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The Rise of Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Northern Nigeria: Critical Analysis and Proposal for New Resolution Strategies

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Abstract: The outbreak of conflict in social settings is an intrinsic part of human history. As experienced throughout history, conflict has been a persistent social phenomenon. Though a global phenomenon, conflict in Africa has assumed a painful reoccurring dimension. In the contemporary era, over 25 percent of Africans live in conflict endemic and afflicted countries. In Nigeria, incessant conflicts reinforced by pervasive socioeconomic inequality, political domination, religious fanaticism, ethnic rivalry, and class struggle between the haves and have-nots, particularly in the north are underpinned by the structural configuration that is inherent in the Nigerian society. Drawing on Structural Conflict and Structural Violence theories by Karl Marx and Johan Galtung (with additional theoretical perspectives from the works of Azar, Burton, and Dahrendorf), we interrogate the constant outbreak of ethno-religious crises in Nigeria, especially in the Northern part of the country, its intractable nature, leading to the failure of present resolution strategies. The study reveals that structural violence, that manifests as a result of struggles over political interest, resources, fear of religious domination, external religious occurrence, or even allegations of blasphemy and a host of inequalities are the major triggers of ethno-religious conflicts in the country. The study concludes that structural reform that engenders an inclusive political system, equal distribution of resources, social equality, and justice, greater roles for religious and traditional leaders, religious tolerance, and bridging of the gap between the rich and the poor will undoubtedly decrease if not completely eradicate the constant outbreak of ethno-religious violence in parts of the country.
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Key words: Africa, Ethno-Religious Conflict, Northern Nigeria, Critical Analysis, Resolution of Conflicts

Introduction

Social interaction and disagreement, leading to violent conflict and destruction have been dominant features of human history. From the earliest period, the clash of interests and mutual in-exclusive needs has masterminded the descent into chaos of societies for which empires, kingdoms, and even nation-states became infamously notorious. Conflict has indeed become an inevitable part of human history. Remarkably, the end of the Cold War intensified the frequent outbreak of crises particularly in developing countries, where struggles over political interests, resources allocation, and religious rights and interests amongst others became a stubborn tradition. According to scholars such as Tandon, (1999); Bassey & Oshita, (2007), these factors have been at the root of the widespread nature of violent conflicts in Africa since the 1970s. Prominent examples of conflict-prone countries include Sudan, South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Niger Republic, Libya, Central African Republic, Somali, Burkina Faso, Mali, etc. While this has been a prevailing tradition in most African states, the situation in Nigeria, where inter-ethnic and inter-religious disagreements and rivalries are endemic, is most complex. While some of these conflicts are new, others are longstanding and reoccurring.

In recent times, as in most parts of Africa characterized by diverse forms of conflicts, ethno-religious crises have become even more prevalent, particularly in the northern part of Nigeria. Since the country returned to civil rule in 1999 after decades of military rule, crises of ethnic and religious dimensions became a regular and constant feature of social interaction. This disturbing trend is traceable to fierce competition for resources (land, water, mineral), the political interest of some leaders, religious intolerance, sectarian violence, and several other trigger factors (Otite and Albert, 1999:86). According to Gyong & Ogbadoyi, (2013), there is not a year that goes by without a significant violent conflict erupting in parts of the country. Buoyed by illegal arms smuggled across the Sahel, particularly since the destabilization of Libya following Arab Spring and the death of Gaddafi, conflict in this area has varied in breadth, intensity, and form, and has taken an incalculable toll on human lives, leaving many dead, injured, and homeless (Gyong & Ogbadoyi, 2013).

Citing the recurring Arab-Israeli conflict, the Balkans question which played a huge part in the eventual break-up of Yugoslavia, as well as the unfolding events in the former Soviet Union, Bassey and Oshita, (2007:57), described Ethno-religion crises and disagreements as highly emotive phenomena which generate most intractable and pervasive conflict for which resolution are not usually durable. In Nigeria,

religious and ethno-communal crises first became widespread in the early 1980s following the maitatsine unrest in Northern Nigeria. Ever since incidences of ethno-religious conflicts have become a constant episode in Nigeria's national life often with far-reaching destructive consequences. According to NISER, cited in Akanbi & Ladi-Ladosu, (2022), about 1000 incidences of ethno-religious communal clashes crises that claimed over 50, 000 lives, took place between 1999 and 2004. Scholars have attributed the incessant outbreaks of conflicts of ethno-religions nature to a mixture of factors bordering on religion and ethnic nationalism, struggle over resources, political marginalization, etc (Akanbi & Ladi-Ladosu, 2022), (Bagaji, 2012). The various clashes also led to the displacement of millions of people and the destruction of properties across the country.

