting availability and all-purpose use to address current energy shortage and epileptic energy supply, have not been sufficiently disseminated. The public awareness must also take cognizance of educating the public on the safety and the non-polluting characteristic of solar energy which makes it an ideal energy for a developing country as Nigeria.

There is the question of affordability. But in the present circumstances where awareness is very low and where few companies engage in importing few components, (final word cannot be said, rather to say that issue of energy is central to development and policy on reversing government unchallenging attitude to transforming the nation, energy wise should be uppermost. What in fact should be the government and policy makers do to turn around the fortunes of Nigeria, for so long underdeveloped despite abundant resources?

Conclusion

This paper has established from (revolutionary perspective having laid bare the unquantifiable potentialities of renewable energy resources in Nigeria, an irrevocable stand for a policy shift from lack or insufficiency energy supply to abundant supply from solar energy resources. Nigeria as a world player cannot sit on the fence waiting for others to work and reap. The whole gamut of the nation's research outfit must be deployed to begin an unrelenting development in the area of renewable energy technologies, with particular reference to solar energy.

The ICT revolution has so much simplified research that Nigerian scientists simply need to synergize with other advanced and semi-advanced technologies in solar energy and produce its own variation. The fundamental science for the design, building and creating of solar equipment such as solar panels among others is not what our scientists and manufacturers cannot handle. It needs to be localised or customised in order to turn Nigeria into a technological haven. The various engineering industrial companies need to network with countless polytechnics, universities of technology and engineering research institutes to develop capacity building such that products of these institutions, highly excited to be productive, will be gainfully engaged and there would be no room for unemployment.

Nigeria must join the group of creative, original, imaginative, innovative and inventive countries. The people must move from being dependent consumers of finished goods from all nooks and crannies of the world to being inventive and productive and exporters of manufactured finished goods. Nigeria must, in the next 10 years, become a leader in the production and manufacturing of various sizes and models of PVs and other solar energy materials and equipment.

Definitely, the future of this world is dependent on renewable energy resources with the sun at the centre of all the renewable energies. Nigeria is capable of becoming a master in the generation of solar energy by virtue of its location; it must also become a master in developing, applying and exporting of solar energy as a commodity.

The geometric increase of in the nation's population should be thought-provoking for the government and its leadership.They should continually seek for solutions to the problems of the people. If a party or a president knows that he cannot meet up with the demands of the great people of this country, he or she should give room for a dynamic, visionary set of leadership. The world is exceedingly dynamic, fast-changing with competing techno-logical innovations that need creative, innovative and intellectually sound minds to keep up with the tempo. The Nigeria of the 21stcentury, well-endowed and robustly positioned, humanly and materially, must exploit take all the advantages inherent in solar energy to benefit her people and also be beneficial to the rest of the world.

Recommendations

Nigeria is a well-positioned country to benefit maximally from the sun's radiation, the power that produces the solar energy. The country must, as a matter of national policy, take an unyielding stance for its immediate application. This means that the leadership must commit substantial financial resources to its actualisation. As already canvassed by the Solar Energy Society of Nigeria (SESN: 2007), the government should perfect the details for a national energy master plan with a distinguished package of Renewable Energy as the ultimate energy of the future, which its exploitation must be pursued now.

The government, therefore, owes the people of this country a sacred duty to move her from poverty and unemployment to wealth by paying revolutionary attention to solar energy exploitation.

The government must concurrently propagate the policy of technology of energy mix with focus on renewable energy for the present and future. The importance of energy mix is critical for positioning the industrial and manufacturing sectors of the economy in such a way that iron and steel industries, for instance, can be fully established with abundant renewable solar energy (Adeola & Adeola, 2016).

The government should fund research and the research institutes for renewable energy – the solar energy. In particular, government must fund companies manufacturing PV cells or materials for making it, such as silicon wafers, among others. With ICT, solar technology is quick to adopt. The environment must be tailored to respond to technology development.

In this period of recession, government must educate the citizens on alternative renewable sources of energy, with particular focus on solar energy and its applications. Solar equipment such as solar panels of different sizes can be exhibited and the advantages associated with its use. Such advantages include cleanness, easy installation, easy transportation, no transformer, no high tension, and no low tension -- just sunshine.

This awareness must be complemented by legislation to rid the country of generators which is a source of great impediment to a viable energy policy. Its proliferation in Nigeria was a major influence on government's energy policy. Now that non-renewable energy is on its way to extinction, the focus is on renewable energy resources. Anything that could be a hindrance must be outrightly removed.

As a matter of national sensitisation and global awareness, all new settlements should be totally planned with reference to solar energy resources. All energy to be supplied to such communities or agglomerations must be based on solar energy. The length and breadth of Nigeria's rural areas must be dotted with Nigerian PV panels to power the solar and wind energy plants to beautify the landscape.

Government must show pragmatic examples of total commitment to renewable, clean and pollution- free energy by legislating the replication and application of solar energy resources to power the nation's railway transportation system; the underground metropolitan light train planned for Abuja and Lagos should be totally powered by solar energy. Also government institutions such as hospitals, universities, airports, ministries, estates and prisons must rely on solar energy.

Government should create via local governments, solar energy equipment demonstration points to practically create the on-the-spot awareness for the citizens on the unending power derivable from solar energy and its everyday ideal application. The precarious state of Nigeria's economy, forced into recession, should serve as a motivating factor to wriggle out of it by taking a look at some countries, even in temperate region, which benefit maximally from solar energy. These countries include Germany, Japan, USA, Italy and China to mention a few. Nigeria must not sit on the fence; she must galvanise her abundant human and material resources and launch herself to the forefront, as a model of an African economy powered by indigenously designed and developed solar energy technology.

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Methods of Arabic Manuscripts Preservation in Northern Nigeria

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Abstract
The history of Northern Nigeria will not be complete without the role of Sokoto Jihad leaders that contributed significantly in the intellectual transformation of Hausaland. The leaders of the movement left a lot of literature on different aspects of human life; economics, politics and religion. Considerable part of this manuscript is left in private libraries, while others are kept in public libraries. The significance of these manuscripts in the social, political and religious reconstruction of Northern Nigeria cannot be over emphasized. This calls for the urgent need to not only retrieve from the hands of individuals but also provide a means of preserving these manuscripts. This paper attempts a new perspective on the methods and forms of manuscript preservation in Northern Nigeria. This is so because the region has been the major center of Ajami and Arabic manuscript in West Africa due to the role of the Sokoto Jihad leaders.

Keywords: *Arabic, Ajami, Manuscripts, Preservation, Sokoto Jihad*

Introduction
Sokoto Jihad triumvirate and their disciples wrote hundreds of books, similarly, their collections worth thousands of volumes. These books contained vast literary and socio-cultural heritage of Hausaland. These extant Manuscripts were left under the care of individual scholars that is why quite a number of them could not be found. In order to collect and preserve these enormous manuscripts formal archival activities in Northern Nigeria began in 1959. The report of A.B.H. Bivar and Malam Haliru Binji laid a solid foundation on collection and preservation of Arabic Manuscripts in Northern Nigeria. Equally, the establishment of the History Research Scheme in the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, which was launched in 1964, was also another memorable landmark on collection and preservation of Arabic Manuscripts (Umar, 2007).

It is pertinent to note that documentation centres were established in Center for Islamic Studies, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, Bayero University, Kano, National Museum, Jos, Centre for Trans-Sahara Studies, University of Maiduguri, Arewa House, Kaduna Etc. All these centers aimed at preserving the rich cultural and historical heritage in Hausaland. In view of this, documentation/ archival centers employed some modern methods in their struggle to preserve the extant Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts in their respective centers.

In consideration of this, the paper highlights the collections of the Sokoto Jihad leaders and their disciples, which covered various field of human endeavors. It also pointed out total collections (Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts). Similarly, the paper discusses both traditional and modern methods used for preserving Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts in West Africa and Northern Nigeria in particular. The paper further stresses some challenges that are certainly bedeviling conservation and preservation of Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts in Nigeria. The last segment of the paper dealt with recommendations/ suggestions and conclusion.

Conceptual Explanation
Preservation is a concept that attracted a number of definitions depending on the context it appeared. However, in this context, preservation is an activity of prolonging library and archival materials by maintaining them in condition suitable for either in their original format or in a form more durable, through retention under proper environmental conditions (Reitz, 2005). Preservation is also an act of preserving and conserving archival materials for posterity.

On the other hand, conservation is the use of physical or chemical methods to ensure the survival of manuscripts, books and other documents through the storage of the materials under controlled environmental conditions or the treatment of mildew-infected paper with a chemical inhibitor. Generally, conservation refers to any measure taken to protect archival or library collections from damage or deterioration, including initial examination, documentation, treatment and preventive care (Reitz, 2005).

Preservation and conservation in most instances are inseparable concepts. The preservation procedures ultimately depend on a number of measures and conditions; condition of manuscripts; it future use; aesthetic importance and availability of funds.

In Hausaland, numerous traditional methods were used for many centuries in conserving and preserving Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts from deterioration. Because of the lack of effectiveness of these methods, a lot of these manuscripts with political, religious and socio-cultural importance were destroyed by either natural or human activities.

Collections of Sokoto Jihad Leaders

The Sokoto Jihad leaders; Sheikh Usmanu Danfoiyo guided his people through his writings. He alone wrote over two hundred books in different disciplines (Mafara, 2005). Some of these books treated religious matters; others dealt with politics and many other issues. Shehu succeeded in bringing up over a hundred scholars that reached the level of *Mujtahid* in the Maliki school of Law (Mafara, 2005). To show the richness of the Shehu's collections, his daughter Nana Asma'u stressed that after the Shehu's hijra, his library collections were so large that the transport resources (camel, donkeys etc) available to the Shehu's followers at that time were inadequate to convey the collections to Gudu (Muhammad, 1993).

Equally, his brother Sheikh Abdullahi Danfodiyo wrote over two hundred books in different fields (Mafara, 2005). Sultan Muhammad Bello wrote over two hundred books as well. It was pointed out that Sultan Muhammad Bello read more than twenty thousand books (Muhammad, 1993). Other members of the Shehu's family and disciples also contributed significantly in this direction. The books covered different fields which included: Fiqh, Arabic grammar, *Tawheed,* History, Law, Administration, Politics, Medicine, Astronomy, Social interaction, Economics *Tafsir, Hadith* and Sufism among others. Most of these writings were credited to the Sokoto Jihad triumvirate. Sheikh Usman was the spiritual leader of the movement followed by his brother Sheikh Abdullahi who was the chief adviser to Shehu and his son Muhammadu Bello was the Sultan after Shehu's death. In fact, it is worthy to note that these three figures were prolific scholars, jurists, reformers and more importantly their legacies up to present time flourished and remained fresh in memory of scholars. It is important to note that beside the Jihad leaders, there were other scholars that their writings formed significant parts of the Sokoto Jihadist literature. These eminent scholars include, Nana Asma'u and her sister Maryam and Khadija, all of them daughters of the Shehu. Waziri Gidado b. Laima, his son Abdulkadir b. Gidado, Malam Muhammadu Tukur Dan Binta, Isa Maikware another son of the Shehu, Alhaji Said, Umar b. Muhammads al-Bukhari, Waziri Bukhari, Muhammad b. Salih and famous Waziri Junaidu who in fact, carried out the mantle of Jihad scholarship to present time (Augi, 1993).

Sheikh Abdullahi's intellectual contribution seems to over shadow all other contributions. He was a prolific writer whose literary output, in spite of all odds and his pre-occupation with physical Jihad was remarkable. Abdullahi had exhausted all the available aspects of learning in his time in this part of the globe. He had also in the same manner written on almost all the branches of knowledge he had studied. It is important to stress that beside the Arabic manuscripts the Jihad leaders also wrote many books/manuscripts in vernacular, basically Hausa and Fulfude. This type of writing is called *Ajami* writing; that is using Arabic characters to write any language other than the Arabic. Presently, more than one thousand manuscripts (1000) written by the Jihad leaders and other scholars have been procured by the centre for Islamic studies, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto. These manuscripts were placed in shelves and also made available to researchers. The manuscripts were also arranged into classes for easy retrieval.

Table 1: Number of Manuscripts of the Jihad Leaders and their Disciples

s/n	Name of Author(s)	Number of Manuscripts
1.	Sheikh Usmanu Danfodiyo	120
2.	Sheikh Abdullahi Danfodiyo	89
3.	Sultan Muhammad Bello	110
4.	The Wazirites	63
5.	Other Jihad Leaders	88
6.	Other Scholars outside Sokoto Caliphate	42
7.	Scholars who wrote only one book before the Jihad	25
8.	20th and 21st centuries writers	150
9.	Manuscripts without names of the authors	77
10.	Fulfulde Manuscripts written by the Jihad leaders and others	252
11.	Hausa Manuscripts written by the Jihad leaders and others	83
	Total	**1099**

Traditional Methods

Before the advent of colonial administration 'Ulama used a number of methods to preserve their Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts. As a result of this we were able to lay out our hands on these enormous manuscripts. Some of these methods are:

- ***Gafaka***: small bag or sachet made with leather
- ***Tadrishi*** (local binding): stiff cover for holding manuscripts
- ***Rufewar** daka:* Room corn bin
- ***Tukunya***: cooking pot made with mud
- ***Lehe na kaba*:** basket made from palms fronds
- ***Akwati***: wooding box
- ***Kwando***: large basket e.t.c.

The above mentioned were some of the apparatus used for conserving and preserving the Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts. Usually, a clean rag or leather was used to cover the manuscripts before putting it in any of the above containers. Other methods also are:

Memorization: people were asked to memorize some books so that in an event of any disaster which led to loss of the document, those who memorized it could be asked to re-write the document because it is in their memory.

Insertion: This means inserting a sheet of paper in between pages of manuscripts in order to prevent the manuscripts from damage

Suspension: Arabic manuscripts were suspended either on table made from fire wood or on *Maratai (a strap or peg)* to avoid contact with water.

Copyist: '*Ulama* usually made some copies of books and sent same to their friends and students so that if any one of them lost his copy he could easily get it.

It is worthy of note that despite the above methods, preservation measures normally started from initial formation or composition of ink. Gum Arabic and cassava powder were added to the usual charcoal of the ink so that the writing can last for a very long period. Immediately after writing the papers were then exposed to sunlight for some minutes after application of white sand on it to facilitate its dry smoothly thereby preventing accidental damage of the materials. *Bagaruwa* (thorn), *doruwa* (locust-bean tree), *baba* (indigo), *aguwa* (blue dove or shrub), *gamba* (a tick grass used in making mat) etc were used to make ink. Manuscripts written with this ink are expected to last for many centuries. In fact, ink made out of charcoal contains some ingredients that can preserve writing and durability of papers against moisture and heat (Bunza, 2007).

Modern Method

The traditional methods of preserving Arabic Manuscripts apparently were found inefficient as because of the adoption of the methods substantial number of Arabic and *Ajami* Manuscripts were destroyed some were even beyond recovery. Thus, Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts documentation centres in Nigeria started using the following modern methods in conserving and preserving their Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts. The methods are as follows: Control of relative temperature and humidity, conservation and digitalization methods

1. Control of Relative Temperature and Humidity

The foremost preservation measure is control of relative temperature, humidity, lightening, dust, pollutants and pests. It is imperative to note that the enemies of old documents/manuscripts are heat, humidity, and sunlight. To maintain their fine condition, they should be kept in a stable storage condition free from excess fluctuation of temperature and humidity.

To control relative humidity and temperature, Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts should be stored in relatively dark, cool and also relatively dry locations. Humidity has to be maintained at level of 35% and below 72 percent F. Similarly, it is important to avoid excessive light, heat and dampness. High humidity can lead to the development of foxing of mold growth. Therefore, maintenance of stable as well as acceptable environmental condition is central in preservation process. Equally, it is fundamental to secure a well ventilated storage system with consistent temperature 20 degree centigrade plus or minus 2 degrees centigrade. Rapid fluctuation of temperature and humidity must be avoided such as turning on and off fans and air condition (Biddle, 2008). In order to control temperature and relative humidity in non-temperate country such as Nigeria, provision of stable fans and functional air conditioning in the Arabic manuscripts repositories is very essential. It is equally important to stress that extreme dryness should be avoided. This problem may cause Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts to become brownish at the edge; and under extreme severe condition they become brittle and even crumble to power.

Control of lightening

Most paper items, Arabic and Ajami manuscripts inclusive, are susceptible to damage from ultraviolet (UV) and visible light. UV radiation, which emanated from the sun and fluorescent bulbs is damaging to manuscripts. As a result, it is imperative to avoid using filtering glazing in frames, or filter over windows and light bulbs. The intensity and length of exposure to visible light on paper items should be reduced. In fact, manuscripts should be stored away from the light to avoid fading and/or becoming yellowish. It is worthy to note that physical feature of manuscripts is important; as such sunlight or any type of light that produces heat or ultraviolet must not be allowed to fall on Arabic and Ajami manuscripts.

Pollution, Dust and Pest control

Pollution, such as car exhaust and heating can cause damage to Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts. The manuscript should be protected from dust and dirt. In West Africa and Nigeria in particular, most of the documentation centers if not all the Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts are vulnerable to destruction by certain creatures such as rats, cockroaches, beetles, termites etc. To control the menace of these insects there is need for routine fumigation of rooms where manuscripts are kept in order to create conducive environmental condition that greatly reduced the threat of these pests.

Storage System

Storage system of the Arabic and *Ajami* manuscript is very fundamental, good storage creates enabling condition that can prolong the physical feature of the manuscripts. Majority of Nigerian Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts repositories used envelopes and boxes in storing their extant manuscripts. The best way of storing Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts is in flat position rather than folding or unfolding. The stiffness of the storage folder or box should provide adequate support to the manuscripts. In fact, storage with acidic materials should be avoided because of the migration of acid to the manuscript.

It is quite overwhelming to stress that these measures are extremely important in preserving Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts. However, it is sad to note that majority of Nigeria's documentation centers did not give the due recognition to these all important measures, thus, majority of Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts are still in limbo.

2. Conservation in a Box

Conservation in a box is neither modern nor traditional way of preserving Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts. However, it could be regarded as a modern method of conserving Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts if fundamental procedures are fallowed in box making. There are some conservation centers in Nigeria that are currently using box in preserving Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts, but most of the boxes were made with acidic materials that are very harmful to the manuscripts. One of these centers is Waziri Junaidu History and Culture Bureau, Sokoto. It is worthy to note that the best box could be made with 'E' flute corrugated board (acid free board). Unfortunately the corrugated board is not available in Nigeria. Although interestingly, most of the tested photocopy paper cartons were made from acid-free corrugated board. More importantly, these materials are free on request or less cost. Therefore, the photocopy paper cartons could be used to box making, which would prevent migration of acid to and from manuscripts. The size of the box depends also on the size of manuscripts, but each box should not be more than 6cm deep internally. This arrangement would allow for an empty 6-7cm above the three staked boxes for air circulation. At 25cm three boxes could be stored horizontally one on top of the other (Biddle, 2008).

3. Digital Preservation

Digitization could succinctly be defined as the process of converting data or digital format for processing by electronic machine. In information systems, digitization usually refers to the conservation of printed text or images into binary signals using scanning device that enables the result to be displayed on a computer screen (Reitz, 2005).

Digital preservation is part of modern techniques of preserving manuscripts, in this method manuscripts are preserved with their natural condition. In fact, digital preservation is a method of maintaining manuscripts in a condition suitable for use. Digital preservation is a method designed for locating, storing and providing access to digital materials over a long period of time. This fundamentally ensures that materials remain usable as technology changes, including emulation and migration (Reitz, 2005). Equally CD-ROM, flash drives and other related ICT materials certainly can be used to preserve Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts. In addition to this manuscripts could be placed on the internet with all necessary information such as author, contents and even location of original manuscripts so that it could be available if a researcher/student need to see the original manuscripts.

Considering the rate at which Nigerian Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts are deteriorating as a result of either natural or man-made disaster, it is quite overwhelming to employ the use of modern information technology gadgets in order to save these enormous manuscripts that contain vast of Nigeria's literary and intellectual heritage.

Challenges

For many decades documentation centres in Nigeria had been struggling to preserve the enormous Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts that are full with the country's literary and socio-cultural heritage. However, a number of challenges are bedeviling their efforts in that direction. Some of these challenges are:

- Lack of trained personnel on paper conservation in Nigeria
- Government lackadaisical attitude particular as it relates to funding the documentation centres
- Non implementation of strategic plans of action, e.g. the five year digitization plan and some other important plan of actions that were designed since 2007 and expected to be completed by 2012, in fact no meaningful results were recorded.
- Ulama and general public are yet to recognize the imperative of conserving and also preserving the precious Nigeria's Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts
- Lack of cooperation from Nigerian philanthropist

Recommendations

Balarabe (1986) has for over two decades made a far reaching recommendations centering on recovery, collections, cataloguing and classification and more importantly preservation and conservation of the enormous Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts of the Sokoto Jihad leaders. Some of these recommendations are as follows:

- Establishment of National Board who is vested with responsibilities of discovering, collecting, sorting out, cataloguing and indexing the manuscripts as well as compiling bibliography. The board also is expected to coordinate and monitor activities of various collection agencies. It similarly comprises the field of library and information science, archives and documentation.
- There should be legislations to regulate the recovery, preservation and use of manuscripts. The law should empower the board or any collection agencies to collect manuscripts from all private owners in the country. However, fair compensation should be given to owners of the manuscripts.
- Each collection agency should have written policy. The policy has to categorically point out the person to be in charge of the collection centre as well as his qualification. Knowledge in Arabic, English and Hausa languages should take centre stage.
- The documentation centres or agencies should be funded.
- Transport and photographic facilities should be made available to the centres
- The documentation centres should be funded by state and federal government. The state government should be made to understand that the centres (especially those owned by the state governments such as Sokoto state history and culture bureau) are great assets to the nation as important centres for research and more importantly, the manuscripts contained the enormous literary/ culture of Nigeria (Balarabe, 1986).
- As part of the recommendations, Nigerian documentation centres should also borrow a leaf from SAVAMA-DC (is a non-governmental organization that has a mission to protect and safeguard Mali's ancient manuscripts consisting of private libraries that kept important manuscripts that has rich legacy of West Africa's cultural and intellectual heritage), which had done a lot in organization and preservation of Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts of Timbuktu-Mali. SAVAMA is a non-governmental organization based in Timbuktu, Mali, established in 1996, with sole aim of protection and evaluation of Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts. They organized numerous activities prominent among them was exhibition. The exhibition was carried out within and outside Mali, fundamentally to sensitize both national and international communities on the values and preservation of the Arabic and *Ajami* manuscripts. This made SAVAMA to attract foreign donors to come to their aid in their giant struggle to protect and preserve Malian all important Arabic manuscript. In fact, Ford Foundation donated about half a million U.S. dollar to the organization (Haidara, 2007).
- Government in collaboration with documentation centres and University libraries shall sponsor at least one or two person to go for training on paper conservation.

Conclusion

Sokoto Jihad leaders and perhaps their disciples adopted numerous mechanisms in conserving and preserving their enormous Arabic and *Ajami* Manuscripts. As a result of this, we are able to get these all important Manuscripts, which scholars, students and researchers are frequently consulting. The Manuscripts, as pointed out earlier, are no doubt treasury of knowledge that our contemporary society cannot simply ignore or allow to deteriorate.

Unfortunately, in spite of the socio-cultural and literary importance of these Manuscripts, the Nigerian Arabic documentation centers are yet to adequately used effective methods particularly modern methods in conserving and preserving the Arabic and *Ajami* Manuscripts.

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Macroeconomic Volatility and Financial Performances of Deposit Money Banks in Nigeria

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Abstract
This study aims to determine the effects of volatility in macroeconomic variables on financial performance of deposit money banks (DMBs) in Nigeria. A GARCH analysis of secondary data on aggregate bank profits, cash reserve ratio (CRR), liquidity ratios (LR), foreign exchange (FXR), minimum rediscount rate (MRR)/monetary policy rate (MPR), inflation rate (INFR), lending rate (INT) and gross domestic product (GDP) shows that there exists volatility in these variables with MRR/MPR, FXR, INFR and GDP positively affecting bank financial performance; and INT, CRR and LR negatively affecting bank financial performances. These findings necessitates the initiation of policies by monetary authorities at increasing MRR/MPC, FXR, INFR and GDP, and reducing INT, CRR and LR to improve bank financial performances and overall financial stability in Nigeria.

Key words: *Financial performance, financial stability, interest rate, macroeconomic volatility, monetary policy.*

Introduction

Manipulation of macroeconomic variables is aimed at achieving positive macro and micro economic results: economic stability, exchange rate stability, increase in disposable incomes, gross domestic product, aggregate demand and supply, increase in production capacity utilization, consumption, supply and standard of living. These manipulations may be via monetary instruments by the Central Bank, or fiscal instruments by the fiscal authorities. Proactive measures at strengthening banks as the 2005 bank consolidation exercise, increased bank liquidity, aggregate lending, aggregate demand and inflationary pressures necessitating the increase in cash reserve ratio to 9.70% in 2005 to reduce liquidity and inflationary pressures on the economy. The negative effects of this policy on lending to the production sector (experiencing low capacity utilization due to constrained expansion for lack of credits and demand), resulted in an adjustment to the ratio to 2.60% in 2006 with the introduction of the discriminatory CRR in 2014 with CRR ratio on public and private sector deposits at 75% and 15% respectively.

The cash reserve ratio (CRR), a monetary policy tool, is used to set the minimum deposits commercial banks must hold as reserves, rather than lend out. It is applied to influence borrowing and interest rates by changing the amount of money at banks' disposal for loans purposes. Volatility in this ratio indicates the variation of the monetary policy thrusts of the Central Bank of Nigeria. Monetary prudential discipline necessitates the frequent alteration of this ratio. Excess liquidity due to bank consolidation was reduced with prudent monetary policies of tightening credit through increase in cash reserve ratios from 1% in 2004 to 2% in 2005, and sustained in 2006-2008. Though the rate increased, naira value of cash reserves declined in 2005, 2007 and 2009 against previous year values. The monetary easing policy was introduced by the CBN in 2009 to improve banking system liquidity and ensure stability in the country's financial system, and constant flow of credit to the productive sectors of the economy. This monetary management technique reflected the existing local and global economic environments with existing tight liquidity. Introduced monetary policies were aimed at easing credit in the economy. The credit ease policy aided to achieve the multiple objectives of optimum liquidity in the domestic and foreign exchange markets, price and exchange rate stability and steady flow of credit to the real economy; and that in a sound and stable financial system in Nigeria (CBN, 2009). Within the second quarter of the year, the cash reserve ratio was reduced from 2% to 1% to meet set the policy targets. The cash reserve ratio was stable at 12% from November 2012 to July 2013 for all deposits with an introduction of discriminatory 50% CRR on public sector deposits and retention of 12% for private sector deposits. The CRR for public sector deposits rose to 75% in January 2014, and for private sector deposits maintained at 12% (later increased to 15% in March 2014). These rates remained till November 2014 when there was a marginal increase of CRR on private sector deposits by 500 basis points from 15% to 20%. These rates were stable until mid- 2015.

In mid-2015, the CBN harmonized the cash reserve ratio (CRR) for public and private sector deposits at 31%. The ratio was 20% for private sector deposits and 75% on public sector deposits. With the increase in CRR, bank liquidity still increased by N470 billion in early 2015, increasing credit advancement of DMBs. The change was necessitated by the negative effects of discriminatory CRRs at constraining monetary policy objectives, and its encouragement of abuses by private market participants; and reduces monetary tightening of the economy and avoids economic stress, curb abuse of the discriminatory CRR, improve efficacy of the CRR as a monetary policy instrument and maintain current stability in the banking system. The liquidity ratio was also retained at 30% and monetary policy rate at 13% with a symmetric corridor of +/- 200% around the mid-point with a widening of the band around the mid-point by 200 basis points from +/- 3% to +/- 5% in November 2014 from 12% in 2012/2013.

The liquidity "easing policy" of the CBN in 2009 sustained till 2010 to provide optimum liquidity and restore confidence in the Nigerian financial system with the 1% cash reserve requirement. The lingering effects of the liquidity crunch in the economy from the global financial and economic crises of 2007/2008 and the internal financial and liquidity problems of some deposit money banks (DMB) which reduced lending to the real sector, necessitated the sustenance of the monetary ease policy (CBN, 2010). The apex bank during the year focused its liquidity management policies to improve liquidity in the economy and efficiency of the financial market without compromising its objective of monetary and price stability, using prudential cash management tool of altering the cash reserve ratios for DMBs. Reduced cash reserve requirements made more cash available to customers with income inflows to banks. Variations in foreign exchange management had varied effects on naira to major foreign currencies with positive and negative effects on bank profits.

Findings by Konishi and Yasuda (2004) and Woo (1999) in Japan, Barajas et al (2005) in Latin America, Berger and Udell (1994) and Peek and Rosengren (1995) in the United States, and Pazarbasioglu (1997) in Finland showed that regulations affecting banks' liquidity affect credit availability. The degree of effect of these regulations on credit availability according to Naceur and Kandil (2013) is dependent upon the channel of transmission of the monetary policy and the strength of existing financial system with the strength depending on demand-driven variables' movements caused by the country's monetary policies. They argued that regulations reducing bank cash availability expectedly reduce bank credit, bank income and constrain real investment and slow down real growth which in turn affects negatively the demand bank credit and bank income. This they added necessitates the introduction of monetary policies at managing a country's liquidity to influence economic situations to stimulate credit growth, reinforcing the achieved contribution of effective financial intermediation to economic growth. With the consolidation of banks at the end of 2004 in Nigeria, DMBs had much cash for lending and growing the economy with positive effects on bank profits. The global economic and financial crises required the introduction of varied monetary policies and management strategies, cash variations inclusive to manage the "imported" financial crisis and protect Nigeria financial system.

Repayment of foreign credits obtained by Nigerian banks at a later date with constant deteriorating exchange rates within the study period also negatively affects banks financial performances. Variations in interest rates to achieve monetary and macroeconomic targets within the study period had had mixed effects on banks financial performances in Nigeria. Reductions in the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) rediscount rates led to reduction in lending rates. Funds obtained by deposit money banks (DMBs) at high deposit rates and advanced at lower lending rate occasioned by the decline in the rediscount and lending rates negatively affect bank financial performances. Similarly, increase in CBN rediscount rate with fund deposit rate at the previous rate, generates increased windfall returns to banks.

Tax base expansion to include more bank services increase cost of services to bank clients, reduce volume of client services, bank income and profits. These variations are with positive intensions on the Nigerian economy: reduction in inflation, reflation of the economy when needed, increase in aggregate demand and supply, production capacity utilization of manufacturing firms, disposable income, GDP with varied effects on financial performances of DMBs in Nigeria. How have these macroeconomic volatilities affected financial performances of DMBs in Nigeria?

Objectives/justification for the study

The aim of this study is to assess the volatility in macroeconomic variables and determine the effects of these volatilities on financial performances of DMBs in Nigeria. Varied studies (Agenor and Pereira da Silva, 2011; Young, 2007; Kose et al, 2003; Oviedo, 2003; Buch et al, 2002; Senay, 1998; Sutherland, 1996; Denizer et al, 2002; and Neaime, 2005) determined the effects of monetary policy, openness, financial development, and financial integration on macroeconomic volatility and variables. Literature on the effects of identified volatilities in macroeconomic variables on bank financial performances seems non-existent, making this study necessary.

Research hypothesis

The hypothesis stated below is tested on the assured relationship between identified variables:

H_o: Volatility in macroeconomic variables does not affect financial performance of deposit money banks in Nigeria.

Theoretical framework and review of literature

Theoretical framework

According to St. Clair (2004), theoretical determinants of banks' financial performances stem from two broad sources: micro bank specific factors and the macroeconomic environment with changes in GDP, unemployment, interest rates, exchange rates and level of competition as the major factors. Evidences from the 1994 Mexican financial crisis by Gonzalez-Hermosillo et al (1999) points out those macroeconomic factors determine bank financial performance. Macroeconomic studies (Tahir, 2011 in Pakistan; Vulic, 2010 in Montenegro; Minjina, 2010 in Romania; Pele and Voineagu, 2008, and Vaidyanathan and Gali, 1994 in India) argue that adjustments in macroeconomic variables indicates the policy thrust of a country's central government and potential economic position. Its volatility is caused by changes in the government policy thrust.

Variations in monetary and fiscal variables and policy thrusts target common economic goals and complement each other. Goals of these variations are economic growth, economic diversification, import substitution-led growth, growth in GDP, national income, disposable income, growths in corporate performances etc. These variations affect economic activities which in turn affect corporate performances (deposit money banks inclusive).

Review of literature

Varied results abound in literature on the determinants of macroeconomic volatility and the effects of these volatilities on economic variables and performances. Bremus and Buch (2014) argued that as macroeconomic volatility affects banks, so also the banking structures affect macroeconomic volatility; adding that countries with more risky or more volatile banking systems tend to experience higher macroeconomic volatility in the longer term. Findings by Calderon and Yeyati (2009), Loaya et al (2007) and Pallage and Robe (2003) showed that negative effects of macroeconomic volatility on growth and welfare are more frequent and pronounced in low income countries. Koren and Tenreyro (2013, 2007) and Acemoglu and Zilibotti (1997) added that the level of volatility is amplified by low degree of diversification. According to Prasad et al (2004), macroeconomic volatility increases both absolute and relative measures of poverty transmitted through financial crisis, which itself affect banks' financial performances.

Identifying the effect-path of monetary policies from the supply side of the economy on bank financial performances, Agenor and Pereira da Silva (2011) noted that firms borrow short-term credits to finance working capital requirements prior to sale of outputs; but an increase in the cost of loans for consumption and investment (induced by a contraction in monetary policy) may tend to reduce aggregate demand and inflationary pressures, loan repayment ability of bank clients, increase in bad debts to banks and reduction in bank profits. The effect of higher policy rates on bank risk-taking may depend on each banks capital position. Agenor and Pereira da Silva (2011) argued that banks with low capital base may try to "gamble" by expanding the asset side of their statements of financial position by lending to riskier borrowers; increasing the likelihood of bad debts and decline in bank profits. Furthering, they argued that the highly capitalized banks may diversify their portfolios towards less risky assets (if available) with indeterminate effects on bank profits. Citing the example of several Latin American countries, Wezel (2010) observed that reductions in statement of financial position vulnerabilities and use of macro-prudential instruments help to reduce risk taking in banks, strengthen their financial positions and improve their financial performances. Montoro and Moreno (2011) added that in this region, reserve requirements were used as a countercyclical instrument to smoothen the expansion phase of the cycle and tighten monetary conditions without attracting capital inflows. The reserve requirements, they noted, were lowered during the global financial crisis in order to inject liquidity rapidly in local and foreign currencies and restore financial stability and improve bank profits. Terrier et al (2011) suggested that proper calibration of micro-prudential tools may be potent for macro-prudential purposes and contribute to addressing bank systematic risk. The use of macro-prudential policies may itself limit bank credit availability, lead to higher borrowing costs, and foster financial disintegration, which according to Agenor and Pereira da Silva (2011) may prompt the development of shadow banking and the informal sector, creating financial instability with negative effects on banks financial performances.

Variation of monetary variables according to McKinnon (1973), affect interest rates, credit controls, country's financial development and economic growth; which in turn reduce credit requests from banks and bank profits. Using data covering 1960-1989 of 80 countries, Levine (1997) concluded that development in the financial sector from variation in macroeconomic variables induces economic growth in a country, with positive effects on banks' financial performances; noting that financial developments can be used as a predictor of future rates of economic growth and investment, with positive effects on banks financial performances. To Agenor and Pereira da Silva (2011), financial imbalances are related to excessive credit growth caused by variations of monetary policies or capital inflows. To control interest rates and reduce pressures on the exchange rates, Ariyoshi et al (2000) suggested that capital control is the best tool as it was effectively used in Chile, Columbia, Thailand, Brazil and Malaysia. Furthering, Prasad et al (2004) contended that excessive reliance on fixed interest rate regimes (a macroeconomic variable) has been a major contributory factor to financial crisis in emerging market economies over the past decades, with negative effects on banks financial performances. They noted that flexible exchange rate regimes are likely to alleviate some of the risks countries endure due to financial globalization, with positive effects on bank profits.

The global economic crisis with its immediate and contagious effects, according to Agenor and Pereira da Silva (2011) has led to both a reassessment of financial regulatory systems worldwide, and renewed call for central banks to consider clearly and in a systematic manner, financial stability considerations when setting monetary policies. On the monetary side, they argued that central banks should consider more systematically potential trade-offs between the expected gains of macroeconomic stability and financial stability as they affect banks financial performances. Ngure (2014) concluded from the study of effects of macroeconomic variables on financial performances of banks in Kenya that interest rates have a linear and significant positive effect on banks financial performances. Weller and Zulfigar (2013) contended that macroeconomic volatility tends to lower long-term growth both domestically and abroad, as such volatility cross-border to other to other countries via trade and capital flows; affect poor households, consumption, industrial sales, industrial capacity utilization, production expansion, and demand for bank credit with negative effects on banks financial performances. They argued that creating diverse markets to mitigate the negative effects of macroeconomic volatility may contribute to more volatility. At the macro level, Pallage and Robe (2003) and Hnatkovska and Loaya (2005) observed that volatility in macroeconomic variables tend to have larger output and income effects in poorer countries than developed and rich ones. At the micro level, Harvey (2010) and Khan (2001) argued that volatility in macroeconomic variables impacts lower income households than high income ones. A cross-country comparative analysis of nations' susceptibility to volatility in macroeconomic variables by Perry (2009), Loaya et al (2007), Pallage and Robe (2003), Mendoza (1995), and Ramey and Ramey (1995) showed that developing countries are more affected that developed ones.

Citing the recent global financial crisis, Claessens and van Horen (2012) and Cull and Peria (2012) argued that volatility in economic variables affect demand for credit, interest rates and economic growth, resulting in profit declines in banks; necessitating a "pull out" by banks of their operations to other countries with macroeconomic stability. Weller and Zulfigar (2013) posited that financial development is unambiguously positive for economic growth. This argument supports earlier results by Goldsmith (1969) and McKinnon (1973). A path-analogy of this by King and Levine (1993) reveals that this is feasible through the domestic savings-investment link. To Jalil et al (2008), financial developments and improvements in financial performances of financial institutions increases access to credit markets and growth in GDP, which in turn positively affect the financial performances of the financial institutions. Laker (1999) noted that bank financial performance is associated with GDP growth and changes in interest rate. St. Clair (2004) identified changes in interest and exchange rates, unemployment and aggregate demand as the most important macroeconomic indicators; noting that about two-thirds of changes in bank aggregate financial performances can be explained by changes in the macroeconomic environment. Furthering, Kaufman (1998), Calomiris et al (1997) and Lowe and Rohling (1993) argued that business cycle influences bank financial performance. St. Clair (2004) observed that the relationship between changes in banks profitability and business cycle is not straight forward as both income and expenditure are likely to be pro-cyclical with bank profit dependent on banks expense policy and credit risk profiles.

Research methodology
Population for the study
The existing twenty five DMBs in Nigeria constitute the population for this study and are medium for the transmission of major macroeconomic policies to the Nigerian economy.

Study samples and sampling technique
The twenty five DMBs are sampled for this study using the purposive sampling technique as data on bank profits are aggregate values for all DMBs.

Sources, validity and reliability of research data
Secondary data on macroeconomic variables' values and aggregate profits of DMBs within the study period and annual changes in these values during the period were obtained from the official federal government statistics document: the Statistical Bulletin, 2014. The data are certified data issued by the nation's Bureau of Statistics as official national data, making them authentic, reliable and valid. Data on bank profits obtained from the Statistical Bulletin, 2014 are data compiled from annual reports of DMBs in Nigeria, prepared in compliance with the Companies and Allied Matters Act 1999, the Prudential Guidelines for Banks and other Non-Bank Financial Institutions, the Banking Act as amended and the requirements of the Nigerian Stock Exchange and certified as showing a true and fair view of the transactions and values stating the state of affairs of the bank by external auditors making them valid and reliable.

Data analysis technique and model justification
To analyse the obtained secondary data for this study, we use the GARCH model:

$$X_t = a_0 + \alpha_t y_{t-1} + \mu_i$$

Where, X_t = bank financial performances
a_0 = the intercept
$\alpha_t y_{t-1}$ =beta and value of independent variables for the preceding year end
μ_i = unexplained variations in x not caused by y
to determine the level of volatility in the values of identified macroeconomic variables, and the effect of these volatilities on bank financial performances.

The model determines the value of bank profits X_t in time t. similar studies by Tahir (2011) in Pakistan, Vulic (2010) in Montenegro, Minjina (2010) in Romania, Pele and Voineagu (2008) and Vaidyanathan and Gali (1994) in India on the effects of volatility in macroeconomic variables on corporate financial performances used this model, making its use in this study appropriate.

Data presentation
Data on percentage changes in year-end aggregate bank profits, cash reserves ratio, interest rates, minimum rediscount rates and exchange for the period 2000-2014 for all DMBs are shown on table 1.

Table 1: Aggregate profits of DMBs, cash reserve ratios, interest rates, minimum rediscount rates and exchange rates and annual percentage changes in

Year	Aggregate bank profits (N'm)	%Δ in aggregate bank profits	Average annual interest rate (%)	% Δ in annual interest rate	MRR/ MPC (%)	%Δ in MRR /MPC	Average annual foreign exchange rate (N)	%Δ in annual average foreign exchange rate (%)
2000	58,706.80	-	21.55	-	13.50	-	100.80	-
2001	97,245.0	65.65	21.34	-9.74	14.31	6.00	111.70	10.81
2002	132,513.20	36.27	30.19	41.47	19.00	32.77	126.26	13.03
2003	168,516.20	27.17	22.88	-24.21	15.75	-17.11	134.04	6.16
2004	206,063.10	22.28	20.82	-9.00	15.00	4.76	132.37	-1.25
2005	419,417.20	103.54	19.49	-6.39	13.00	-13.33	130.60	-1.34
2006	872,513.30	108.03	18.70	-4.05	12.25	-5.77	128.28	-1.78
2007	1,560,032.40	78.80	18.36	-1.82	8.75	-28.57	125.83	-1.91
2008	2,577,601.10	65.23	18.70	1.85	9.81	12.11	118.57	-5.77
2009	1,982,326.0	23.09	22.90	22.46	7.44	-24.16	148.90	25.58
2010	179,894.40	-90.93	22.51	-1.70	6.31	-17.61	151.09	1.47
2011	2,266,786.50	1160.05	23.29	3.47	12.00	95.76	155.89	3.18
2012	2,216,786.50	-2.21	24.65	5.84	12.00	0	158.84	1.89
2013	2,395,255.57	8.05	24.90	1.01	12.00	0	159.25	0.26
2014	4,472,200.0	86.71	25.80	3.62	12.25	2.08	158.55	-0.44

Year	%Δ in CRR	Average annual inflate rate	%Δ in average annual	Real GDP (N'M)	%Δ in annual GDP	Liquidity ratio	%Δ in liquidity ratio
2000	-	6.90	-	4,582,127	-	64.1	-
2001	10.2	18.90	173.91	4,725,086	3.12	52.9	-17.47
2002	-1.85	12.90	-31.75	6,912,381.3	-46.30	52.5	0.95
2003	-5.66	14.00	8.53	8,487,031.6	22.78	50.9	-0.03
2004	-1.4	15.0	7.14	11,411,066.9	34.45	50.5	-0.79
2005	12.79	17.80	18.67	14,572,239.10	27.70	50.2	-0.59
2006	-73.20	8.20	-53.93	18,564,594.70	27.40	55.7	11.0
2007	7.69	5.40	-34.15	20,657,317.70	11.27	48.8	-12.37
2008	-17.86	11.60	114.82	24,296,329.30	17.62	44.3	-9.22
2009	-52.17	12.40	6.90	24,712,669.9	1.71	30.7	-30.7
2010	990.91	11.80	-4.84	33,984,754.13	37.52	30.4	-1.0
2011	0	10.30	-12.72	37,409,860.61	10.08	42.0	38.16
2012	0	12.00	16.50	40,544,099.94	8.38	49.7	18.33
2013	158.33	8.0	-33.33	63,218,720	55.93	46.2	-7.04
2014	41.94	6.2	-22.50	67,152,790	6.22	38.3	-17.09

Source: CBN Statistical Bulletin 2014

Data analysis

A GARCH analysis of the data on table 1 with aggregate bank profits (ABP) as the dependent variable; and interest rate (INTR), minimum rediscount rate (MRR)/minimum policy rate (MPR), foreign exchange rate (FXR), cash reserve ratio (CRR), inflation rate (INFR), gross domestic product (GDP) and liquidity ratio (LR) as independent variables, gives the result on table 2.