Over the years, despite efforts in several quarters, attempts at resolving ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria have produced little success, thus its recurring nature. For instance, despite concerted resolution efforts (through the deployment of the military, setting up of Judicial Panels of Inquiries, and interface dialogue between religious leaders), religious and ethnic conflicts have continued to reoccur in Kaduna State since 1981 when Adara, Kachia land dispute between settlers and natives resulted in first major violent clashes in the state. An examination of

communal conflicts in the state shows a dangerous persistent trend. This is replicated across several other states, particularly in northern Nigeria where cultural and religious differences have pitched indigenes against settlers, Christians against Muslims, and rival political camps against one another.

As a result, scholars have expressed frustration at the lack of effective solutions to ethno-religious crises in Nigeria. The failure of the present resolution approach to effectively solve issues surrounding religious extremism, indigene-settler struggle, and persistent land disputes around the north and Middle Belt, in particular, illustrate this trend. For instance, Sampson, (2012) argued that the government's uncoordinated attitude to ethno-religious conflicts, as well as the lack of a long-term and effective strategy for managing them, are to be blamed for its recurring nature.

To this end, it has become important to critically analyse the problem which has constituted a grave underbelly to the nation's political landscape and national unity, evaluate the present resolution strategies, and propose effective and efficient ones. Therefore, this study seeks to examine not only the reasons behind the widespread outbreak of ethno-religious crises in Nigeria, especially in the Northern part of Nigeria, but also its intractable nature, leading to the failure of resolution efforts. Beyond understanding why such crises seem difficult to be

resolved, the study also explores their major consequences and suggests new measures to solve ethno-religious conflicts in the country.

Theoretical Framework

Theories are a major component of research. It helps in the explanation of scientific and social phenomena. This study is anchored on two theories. It draws on the Marxist Structural Conflict and Cultural Violence Theory which were first propounded by Karl Marx and by Johan Galtung in 1848 and 1990 respectively. In this study, the theories are used to explain the conundrum of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria, particularly in the north.

First, Karl Marx, widely regarded as the father of classical social constructs, whose works have continued to influence successive social theorists, propounded the structural theory of conflict. One fundamental belief on which Marx anchored his works is that the existence of human on earth is characterized by endless class struggle. His major view was therefore that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles" (Dahrendorf, 1959a: 198). In the same line of thought, Marx and Engels (1848: 8) further highlighted how the struggle between exploited people and those who exploit them has underlined the histories of successive human societies. Indeed, one fundamental finding of theorists such as Marx is the connection between class

formation and conflict. Thus the Marxist Structural Conflict theory holds that human society is structured in a way that supports oppression, inequality, and domination of one class over the other. The theory further explains that the struggle over limited resources, power, and influence, and the quest to sustain dominance over the disadvantaged and powerless in society is at the root of conflict within human societies. In other words, it examines how groups within a society compete for scarce resources (Marx, 1970, cited in Eze, 2021). Consequently, according to Coser, (1957), angry and unsatisfied groups seek to expand their share of power, influence, and status in the prevailing system. Theorists of the Marxist school of thought have also highlighted the inherent likelihood for states and their institutions to perpetrate violence against their own people (Bell, & Cleaver, 2002).

Therefore, in line with Marx's structural conflict theory, most conflicts in Nigeria have been traced to the roots of structural issues that have manifested through struggles for resources, power, resistance to religious domination, or protection of religious belief. This is because these factors confer advantages in Nigeria's socio-economic and political spheres characterised by competition and class struggle. Struggles over these issues, especially in Nigeria made up of over 250 ethnic groups, have often manifested in

conflicts of ethnic and religious nature. So, the emergence of such groups as Boko Haram, Niger Delta Militants (MEND), Independent People of Biafra (IPOB), and bandits are ripple effects of the competition over power, resources, influence and to assert religious influence. Salawu, (2010) noted that the accusations and allegations of neglect, oppression, dominance, exploitation, victimization, discrimination, marginalization, nepotism, and bigotry that result from structural framing that induces exploited groups against each other are key sources of what we currently see as ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria.