Table 2: GARCH and regression coefficients

Dependent Variable: ΔA BP				
Method: ML - ARCH (Marquardt) - Normal distribution				
Sample: 2001 2014				
Included observations: 14				
Failure to improve Likelihood after 39 iterations				
Presample variance: backcast (parameter = 0.7)				
GARCH = C(9) + C(10)*RESID(-1)^2 + C(11)*GARCH(-1)				
Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	z-Statistic	Prob.
C	71.86021	56.37247	1.274739	0.2024
ΔINTR	-6.860886	2.910301	-2.357449	0.0184
ΔMRR/MPR	9.414734	1.503457	6.262057	0.0000
ΔFXR	6.383317	5.932978	1.075904	0.2820
ΔCRR	-0.084785	0.302706	-0.280092	0.7794
ΔINFR	-0.923121	0.586847	-1.573019	0.1157
ΔGDP	0.683980	1.967274	0.347679	0.7281
ΔLR	-1.287116	2.659734	-0.483927	0.6284
	Variance Equation			
C	9230.813	18990.24	0.486082	0.6269
RESID(-1)^2	-0.349275	0.598343	-0.583738	0.5594
GARCH(-1)	0.576725	2.236956	0.257817	0.0065
R-squared	0.827329	Mean dependent var		120.8379
Adjusted R-squared	0.625880	S.D. dependent var		303.4920
S.E. of regression	185.6319	Akaike info criterion		13.43486
Sum squared resid	206755.1	Schwarz criterion		13.93697
Log likelihood	-83.04401	Hannan-Quinn criter.		13.38838
Durbin-Watson stat	2.596161			

The resultant ordinary least square equation (OLS):

$$\Delta ABP = 71.86021 - 6.860886\Delta INT + 0.9414734\Delta MRR/MPC + 6.383317\Delta FXR - 0.084785\Delta CRR - 0.923121\Delta INFR + 0.683980\Delta GDP - 1.287116\Delta LR$$ (table 2).

Research results, implications of findings, conclusions and recommendations

GARCH results:

The GARCH coefficient of 0.576725 (table 2), significant at 5% shows that there exists an above average level of volatility in aggregate annual profits of banks in Nigeria caused by volatility in interest rate, minimum rediscount rate/minimum policy rate, foreign exchange rate, cash reserve ratio, inflation rate, GDP and liquidity ratio.

Regression results:

From the GARCH analysis, the resultant ordinary least square equation (OLS):

$$\Delta ABP = 71.86021 - 6.860886\Delta INT + 0.9414734\Delta MRR/MPC + 6.383317\Delta FXR - 0.084785\Delta CRR - 0.923121\Delta INFR + 0.683980\Delta GDP - 1.287116\Delta LR \text{ (table 2)}$$

shows that there exists a significant negative relationship between changes in aggregate bank profits and interest rates with β at -6.80886, and a significant positive relationship between aggregate bank profits and the minimum rediscount rate/monetary policy rate with β at 9.414734. A positive but not significant relationship is seen to exist between aggregate bank profits and foreign exchange rate with β at 6.383317, while negative relationships are seen to exist between aggregate bank profits cash reserve ratio and inflation rate with β values at -0.084785 and -0.923121 respectively. The β coefficient between aggregate bank profits and GDP is positive at 0.683980, and the coefficient between aggregate bank profits and liquidity ratio is negative at -1.287116.

R^2 result:

The R^2 value of the OLS equation is 0.827329 indicating that 82.73% of variations in aggregate bank profits are explained by the OLS model.

Durbin-Watson result:

The Durbin-Watson statistics of 2.596161 shows there exists no autocorrelation in the data set used in the study.

Discussion of research results and implications of findings

The GARCH coefficient of 0.576725 (table 2) is significant at 5% indicating that there exists an above average level of volatility in aggregate bank profits caused by volatility in interest rate, minimum rediscount rate/minimum policy rate, foreign exchange rate, cash reserve ratio, inflation rate, GDP and liquidity ratio. The negative relationship existing between ABP and INTR implies that increase in lending rate reduces customers' demand for credit and bank income. This seems attributable to different lending rates of banks and availability of alternative sources of credit: the non-interest loans from the Islamic Bank. Though the high level of interest rate should have positive effects on total bank income, its negative effect seems a paradox. The positive and significant relationship between ABP and MRR/MPR universally increases lending rate in all banks which increases returns to banks. The positive relationship between FXR and ADP indicates that bank customers opt for credit from Nigerian banks instead of offshore credits in periods of high exchange rate of the naira to the US$ (as witnessed during the study period). This result also implies that banks in Nigeria earn much income from foreign exchange transactions which seem to increase in periods of high foreign exchange rate. This argument gives credence to insinuations of "round tripping" allegations by Nigerian banks in foreign exchange transactions with huge financial returns to the banks. A β value of -0.084785 between ABP and CRR indicates that the more funds held in reserves by banks, the less cash is available for credit advancement with negative effects on bank profits. This negatively affects the country's financial stability. The negative relationship existing between ABP and INFR with β of -0.923121 implies that the higher the level of inflation, the higher will be the lending rate with negative effects on credit demands and bank incomes. The existing positive relationship between ABP and GDP with β at 0.683980 indicates that improved economic activities and growth increases production capacity expansion, demand for credit, savings, cash availability for credit advances and income. The β value of – 1.287116 between ABP and LR shows that high level of liquidity requirements caused by high liquidity ratio reduces the amount of cash available for credit advancement by banks with negative effects on bank profits. This result supports the findings of Claessens and Horen (2012), Cull and Peria (2012), St. Clair (2004) and Laker (1999).

Conclusions and recommendations

From this study, we conclude that there exists volatility in bank profits in Nigeria caused by volatility in interest rate, minimum rediscount rate/minimum policy rate, foreign exchange rate, cash reserve ratio, inflation rate, GDP and liquidity ratio.

To harness positive and negative volatilities in the identified variables to improve bank financial performances and improve financial stability, banks in Nigeria should reduce lending rates to increase customer demand for credit and improve bank financial performance; and maintain a minimal lending rate band around the MRR/MPR to eliminate high lending rate differences which causes declines in aggregate bank profits. The CBN should maintain a fairly high foreign exchange rate to improve bank income, financial stability of banks and the economy; maintain the cash reserve and liquidity ratios at a minimal level to make funds available for credit advancement with positive effects on bank financial performances; reduce the level of inflation in the country with monetary policies to reduce lending rate, increase demand for credit and improve bank financial performances in Nigeria; and implement relevant monetary and fiscal policies to improve economic growth with expected positive effects on production capacity expansion, demand for credit, saving and bank profits.

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Leadership, Governance and Sustained National Development: The Nexus

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Abstract:
This study examines the relationship between leadership, governance and sustained National development in Nigeria. The nature of governance in any given political system is determined by the quality of leadership in power. Nigeria, a nation endowed with natural and human resources still battles with crisis of leadership and governance after fifty-six years of independence. The main objective of the study was to understand (i) the relationship between leadership, governance and sustained national development, (ii) to examine the effect of leadership behavior on good governance, (iii) to identify environmental factors affecting leadership performance on sustained national development, (iv) to investigate the influence of leadership style on sustained national development. The paper discussed the problems affecting national development as well as strategies for achieving sustainable development in Nigeria. The effects of leadership behavior have been measured based on participation which is an aspect of good governance. The study also identified environmental factors which affect leadership performance as politics, lack of resources and shortage of qualified staff. The study recommends that awareness should be created to people on the importance of participating on different development activities from planning to implementation.

Keywords: *Leadership, Governance, Development, Nigeria, National Development.*

Introduction

Nigeria was colonized by the British in the 18th century, but later got its independence in 1960. Prior to that time, Nigeria was noted for its richness in agricultural produce through which she earned its foreign exchange, and built its reserve. In the 19th century, Nigeria was the world's largest exporter of cash crops such as cocoa, groundnuts, palm-oil and food crops like cassava, yams, and sugarcane (Claude, 1996). In the late 60s, petroleum was discovered in Nigeria, coinciding with the military coups and rule. At this time, the military regime hindered economic development in Nigeria by ushering in bribery and corruption, mismanagement, looting of treasury, killing, maiming, and nullification of elections (Shobola & Nicholas-Omoregbe, 2012).

The socio-economic and political development of any country depends largely on the ability of its leadership to facilitate, entrench and sustain good governance. Importantly, good governance is a manifestation of committed, patriotic and discipline leadership. Nigeria has existed for over fifty-one years with little or no record of socio-economic development. This ugly trend is not unconnected with poor leadership. It is logically unbelievable and appalling that despite the long years of independence, Nigeria the so called "giant" of Africa is still battling with the problem of good governance. The crop of leaders that have attained leadership position since independence had in one way or the other lacked vision, most of them have been engrossed with corruption and political bickering leading to the enthronement of maladministration and mismanagement of public resources, and consequently economic setback and abject poverty as nation heritage.

Nigeria is a nation blessed with abundant human and natural resources. According to figures and information from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Nigeria's population is currently projected at over 163 million people based on the 2006 census of 140.3 million. It is currently the tenth largest producer of crude oil in the world based on 2011 estimates. Yet, 69 per cent or 112.5 million of her citizens live in relative poverty, while 60.9 per cent or 99.3 million live in absolute poverty, and 61.2 percent live on less than a dollar a day (National Bureau of Statistics, 2012). Furthermore, social scientists and opinion holders conceive of democracy as the platform for development of nations, Nigeria has had 13 years of democracy from 1999 to date yet development within the frame of analysis of social sciences, has continued to elude her. What could be responsible? What have been the roles of successive governments or leadership in the development of the country? Is Nigeria a case of leadership failure or is it the citizens that have failed themselves? This article attempts to seek answers to these questions, and would ostensibly be considering the concept of leadership and its appraisal within the context of development issues in Nigeria from 1960 to date.

One of the major challenges facing Nigeria and other developing areas of the world is how to create a context of stable political and socio-economic environment for policies and programmes to be implemented. The issue of getting the right leadership to fight corruption and propel good governance has been a recurring decimal in Nigeria and Africa in general. Once this enabling environment is created, it becomes easy for the people to confront and resolve challenges facing them by using resources within their environment to create a condition of life where each stage is progressively better than the preceding one. However, this is not the case in Nigeria due to corruption and bad governance. Good governance encapsulates transparency, accountability, freedom of choice and liberty for the people to pursue their individual and corporate interest. Indeed, at the core of Africa's underdeveloped status are corruption and leadership deficit.

Leadership and good governance are crucial to realizing any giant stride taken in pursuit of development anywhere in the world, Nigeria is not an exception. The reverberation effects of the failure of leadership, corruption and bad governance are visible and being felt across all sectors and segment of the Nigerian society. Unemployment and employment for cash, insecurity, crude oil thefts, crisis in education, dearth of infrastructures such as health services, transportation, accommodation, communication, medication etc are all common features in Nigeria. It is an irony that of all oil producing nations, Nigeria is the only country with the history of crude oil thefts. Michels (in Olayiwola, 2013) posits that an examination of Nigeria's socio-economic and political history reveals that many of its leaders over the years have been using the "iron law of oligarchy" which explains the triumph of the leaders' ambitions for office over the membership's revolutionary goals. It is therefore; against this background that this paper discusses the meaning of leadership, governance sustained national development. The rest of the paper is arranged into literature review, followed by conclusions and recommendations

Literature Review

Leadership

The leadership concept is getting more complex and contentious. There are no agreements about who and what a leader is, what constitutes good leadership, the qualities of a good leader, whether leaders are born or made, whether great men cause great times or great times cause great men or even the apparently simple matter of how to study leadership! Manning and Curtis [2003: 3] see leaders as teachers, heroes, and rulers while Kellerman (2001: 15) posits that they may be pragmatists, heroes, father-figures, tyrants, organizers, peoples-servants, or liberators. But to Kretch et al [1962: 428], they are executives, planners, policy makers, external representatives, controllers of internal relations, purveyors of rewards and punishments; arbitrators/mediators, exemplars, symbols of the group, substitutes for individual responsibility, ideologists, father-figures and scapegoats.

Leadership has become especially topical in recent years as Nigeria and indeed the world cries out for better and more purposeful and effective leadership, in business, in government and in public life. (Ajumogobia, 2011) Social scientists are not exactly agreed on the definition of leadership, though there is a heightened interest in the concept of leadership. Leadership, it seems, is increasingly becoming the panacea of the 21st Century. It is argued that in this changing, global environment, leadership holds the key not only to the success of individuals and organizations, but also to sectors, regions and nations. Yet, there is no widely accepted definition of leadership (Bolden, 2001). One of the most popular attempts at defining leadership is by one time American President Dwight Eisenhower, who defined leadership as the act of getting someone else to do something you want done because he wants to do it (Dickson, 2008). But Weinberg defines leadership as the ability to adapt the setting so everyone feels empowered to contribute creatively to solving the problems (Weinberg, 1986).

According to Weinberg (1986), leadership is ability. This implies that a leader has a capacity to do something through talent and skill. He says further that leadership is adaptive, meaning that the leader makes adjustments. According to him, a leader who fails to adjust to the territory will lose their way. And then, leadership acts on a setting, meaning a leader adjusts the state of the surroundings and people. A leader carefully observes those states and discerns significance looking for how to adapt the setting most effectively. Also, leadership empowers, meaning a leader inspires confidence and self-esteem. And that inspiration comes in many flavors.

Some leaders inspire by bold talk; others by soft talk; and still others by their examples.

Leadership acts on people's feelings, meaning a leader finds ways to link to people's instinct or intuition. Leaders help everyone feel empowered. Leadership creates contribution, which means every member is motivated to give something. And finally, Leadership is about solving the problems, which means closing the gap between things as desired and things as perceived. Closely on the heels of the above, we add that leadership is the ability to influence people to willingly and enthusiastically make their contributions to the achievement cum attainment of group or national objectives. To us, leadership is not only ability, art, affluence or influence, it is a process where ardent methodology is involved, which of course differs from one leader to the other. This, to us, is due to individual idiosyncrasy since no two individuals are alike. In line with our musings above, Ekong (2010) notes that leadership is a process whereby an individual directs, guides, influences or controls the thoughts, feelings or behaviors of other human beings.

Governance

Governance, a concept that is greatly debated, is now inviting greater attention within and amongst countries and as the number of democratic administrations is continuously increasing, good governance has evidently become a key standard to judge a nation's credibility as well as respect on international scales (Iyoha, et al 2015) (ALLTHE AUTHORS NAME SHOULD BE MENTIONED). Governance refers to several ways by which social life is coordinated. It is a process of social engagement between the rulers and the ruled in the society which implies that governance is predicated on the relationship between the ruling class and the ruled class in the society (Iyoha, et al 2015; Nyewusira 2007). Governance can be referred to as the traditions as well as institutions that define how authority is exercised in a given country (Kaufmann, Kraay & Zoido 2000). Salman (2009) asserts that Governance entails the procedure through which governments are selected, monitored , held accountable, and replaced; it is government's ability to judiciously manage resources well and formulate, implement as well as enforce good policies and regulations; and the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interaction between them (Salman 2009).

According to Kolade (2012), Governance involves participation by both the governor and the governed (i.e. the leader and the follower). He asserted that in order to get the expected governance in Nigeria, there is the need to provide, leadership education that highlights service delivery, quality and accountability; severely curtail the excesses of position holders, encourage the culture whereby position holders vacate office when being investigated for wrong doing; and openly celebrate leaders that excel or perform well. Recently, good governance has been an important subject in economic development discourse because of its connection to information dissemination which, could improve resource allocation, enhance efficiency and increase the prospects of economic growth provided it is made available on time and without being distorted.

Sustainable National Development

National, according to Longman dictionary of contemporary English, refers to a phenomenon that embraces a whole nation. National development therefore can be described as the overall development or a collective socio-economic, political as well as religious advancement of a country or nation. This is best achieved through development planning, which can be described as the country's collection of strategies mapped out by the government. Development generally has to do with dynamics; positive development connotes progressive changes in everyday usage of the term.

Sustainable development could be regarded as a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investment, the orientation of technological development and institutional change are all in harmony and enhance both current and future potentials to meet human needs and aspiration. In this respect, satisfying human aspirations and needs is the major objective of development while sustainable development is development which meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs

Impediments to National Development Consequent on Poor Governance and Leadership

Olomola (1996) describes development as the advancement made through progressive and qualitative alterations in social, economic, cultural, technological as well as political conditions of a society, leading to an enhancement in the welfare of citizens. There are diverse impediments to national development with particular reference to Nigeria.

Lack of good governance is a major impediment to national development. The quality of governance is the major determinant of a country"s economic development. Good governance is partly characterized by creation of employment, security of life and properties. Security of lives and properties is fundamental to good governance. Good governance is thus an ingredient that provides a conducive environment for foreign investors which can promote economic growth and development (Bello & Lamidi 2009).

The most topical issue in the governance of contemporary Nigerian nation is probably accountability and transparency in the handling of public funds. Accountability is a central part of governance which is characterized by foreseeable, open and enlightened policy making (i.e. transparent process). Transparency is another vital aspect of good governance. Transparency and accountability go hand in hand. Transparent decision making is crucial for public sector in making sound decisions for better performance (Afolabi 2004). Kolade (2012) asserted that the abuse of authority, and privilege of office; the absence of culture of accountability; and the inadequacies of stakeholder"s dynamism could all hinder true/good governance. Another huge hindrance to national development is corruption such as greed among the political leaders largely characterized by embezzlement and misappropriation of public funds, cheating, bribery, forgery, impersonation, rigging, hoarding of voters cards, multiple voters" registration, etc. which has constituted a huge impediment to development in Nigeria (Dagaci 2009).

Corruption is one of the greatest threats to good governance today (Iyoha, et al 2015). It is a social problem which hampers development and robs people of the chances for any significant economic as well as social advancement (Okeyim, Ejue, & Ekanem, 2013).Corruption slows down economic growth and investment. Economic growth and development in Nigeria for over twenty years has been soiled with misappropriation and embezzlement of funds even with the return of democracy, turning the country's economy into an underdeveloped nation with least position in international ratings (Abullahi 2009).The Corruption Perception Index (2013) published by Transparency International shows that Nigeria occupies the 144th position in the world. This plunged downward further from the 137th out of 177 countries surveyed in 2012. However, Nigeria was ranked as the 136th most corrupt country in the world in 2014 bettering the position of 2013 by eight places.

Public policy in Nigeria is focused on the, affluent few "and only pays lip service to the „afflicted majority". The quick transfer of public wealth to the ruling elites and their allies under the pretense of privatization, the allocation of 25% of the recurrent expenditure of the Federal Government to just 469 members of the National Assembly attest to this fact (Ibeanu, 2008).Corruption is wasteful because of the manpower used in monitoring and investigating corruption (Dike 2010).Corruption lessens the ability of the state to carry out its statutory obligations of providing social services such as healthcare, education, good transportation system, water, etc. Once these services are not provided, the consequence would be underdevelopment. Also, corruption has the capability to hamper investments, slow down social, economic, and political development, as well as endanger democratic values and increases distrust among citizen as well as investors. The likelihoods of instability in society are also increased since corrupt political leaders are usually under incessant fear of being overthrown or removed (Okeyim, et al 2013).

Corruption is a scourge that is rapidly eating up our national entrails, subverted our national dreams and stunted our growth (Dagaci 2009). Misappropriation and embezzlement is a type of behavior demonstrated by a public servant whether elected or appointed which includes a deviation from his or her formal duties because of personal gains to himself or herself or to other private persons with whom the public servant is connected (Abdullahi 2009). The effect of corrupt practices by the leaders is the erosion of accountability and transparency and a reduction in the quality of governance (Oshodi 2009, citing Ogwu 2002). The most topical issue in the governance of contemporary Nigerian nation is probably that of transparency and accountability (Afolabi 2004). Governance in Nigeria as correctly observed is about creating affluence for a few and not about eradicating affliction for the many (Ibeanu 2008). That is why it has been argued that the bane of Nigeria's development is that crucial institutions of government are administered by a ruling class that lacks governance capability and contract management culture (Nyewusira 2007).

Poverty is another impediment to national development. Nigeria is still ranked amongst the poorest nations in the world (Agu 2013). Jhingan (2001) views poverty as hunger, lack of shelter, not being able to speak out, lack of job, fear of the future, loss of a child to illness (probably caused by unclean water or inability to pay medical bills), lack of representation and freedom, powerlessness, and probably inability to generally pay hospital bills. In spite of the presence of abundant human as well as material resources, many Nigerians are still poor. It is apparent that the wealth of any nation is dependent on efficient government, reasons being that it is the government that helps to maintain the social contract that binds members of the country or state together (Ejuvbekpokpo 2012). Poverty is an outcome of corrupt practices by the leaders; this is corroborated by Bello & Lamidi (2009) who said that corruption is a social problem that creates a foundation for the existence of poverty because the resources meant for development in the country are being diverted to private uses.

The African Peer Review Mechanism Team during their visit corroborated the fact that political or economic corruption increases poverty in Nigeria (Akpe 2008). The income of many citizens is so meager such that it could hardly cater for their basic or philosophical needs as propounded by Abraham Maslow in his Needs hierarchy. Inflation which is prevalent in Nigeria brings about poverty. The aftermath of poverty is social vices such as stealing, armed robbery, abduction, etc. Poverty has torn the moral fabric of the society and it now threatens the existence of the country with violent eruptions and conflicts among different groups.

Violence and crime is an impediment to national development. Violent crimes like armed robbery, murder, kidnapping, abduction, terrorism are the greatest inhumane crimes that plague Nigeria (Iyoha, et al 2015). Recently, kidnappings for money as well as terrorism have taken over culminating in bloodshed and economic set-backs (Ajaegbu 2012). Socio-economic inequalities as well as the lack of opportunities for social advancement and employment are certain causes of crime and violence (UN-Habitat, 2008).Violence can also be explained by joblessness and intense competition over scarce resources and services in the society (Bello & Lamidi 2009). The Boko Haram insurgency poses a great threat to national development. Boko Haram insurgency has led to heavy loss of human lives and property and it has also displaced 33, 169 persons between 2013 and 2014 (Soyinka 2014). Furthermore, paradoxically, Nigeria as a country which reports strong economic indices such as strong real GDP growth of average 6.5 percent in the past decade still has unemployment rate that is rising annually from 11.9 percent in 2005 to 19.7 percent in 2009, and over 37 percent in 2013 (Aganga2010; Ogunmade 2013; Asaju, Arome & Anyio 2014).

Leadership and Governance: A Conceptual Analysis

The World Bank defined good governance in a more robust manner when it averred that, "it is the means of exercising power in the management of a nation's economic and social resources for sustainable development" (World Bank, 1992). Potter (2000) calls good governance "sound development management" that is the totality of public sector management; accountability; legal framework for development (reforms); information and technology; the acceptance of government by the people; the capacity of governments to initiate appropriate policies, make far-reaching decision; implement them effectively for service delivery. Good governance can also be linked to the extent which a government is perceived and accepted as legitimate, committed to improving the public welfare and responsive to the needs of its citizens, competent to assure law and order, and deliver public services, able to create an enabling public environment for productive activities and equitable in its conduct.
Adamolekun (2002) simply views governance as the process of exercising political power to manage the affairs of a nation. He listed the main elements of governance as; rule of law, freedom of speech and association, free and fair election, accountability, probity and transparency and result oriented leadership. Governance means initiating, directing and managing public resources, organizing people, directing subordinates to put in their best to achieve good result in a given assignments. It is about ensuring that things are done accordingly, accountability is maintained through the instruments of governance. In the realm of public affairs, governance is seen as the range of policies public officials make and means they employ to manage the affairs of society (Ukaegbu, 2010). The need for good governance has been emphasized as an ingredient of progress. It is essentially necessary in Nigeria. This is because of its ability to propel positive changes. A leader can be described as anybody that can influence others to perform beyond their formal authority. Leadership emerge because every society is organized. The masses cannot lead. There is a need to have a few people who will lead (Ujo, 2001). Leadership is both the adhesive that binds a work group together and the catalyst that triggers employee motivation, thereby having major influence on organization performance.

Omolayo (2005) describes leadership as an essential oil that keeps the wheel of government working without any difficulty. According to him, leadership makes the difference between success and failure in a country. It involves giving direction to citizens who are the critical assets of the nation. Leadership is a reflection of characters, which include but not limited to knowledge, vision, courage, openness accountability, determination, transparency, uprightness, motivation and patriotism put in place by office holders to lead their people and or followers so as to achieve reasonable and positive societal development. Profound changes need committed leadership exemplified in transformational policies and actions (Ukaegbu, 2010). Transformational leadership has core values of goals, visions, and the means to unite with followers to ensuring that such goals are achieved. He also takes the responsibility of ensuring that people are mobilized to participate in the process of change, and encourages a sense of collective action. Essentially, transformation leadership is the type that strives to make leaders out of the available followers. Such generated leaders are dispersed across sectors of economy to ensure that the mission and visions of progress created at different centres of power are executed based on the needs of citizens and that the later actively involved in goal implementation. With this, the transformational leader takes people beyond pre-occupation with basic needs and scraping by, as it is today in most parts of the country, and sets the pace for individual and national self-actualization.

Assessment of Leadership and Governance in Nigeria in the Last Fifty Six (56) Years

According to World Bank study of sub Sahara Africa (SSA), "The problem of Africa's Development is a crisis of governance; the study affirmed that because of the selfish interest of some state officials, who have served in one capacity or the other and have deliberately refused to give account of their activities while in office. Such an office becomes personalized and politicised, thus paving ways for unnecessary patronage, which consequently undermine the authority of the leadership. It thus becomes difficult for a sustainable and dynamic economy to grow in such environment (World Bank, 1989).

Basically, fifty-six year independence is worth celebrating. But there is absolutely nothing to show for this fifty-six years of existence. Nigeria of today cannot compete favourably with its counterparts in the march to sustainable national development, especially in the areas of quality of life, infrastructural facilities, basic needs of life and technological development. This development problem was traced to inadequate and qualified personnel, lack of enough fund and low technology to drive the vehicle of development immediately after independence. But this is fifty-one years after independence now, why is Nigeria still lagging behind? Should we still continue to hinge our underdevelopment on personnel and finance problem? Of course, No. The major constraint to Nigeria's development is lack of transformational leadership. According to Onigbude (2007) "regrettably poor leadership performance has remained with us despite years of complaints and grumbling. We have acquiesced in our own progressive destruction by submitting ourselves to the leadership of political misfits". It is surprising that the so much expected dividends of democracy eluded the mass of the people, while the leadership has remained unaccountable to them.

According to Odekunle (2007) most of the problems Nigeria is facing today particularly, in term of development are caused by the sharp practices of our past and present leaders. In terms of accountability, transparency and service delivery, despite the abundance of human and natural resources that make the country the toast of many nations, our leaders have not been at their best as people's expectations of a better hope and opportunities have long be dashed, with governance ingredients still at its elusive stage to Nigerians. The leadership problem that has confronted Nigeria since independence is making the polity deteriorating. Few of the leaders if any, work for the development of the country more often than not, their policies are hastily put together and poorly executed.

As a matter of fact, going by all the development parameters and performance indices, Nigerian leaders have failed, economically, Macroeconomic stability, fiscal discipline, economic reforms, due process and relatively low inflation rates that the state could claim to have achieved sit alongside weak business confidence, low growth, massive unemployment, and rising inequality between the rich and the poor. Nigerians per capita GDP is nothing to reckon with, poverty is widespread and about 54 percent of the population is living on less than One US dollar Per Day. Nigeria ranks low on Human Development indices (HDI), ranked by the United Nations in 2007 as 157th out of 177 countries, down from 148th out of a total of 173 in 2003. The country's human development index of 0.453 in 2005 was lower than the average index for sub-Saharan Africa (0.515) and thereafter was rated as 13th least viable countries of the World. While corruption, which every government has always promised to eradicate at its inauguration continued unabated (Azeez, 2010). The British Prime Minister, David Cameroon stated that Nigeria is fantastically corrupt. The current republics are a semblance of the previous republics in terms of leadership and governance. It becomes difficult for one to distinguish military leadership from civilian leadership in Nigeria. Though, Nigeria has been ruled by the military for a longer period since independence than by civilians. But yet, there is no evidence of leadership performance to differentiate civilian leaders from military rulers.

Leadership, Governance and Sustained National Development: The Nexus

The various studies by the World Bank (especially in the last seven years) and the work of many independent scholars emphatically conclude that good governance is a major determinant of economic progress. For Sub-Saharan Africa, Ndulu and O'Connell (1999) suggest that a major explanation for Africa's growth shortfall lies in the political economy literature. Governance models practiced in much of Africa are seen as the key explanatory variable for Africa's underdevelopment. In cross-country studies, Kaufmann and Kraay (2003) find that per capita incomes and the quality of governance are strongly positively correlated across countries. They however find two interesting results. First, there is a strong positive causal effect running from better governance to higher per capita incomes; and second, a weak and even negative causal effect running in the opposite direction from per capita incomes to governance. According to the authors, the first result confirms existing evidence on the importance of good governance for economic development. The second result is new and suggests the absence of 'virtuous circles' in which higher incomes lead to further improvements in governance. Put in a simple language: the second result shows that bad governance is possible even in rich societies or that higher per capita income is not a guarantee for good governance.

Jones and Olken (2005: 26) find that countries experience persistent changes in growth rates across these leadership transitions, suggesting that leaders have a large causative influence on the economic outcomes of their nations. The paper further shows that the effects of leaders are very strong in autocratic settings but much less so in the presence of democratic institutions. These results add texture to a growing literature on institutions in shaping economic outcomes.

There is no gainsaying the fact that the quest for leadership is an undeniable fact in human history, especially in matters relating to the management of both human and material resources. Therefore, it should be noted that the success or otherwise of any country depends on the effectiveness or otherwise of its leaders. This shows that leadership is of essence in any human setup and it is tantamount to a stable polity and development. Therefore it is our belief that democracy has a role to play in helping to salvage Africa from the nagging problem of leadership. The quality of leadership in Africa leaves much to be desired. There is very urgent need now for able, true and efficient leadership. Such leadership must be in the hands of qualified, competent, enlightened and honest persons for the overall development of Africa. That search may not end until we get principled followership and principled leadership resulting into principled governance of Africa.

It is reasonable that those vying for elective positions should be carefully and strictly screened to ensure that credible candidates are elected into various offices. It is also important that every appointment into sensitive and strategic position must be based on merit. Merit rather favouritism or nepotism should be allowed to determine who occupies any position of authority and responsibility within the polity. This will ensure the appointment of credible, competent and qualified citizen as leaders, and consequently enhance the quality of governance. In addition to this, the electoral process should give people opportunity to interact with all contestants from different political parties to enable the people screen candidates based on their mission and vision for the people. This will allow for a good choice among the candidates by the people. Unlike the present situation in Nigeria, where candidates are super imposed on the citizen by their political parties or political godfathers.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Leadership and governance is fundamental if sustainable national development and progress is to be attained in any country. Leadership commitment and good governance is fundamental to the survival and progress of any nation including Nigeria. And it is the responsibility of all to ensure and demand for good leadership and effective governance. Nigeria needs a leader who is incorruptible with integrity, focus, commitment, determination, selflessness, discipline, and enterprising personality in order to attain all round development.

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Impact of Public Bureaucracy on Development in Edo State: A Study of Selected Ministries/Establishments

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Abstract
The study assessed the impact of public bureaucracy on development in Edo State using selected ministries/establishments. Staff used in this study was randomly selected from each of the seven sampled ministries/establishments from Edo State. The study involved 1000 members of staff of given ministries/establishments. A questionnaire on the impact of public bureaucracy on development was used for data collection. The data collected were analysed using the chi-square statistical tool. Findings revealed the following: for hypothesis one, there was a significant relationship between the structural arrangement of Edo State public bureaucracy and its developmental capacity at calculated x^2 of 46.962 while the critical x^2 was 10.84 at 1% sampling error. With respect to hypothesis two, there was a significant relationship between administrative idiosyncratic attitudes of Edo State bureaucrats and developmental capacity at calculated x^2 of 57.5706 while the critical x^2 was 10.84 at 1% sampling error. For hypothesis three, there was a significant relationship between the political terrain in which Edo State bureaucrats operate and development at calculated x^2 of 2.7378 while critical x^2 was 2.72 at 1% sampling error. The fourth hypothesis revealed that there was a significant relationship between economic environment and promotion of development at calculated x^2 of 14.706 while the critical x^2 was10.85 at 1% sampling error. On the basis of these findings, it is recommended that government should improve on policies guiding the impact of public bureaucracy on development and also on capacity building.

Keywords: *Impact, Public Bureaucracy, Development, Ministries, Establishments*

Introduction

In an attempt to bring about socio-economic development in Nigeria, the Federal Government spotlighted public bureaucracy as the engine of change. The role of public bureaucracy is heavily relied upon in the planning and execution of developmental efforts. The administrative reforms embarked upon by Nigeria and most African states since the 1960s show the desire of the ruling regimes to make their public bureaucracy development-oriented. In these countries, according to Adamolekun (1976), a development-oriented bureaucracy is one considered to be capable of bearing the major responsibility for promoting economic and social change.

The fundamental relevance of public bureaucracy in the general transformation and development of the society cannot be downplayed. Public bureaucracy is that organ and machinery of government that statutorily and gives expression to the decisions and efforts of political leaders in all spheres of government. According to Anise (1984: 13), political leaders make policies while public bureaucracy executes them. If the bureaucracy lacks the capacity to implement the policies of the political leadership, those policies, however, well- intentioned, will not be effectively implemented.

Public bureaucracy is a veritable instrument of socio-economic and political development. Bureaucratic capacity determines what should be done, when it should be done and how well it should be done. The greater the capacity of public bureaucracy to implement complex economic and social development plans, the higher the development potential of that society. Consequently, therefore, public bureaucracy plays a critical role in all areas of the development process in Edo State of Nigeria. In this light, it becomes a major concern for both the Edo State government and the federal government to identify and recognise those factors that constrain public bureaucracy in its developmental responsibility to the society. Consequently, this study investigates the impact of public bureaucracy on development in Edo State, using seven selected ministries/establishments.

Methodology

The following are the hypotheses on which the study was based.

1. There is a relationship between the structural arrangement in Edo State's public bureaucracy and its development capacity.
2. There is a relationship between administrative idiosyncratic attitudes of Edo State bureaucrats and developmental efforts.
3. There is a relationship between the political terrain in which Edo State's public bureaucracy operates and its developmental capacity.
4. There is a relationship between the economic environment in which Edo State public bureaucracy operates and the promotion of development.

Sources of data/Study population/Sampling

The main source of data for this study was the primary data which was sourced through a questionnaire. The population consisted of all public bureaucrats in Edo State. Simple random sampling technique was used to select the seven ministries/establishments and 1120 public bureaucrats that constituted the sample for the study. On return rate, 1000 questionnaires were completed and returned. This indicates that the rate of response was about 89.28%, which is quite adequate for this kind of research.

Table 1: Questionnaire Disribution

s/n	Ministries/ Establishments	Questionnaire Distributed	Questionnaire Returned	%
1	Governor's Office including Deputy Governor's Office, Secretary to State Government, Head of Service etc	160	155	15.5
2	Ministry of Education	160	150	15
3	Ministry of Health	160	150	15
4	Ministry of Energy and Water Resources	160	140	14
5	Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources	160	130	13
6	Ministry of Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs	160	140	14
7	Ministry of Finance, Budget & Economic Development	160	135	13.5
	Total	1120	1000	100

Source: Compiled by the Researcher

Instrument

The major instrument for the study was the questionnaire. The questionnaire was used because it helps to provide quick data for studies which largely depend on opinions and perceptions of the respondent. The questionnaire items were formulated after an exhaustive review of the relevant literature.

The questionnaire, designed to elicit information on the impact of public bureaucracy on development in Edo State, was subdivided into two parts. Section A contains questions which seek information on demographic data of the respondents while Section B consists of relevant information on some of the causes of the problem of development and its impact on Edo State. Frequency counts and percentages were used to analyse the data collected. The data presented were analysed to test the hypotheses postulated.

Validity of Instrument

The instrument (questionnaire) was duly validated and administered in the seven ministries/ establishments sampled.

HR[1]: There is a relationship between structural arrangement of Edo State public bureaucracy and developmental capacity.

Table 2: Responses on the relationship between the structural arrangement of public bureaucracy and developmental capacity in Edo State

s/n	Responses	Male	Female	Total Frequency	Percentage
1	Yes	705(a)	125(b)	830	83
2	No	106(c)	64(d)	170	17
	Total	811	189	1000	100

Source: Compiled by the researcher

Table 2 shows that 830 (83%) respondents agreed with the hypothesis while 170 (17%) of the respondents, disagreed.

Calculation of expected frequency:

$$\text{Cell a} = \frac{(a+b)\,(a+c)}{n} = \frac{(705+125)\,(705+106)}{1000}$$

$$= \frac{(830)\,(811)}{1000} = \frac{673130}{1000} = 673.13$$

$$\text{Cell b} = \frac{(b+a)\,(b+d)}{n} = \frac{(125+705)\,(125+64)}{1000}$$

$$= \frac{(830)\,(189)}{1000} = \frac{156870}{1000} = 156.87$$

$$\text{Cell c} = \frac{(c+d)\,(c+a)}{n} = \frac{(106+64)\,(106+705)}{1000}$$

$$= \frac{(170)\,(811)}{1000} = \frac{137870}{1000} = 137.87$$

$$\text{Cell d} = \frac{(d+c)\,(d+b)}{n} = \frac{(64+106)\,(64+125)}{1000}$$

$$= \frac{(170)\,(189)}{1000} = \frac{32130}{1000} = 32.13$$

Computation of x^2

Cell	Fo	Fe	Fo-Fe	$(Fo-Fe)^2$	$(Fo-Fe)^2/Fe$
A	705	673.13	31.87	1015.69	1.5089
B	125	156.87	-31.87	1015.69	6.474
C	106	137.87	-31.87	1015.69	7.367
D	64	32.13	-31.87	1015.69	31.6121

Calculated x^2 = 46.962
Degree of Freedom df = (r-1) (c-1) = (2-1) (2-1) = 1

Research Decision

Calculated x^2 = 46.962
Critical x^2 = 10.84
Alpha a = .001
Calculated x^2 is greater than critical x^2 at 1% sampling error.
There is, therefore, a relationship between structural arrangement of public bureaucracy and development capacity in Edo State

Research Result/Interpretation

There is a significant relationship between the structural arrangement of public bureaucracy and development capacity in Edo State.

HR^2: There is a relationship between administrative idiosyncratic attitudes of Edo State bureaucrats and developmental efforts.

Table 3: Responses on the relationship between the administrative idiosyncratic attitudes of Edo state bureaucrats and its developmental efforts

s/n	Responses	Male	Female	Total Frequency	Percentage
1	Yes	620(a)	130(b)	750	75
2	No	150(c)	100(d)	250	25
Total		770	230	1000	100

Source: Compiled by the researcher

Table 3 reveals that 750(75%) of the respondents agreed with hypothesis 2 while 250(25%) of the respondents disagreed.

Calculation of expected frequency

$$\text{Cell a} = \frac{(a+b)\,(a+c)}{n} = \frac{(620+130)\,(620+150)}{1000}$$

$$= \frac{(750)\,(770)}{1000} = \frac{577500}{1000} = 577.5$$

$$\text{Cell b} = \frac{(b+c)\,(b+d)}{n} = \frac{(130+620)\,(130+100)}{1000}$$

$$= \frac{(750)\,(230)}{1000} = \frac{172500}{1000} = 172.5$$

$$\text{Cell c} = \frac{(c+d)\,(c+a)}{n} = \frac{(150+100)\,(150+620)}{1000}$$

$$= \frac{(250)\,(770)}{1000} = \frac{192500}{1000} = 192.5$$

$$\text{Cell d} = \frac{(d+c)\,(d+b)}{n} = \frac{(100+150)\,(100+130)}{1000}$$

$$= \frac{(250)\,(230)}{1000} = \frac{57500}{1000} = 57.5$$

Computation of x^2

Cell	Fo	Fe	Fo-Fe	$(Fo-Fe)^2$	$(Fo-Fe)^2/Fe$
A	620	577.5	+42.5	3844	6.8888
B	130	172.5	-42.5	1849	10.6879
C	150	192.5	-42.5	1849	9.5802
D	100	57.5	+42.3	1764	30.4137

Calculated x^2 = 57.5706
Degree of Freedom df = (r-1) (c-1) = (2-1) (2-1) = 1

Research Decision

Calculated x^2 = 57.5706
Critical x^2 = 10.84
Alpha a = .01
Calculated x^2 is greater than critical x^2 at 1% sampling error.
There is, therefore, a relationship between administrative idiosyncratic attitudes of bureaucrats and developmental efforts in Edo state.

Research Result/Interpretation

There is a large relationship between idiosyncratic attitudes of Edo State bureaucrats and developmental efforts.

H^3_R: There is a relationship between the political terrain in which Edo State public bureaucracy operates and its developmental capacity.

Table 4: Responses on the relationship between the political terrain in which Edo state public bureaucracy operates and its developmental capacity

s/n	Responses	Male	Female	Total Frequency	Percentage
1	Yes	494(a)	245(b)	739	73.9
2	No	158(c)	103(d)	261	26.1
Total		652	348	1000	100

Source: Compiled by the researcher

Table 4 reveals that 739(73.9%) agreed with the hypothesis while 261(26.1%) of the respondents, disagreed.

Calculation of expected frequency

Cell a = $\frac{(a+b)\,(a+c)}{n} = \frac{(494+245)\,(494+158)}{1000}$

$= \frac{(739)\,(652)}{1000} = \frac{481828}{1000} = 481.828$

Cell b = $\frac{(b+a)\,(b+d)}{n} = \frac{(245+494)\,(245+103)}{1000}$

$= \frac{(739)\,(348)}{1000} = \frac{257172}{1000} = 257.172$

Cell c = $\frac{(c+d)\,(c+a)}{n} = \frac{(158+103)\,(158+494)}{1000}$

$= \frac{(261)\,(652)}{1000} = \frac{170172}{1000} = 170.172$

Cell d = $\frac{(d+c)\,(d+b)}{n} = \frac{(103+158)\,(103+245)}{1000}$

$= \frac{(261)\,(348)}{1000} = \frac{90828}{1000} = 90.828$

Computation of x^2

Cell	Fo	Fe	Fo-Fe	$(Fo-Fe)^2$	$(Fo-Fe)^2/Fe$
A	494	481.82	+12.18	148.35	0.3078
B	245	257.17	-12.17	148.01	0.5759
C	158	170.17	-12.17	148.01	0.2207
D	103	90.82	+12.18	148.35	1.6337

Calculated x^2 = 57.5706

Degree of Freedom df = (r-1) (c-1) = (2-1) (2-1) = 1

Research Decision

Calculated x^2 = 2.7378

Critical x^2 = 2.72

Alpha a = .10

Calculated x^2 is greater than critical x^2 at 1% sampling error. There is a relationship between political terrains in which Edo state public bureaucracy operates and its developmental capacity.

Research Result/Interpretation

There is a relationship between the political terrain in which Edo State public bureaucracy operates and its developmental capacity.

HR[4]: There is a relationship between the economic environment in which the Edo State public bureaucracy operates and the promotion of development.

Table 5: Responses on the relationship between the economic environment in which the Edo state public bureaucracy operates and the promotion of development

s/n	Responses	Male	Female	Total Frequency	Percentage
1	Yes	568(a)	179(b)	747	74.7
2	No	161(c)	92(d)	253	25.3
Total		729	271	1000	100

Source: Compiled by the researcher

Table 5 shows that 747(74.7%) agreed with the hypothesis while 253(25.3%) disagreed.

Calculation of expected frequency

Cell a = $\frac{(a+b)\,(a+c)}{n} = \frac{(568+179)\,(568+161)}{1000}$

$= \frac{(747)\,(729)}{1000} = \frac{544563}{1000} = 544.563$

Cell b = $\frac{(b+c)\,(b+d)}{n} = \frac{(179+568)\,(179+92)}{1000}$

$= \frac{(747)\,(271)}{1000} = \frac{202437}{1000} = 202.437$

Cell c = $\frac{(c+d)\,(c+a)}{n} = \frac{(161+92)\,(161+568)}{1000}$

$= \frac{(253)\,(729)}{1000} = \frac{184437}{1000} = 184.437$

Cell d = $\frac{(d+c)\,(d+b)}{n} = \frac{(92+161)\,(92+179)}{1000}$

$= \frac{(253)\,(271)}{1000} = \frac{68563}{1000} = 68.56$

Computation of x^2

Cell	Fo	Fe	Fo-Fe	$(Fo-Fe)^2$	$(Fo-Fe)^2/Fe$
A	568	544.63	+23.37	546.15	1.0028
B	179	202.43	-23.43	548.96	2.7118
C	161	184.43	-23.43	548.96	2.9765
D	92	68.56	-23.43	549.43	8.0139

Calculated x^2 = 14.706
Degree of Freedom df = (r-1) (c-1) = (2-1) (2-1) = 1

Research Decision

Calculated x^2 = 14.706
Critical x^2 = 10.85
Alpha a = 001
Calculated x^2 is greater than critical x^2 at 1% sampling error.

Research Result/Interpretation

There is a significant relationship between the economic environment and Edo State public bureaucracy in the promotion of development.