In addition, the fact that Nigeria's political environment is susceptible to ethnic and religious influence has made inciting one group (ethnic or religious) against another for political objective a potent weapon in the hands of the political class. Consequently, often time, in the quest to take or retain political power, political leaders leverage on ethnic and religious linings to further their political interests. This often results in ethnic or religious conflict with their attendant damage to properties and the loss of human life. This resonates with the view of Banton when he noted that "a shared ethnic origin may be a basis on which individuals are mobilised for collective action" including violence (Banton, 2000: 481).

According to Marx, domineering and oppressive forms of human relations which he christened 'class struggle' is at the root of structural conflicts (Marx, 1848). Also, oftentimes, these patterns of conflicts are propelled by forces other than the conflictants. Besides structural issues, most conflictants have no grounds to be in conflict in the first instance. Marx's writings suggest that structural conflicts can only be solved if structural issues underlying them are addressed. Thus, oppressors need to identify ways of conceding to the demands of the oppressed as sustaining the status quo can perpetuate structural conflict. In the case of Nigeria, structural issues at the root of incessant conflicts of ethnic and religious backgrounds are embedded in the fundamental political and economic structure of the country which has given rise to poverty, suffering, misrule, exploitation, mutual distrust, frustration, and aggression. Addressing these issues is therefore vital to solving protracted conflicts in the country.

Other theorists whose works have further developed the theoretical focus of conflict theory include Dahrendorf, Burton, Azar, and Galtung. For Dahrendorf whose works were greatly influenced by Marx's sociological foundation, "in every conflict, one party attacks and another defends. The defending party wants to retain and secure its position, while the attacking party has to fight it in order to improve its own condition" (Dahrendorf, 1959a: 126).

On his part, Burton notes that human conduct is driven by the search for protection, recognition, identity, and personal development. The failure of modern states, such as Nigeria to meet these needs, therefore, triggers conflicts of varied forms. According to Burton, the structural explanation for social conflicts is underscored by a state's inability to meet the fundamental needs of the people (cited in Rubenstein, 2001; Ramsbotham, et al, 2005, 68 – 77). For instance, the absence of security for lives and properties can ultimately lead to the emergence of non-state actors who are either determined to provide the security themselves or exploit the situation for selfish gains. This indeed explains the situation in Nigeria where the emergence of groups such as OPC, Bakassi Boys, IPOB, and several others are products of self-preservation in the face of mounting insecurity in the country. According to Ho-Won Jeong, the inability of a state to meet and preserve the 'identity needs' of a group can metamorphose into identity-based armed conflict (Ho-Won Jeong, 2010). Ho-Won Jeong's perspective, therefore, explains the emergence of diverse forms of ethnic nationalities groups such as IPOB, OPC, MEND, MASSOB, etc.

For Azar, Grievances emanating from a place of deprivation, denial of basic and crucial human needs as well as state's failure to redress those lead to sustained social conflicts (Azar, & Farah, 1981; Azar, 1990; Azar, 1991). Azar also blamed "structural inequality" normalized in political and economic realms as majorly responsible for the perpetuation of social conflicts. Loadenthal posits that viewing human nature as one that is underlined by need and self-actualization is inextricably vital to the understanding of conflicts from a structural perspective (Loadenthal, 2019). This is because oppression, marginalization, and socio-political and economic systems that are shaped by deprivation and denial of basic human needs lead to protracted conflicts.

Furthermore, Cultural Violence Theory theorized by Galtung emphasized "those aspects of culture...exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art…that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence" (Galtung, 1990: 291). Galtung further posited that the existence of 'power imbalances' and structure 'normalized' and sustained by the state give rise to conflicts of ethnic and religious nature (Althusser, 1970). In addition, Galtung draws attention to the nature of structural conflict, stating that:

> There may not be any person who directly harms another person in the structure. The violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances. Resources are unevenly distributed, as when income distributions are heavily

skewed, literacy/education unevenly distributed, medical services existent in some districts and for some groups only, and so on. Above all the power to decide over the distribution of resources is unevenly distributed (Galtung, 1969:171).

For Galtung, the solution to structural violence will require constant spotlight and scrutiny of violent causing structures which will inextricably lead to the transformation of "structures pregnant with violence into less violent ones" (Galtung, 1985: 146). Galtung further argues that attaining a state of peace and tranquility in a state characterized by protracted conflict requires going beyond the mere cessation of hostilities (negative peace) to addressing the root causes of the violence (positive peace) (Galtung,1988).

In line with Galtung's submission above, it is therefore arguable that the existence of 'power imbalances,' state 'normalized' inequalities, and aspects of religion (fanatism) give rise to ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria. The failure to address the structural issues has led to the perpetuation of the conflicts which have thus defied all efforts at resolving them.