Discussion of Results

The analysis of the hypotheses revealed that the majority of respondents agreed with the hypotheses formulated to guide the study. On Hypothesis 1, the result shows that there was a significant relationship between the structural arrangement of Edo State bureaucracy and its developmental capacity at calculated x^2 of 46.962 while the critical x^2 was 10.84 at 1% sampling error. This finding is consistent with the position of Adu (1974) and Schaffer (1969). On the second hypothesis, the result shows that there was a significant relationship between administrative idiosyncratic attitudes of Edo State bureaucrats and developmental efforts at calculated x^2 of 57.5706; the critical x^2 was 10.84 at 1% sampling error. This is encouraging and corroborates the position of Ejiofor (1987), Ejiofor and Anagolu (1984) and Morh (1987) who had at least two explanations for this situation.

The result on the third hypothesis reveals that there was a significant relationship between the political terrain in which Edo State public bureaucrats operate and its developmental capacity at calculated x^2 of 2.7378 while the critical x^2 was 2.72 at 1% sampling error. This finding is consistent with that of Soleye (1989), Ejiofor and Anagolu (1984) and Okoh (1988) who gave three fundamental reasons for this situation: (i) political leaders in Nigeria are under intense pressure to reward their supports; (ii) few political leaders accept the premise of neutral public service; because, most government changes especially under the military where as a result of coups d'état, incoming leaders view incumbent senior public bureaucrats as part of the regime they had overthrown; (iii) incoming political leaders particularly leaders who attained power by force, would want to shape the ideological direction (if any) of the public bureaucracy for their easy control. The result on the fourth hypothesis shows that there was a significant relationship between the economic environment and Edo State's public bureaucracy in the promotion of development at calculated x^2 of 14.706; critical x^2 was 10.85 at 1% sampling error. This is consistent with the result of a study by Okoh (2005).

Implications of the Study

The findings of this study have far reaching implications for Edo State in particular and Nigeria in general. It is an eye opener for those in government since it will make them see the need to install a permanent administrative reform machinery in the structure and organisation of public bureaucracy and to allow change in both the structure and procedure of public bureaucracy and in the attitude and behaviour of public bureaucrats in order to attain the goals of development in the state.

Conclusion

Based on the findings of this study, the following conclusions emerged. The first relates to the analysis of a relationship between the structural arrangements of Edo State's public bureaucracy developmental capacity, which reveals that there was a significant relationship at calculated x^2 of 46.962 while the critical x^2 was 10.84 at 1% sampling error. The second conclusion drawn from this study is that a significant relationship exists between administrative idiosyncratic attitudes of Edo state bureaucrats and developmental efforts at calculated x^2 of 57.5706 while critical x^2 was 10.84 at 1% sampling error. The third conclusion from this study is that a significant relationship exists between the political terrain in which Edo State's public bureaucrats operate and its developmental capacity at calculated $x^2$of 2.7378 and a critical x^2 of 2.72 at 1% sampling error. The fourth conclusion is that a significant relationship exists between economic environment and Edo state public bureaucracy in the promotion of development at calculated x^2 of 14.706, critical x^2 was10.85 at 1% sampling error. In order to attain development goals in the state, there is the need for government to install a permanent administrative reform machinery in the structure and organization of public bureaucracy and to allow change in both structure and procedure of public bureaucracy, and in the attitude and behavior of public bureaucrats.

Recommendation

The information generated would be of significant value in changing the structure and organisation of public bureaucracy, bureaucrats' attitudes and behaviour as they relate to the study of the impact of public bureaucracy on development in Edo State in particular and Nigeria in general in order to achieve development goals. Based on the findings, it is recommended that government should improve on policies guiding the impact of public bureaucracy on development, with regard to; the relationship between structural arrangement of public bureaucracy and development capacity in the state, the relationship between idiosyncratic attitudes of Edo state bureaucrats and their developmental efforts, relationship between the political terrain in which the state bureaucracy operates and its developmental capacity, and the relationship between the economic environment and Edo state public bureaucracy in the promotion of development and on capacity building of bureaucrats in Edo State.

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The Role of Vigilante Groups in the Fight against Rural Banditry in Zamfara State, Nigeria

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Abstract
North-western Nigeria has witnessed high levels of cattle rustling and rural banditry in recent times. Virtually all states in this zone have faced one form of violence or the other as a result of cattle rustling. The Zamfara experience seems to be amongst the worst incidences, with rural dwellers at the receiving end. Regrettably, most of the newspaper reports about banditry in Zamfara seem to be one-sided or made passing statements on it. Rural banditry and cattle rustling in the state are quite different from other states. This is because of the active involvement of the vigilante groups in the conflict. In other areas the vigilante contributed to cushioning the effect of banditry, while in Zamfara some of the vigilante members seized opportunity of the conflict to witch-hunt their old foes. Moreover, with the increase in the spate of the conflict in 2014, the vigilante group had divided opinions on how to approach the menace. Some were of the view that the bandits should be violently fought, while others advocated a more honest and peaceful approach. This led to the emergence of parallel vigilantes; the militant and non militant groups in the state. This division and violent approach to the bandits triggered the conflict to a certain proportion in 2015. As a result of this, whenever and wherever the bandits strike their explanation is that they are on 'vengeance mission' or 'reprisal attack' against the vigilante members that carried out extra-judicial killings on their fellow members. The aim of this paper is to assess the role of vigilante groups in the fight against rural banditry in Zamfara state and also trace the genesis of the division amongst the vigilante and how it further increased the rate of the conflict between the vigilante's on one hand and the bandits on, the other.

Keywords: *Vigilantes, Banditry, Cattle Rustling and Zamfara State*

Introduction

Nigeria needs more than ever before the involvement of informal security actors in peace and conflict resolution. This is as a result of the multifaceted conflicts across different geo-political zones in the country. Insurgency in the North-East, Pipeline vandalisation and activities of militants in the Niger Delta in the South-South, while North -West and North Central endemic cattle rustling and rural armed banditry. The underlying assumption is that the police and other security personnel will provide security of life and properties for average Nigerians. Unfortunately, the country has gross shortage of formal security personnel in an ever increasing state of insecurity.

A recent study has shown that there are about 377,000 policemen for about 170 million Nigerians.[1] Sadly enough more than half of these policemen are attached to politicians and other top government officials. This invariably means that the ratio is one poorly motivated police officer to over 500 disgruntled and discontented Nigerians. This ugly situation has created an avenue for the formation and proliferation of different informal security outfits to fill up the vacuum left by the Nigerian Police Force.

The vigilante group of Nigeria is the oldest and largest informal security outfit in Nigeria with a total of 3.2 million members across different States and Local Governments in the country.[2] Their number is nine times larger than the Nigerian Police, which invariably means that if properly and adequately trained on security strategy and tactics will go a long way in bridging security gap in the country.

There are basically four types of vigilante groups in Nigeria, viz; neighbourhood watch, ethnic, religious and state–sponsored vigilantes. This paper is basically concerned with watch and state vigilantes groups, which are basically obtained in our area of study (neighbourhood Zamfara). The community formed up the vigilante which aimed at

[1] .E. Ogbozor, 'Understanding the Informal Security Sector in Nigeria' United States Institute of Peace Special Report 391, September, 2016,p.2

[2] . Interview with Malam Usman Muhammad Jahun, Commander-General of Vigilante Group Nigeria,in Daily Trust Newspaper, Sunday,January 17,2016,pp.54-55

reducing the menace of cattle rustling in the state. Thus, having recognised their importance in the fight against cattle rusting in the state, the government provides moral and financial assistance to the group. Therefore, the vigilantes were said to have dual loyalty, first to the community that is responsible for its formation, then to the state government, which is the main sponsor.

Therefore, the main focus of this paper is to study the role of the vigilante group in rural armed banditry in Zamfara and show the nature, extent and impact of the involvement of the vigilante in the fight against miscreant and bandits in the state. The paper further look at the genesis that led to the division of opinion amongst the vigilante members on how to approach cattle rustling and rural armed banditry in the State. The paper also discusses how the division affected the operation of vigilante towards peace and conflict resolution. In the light of this the paper is divided into four sections, the first section provided a synopsis of abstract and introduction, the second shows brief background on vigilantism, while section three deals with the vigilante and heightened insecurity, emergence of the militant vigilante group was addressed in the last section with the conclusion.

Rural Banditry in Zamfara State

The paper attempts is to explain the role of vigilante group in the fight against rural armed conflict in Zamfara state, it is important as well to briefly show the rate and scale of rural armed banditry in the state. Cattle rustling and armed banditry has become a major problem in Zamfara state in recent times.[3] The conflict has increased spontaneously since 2010. The main actors and factors in the conflict are the local Fulani people and their supporters from the Republic of Niger on one side and the local farmers on the other. The outcome of this conflict claimed thousand lives and destroyed properties worth billions of naira in the state.[4] It could be argued that no village in the state that has not witnessed the impact of cattle rustling and rural armed banditry either directly or indirectly. In Mada District Gusau Local Government for example, the district head stated that they witnessed over twelve (12) different attacks by the bandits claimed the lives of over twenty people and one thousand five hundred heads of cattle (1500) were stolen at different times from 2014 to 2016.[5] This does not include other assaults like rape, kidnapping, and injuries inflicted on the people by the bandits.

Cases like these are found virtually in all the villages in the state, it is therefore misnomer to describe the security situation in Zamfara state as mainly cattle rustling phenomenon, because all forms of criminalities are involved.[6] If at all it is motivated by cattle rustling it is expected that the conflict will be mainly caused by cattle rustling and its resultant conflict. But in Zamfara there is wanton destruction of life and properties and high level of human right violation.[7]

This phenomenon has created large number of destitute, orphans and widowed women in the rural areas of Zamfara State due to constant raiding, theft, raping and annihilation of the rural communities. The village head of Badarawa in Shinkafi Local Government Area another area hit by the bandits reported that he has compile a list of three hundred and eighteen boys, girls and women as widow, orphans and destitute who lost their beloved ones in the various attacks carried-out by the bandits in his district.[8]

The levels of attacks in these areas are less compared to other areas of Anka, Maru and Chafe that witnessed frequent attacks and recorded high causality. In these areas so many villages were completely raided and uprooted, people were indiscriminately killed, and women were raped and large numbers of livestock were stolen by the bandits.[9] The table 1:1 below shows a rough estimate of the number of livestock stolen by the bandits in 2016 alone. The figures provided are far away from the exact number because considerable numbers were not officially reported to either police or Miyyati Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN).

[3] .P.A.Olayoku, 'Trends and Pattern of Cattle Grazing and Rural Violence in Nigeria 2006-2014', *Nigeria Watch Proect,IFRA - Nigeria epapers Series*,2014,no.34

[4] .O. Adeniyi ' The Zamfara State Killing Fields' This day Newspaper, 22nd September,2016

[5] . Alhaji Samaila, Magajin Mada, District Head of Mada , Oral Interview, 80 years,13th August, 2016

[6] Ahmed Tijjani, Officer in Charge of Immigration, Shinkafi Local Government, Oral Interview, 50 years 20th September, 2016

[7] . Okoli A. and Okpaleke, F. N. 'Cattle Rustling and Dialectics of Security in Northern Nigeria' *International Journal of Liberal Arts and Social Science Vol. 2 No. 3,2004*

[8] . Alhaji Sirajo Na Makka Ibrahim District of Badarawa, Oral Interview, 30 years , 18th September, 2016

[9] . Bello Abubakar Anka, Oral Interview in Anka town, 56 years, 20th September, 2016

Table 1: Estimated Number of Livestock Rustled in the State in 2016

	Areas	Number of Livestock
1	Badarawa	Over 200
2	Bagega	Over 4,500
3	Dorayi	Over 2500
4	Filinga	Over 5,000
5	Gidan Kaso	1,455
6	Guru	270
7	Jangeme	Over 600
8	Kizara	Over 4,000
9	Lilo	90
10	Lingyado	Over 2,100
11	Madaba	106
12	Nasarawa Godal	Over 1000
13	Nasarawa Mai Layi	Over 500
14	Rukudawa	250
15	Shigama and Kwokeya	1,020
16	Tsabre	Over 3,500
17	Tungar Baushe	1,110
18	Unguwar Galadima	850
19	'Yar gada	230

Source: MACBAN 2016

Insecurity put Zamfara state at the top list of the major flash points of rural violence in Nigeria. It was this situation that influenced the strengthening and encouraging of the vigilante group in the state. To further biff up the situation President Muhammadu Buhari launched Operation *Harbin Kunama* on April, 2016 with the view to fight the bandits.

Origin of Vigilante Group in Zamfara State

The idea of informal security system called *Yan banga in Hausa* language has its root to the pre-colonial security system in what later became Nigeria. The main objective of this pre-colonial policing was to ensure the enforcement and maintenance of norms, values and traditions. The task of community policing during this period was not difficult due to low level of crime. Members of the group were also small with no organised leadership structure.[10] The idea of vigilantism has a very long history in Zamfara, because the entire region of Zamfara is known for high level of armed robbery, cattle rustling and all forms of rural banditry prior to the colonial conquest of Nigeria. The scale of insecurity has led to the early formation of local vigilante security system in the area compared to its neighbours; Gobir, Kebbi and Katsina.[11]

Unlike the police force whose history could be dated back to 1861 and the amalgamation of the regional police forces in 1930, the vigilante emerged as a single body in 1989 and became a full-fledged organisation in 1999 after its registration with Corporate Affairs Commission Companies and Allied Matters of Nigeria as an NGO.[12] The Vigilante Group of Nigeria (VGN) is still crying for recognition by the Nigerian government, a bill in its favour has now passed first reading in the National Assembly. It is important to note that in a country like Nigeria bedevilled by different type of crises; ethnic, religious, political and even land related conflict the vigilante stand to play a vital role in conflict prevention and mitigation.[13] The underlying motive behind any form of vigilantism, according to Ogbozor is to:

> *Safeguard lives and properties in their communities...to complement security agencies, gather intelligence information, and arrest and hand over suspected criminals to the police. Some groups combine security provisioning with social development activities (construction of roads, bridges, and environmental sanitation facilities), while some engages in land dispute settlement.*[14]

The objective of forming the vigilante group as a private security is to mainly provide immediate security need at the grass root or rural areas. There is never a time in Zamfara State when the services of the vigilantes are needed most than this period of rural insecurity. It is the believe of an average person in the state that the vigilantes are up to the task of not only protecting them, but also providing them with security and conducive atmosphere for peaceful co-existence.[15] The reason for this optimism is that members of the group are drawn from the local community with track records and reputation of hard work and commitment to peace and tranquillity in the area. In fact, for one to be enlisted into the vigilante he has to undergo some screening,

[10] . L. Fourchard, ' A New Name for an African Old Practice : Vigilantes in South-Western Nigeria' *African: Journal of the International African Institute,* Vol.1, 2008 pp.16-40

[11] Dan Malam Shinkafi, Chairman Vigilante Group Shinkafi Local Government, 56 years Oral Interview,25th August, 2016, Shinkafi Market, Dan Mallam is also the head of Militant vigilante group in the local government.

[12] . Interview with Malam Usman Muhammad Jahun…opcit

[13] H.Adam, 'Farmers-Pastoralits Conflict on the Jos-Plateau, Central Nigeria: Security Responses to Local Vigilante and the Nigerian State',in *Conflict, Security and Development, 2016, Vol.16 No.4,pp.365-385*

[14] . E. Ogbozor, 'Understanding the Informal Security Sector in Nigeria…opict,p.18

[15] A.Yanusa, Oral Interview at Shinkafi, 50 years, Member of Vigilante Group, 21st September, 2016

clearance and even recommended by his village or district head.[16]

The Zamfara State Government provides allowances to the vigilantes and also participated in the appointment of state executive of the group. The sum of two million, two hundred and fifty thousand naira (₦2,250.000) is usually given to the vigilante as monthly allowance by the state for the fourteen local government areas.[17] Moreover, in early 2013 the state government donated eighteen (18) Toyota Hilux Jeeps and one thousand seven hundred (1,700) motorcycles to the vigilante.[18] The monthly allowances was partly used to fuel and maintain the vehicles, also purchase working tools, such as uniforms, raincoats, sticks, flashlights, whistles, knives, machetes, and locally made guns.[19]

Comparing the amount and the demand of the vigilantes, one will see that the amount is grossly inadequate for one local government not to talk of the state as whole. The Chairman of Bakura Local Government of the vigilantes lamented that the amount cannot be sufficient for a small local government like Bakura with eighteen (18) districts and over five hundred and fifty (550) members.[20] The money is nothing to write home about comparing the total number of the vigilantes in the state, which according to the state commander Alhaji Aliyu Mai Sango there are 12,500, twelve thousand registered members.[21] Besides, this main source of funding there is little stipends coming from some good meaning individuals in form of gifts and donations to the members.[22]

In spite, of this inadequate funding the vigilantes are absolutely loyal to the State Government. But the relationship between the state and the vigilante began to deteriorate in 2014. This was the time when rural armed banditry was at its peak in the state, when large number of people could neither sleep at their homes nor freely carry out their daily activities. An informant revealed to me that during this period some villages could not observe Jummuat prayers without the presence of the vigilante who will provide security.[23] The security situation in most villages was tensed and characterised by mutual suspicion, mistrust and this made the general public to be more security conscious of their surroundings and the community at large. This accordingly was the time when adequate support should be given to all the security operatives both formal and informal in the state due to high rate of insecurity.

However, one important issue which hindered the activities of the vigilantes was the failure of the state government to make prompt payment of the allowance to the vigilante. According to the State Secretary of the group, the allowances began to be delayed to the following month. In some cases, it took two or three months before the release of one month allowance.[24] The State Government also directed the vigilante executive in the state not to participate in the joint patrol with the Police, Civil Defence and the Army and all those that decided to participate did that at their own peril.[25] Prior to this action by the State Government, the vigilantes worked hand and in hand with other security operatives, they provide vital security tips for Police, Army and Civil Defence Corps and communicate with mobile phones while on patrol. Although, the vigilante have no sophisticated weapons but still they make use of small arms such as Dane guns, (single barrel, traditional guns for hunting), bows and arrows, sticks and knifes among others.[26]

The role of the vigilantes in this type of operation cannot be overemphasised. This is true because despite the fact that the Nigerian army and the Police are Federal institutions that draw recruits from different parts of the country may neither have clear understanding of the local terrain nor mastery of the language which are very critical to their success.[27] In spite of this wonderful contributions, the vigilantes were not given the adequate attention they deserved by the State Government. As such some of the fundamental questions raised by most members of

[16] .A. Musa, Oral Interview at Shinkafi ,62 years, Member of the Vigilante Group, 21st September, 2016

[17] . B. Danrani, State Financial Secretary of VGN Zamfara Branch , 51 years Oral Interview at Lambar Bakura, 13th August, 2016

[18] Idem, it is also confirmed by Malam Usman Muhammad Jahun…opcit

[19] Ibid.

[20] It is important to note that Bello Danrani is the state financial secretary and also the chairman of Bakura Local Government Branch of the Vigilante, he argued that their activities is more of sacrifice to the community compared to its monetary gain.

[21] Alh. Aliyu Mai Sango, State Commander of Vigilante Group, Zamfara State, 58 years, Oral Interview, Gusau, 15th August, 2016

[22] Isah Abdullahi Member of the Vigilante Group, Dan Sadau Area, 48 years 5th of September, 2016

[23] . Bello Magaji, Member of the Vigilante Group, Birnin Magaji Area, 57 years, 20th March, 2016

[24] . B. Danrani, State Financial Secretary of VGN Zamfara Branch , 51 years Oral Interview at Lambar Bakura, 13th August, 2016

[25] Dan Mallam Shinkafi, State Secretary, 57 years Vigilante Group Zamfara State, Oral Interview, Shinkafi town, 20th September, 2016

[26] . Bello Magaji, Chairman Vigilante Group Zurmi Local Government, 52 years, 25th September, 2016

[27] . S. Omotola and I. Hassan, Herders and Farmers Association and Social Conflict in Northern Nigeria' in M. J. Kuna and J. Ibrahim, *Rural Banditry and Conflict in Northern Nigeria*, Center or Democracy and Development, Abuja, 2015,pp.217-255

the vigilante group and commentators on Zamafara affairs are 'what is responsible for this neglect of the vigilantes at this trying moment in the state? Why is it that the state government is not willing to co-opt the vigilante groups into the fight against cattle rustling in the state? These questions no doubt are still beginning for answers.

In fact, the action by the State Government deserved a special research on its own. The simple reason is that it is expected that the state if at all is sincere and committed to the fight against rural banditry will re-double its efforts in terms of finance and encouragement to the vigilantes. A clear example could be seen in Kaduna, Nassarawa, Niger and Plateau states that committed huge amount of capital for war against cattle rustling and rural armed banditry in their respective areas. This attitude of the State Government has slowed the activities of the vigilantes and reduced their moral to its lowest ebb.[28] The reason why the State Government could not encourage the vigilantes may not be unconnected with the active participation of the group in the instigation of conflict as depict in the next section.

The Vigilante and Rural Banditry

It is an irony for one to think that the vigilantes formed to provide security of life and properties of the people will eventually turn against them. In Zamfara State the insecurity created by cattle rustling and rural banditry have created an opportunity for the vigilante to either witch-hunt their old foes or amass illegal wealth. Both the bandits and *Fulbe* pastoralist speaks of constant harassment, intimidation and confiscation of their properties unlawfully by the vigilantes.[29] Sometimes livestock and other related properties retrieved from the bandits will not get to the rightful owners, in fact, some bad eggs amongst the vigilantes have turned the whole incidence to a 'money making venture'.[30] It is this act of the vigilantes that a Fulani informant called 'legalised armed banditry in Zamfara.[31] What this invariably means is that the vigilantes were involved in committing a lot of injustice against herdsmen in the name of vigilantism, and no proper investigation is carried out by the relevant authorities.

Most members of the group if not of recently are not subjected to any form of security training. Therefore, what they know best is to apprehend an accuse person and brutally subject him to torture which may result to death. This gross miscarriage of justice was practiced in Zamfara state according to Momale;

> *The worst cases of negative influence of the vigilante groups were reported in Zamfara State...., in these areas, there were allegations of extra-judicial killings of pastoralists; confiscation of livestock; burning and looting of pastoral households and force evictions perpetrated by the vigilantes.*[32]

It was this type of jungle justice that escalated the fire of rural armed banditry in Zamfara State. Since most members of the vigilante are Hausa and most of the bandits are Fulani, the conflict a times takes ethnic dimension. Some of my informants who plead for anonymous claimed that the crises brought back the old animosity between the *Fulbe* and *Habe* people in the State and also increased anti-*Fulbe* sentiments across different local government areas in the state.

Therefore, the bandits who are victims of this high handedness of the vigilante declared a war against the vigilante group in 2014.[33] In most of the attacks carried-out by the bandits the prime targets were the vigilante and their cohorts. A Divisional Police Officer confirmed that the conflict started between the vigilantes and the bandits before it descended on the general rural communities in the state. Members of the vigilante also confirmed the fact that they are the 'chief targets' and victims of rural armed banditry.

In September, 2013, nine (9) vigilantes were killed by bandits in Tsanu village in Zurmi LGA. The bandits clearly stated during this attack to the people of the village that they were not after anyone but the vigilante members and the war against the vigilante has just started until they ensure that none of them is in existence'.[34] Bello Mashayar Giwa, a vigilante who has just recovered from a gun- shut inflicted on him by the bandits, also lamented that 'they have fallen prey to the bandits'.[35] Another vigilante who

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28 . Tsoho Mai Kwasa, Chairman Vigilante Group Maru Local Government, 58 years, 25th August, 2016

29 . Ibrahim Isah Fulani herdsman ,58 years, Tsafe Local Government, 15th October, 2016

30 Bello Ibrahim, Oral Interview, 45 year, Badarawa Village, Shinkafi Local Government, 15th August,201

31 Manu Abubakar Maniya, Oral Interview, Isa town, 52 years 20th September, 2016

32 . Momale,S.B, Changing Methods of Animal Husbandry, Cattle Rustling and Rural banditry in Nigeria, in M. J. Kuna and J. Ibrahim, *Rural Banditry and Conflict in Northern Nigeria…,* p.100

33 . Musa Jibrin, Shinkafi, Oral Interview, Shinkafi town, 25th August, 2016

34 Bello Sani, Member of Vigilante Group, Dan Sadau Area, 15th September, 2016

35 . Interview with Bello Mashayar Giwa, Daily Trust, Monday, October, 7, 2013 ' How bandits terrorized Zamfara Villagers'

spoke on condition of anonymity stated that the bandits are on vengeance because of the gross extra-judicial killings of people accused of stealing or cattle rustling. He described the action of some of his members as 'they don't' properly investigate accused person before taking action'.[36]

The worst scenario of the bandit against the vigilante occurred on 7th April, 2014 in Yar Galadima in Dan Sadau Emirate of Maru Local Government Area. The bandits came on over fifty (50) motorcycles each carrying three (3) persons and stormed a meeting organised by the vigilantes and instantly killed over two hundred people (200) and over fifty (50) sustained serious injuries.[37] This is seen as the most horrified in the history of rural banditry in northern Nigeria in 2014.[38].The official response of the State Government over this mass killing of the vigilante members was nothing to write home about, because the victims of this attack were partly blamed by the State Government for holding an unauthorised meeting.[39] This further confirmed to the vigilante that the State was not in their support because the aim of the meeting was to discuss how best to address security challenges in the State.[40]

This single action sent a danger signal to the vigilante and also questioned the sincerity of the State's commitment to peace and harmony in the rural areas.[41] Since this period the vigilante lowered its commitments and action against the bandits, but that does not in any way reduced the killing of its members by the bandits.[42] This is so because amongst the vigilante there are those that advocated violent approach to the bandits and even when the State Government reduced its commitment to the vigilante they are still proactive in the fight against the bandits. Unfortunately, some casual observers look at the down tune in the speed of vigilante activities as either conspiracy or fear of the bandits. This situation brought serious suspicion and bashing against the leadership of the vigilante, particularly from the side of those proactive members who advocated for violent approach against the bandits. The end result of this was a serious fracas that eventually led to the emergence of the militant wing of the vigilante in early part of 2014.

Militant Vigilante Group

The inability of Zamfara State Government to adequately address the challenges of rural armed banditry has created an opportunity for informal security sector to have a stake in the security apparatus of the State. There is recently the emergence of Militant Vigilante Group henceforth MVG called *Yan Sakai* in Zamfara State. The word *Yan sakai* simply means volunteers, people committed to protecting their territorial integrity against hoodlums, bandits and armed robbers. The MVG wings are partly disenchanted members of the Vigilante Group of Nigeria (VGN) as well as other people of the community who are uncomfortable with the nonchalant attitude of the State Government towards the entire security system in the state.[43]

This idea of MVG started in the Local Governments Areas of Maru, Anka and Birnin Magaji in 2013.[44] This is because of the inherent cattle rustling and rural armed banditry in these places. The idea behind the formation of the MVG was to checkmate the operation and activities of the bandits. At the early stage of its formation the group works hand in hand with the VGN and the general public look at the MVG as a mere reinforcement and part of the general security operatives in the Local Government Areas.[45] It was from these areas that the idea of MVG radiates to other places which later broke away from the main VGN and established an independent group with branches in every Local Government in the State in 2015 as we can see later.[46] The MVG form up administrative structure akin to the VGN with Chairman, Secretary and PRO across different Local Government Areas of the State, in Maru Local Government for instance, Mai Dawa dan Inno is the Chairman, Mai Sallah Kadauri is the Secretary and Babba Jigawa the Public Relations Officer. Other prominent members of the MVG in the local Government include Kurma Mai Gora (Former Sarkin Baka) and Baba Mai Gora amongst

[36] Anonymous informant

[37] Bello Sani, Member Vigilante Group....idem, according to him the meeting was summoned by the state chapter of the vigilante with the view to discussing new security strategy to be adopted against rural banditry. The approach of the bandit to meeting shows that they have privilege information about the nature, venue and issues to be addressed during the meeting.

[38] . Omotola S. and Hassan I,*Herders and Farmers Association and Social Conflict in Northern Nigeria…opcit*

[39] .S. Olaniyi, The Zamfara Killing Field…opcit

[40] Bello Sani Oral Interviw..idem

[41] . Muhammadu Sani, 45 years, Member of the Vigilante Group, Oral Interview Tsafe Local Government, 25th September, 2016

[42] Usman Muhammad Badarawa alias(Mani Dan Gora), 58 years Chairman of Militant Vigilante Group, Badarawa District, 19th September, 2016

[43] Abdullahi Yanusa 50 years, Member of the Militant Vigilante Group, Badarawa Area, Shinkafi, 19th October,2016

[44] Sergeant Abdullah Isah, 48 years, Police Officer, Maru Division, 25th September, 2016

[45] . Isah Abubakar, MVG member, 45 years Maru town 25th September, 2016

[46] . Manu Mai Daji, 52 years, member of the MVG, Oral Interview, Birnin Magaji, 13th August, 2016

several others.[47] It is pertinent to note that in some places all the members of VGN converted and adopted violent approach against the bandits. The VGN members from Ndalumu, Kamarawa and Bargaja for instance, simply transformed in their totality from VGN to MVG.[48]

This idea of MVG emanated from the traditional rulers, who believed that 'the only end to this perpetual violence by the bandits is to approach it with a greater violence'.[49] Therefore, several meetings were held between the traditional rulers at the village level with their respective VGN members on how to transform the main VGN members into a militant wing.[50] Opinions were divided among members particularly the State Executive of the VGN. The first group argued that the vigilante should operate within the ambit of the law; all alleged criminal should be handed over to the appropriate authority for the law to take its natural course. This group further argues that the VGN should maintain absolute loyalty to the State Government not sectarian interest.[51] Unfortunately, this group was over powered by the second group supported by some traditional rulers who are of the view that the best approach is to fight the bandits back, instead of apprehending them and taken to appropriate authority, they should rather be brutally killed instantly.[52] This second group expressed dissatisfaction on the approach of the State Government, Police and other related security operatives towards the security situation in the state.

There is wisdom in either of the arguments, the first group that advocated for justice and respect for human right anchored their view based on the principle of fairness and with the intension of having lasting solution to the problem. According to them taking arms against the bandit will only aggravate the security situation rather than reducing the menace.[53] The first group, although not satisfied with the state's approach to the security situation, but still holds loyalty to it. They received orders and directives from the state government in spite of the poor funding and lack of encouragement from the state.[54] This protagonist of the state and 'advocates of human rights' were seen as collaborators, weak and even traditional enemies of peace and harmony of their communities.[55] Informants laments that 'they have received the worst form of bashing from their kindred and called all sorts of names because of their firm position.[56]

The second group spearheaded by Village heads, District heads and some Emirs have the feelings that in a situation where the state fails to carry out its primary responsibility, it is better for people to take that responsibility into their hands. In this light, many people who are the victims of rural armed banditry supported this view and worked towards its actualisation. The outcome was the adoption of MVG as radical wing of the VGN with serious ideological difference on how to approach issues of peace and security in the state. This new wing of the vigilante derived membership across different strata, traditional rulers, young and able youth, hunters, cattle herders, farmers, members of VGN and other related victims of rural armed banditry.[57]

The MVG shares certain features in common with the bandits when it comes to the issue of violence. Just as the bandits possessed certain super-natural powers so also the MVG. Both of them are mostly youth at their prime ages and possessed local charms that made some of them invisible. Sharp objects like knife, sword, machete and dagger could hardly penetrate these people.[58] The brought to the fore orthodoxy warfare system, most of the confrontations between the bandits and members of MVG revolve around the use of different and assorted charms against each as a defence system. In fact, orthodoxy security system is an area that deserved serious attention by security experts, because most of the combats were influenced and determine by the nature of this form of security system.

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47 .Bello Maru, 51 years, Member of the Militant Vigilante Group, Maru Local Government, 25th September, 2016

48 Buhari Hassan, 47 years, Member of the Militant Vigilante Group, Bargaja Village, 4th August, 2016

49 .Salisu Ajiya, 70 years, Ajiyan Badarawa, Oral Interview, Badarawa Village, 19th August, 2016

50 . Ahmed Abubakar Shinkafi, 47 years, Security Personnel, Oral Interview, 18th August, 2016. According to him he attended most of the security meetings, issues discuss at most of the meetings include, the response of the state government towards security situation in the state, constant attacks from the bandits and the way ford. The outcome of such meetings influenced the emergence of the militant wing of the vigilantes.

51 . Bello Dan Inno Maradun, 42 years, vigilante member, Maradun Local Government, 10th July, 2016

52 Sirajo Na Makka District Head of Badarawa ...idem

53 . This view was expressed by an elder statesman Malam Yakubu Bungudu, who has warned the vigilante severally against armed confrontation against the bandits, Oral Interview, 65 years, Tudun Wada Area Gusau, 20th July, 2016

54 .Aliyu Mai Sango, State Commander of the VGN, Zamfara State…,idem

55. Samaila Aliyu, 43 years Member of the Vigilante Group Anka Local Government, Oral Interview, 22nd August, 2016

56 Tsoho Mai Kwasa, Chairman Vigilante Maru Local Government…idem

57 . Bello Isah, Member of the MVG in Bakura Local Government, 48 years, 22nd June, 2016

58 Musa Ibrahim, Member of the MVG, Badarawa Village, 45 years, 19th August, 201

MVG or *Yan Sakai* as the name connotes signifies the highest form of scarifies, which is scarifying one's life for the prosperity of his community. By extension members of the MVG most always be vigilant wherever they are. In the middle of the night while everyone in the village is asleep the MVG is awake policing the area and even during the day he most always be on the alert.[59] It is so because the bandits could visit and strike the village anytime. In fact, the moment one is enlisted in to MVG he is automatically regarded a hero in his community, at the same time entered the 'black list' of the bandits.[60]. Meaning members of the MVG are well known by the bandits, they know them by their names and where they come from, including some nasty comments people are making about them. It is important to note that in each village or community as we have seen elsewhere the bandits have their agents who serve as their collaborators. They provide all relevant information, situation reports to the bandits and who owns what number of livestock in the villages.[61]

Therefore, in each attack carried out by the bandits the first targets and of course victims are members the MVG. It is for this reason that one needs to stress the fact that the moment somebody joins the union he is likely to kill or be killed, because at the peak of the conflict in 2015 members of the militant group were busy fighting several wars with the bandits. A member of this group recalled that he participated in more than fifteen (15) wars fought against the bandits across different areas of the state.[62]

There is an interconnection between the different *Yan Sakai* in Zamfara State; this is in form of communication and exchange of ideas. Since they all have a common interest on how to fight a common enemy, then there are mutual co-operations amongst them. The *Yan Sakai* of any village could be invited and mobilised to defend an area outside their immediate community.[63] The MVG members of Bini, Tungar Rakumi and Burwai from Kanoma district often travel a long distance, to as far as Ruwan Mesa or Mutungi in Dan Sadau Emirate to offer assistance to their fellow MVG members.[64]

It will not be an overstatement for one to say that large part of 2014/2015 was characterised by intense rural violence in Zamfara state. To most of the informants interviewed during this research, the reduction in rural armed banditry and cattle rustling in Zamfara has less to do with the 'Operation *Harbin Kunama'* lunched by President Muhammadu Buhari, but the remarkable success recorded MVG and the support given to the group by village and district heads.[65] While looking at this success people tend to ignore completely the high level of human right violation and extra judicial killings carried out by the MVG. These are too numerous to be mention here, but what needs to highlighted is that, the human right violation and other related abuses warrants a different research on its own. But let us just cite an example with Shinkafi Local Government Area.

The people of this area will agree with me that the operation of MVG is the worst form of human right violation and extra judicial killings they have ever witnessed in their recent history. The memory of how the MVG use to storm the market on Wednesdays just to identify and kill people accused of cattle rustling is still fresh in them.[66] An informant confirmed to me that he has never seen a worst thing in his entire life of fifty five (55) years like how the MVG cut human beings into pieces in the market square and burn them to ashes' in public without any fear.[67] It was only after the first and second public execution of people that the entire community frown at it, and then the MVG decided to look for a 'better place', located directly opposite to the livestock market called Shinkafi *Kara* Market, along Isa-Shinkafi road. The place is a farmland of late Na-Maisha Shinkafi and it is basically *Fadama* land that contains water during and after rainy season.[68]

On market days those that have strong mind shrouded by anti-*Fulbe* sentiment due visit this seen to observe how their people were publically executed.[69] It must be emphasised here that the Fulani basically constitutes large part if not all of the victims. The reason why this was done has been explained elsewhere in the work. But what needs to clarified is that after this unpardonable injustice against people accused of banditry my informant reveals that until recently no Fulani man could be found in Shinkafi *Kara* market. Prior to this period, the Fulani are proud of the market and one could even argue that it was a Fulani established and Fulani

[59] Idiris Musa…idem
[60] Hassan Muhammed…,idem
[61] . Umar Magaji Anka, Member of MVG, 47 years, Anka Local Government, 29th August, 2016
[62]. Ahmadu Sarkin Karma, Oral Interview, 40 years Ndalumu Village, 20th October, 2016
[63] Bello Haruna, Oral Interview, 52 years, Bargaja Village, 4th August, 2016
[64] Idem
[65] . Isah Alkali, Member of MVG, 50 years Tudun Wada Gusau, 25th October, 2016
[66] Yunusa Abdullahi, 50 years, Member of the MVG, Shinkafi Town, 18th September, 2016
[67] . Bello Mai Dawa, 55 years Member of the VGN, Shinkafi town, 18th September, 2016
[68] . Idem
[69] Idem

dominated market.[70] Some of the informants went to the extent of saying that Fulani deserted completely not only the market but even the entire town. The chairman of MVG Shinkafi Local Government stated that most of MVG members came from the neighbouring villages to carry out this execution. These people came with their comprehensive list of accused cattle rustlers and bandits and the moment they are identified then faced the consequences.[71]

An eye witnessed informed me that eighteen (18) people were executed in two weeks. The methods of the execution varies from people to people, for those that have charms that could not be killed with gun, the MVG used sword, dagger or machete on them. While in a situations where all these failed they will resort to the use of heavy stone to smash their heads.[72] What this means by extension is that the moment one is apprehended and taken there they most ensure that he is killed. After which all the bodies will be assembled in one place and set a blazed. This execution centre is known in Shinkafi as 'Human abattoir' at the apex of the conflict in late 2015 and early 2016. The most pertinent question any observer will ask about this gross miscarriage of justice is that where is the government, what the role of the formal security personnel is and more importantly what is the position and response of the traditional rulers on this episode. These are question left to the readers to pounder deeply. Although by the nature and orientation of the MVG they offer what they called voluntary service to the community yet the issue of funding is very central to their operation.

It is a common knowledge that for members of group to effectively carried out their assigned duties they need the working tools like local gun, machetes, knife, whistle, daggars and more importantly means of transportation from one place to another for vigilantism. It is not realistic for the members to provide both the services and also procure small arms and light weapons. Therefore the entire community has to pay the price of the services provided. The main source of this funding is the village and district heads, without which the whole process will be fruitless.[73] These people mobilized resources through fund raising for the up keep of the union. Rich and wealthy individuals were also taxed certain amount of money. The poor farmer is not left behind because provision of security is a collective responsibility he most either form part of the MVG or provide material support to the operation of the militant vigilante. According to one village head, every Friday 10-12 pm is usually period for their security meetings with members. Issues discuss in most of meetings are on how to approach and strategized what they consider 'war against the bandits' and also fund raising.[74] Most of the villagers see the members of MVG as heroes, true defenders of their father's land. It is highly prestigious for one to be a member of this radical wing because generation yet unborn will remember him as a great warrior.

Conclusion

The problem of cattle rustling and rural armed banditry was under rated at its inception about a decade ago in Zamfara state. Most of the security operatives show little concern about the potential threat of this little quagmire until it became a serious nightmare in 2014.The dream of a common man in the village is that the government will provide him with security, but when that proofs merely impossible they relied on the vigilante group who are financially incapacitated, technically and even lacks confidence on the part of the general public. The last resort was to form up private security outfit that engaged the bandits in constant and perpetual armed conflict that claimed several lives and destroyed properties worth billion of naira. Even though there were several attempts by the state government to ban the activities and operations of this militant vigilante but little success was achieved in that direction, simply because there were accusations in some quarters that the state government is not up to its responsibilities. The major findings of this paper is that the MVG group were partly responsible for the prolongation of the conflict in Zamfara state and no meaningful peace talk and lasting solution to this conflict will be achieved without disbanding of both VGN and MVG groups in the state.

[70] Bello Isah Shinkafi, 45 years, Member of the VGP, Shinkafi town 19th September, 2016

[71] Alhaji Dan Mallam Shinkafi, 55 years, Chairman of the MVG, Shinkafi town, 20th September, 2016

[72] . Ahmed Tijjani, 47 years, Oral Interview, Shinkafi town, 19th September, 2016

[73] . Alh. Sirajo Na Makka Ibrahim, Village Head of Badarawa……,

[74] Idem

Energy Consumption and Economic Growth: Evidence from Emerging and Frontier Market Countries

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Abstract
This study examined the impact of energy consumption on economic growth using the neo-classical one-sector aggregate production function with panel data from emerging and frontier market countries over the period 2000–2013. It applied the dynamic panel method in the form of the two-step panel Generalized Method of Moments (both difference and system) GMM and static panel method in the form of Fixed-Effects and Random-Effects models in addition to the Sargan, Arrelano-Bond serial correlation, and Hausman diagnostic tests. The results from the study revealed that energy consumption has positive and significant impact on economic growth in both emerging and frontier market countries.Also, gross fixed capital formation in the study was found to have a positive and significant impact on economic growth of the emerging and frontier market countries. However, labour force was found to have a negative but significant impact on economic growth in all the countries under study. Since the findings revealed that all the sampled countries are energy dependent, their policy makers should continue to promote the development of the energy infrastructure with the aim of gaining higher economic growth by making effective energy policies. This can be achieved through the allocation of more resources to the development of new sources of energy and ensure sustainability of energy use. In addition, capital has been found to influence positively on economic growth in both panels. It is therefore, suggested that in order to continue to sustain high economic growth rates, these sampled countries still need to expand their capital stock. One way to directly increase the amount of capital stock in an economy is by increasing spending on new tools, machinery and training. These forms of capital are basic necessities of production that will increase output which in turn will stimulate economic growth.

***Keywords**: Energy Consumption, Economic Growth, Panel Data, System Generalized Method of Moment*

Introduction
The effect of energy consumption on economic growth has been an important issue in the global economy. As has been rightly pointed out by Lee & Chin (2013), countries across the globe succeeded in shaking loose from a subsistence economy because of the services provided by modern sources of energy. This is because sufficient energy supply stimulates nearly all socio-economic activities. It particularly boosts industrial and commercial activities as well as enhances the delivery of basic social and infrastructural services (Wesseh & Zoumara, 2012). More specifically, access to modern energy services is nearly inevitable in driving economic growth and fueling human development. This is not farfetched, as energy services affect productivity, health, education, safe water supply and communication services (Dantama, Zakari & Inuwa, 2012).

Results of many theoretical and empirical studies on energy consumption and economic growth have failed to reach a consensus about the effect of energy consumption on economic growth. Among the explanations for the failure to reach a consensus, are methodologies used, the period of study, proxy variables for energy consumption or economic growth, and the countries included in the analyses (Mishra, Smyth, & Sharma, 2009).

On methodologies use, the literature on the nexus between energy consumption and economic growth fit into either of these two categories: those involving the use of time series techniques and those involving the use of recently developed panel techniques. Following the pioneering study of Kraft & Kraft (1978) who investigated the energy consumption and economic growth nexus for the USA, many studies adopted time series methods in the form of bivariate and multivariate frameworks (Ghali & El-sakka, 2004; Wesseh & Zoumara, 2012; Pao & Fu, 2013; Dantama, Zakari, & Inuwa, 2012). However, most of these studies have been plagued with many limitations. One of these limitations has to do with the short span of data that lowers the power of the conventional unit root tests and cointegration tests i.e. the Dickey-Fuller test, augmented Dickey-Fuller test, two-step residual based test, and Johansen maximum likelihood test. Another is the problem of omitted variables bias due to the omission of other variables such as capital and labour.

While many panel data-based studies used static panel data in the form of fixed-effects (FE) or random effects (RE), some cross-country studies used the first differenced of the variables in the form of non-stationary panel. However, in the presence of either heteroskedasticity or serial correlation, the variances of the FE and RE estimators are not valid and the corresponding Hausman test statistic is inappropriate (Baum, 2006). As for studies that used non-stationary panels, Maddala (1999) convincingly demonstrated that non-stationary panel data did not provide solutions to the problems of growth convergence among countries. However, it is possible to estimate both with the levels and first differences of the variables with the System GMM panel data method (SGMM) of Arrelano and Bover (1995) and Blundell and Bond (1998).

To the best of the authors' knowledge, this is likely to be the first study to apply Arellano & Bond (1991) Generalised Method of Moments estimator (GMM) and its extension to System GMM to examine the impact of energy consumption on economic growth for heterogeneous panels of Emerging and Frontier Markets countries within the framework of aggregate production function. To achieve this, the rest of the paper is organised as follows: the next section presents literature review; section three describes the econometric methodology used in the study; the fourth section presents empirical results and discussion, followed by conclusion and recommendations in section five.

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Theoretical Framework

The neoclassical model pioneered by Solow (1956) model was used extensively up to the mid 1980s. However, the trailblazing work associated with the endogenous new growth theory also attracted much research_interest in economic growth (Kishna, 2004, Capolupo, 2009). It was developed and popularized by the works of Romer (1994), Lucas (1988), Grossman & Helpman (1991) and Aghion & Howitt (1992). The central theme of their growth theory has to do with the effects of trade policies, capital flows, and transfer of ideas and technology on the growth rate of income. Thus, development policies and the shifts in these policies have been formally recognised as the components of the growth model.

Neither the neoclassical theory nor the endogenous theory recognises the role of energy resources. Therefore, this is considered as an inbuilt bias to downplay the role of energy resources in the production process (Salamaliki & Venetis, 2013). Similarly, they do not only downplay the role of energy as a factor input but also refuse to admit it into their macroeconomic model, not even implicitly (Alam, 2006).

Distancing themselves from the mainstream neo-classical growth and endogenous growth theories, ecological and biophysical theories model growth from the thermodynamics principle, which emphasises the role of energy in economic production as well as the growth process. According to the conservation law of thermodynamics, certain inputs must be employed in the production process in order to produce a giving output. The efficiency law suggests that a minimum quantity of energy is required to carry out the transformation of matter. Therefore, transformation of matter in some ways is inevitable in production activities and such transformations require energy (Stern, 2004).

In this context, the use and availability of energy is considered as one of the primary factors of production, coequal with capital and labour. Recently, energy economists have been paying significant attention to the impact of energy on economic growth, particularly on the pioneering work of Ghali & El-Sakka (2004), who proposed a framework based on the neo-classical, one-sector aggregate production function. Similarly, this study follows the works of Lee & Chang (2007, 2008), Lee & Chien (2010), Wolde-Rufael (2009) and Salamaliki & Venetis (2013) by adopting this model as a working framework to examine the relationship between energy and economic growth, since it has been established that energy is an essential factor of production. The study adopts the following modified production function where capital, labour, and energy are separate factor inputs:

$$Y_t = f(K_t, L_t, E_t) \text{ --------------------------------} (2.2)$$

Where Y is aggregate output or real GDP, K is capital stock, L is labour, and E is total energy consumption. The log linear form of equation (2.2) can be expressed as:

$$LY_t = \delta_0 + \delta_1 LK_t + \delta_2 LL_t + \delta_3 LE_t + \mu_t \text{------(2.3)}$$

Where the coefficients δ_i , i=1, 2, 3 refer to the elasticity of capital stock, labour and total energy consumption, respectively.

Empirical Evidence

This section reviewed studies that focus on either testing the co-movement between energy consumption and economic growth or examining the direction of causality between these two variables. Although the results of the positive role of energy on economic growth have been documented in the literature, a general conclusion from these studies is that contradictory results are still being reported. For example, Ghali & El-Sakka (2004) examined the relationship between energy consumption and output for Canada from 1961-1997. The authors applied the Johansen cointegration technique and vector error correction model (VECM) on a neo-classical, one-sector aggregate production function where capital, labour, and energy are treated as distinct inputs. The results showed that there is a long-run equilibrium among output, labour, capital and energy use in Canada. The short- run dynamics of the variables suggest bidirectional causality between output growth and energy use.

Furthermore, Pao & Fu (2013) analysed the relationship between energy consumption and economic growth within the framework of the production function where energy is treated as a separate variable for Brazil over the period 1980-2009. Real GDP was used as a proxy for economic growth; real gross fixed capital formation was also used as proxy for capital, labour force, as well as total energy resources and disaggregated levels. The Johansen cointegration test and Granger causality test based on the vector error correction model (VECM) were applied. The findings suggest a long-run relationship among real GDP, real gross fixed capital formation, labour force, and each of the three clean energy consumption variables. In addition, the results from FMOLS reveal that energy consumption, capital, and labour have positive and statistically significant impacts on economic growth. The Granger causality tests result showed a short-run causality running from real gross fixed capital formation to non-renewable energy consumption, and bidirectional causality between economic growth and labour force. In the long run, there is bidirectional causality between non-renewable energy consumption and economic growth and one-way causality from renewable energy consumption to economic growth.

Lee & Chang (2008) conducted an empirical study to analyse the relationship between energy consumption and economic growth for 16 Asian countries over the period 1971-2002. The authors applied unit root tests, the fully modified OLS (FMOLS) technique for heterogeneous cointegration panels and the Granger causality test based on the vector error correction model (VECM) on the modified Cobb-Douglas production function. The results revealed that there exists a long- run equilibrium relationship among the variables in most of the countries. Similarly, the results from FMOLS showed that energy consumption, capital, and labour have positive and statistically significant impacts on economic growth. The causality tests revealed a long run- causality running from energy consumption to GDP, without feedback and no evidence of causality between energy consumption and economic growth.

Al-mulali & Ozturk (2014) applied autoregressive distributed lag (ARDL)- bound test and Toda-Yamamoto-Dolado-Lutkepohl (TYDL) to examine the relationship between energy consumption and economic growth for 6 Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, covering the period 1980-2012. The authors use proxy of economic growth by GDP per capita measured in constant US dollars, capital by gross fixed capital formation per capita measured in constant US dollars, labour by population and energy consumption by electricity consumption, exports, and imports. The results revealed that energy consumption has a long- run equilibrium relationship with economic growth. The results of energy consumption showed a positive and significant effect on economic growth for all the countries. However, capital was positive and significantly related to economic growth for Bahrain, Oman, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE while labour had a negative but significant effect on economic growth for Bahrain, Oman, and Saudi Arabia. The Granger causality test revealed a bidirectional causality between energy consumption and economic growth for Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) while a unidirectional causality running from energy consumption to economic growth was observed for Oman and Qatar. However, no causality relationship was observed for the remaining countries.

Noor & Siddiqi (2010) assessed the relationship between energy consumption and economic growth for five South Asian countries during the period 1971-2006, using the Pedroni cointegration technique, fully modified OLS (FMOLS) and panel error correction model (PECM). Empirical results from the

Pedroni cointegration test suggest a long- run equilibrium relationship among the variables. In addition, the results from the FMOLS showed that energy consumption and capital had a positive and statistically significant impact on economic growth. However, labour exerted a negative but statistically significant effect on economic growth. The causality test suggested a one-way causality relationship running from economic growth to energy consumption for short-and long- run and feedback causality in the long run.

Apergis & Payne (2011) examined the relationship between renewable energy consumption and economic growth within a multivariate model for six South American countries_during the period 1980-2006, using the heterogeneous panel cointegration test, fully modified ordinary least square (FMOLS) and Granger causality test based on the vector- error correction model. The authors found that there is evidence of a long- run relationship among real GDP, renewable energy consumption, real gross fixed capital formation and labour force. The fully modified OLS results suggest that all the coefficients are positive and statistically significant. In addition, the Granger causality test from the vector error correction model (VECM) indicated a two-way causal relationship between renewable energy consumption and economic growth in both the short- and long-run.

Apergis & Payne (2010) employed the fully modified OLS (FMOLS) and error correction model (ECM) to determine the relationship between energy consumption and economic growth for nine South American countries covering the period 1980-2005. The results showed a long- run relationship between real GDP, energy consumption, labour force, and real gross fixed capital formation. In addition, the results from the FMOLS showed that energy consumption, capital, and labour had a positive and statistically significant impact on economic growth. The Granger causality test results revealed the existence of both short- run and long- run causality running from energy consumption to economic growth thus justifying the growth hypothesis.

A recent study by Nayan, Kadir, Ahmad & Abdullahi (2013) applied the pooled ordinary least square, panel fixed- effect methods and generalised methods of moments (GMM) to examine the relationship between energy consumption and economic growth in 23 selected countries over the period 2000-2011. The authors used both demand and supply models consisting of energy consumption, real GDP per capita, energy price, population and gross capital formation. The results showed that energy consumption had a positive and statistically significant impact on economic growth. However, the results from the energy demand model showed that real GDP per capita had a significant effect on energy consumption while the energy consumption had a less significant effect on real GDP per capita.

Sharma (2010) studied the relationship between energy consumption and economic growth for 66 countries divided into East/South Asia, Europe and Central Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean and Sub-Saharan/North Africa and Middle East. The author used panel ordinary least square (OLS) over the period 1986-2005. The results revealed that electricity consumption variables have positive and statistically significant on economic growth for East/South Asian and Pacific regions. Similarly, energy consumption has a positive and statistically significant impact on economic growth for both Europe and Central Asian and Latin American and Caribbean regions. However, energy consumption variables have positive but statistically insignificant effect on economic growth for Sub-Saharan/North Africa and Middle East regions.

Eggoh, Bankake & Rault (2011) used panel cointegration tests, dynamic ordinary least square (DOLS) and pooled mean group (PGM) for 21 African countries, divided into net energy importers and net energy exporters, from 1970-2006 to re-examine the relationship between energy consumption and economic growth. The results showed a long- run equilibrium relationship between energy consumption and economic growth for each group of countries. Moreover, energy consumption, labour force, and capital had a positive and statistically significant impact on economic growth.

Moreover, Kahsai, Nondo, Schaeffer & Gebremedhin (2012) applied the fully modified OLS (FMOLS) and Granger causality tests within the framework of the panel error correction model to explore the relationship between energy consumption and economic growth for 40 Sub-Saharan African countries segmented into low and middle income countries over the period 1980-2007. The authors used gross domestic product per capita as a proxy for economic growth, consumer price index (CPI) for prices and energy use for energy consumption. The results in respect of low-income countries showed no causality relationship between energy consumption and economic growth in the short- run. Moreover, the long- run causality revealed a bidirectional relationship between the variables for low-income countries. As for middle-income countries, the causality from the GDP to energy consumption in the short- runs but neutrality in the long run. However, the coefficient energy consumption showed that had a positive and statistically significant impact on economic growth.

Omri (2013) applied the Generalised Method of Moment (GMM) technique to examine three-way linkages between carbon emissions, energy consumption, and economic growth for the panel of 14 MENA countries during the period 1990-2011. The results revealed that energy consumption had a positive and significant effect on economic growth for Algeria, Bahrain, Iran, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, and the UAE while it had negative but significant effects on economic growth for Lebanon and Egypt. In addition, capital had a positive and significant relationship with economic growth for 7 out of 14 countries. As for labour, the coefficient showed a negative but significant relationship with economic growth for 10 out of 14 countries.

Data Collection and Methodology

The data for this study covered 40 countries comprising both emerging and frontier market countries and a period of 14 years, from 2000-2013. Data on energy consumption was obtained from the U.S. Energy Information Administration and World Development Indicators. The data on real GDP per capita, labour force and gross fixed capital formation were from the World Development Indicator. In order to examine the effect of energy consumption on economic growth in the countries under study, the dynamic panel estimation techniques were applied. In addition, as a robustness check, static panel estimation techniques were employed.

Dynamic panel estimation techniques

The dynamic panel estimation techniques used consists of the difference and system generalised method of moments (GMM) estimator proposed by Arellano & Bond (1991), Arrelano & Bover (1995)and Blundell & Bond (1998). Apart from capturing the dynamic relationship among the variables of interest, the GMM estimator would also overcome the endogeneity problem. The proposed model to be analysed for this study is stated as follows:

$$LRGDP_{i,t} = \alpha_i + \beta_1 LRGDP_{i,t-1} + \beta_2 LGFCF_{i,t} + \beta_3 LLBFC_{i,t} + \beta_4 LENGC + \mu_{i,t} \text{--------------------(3.1)}$$

Where;

$LRGDP_{i,t}$ =stands for the economic growth of the country at time t; β's are the parameters to be estimated;

$LRGDP_{i,t-1}$=is the lagged of the dependent variable;

α_i is country-specific effects assumed to be independent and constant over the countries;

LGFCF=logarithm of gross fixed capital formation;

LLBFC=logarithm of labour force;

LENGC=logarithm of energy consumption and

$\mu_{i,t}$=is the error term which is assumed to be distributed independently in all time periods of the country i.

The choice of the difference and system GMM is justified because the estimators are designed for situations with "small T, large N" panels, meaning few time periods and many individual as well as independent variables that are not strictly exogenous (Roodman, 2009).

Static panels estimation techniques

To examine the impact of energy consumption on economic growth using a static panel estimation technique, the appropriate model that gives the most robust results was chosen:

$$LRGDP_{i,t} = \alpha_i + v_i + \lambda_i + \beta_1 LGFCF_{i,t} + \beta_2 LLBFC_{i,t} + \beta_3 LENGC + \mu_{i,t} \text{-------------------------------------(3.2)}$$

Where:

i=number of cross-section units i= 1,2,...N; from 1-N,

t= is the of period t= 1,2,.... T

LRGDP=the logarithm of real GDP per capita

α =the constant parameter

β_s = are coefficients of the independent variables

LGFCF=logarithm of gross fixed capital formation

LLBFC=logarithm of labour force

LENGC=logarithm of energy consumption

μ=stochastic disturbance term

The choice of appropriate panel estimation model highly depends on the behaviour of v_i and λ_t. Here, v_i is the country-specific effect while λ_t is the time-specific effect. If the time-specific effects are absent but there are country-specific effects, the estimation results with the FE model will be chosen. However, if the time-specific effects are absent but the country-specific effects are characterised as random error-terms, then the RE model will be estimated.

Results and Discussion

In this section, the results are presented and discussed. First, the section begins with the results of both difference and dynamic, then static panel data which are jointly presented for each of the panel.

Emerging Market Countries

Table 4.2: Results of Two-Step Panel Generalised Method of Moments

Dependent Variable: Log of Real Gross Domestic Product (RGDP)		
Independent Variables	**Difference GMM**	**System GMM**
$RGDP_{t-1}$	0.589222	0.725163
	(165.46)***	(46.74) ***
LENGC	0.120698	0.090322
	(7.02) ***	(8.10) ***
LGFCF	0.172088	0.110538
	(18.69) ***	(10.70) ***
LLBFC	-0.156685	-0.137479
	(-3.27) ***	(-4.40) ***
Diagnostics Tests		
Number of Observation	207	207
Number of Countries	20	20
Sargan Test	24.3763[0.1431]	19.4037[0.2483]
Arrelano-Bond AR(2) Test	-1.5224[0.1279]	0.1002[0.1553]

Source: Author's computation using Eviews version 9

*Note: Figures in ( ) are the t-ratios, while the figures in [ ] are the p-values. Significant at (*** 1%) (**5%) (*10%)

Table 4.2 provides the results of panel GMM. The instruments were validated using the Sargan test and the Arrelano-Bond serial correlation test AR(2) revealed the absence of serial correlation at second order. Since system GMM is superior to difference GMM, the results were interpreted based on it. Although the results are almost the same in terms of variables' sign with difference GMM, there are some differences. The magnitude of the impact on economic growth differs which all the coefficients, that is, a 1% (percent) increase in energy consumption and gross fixed capital formation will respectively lead to 0.09% and 0.11% increase in economic growth. However, the coefficient of labour force had a negative but significant effect on economic growth, which implies that a 1% increase in labour force will decrease economic growth by 0.14%.

Table 4.3 Fixed-Effects and Random-Effects Results

Dependent Variable: Log of Real Gross Domestic Product (RGDP)		
Independent Variables	**Fixed-Effects**	**Random-Effects**
LENGC	0.258145	0.219769
	(5.33) ***	(4.46) ***
LGFCF	0.393658	0.407738
	(15.92) ***	(16.72) ***
LLBFC	-0.366569	-0.387911
	(-2.61) ***	(-2.78) ***
Constant	-2.936496	-2.775715
	(-4.66) **	(-4.22)
Diagnostics Tests		
Number of Observations	247	247
Number of Countries	20	20
R-Square	0.9969	0.8699
F-Statistics	3288.151[0.0000]	541.748[0.0000]
Hausman Test	17.3250[0.0006]	

Source: Author's computation using Eviews version 9

*Note: Figures in ( ) are the t-ratios while the figures in [ ] are the p-values. Significant at (*** 1%) (**5%) (*10%)

Robustness check on the estimated results employed fixed effect (FE) and random effect (RE) models (Table 4.3). To compare the FE model with the RE model, the Hausman test was applied. At value (17.32500) the test was significant, which indicates that the FE model was a better choice for the analysis than the RE model. The results from the FE model are consistent with that of the panel GMM where all the coefficients had statistically significant impacts on economic growth. Although the magnitude of the impact of energy consumption obtained in the FE model was higher, a point worth noting is that the results of the Two-Step GMM is more robust because the lagged dependent variable in FE was correlated with the error term where the number of cross-sections were higher than the time period.

Frontier Market Countries

Table 4.4 Results of Two-Step Panel Generalised Method of Moments

Dependent Variable: Log of Real Gross Domestic Product (RGDP)		
Independent Variables	**Difference GMM**	**System GMM**
$RGDP_{t-1}$	0.692295	0.518873
	(103.88)***	(9.84) ***
LENGC	0.038121	0.086764
	(4.57) ***	(2.52) ***
LGFCF	0.114692	0.043293
	(12.63) ***	(2.22) **
LLBFC	-0.273509	-0.863130
	(-8.48) ***	(-4.21) ***
Diagnostics Tests		
Number of Observation	191	191
Number of Countries	20	20
Sargan Test	18.3669[0.3661]	57.3001[0.3898]
Arrelano-Bond AR(2) Test	-0.0506 [0.9596]	0.0422[0.5625]

Source: Author's computation using Eviews version 9

*Note: Figures in ( ) are the t-ratios while the figures in [ ] are the p-values. Significant at (*** 1%) (**5%) (*10%)

The model presents consistent estimates, with no serial correlation as shown in the Arellano and Bond test for AR(2) (Table 4.4). The Sargan test shows that there were no problems with the validity of instruments used. The panel GMM estimator is consistent if there is no second-order serial correlation in the residuals. The interpretation of the results was based on the system GMM because it is more superior. The results showed that the coefficient of lagged dependent variable was positive and significant at percentage level. This suggests that the current level of economic growth was positively influenced by the level of economic growth in the previous year. The coefficient of energy consumption (0.078091) had a positive and statistically significant effect on economic growth. Hence,a 1% increase in energy consumption increases economic growth by 0.08%. In the same vein, the coefficient of gross fixed capital formation (0.117985) exerts positive and statistically significant effects on economic growth. However, labour force had a negative but significant effect on economic growth in Frontier Market countries. Thus, a 1% increase in labour force decreased economic growth by 0.53%.

Table 4.5 Fixed-Effects and Random-Effects Results

Dependent Variable: Log of Real Gross Domestic Product (RGDP)		
Independent Variables	**Fixed-Effects**	**Random-Effects**
LENGC	-0.024980	-0.097164
	(-0.36)	(-1.48) ***
LGFCF	0.273025	0.287765
	(0.03) ***	(10.04) ***
LLBFC	-0.721812	-0.510636
	(-2.10) **	(-1.53)
Constant	5.446890	4.916269
	(4.34) ***	(3.96) ***
Diagnostics Tests		
Number of Observations	230	230
Number of Countries	20	20
R-Square	0.9916	0.4101
F-Statistics	1104.383[0.0000]	52.8214[0.0000]
Hausman Test	15.8214[0.0012]	

Source: Author's computation using Eviews version 9

*Note: Figures in ( ) are the t-ratios while the figures in [ ] are the p-values. Significant at (*** 1%) (**5%) (*10%)

An alternative to the fixed effect model is the random effects model where there is a common constant and the error term has a component that represents the extent to which the intercept of the country differs from the overall intercept, that is, where country differences are stochastic. The assumption can be tested by means of the Hausman test, which can be seen as a test for the random effect model versus the fixed effect model. Table 4.5 shows that the Fixed-Effect (FE) Model was preferred based on the Hausman test results. The coefficient of energy consumption was negative, meaning that a 1% increase in energy consumption will lead to a decrease in economic growth. The coefficient of gross fixed capital formation was positive and significantly related to economic growth. However, the coefficient of labour force was negative but statistically insignificant. The point worth noting is that the result obtained from the Two-Step Panel GMM was more robust than that obtained from the model chosen based on the Hausman test.

Discussion of Findings

Although the study was mainly interested in the effect of energy consumption on economic growth, the study also interlinked it with the effect of gross fixed capital formation and labour force, in the form of the one-sector aggregate neoclassical production function, for a more realistic and comprehensive approach. Results from both difference and system GMM revealed that energy consumption had a positive and statistically significant impact on economic growth for both panels of emerging and frontier market countries at 1% level of significance, which is in line with *a priori* expectation. This is also in line with the findings of Apergis & Payne (2009) for six central American countries; Sharma (2010) for 66 selected countries; Noor & Siddiqi (2010) for five south-Asian countries and Eggoh, Bangake & Rault (2011) for 21 African countries. However, a study by Omri (2013), on Egypt and Lebanon, found a negative impact of energy consumption on economic growth.

Similarly, the coefficient of gross fixed capital formation proxy for capital showed a positive and statistically significant effect on economic growth at 1% level of significance for both panels. This concurs with the findings of Narayan & Payne (2008) for G7 countries; Apergis & Payne (2011) for six Central American countries; Noor & Siddiqi (2010) for five South-Asian countries; Omri (2013) for seven MENA countries and Al-mulali & Ozturk (2014) for six Gulf Cooperation Council countries. This implies that capital is an important determinant of economic growth.

Another puzzling result, obtained on the coefficient of labour force for Emerging Market and Frontier Market Countries panels, depicts a negative and statistically significant effect, at 1% level, on economic growth with -0.16 for Emerging Market Countries panel and -0.27 for Frontier Market Countries panel. Thus, a 1% increase will lead to decrease of 0.16% for the latter and 0.27% for the former. This concurs with the findings of Noor & Siddiqi (2010) for five South Asian countries; Omri (2013) for 14 MENA countries and Al-mulali & Ozturk (2014) for six Gulf Cooperation Council countries. This result does not support most empirical studies that show that labour force has a positive effect on economic growth. There are two possible explanations for the result. First, it may reflect the fact that industrial sectors in Emerging Market Countries are highly automated and less labuor intensive, hence the negative significant effect of the coefficient of the labour force variable. Secondly, the negative impact of labour force on economic growth in Frontier Market countries may be due to brain-drain as well as the low productivity of the uneducated and unskilled labour force.

It is, however, in contrast with that of Lee & Chang (2008) for 16 Asian countries; Apergis & Payne (2010) for nine South American countries; Pao & Fu (2013) for Brazil, and Al-mulalii, Fereidouni & Lee (2014) for 18 Latin American countries. They found that labour force had a positive and statistically significant impact on economic growth. A close look at the findings from both panels reveals an important point worth noting. The coefficient of energy consumption had a positive and statistically significant impact on economic growth for both Emerging and Frontier Market countries. However, the magnitude of its impact in Emerging Market countries was higher than that of Frontier Market countries. Similarly, the negative effect of labour force on economic growth was higher in Emerging Market countries than in Frontier Market countries.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study examined the effects of energy consumption on economic growth for the panels of Emerging and Frontier Markets countries over the period 2000-2013 using the dynamic panel method in the form of the Two-Step Panel Generalised Method of Moments (both difference and system) GMM and the static panel method in the form of the Fixed-Effects and Random-Effects models in addition to the diagnostic tests in the form of the Sargan test, Arrelano-Bond serial correlation test and Hausman test. The results revealed that both energy consumption and gross fixed capital formation had positive and statistically significant impacts on economic growth for the countries under study. However, labour force had a negative but significant effect on economic growth for both Emerging and Frontier Market countries.

Since the findings revealed that all the sampled countries are energy dependent, their policy makers should continue to promote the development of energy infrastructure with the aim of gaining higher economic growth through effective energy policies. This can be achieved through the allocation of more resources to the development of new sources of energy so as to ensure sustainability in energy use. In addition, capital has been found to have influenced positively on economic growth in both panels.It is therefore, suggested that, in order to continue to sustain high economic growth rates, these sampled countries should expand their capital stock. One way to directly increase the amount of capital stock in an economy is by increasing the spending on capital in the form of new tools, machinery and training. These forms of capital are basic necessities of production that will increase output, which in turn will stimulate economic growth.

Furthermore, the study segmented the panels based on their level of development.Possible explanations from literature opine that industrial sectors in Emerging Market Countries are highly automated and less labour intensive, hence the negative but significant effect of the coefficient for the labour force variable. The negative impact of labour force on economic growth in Frontier Market countries may be attributed to brain drain and an uneducated, unskilled, low-productivity labour force. Therefore, an overall "umbrella" policy recommendation would not be appropriate, but individually designed strategies will go a long way in boosting the efficiency and productivity of their labour force.

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Relationship between Trait Emotional Intelligence (TEI) and Happiness among Students in a Nigerian University Setting

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Abstract
Current literature suggest that Emotional Intelligence could be said to have some measure of influence on people's happiness broadly speaking and it may affect their ability to form relationships but this scenario my vary from population to population . This study thus sought to explore the factor structure of the Trait emotional Intelligence and the Oxford Happiness Inventory and the relationship between the two constructs among students in a Nigerian university. 310 undergraduates completed questionnaires obtained by convenience sampling method. Using a principal component analysis (PCA), results indicated a four factor structure for Trait Emotional Intelligence comprising emotional awareness, emotional regulation, empathy and sociability. A four factor model was also identified for the Oxford Happiness Inventory which included optimism, self-efficacy, life satisfaction and social interest. Results also showed a significant correlation between Emotional Intelligence and Happiness. We further explore the implications of these results and suggest areas for further research.

Keywords: *Nigeria, Trait Emotional Intelligence, Happiness, PCA*

Introduction

In an objective evaluation of the evolution of modern society, happiness in life has been a source of intrinsic motivation to many as a reason to consistently compete for scarce resources. People then engage in a multiplicity of daily activities due to their search to obtain happiness which they perceive would be the end product of optimal performance in those activities. Happiness therefore becomes germane to positive mental health and self-gratification (Argyle, 2001; Myers, 1992).

The capacity to express and possess strong feelings about oneself and others in one's circle of influence also could play a critical role in positive mental health. Emotions therefore may be better expressed if understood and controlled. The Trait Emotional Intelligence as a construct explains how a person's outlook can influence his emotional wellbeing. It also seeks to explain subjective evaluation of how a person perceives his emotional state in terms of mood (Adrian & Petrides, 2003). This study therefore seeks to understand the substructures and relationship of emotional intelligence and happiness as they both play a role in determining the mental health status of an individual.

Trait Emotional Intelligence (TEI)

Advances in contemporary psychology have led to the development of a series of models that measure inherent emotional states people. These models gives scores in a test symmetrical to the way Intelligence Quotient is measured making these scores obtained universal indicators for interpersonal comparisons. Petrides and Furnham, (2001), questioned these models by indicating that, self-reports measures do not provide concrete evidence of individual emotional states but just seeks to enquire into subjective outlook and perception of individual emotions. It therefore means that there is a necessity to create a construct that is standardized to measure strictly the subjective perception of emotional states of each individual taking into consideration that people need to be seen ideographically rather than from the nomothetic anecdote purported by IQ and TEI scoring systems.

Trait Emotional Intelligence was therefore created to identify and critically analyse individual perception of emotional states through the help of 15 globally accepted subscales (Petrides, 2010). Its development at the London Psychometric Laboratory has been tested for reliability in several studies and the TEI construct has been seen to produce proficient result in these areas (Meetu & Vandana, 2010). It is imperative to note that the TEI model is not an improvisation or a replacement to existing models of emotional intelligence. It is a construct that is idiographic in its outlook of individual emotional state.

The relevance of the TEI construct cannot be overemphasised as its one which clearly gives cognisance to the peculiarity of people and their role in defining the nature of their experiences. Its self-report nature of its inquiry is done in four all-encompassing dimensions where the fifteen sub dimensions are evenly distributed. Its epistemological position in the field of psychology enables the process of both qualitative and quantitative analysis (Pertrides, Pita& Kokkinaki, 2007). After clearly identifying a person's self-report within the context of emotional state, the person can then take proactive steps for the understanding his or her emotional state so as to efficiently adapt to the dynamics of his environment. The four all-encompassing scales of measurement of the TEI construct are wellbeing, sociability, self-control and emotionality (Petrides, 2010). The scales take a rather ambivalent nature because scoring high or low means certain implication on the self-perceived emotional state of the individual.

Wellbeing: This dimension is one that seeks to measure an individual's degree of gratification in life which is largely dependent on attainment of self-projected goals and accomplishments. It measures Self-esteem, Happiness and Optimism on its sub dimensions and exposes the mental state of individuals whose current state in life matches their prior expectations. Therefore respondents who tend to attain low in this area are bound to be unsatisfied and expected to have a despondent disposition and attitude towards life.

Self-Control: This dimension in the TEI clearly measures proneness to impulsivity. Individuals who find it difficult to delay gratification for goals and period that would serve a greater benefit to them may score low on this dimension. On its sub dimensions, it measures Impulse management, Stress management and Emotional Regulation which are valid global indexes for self-control (Petrides, 2009). Scoring high on this dimension is inclusive of highly rational and controlled behaviour which may later lead to a sense of exhilaration for the individuals. It is also important to note that self-perception of ability to manage stress is also measured in the TEI dimension. Stress management requires a measure of emotional strength as highly stressed circumstances may impact negatively on mental health

Sociability: This dimension is a self-measure of the social aptitude of people as regards their interpersonal interactions with people around them. This aspect goes beyond internal management of emotions by people, but external manifestation of an individual's ability to assertively understand how to deal with people in the society. It involves ability to interact and listen to people so as to effectively and optimally manage relationships. Its sub dimensions are Social Awareness, Emotional Management and Assertiveness as it takes its theoretical underpinnings from the sociability area of emotional management (Petrides, 2010). It is inclusive of self-report about the confidence with which people interact with one another and how to be tolerant of those from varying races and backgrounds. In involves the direct or vicarious effect a person has on the emotions of others around and how this infuses the decision or life choices of the people in one's environment. Therefore scoring low on this sub dimension would mean that the respondent perceives his or her interactive, accretive and social awareness as poor this may impede the ability to obtain and sustain interpersonal relationships with people (Diener, Suh, Lucas & Smith, 1999).

Emotionality: This dimension measures the ability for people to recognize their emotional states. This involves complete knowledge and control of ones emotions and enables the channelling of this emotion to build sustaining relationships with others. The sub dimensions in this area are Emotion appraisal (self and others), Emotion control, Emotion expression and Relationships showing that high scorers of this have ability to express their emotions in ways that show and purport their true feelings. People who may not score so well on this dimension may be swayed by the unfavourable circumstances to act in ways that show little or no control of emotion (Freudenthaler, Neubauer, Gabler, & Scherl, 2008).

Relative Structure of Happiness

The definition of happiness in contemporary psychology has witnessed large variations across studies and it encompasses factors responsible for the life satisfaction in people. A study by Diener (1984) identified that the definition of happiness in contained both in an affective narrative and a cognitive narrative. The affective narrative of happiness is one which deals with long periods and large lapses of pleasurable or positively inclined emotions as opposed to very low lapses of negatively inclined ones. Diener (1984) also recognized the cognitive component which encompasses profound mental satisfaction with current position, relationships and circumstances in life. It involves a measure of self-appraisal that one's life is rewarding and satisfying (Argyle, Martin, & Lu, 1995).

Happiness therefore is a combination of both narratives with the aim of living a fulfilling life and building lasting relationship even on the back drop of massively stingiest and unfavourable circumstances (David & Ilona, 2007). Happiness in the behavioural sciences has three different paradigm in which it is delicately approached; the goal and need paradigms of happiness, the biological and personality paradigm and finally the process and pragmatic paradigm (Diener, Oishi, & Lucas, 2009).

The first paradigm deals with happiness from the intrinsic and extrinsic motivation to attain goals that have been intuitively set out by the individuals. Accomplishing this expectation becomes a symbol of joy and gratification for individuals that fall within the confines of this paradigm. It also deals with the incisive steps taken by individuals to satisfy physiological and mental needs. As these needs are appeased, the individual may then feel a sense of pleasure or rather happiness (Myers, 1992).

The second deals with a genetic predisposition to be happy which is coded in our genes. It is one that sheds light on the role of nature in determining that a person will be happy or sad by the infusion of enduring traits in individuals from birth (Lykken & Tellegen, 1996). These enduring traits are inscribed in individual personality. A study by Diener and Lucas (1999), showed that there was indeed a correlation between extroversion and happiness. The study also revealed that individuals who are neurotic may not be happy as a result of the instability in their emotional states.

The final paradigm for the understanding of happiness is one which is in a relatively broader context that purports happiness as one which is a function of an individual's decision to be happy and see an improvement in his or her life by engaging in positively stimulating activities for the sole purpose if becoming happy and influencing people in the environment to do the same. It involves a positively dynamic mind-set that happiness in one of choice which is independent of the harmful nature of the environment (Argyle & Lu, 1990).

The Present Study

In this study, we seek to understand the relationship between respondent's self-report on emotional state and happiness in life in a university setting. This is within supposition that happiness and emotional intelligence can be responsible for determining the measure of life satisfaction. In other words this study seeks to understand if these two areas are independent of themselves or if they work mutually as latent variables for the association between positive mental and physical health (Diener & Ryan, 2009). We argue that, the Trait emotional intelligence is a valid and fair predictor of happiness. We hypothesise this on the backdrop of the fact that people who score high in the TEI are those who have higher intelligence and control over their emotions would be stronger at choosing to stay happy despite the nature of the circumstance they find themselves (Argyle, 2001)

We also believe that this study the TEI would be highly correlated with happiness as a critical look on the four overarching dimensions of TEI already have a measure of happiness. Thus we hypothesize based on the correlations between specific dimensions or factors of the TEI and Happiness scales. We expect to see a positive relationship between empathy and self-efficacy and a positive relationship between self-efficacy and emotional regulation. We also go further in hypothesizing that there would be a positive relationship between emotional awareness and optimism. Finally we expect to see a positive relationship between emotional regulation and life satisfaction. Measuring the relationship of each factors derived in both scales would thus give us a clear understanding of the relationship between Trait Emotional Relationship and Happiness. We also argue that low scorers on the TEI are less likely to be happy due to the poor perception of their current subjective emotional states.

In this study we seek to broaden the perspective of happiness and its relationship with the TEI by understanding how each of the 15 sub-dimension with of the TEI interchanges substantially with the measure of happiness. This interchange would be done by measuring each sub-dimension helps in the prediction of happiness in the individuals (Petrides & Furnham, 2001; Petrides, 2001). The 15 sub-dimensions are:

- Adaptability
- Emotion control
- Low impulsiveness
- Self-motivation
- Trait empathy
- Assertiveness,
- Emotion expression
- Relationships
- Social awareness,
- Trait happiness
- Emotion appraisal (self and others)
- Emotion management (others)
- Self-esteem,
- Stress management
- Trait optimism

We therefore expect to see little or no correlation with Assertiveness and Happiness as we propose that the two factors are independent of each other and measure two completely different aspect of an individual's life

Method

Respondents

A total of 310 respondents volunteered to participate in this study though a convenience sampling approach and the sample was largely undergraduates of the University of Lagos. In calculation of sample size, the GPower data software was used to calculate the requirement for sample size using significance level, e: $P \leq 0.05$ with effect size 0.3and Power (1-β err prob) 0.95.The sample size analysis indicated that a minimum sample size of 134 participants was required for the study

Measures

Trait Emotional Intelligence Questionnaire Short Form (TEIQue-SF): This is the short form of the 150 items Trait Emotional Intelligence Questionnaire TEIQue, which contains 30, items (Petrides & Furnham, 2001). The questionnaire measures worldwide and global TEI and was created in the London Psychometric laboratory. The questionnaire was adapted and modified to a 5-point Likert scale to suit the local setting in which the research was conducted. Global internal consistencies of 0.88 and also confirmed reliability consistency intervals between 0.89 and 0.95 in a study done among German respondents (Petrides, 2009; Freudenthaler, Neubauer, Galber, Sharel, 2008).

Oxford Happiness Inventory (OHI): A 29 item global questionnaire globally accepted self-report measure of happiness. (Hills & Argyle, 2002). The questionnaire was adapted and modified to a 5-point Likert scale in other to suit the local setting in which the research was carried out.

Procedure

Respondents were given the modified form of the questionnaires to complete on one-on-one basis by the second author. He approached prospective participants in the class or hostel provided they were University of Lagos students A major ethical consideration was that participation was voluntary. Respondents were simply explained the essence of the research and asked if they accepted to participate. Respondents were told they could withdraw at point.

Results

A total of 310 participants were sued for the study (144 males and 166 females). Majority of participants used in the study fell within the age range of 16-20 (accounting for 56% of the participants). Other age ranges include 21-24 (31% of participants), 25-28 (8.7% of participants) and 28 above (4.2% of participants).

Principal Component analysis was carried out on the Trait Emotional Intelligence Scale (See table 1). Results yielded a Four Factor Model which accounted for 34.340% of the total variance. Although there were cross loadings, this four factors had majority of the item loadings correctly and were similar to the four factor model derived in a studies by Platsidou (2013) and Petrides & Furnham (2001). The factors derived in this study included (a) Emotional Awareness (eigenvalue = 4.677, 15.589% explained variance) refers to how an individual is able to effectively understand and evaluate his or her emotions (b) Sociability (eigenvalue 2.467, 8.254% explained variance) refers to how an individual is able to communicate effectively with others and able to utilize emotions to facilitate conversations; (c) Emotional Regulation (eigenvalue = 1.625, 5.417% explained variance) refers to an individual's ability to exercise control and regulate emotions effectively (d) Empathy (eigenvalue = 1.524, 5.081% explained variance)refers to ability to understand people's emotions and unique experiences.

Principal Component analysis was also carried out on the Oxford Happiness Scale (See table 2) Consistent with existing literature; results indicated a four factor model that accounted for accounted for 37.613% of the total variance. The four factors loaded well on the four factors although there were a few cross loadings and were similar to the four factor model derived in a study by Platsidou (2013) and Hills & Argyle (2002). The factors derived in this study includes (a) Optimism (eigenvalue = 5.792, 19.973% explained variance) refers to how an individual is able to maintain a positive outlook or effect of every experience (b) Self Efficacy (eigenvalue 2.226, 7.667% explained variance) refers to confidence an individual has in himself and his ability to make decisions (c) Life Satisfaction (eigenvalue = 1.464, 5.047% explained variance) refers to how contented an satisfied an individual has with life in general (d) Social Interest (eigenvalue = 1.426, 4.916% explained variance)refers to the interest an individual has in other people and his ability to influence people positively.

Table 1: Item loadings on the Factors discovered after principal component analysis on the Trait Emotional Intelligence Scale

Items	Factors			
	Emotional Awareness (Factor 1)	Sociability (Factor 2)	Emotional Regulation (Factor 3)	Empathy (Factor 4)
On a whole, I'm a highly motivated person (3)	.501			
I can deal effectively with people (6)	.412			
I feel I have a number of good qualities (9)	.663			
I'm usually able to influence the way other people feel (11)	.545			
On a whole, I'm able to deal with stress (15)	.485			
I am normally able to "get into someone's shoes" and experience their emotions (17)	.435			
I normally find it difficult to control emotions when I want to (19)	-.476			
I often pause to think about my feelings (23)	.548			
I generally don't find life enjoyable (5)		-.548		
I often find it difficult to show affection to those close to me (16)		-.445		
On a whole, I'm pleased with life (20)		.676		
I would describe myself as a good negotiator (21)		.499		
I find it difficult to bond even with those close to me (28)		-.520		
Generally, I'm able to adapt to new environments (29)		.486		
I usually find it difficult to regulate my emotions (4)			.516	
I tend to change my mind frequently (7)			.588	
Many times I cannot figure out the emotions I'm feeling (8)			.575	
I often find it difficult to stand up for my rights (10)			.531	
I tend to get involved in things I later wish I could get out of (22)			.657	
I don't seem to have power at all over other people's feeling (26)			.456	
I often find it difficult to see things from another person's viewpoint (2)				.469
I tend to "back down" even when I know I am right (25)				-.565

*Note: Rotation converged in 5 iterations

Table 2: Item loadings on the Factors discovered after principal component analysis on the Oxford Happiness Scale

Items	Factors			
	Optimism (Factor 1)	Self-Efficacy (Factor 2)	Life Satisfaction (Factor 3)	Social Interest (Factor 4)
I find most things amusing (7)	.443			
I am always committed and involved (8)	.558			
I laugh a lot (11)	.543			
I am very happy (15)	.590			
I find beauty in some things (16)	.467			
I always have a cheerful effect on others (17)	.524			
I feel able to take anything on (20)	.666			
I feel fully mentally alert (21)	.550			
I often experience joy and elation (22)	.478			
I rarely wake up feeling rested (5)		.477		
I am not particularly optimistic about the future (6)		.405		
I don't think I look attractive (13)		.421	-.415	
I don't find it easy to make decisions (23)		.433		
I don't have a particular sense of meaning and purpose in life (24)		.474	-.408	-.439
I don't have fun with other people (27)		.528		
I don't feel particularly healthy (28)		.713		
I don't have particularly happy memories of the past (29)		.595		
I don't feel particularly pleased with the way I am (1)			-.614	
Life is good (9)			.490	
I don't think the world is a good place (10)			-.463	
I am very satisfied with everything in my life (12)			.705	
I am intensely interested in other people (2)				.526
I have very warm feelings towards everyone (4)				.418
I usually have good influence on events (26)				.537

*Note: Rotation converged in 11 iterations

A correlational analysis was further conducted to understand the relationship between factors of Trait Emotional Intelligence and Happiness. This is shown in table 3.

Table 3: Correlation matrix of Trait Emotional Intelligence Factors and Happiness Factors

	TEI 1	TEI 2	TEI 3	TEI 4	HPP 1	HPP 2	HPP 3	HPP 4
TEI 1 Emotional Awareness								
TE1 2 Sociability	.051							
TEI 3 Emotional Regulation	-.119	.153*						
TE1 4 Empathy	-.065	.152**	.337**					
HPP 1 Optimism	.360**	.100	-.057	-.122*				
HPP 2 Self-Efficacy	-.268**	.114	.389**	.302**	-.354**			
HPP 3 Life Satisfaction	-.171**	.160**	.274**	.298**	-.152**	.590**		
HPP 4 Social Interest	.300**	.149*	-.061	-.044	.461**	-.253**	-205**	

*Note: *P <.05, **P <.01 (2 –tailed)

Discussion

This study was conducted to understand the factor structure and relationship between TEI and Happiness. The principal component analysis indicated a four factor solution for both scales which are consistent with existing literature. TEI scales in the principal components analysis comprised emotional awareness, emotional regulation, empathy and sociability. The four dimensions of happiness which includes optimism, self-efficacy, life satisfaction and social also loaded well on their respective factor as hypothesised.

The results showed a positive relationship exists of a positive correlation between TEI and Happiness and this confirms the findings in previous studies. (Chamorro-Premuzic et al., 2007; Gallagher & Vella-Brodrick, 2008). The results further showed that there was a positive relationship between emotional awareness and optimism which means that people who are aware of their relative emotional states are likely going to possess a positive affect towards their daily experiences. This finding is similar to the study conducted by Salovey, Mayer, Goldman, Turvey, and Palfai (1995), where they identified emotional clarity as imperative to understanding how to regulate moods in varying circumstances. Therefore, the ability to regulate these moods would in turn give an individual the positive and optimistic outlook to experiences.

Furthermore, the results indicated significant positive relationship also exists between self-efficacy and emotional regulation which means that the more confident an individual has in his ability to successfully performs a task, the more he or she is likely to control or regulate emotion. Thus emotional regulation is also related to life satisfaction showing that satisfaction might also de dependent on an individual's ability to feel in control of his relative emotional states.

Conclusion and Implications of Findings

This study has thus given a clear and a fair insight into the underlying complexities of affective or emotional states by drawing attention to people's perception of their individual emotional states through the TEI. The study goes further in identifying factors and dimensions of emotions that may be related to a living a happy and satisfying life. This study thus adds to the growing body of knowledge by confirming the adaptability of the TEI model in Nigeria. It would in turn facilitate the development of models and programs that can results in enhancing happiness amongst tertiary institution students in Nigeria. This study also helps in the sense that developing an emotionally friendly learning environment can incorporate psychological interventions in our education system to help students develop emotional intelligence to enable them attain life satisfaction.

However, like most studies, this research also has its limitations. The sampling was a non-probability approach and the sample was not weighted against the population. Therefore, other researchers may consider addressing this short coming in future research. Apart from that we recommend that further research should use a larger sample size to investigate the relationship between the two variables. Since this study was done in a cross sectional way, we also recommend that the variable investigated should be done to examine how stable emotional intelligence affects happiness across an individual's life span in a longitudinal context

We also recommend that the qualitative methods like interpretative phenomenological analysis be put into understanding how people experience emotional states with regards to how it affects an individual's happiness in life. This would give us further insight into novel and unique experiences of people that could improve general psychological interventions.

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