Literature Review

Generally, the nature of conflict and its implication for social interaction has been explored by scholars of diverse backgrounds. In specific terms, the topic of ethno-religious crises, causative factors, and consequences has also featured prominently in the lenses of scholars. With this in mind, this section will examine definitions of ethno-religious conflict, and conceptualize ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria.

For Holsti 1983:350, cited in Aremu, (2010: 550), conflict represents a "particular relationship between…rival factions within a state which implies subjective hostilities or tension manifested in subjective economic or military hostilities." Relatedly, Coser (1998, as cited in Aremu, 2010: 550) sees conflict "as a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power, and resources in which the aims of the conflicting parties are to injure or eliminate their rivals." On the other hand, according to Yakubu, (2005:19), ethno-religious conflict is said to occur when a conflict's ultimate purpose is ethnic or religious in origin. Put differently, this is a situation where the relationship between and among adherents and members of one religion or ethnic group and other similar groups is characterized by mutual distrust, antagonism, and lack of cordiality. This is even more complex in countries with diverse ethnic and religious leanings (Salawu, 2010). Conflicts emanating from this origin are frequently linked to ethnic or religious sentiments arising from the quest to protect and advance the course and interest of one's ethnicity or religion. It's worth noting that ethnic and religious

prejudice is a common practice in Nigeria's social relations. All of this can lead to some forms of relative discrimination between members of different ethnic or religious groups based on different systems of socio-cultural and religious practices. As a result, relationships between people of different religions and ethnicity tend to be shaped by contextual discrimination, a lack of cordiality, mutual suspicion, and fear, as the history of intergroup relations among Nigeria's ethnic and religious groups has illustrated. Judging from the above, Salawu, (2010); Kadayifci-Orella, (2009) see ethno-religious conflicts as the clash of interests that involve members of different religions and ethnic groups that are characterized by disagreement, competition, violent clashes, and incompatible posturing by the groups involved.

The foregoing explains why, since 1980, 'ethno-religious' crises have remained a prominent feature in Nigeria's national life. It's thus clear that conflict perpetuates a state of rivalry and competition between groups whose interests intersect.

Scholars have linked the outbreak of ethno-religious crises to several factors. For instance, Anafi, (2004); Conversi, (1999); Idahosa & Akov, (2013), situate the outbreak of ethno-religious conflicts at the doorstep of bad governance, the elevation of certain religious or ethnic groups over others by the political system as well as the quest to attain dominant status by religious

and ethnic groups. Also, from the perspective of Ibrahim (2000:69), the struggle for political dominance and against exclusion, especially among the largest ethnic groups is at the root of ethno-religious and communal conflicts in Nigeria. Another strand of scholars who link ethno-religious conflicts to the failure of governmental institutions in Africa includes Obasanjo (1991), Anyang' Nyong'o (1991) & Msabaha (1991). To them, incessant conflicts stem from the inability of crucial institutions of national governance to effectively mediate conflict.

On the other hand, Machava, (2008); Duala-M'Bedy (1984); Fonkem (2013); Okoyo (1977); Cohen (1995); Ake (1985) conversely, linked ethno-religious crises to the disruption and disunity that characterised European colonial experiment in Africa. To them, the 'divide and rule' strategy of the British colonial administration created longstanding distrust and rivalry among diverse ethnic groups in Nigeria which has now snowballed into ethnic conflicts of unquantifiable proportion. In the words of Fonkem (2013), multifaceted conflicts bedeviling African countries are by-products of "Africa's past and, specifically, in the colonization and de-colonization processes." In the same vein, Cohen, (1995: 11) submitted that modern African states are products of colonial creation that came to be without regard for "regional diversities" thus culminating in

marginalization by the dominant powers. Consequently, the challenges created by colonialism and the flawed de-colonisation process were handed down to African states that emerged after independence. In effect, being an African country with a history of flawed colonial and decolonization processes, Nigeria therefore inherited and has been manifesting these consequences resulting in all shades of interethnic and communal conflicts. Indeed, the British colonial administration in Nigeria, which prioritized its economic interest over foisting equitable and sustainable political structure that will accommodate the interests and peculiarity of various groups did little to encourage cordial intergroup relations in postcolonial Nigeria.

Regrettably, each outbreak of ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria usually comes at a huge cost. According to Babangida (2002:11), cited in Idahosa & Akov, 2013), the regular occurrence of conflicts linked to ethnic and religious backgrounds has given rise to "waste of enormous human and material resources in ethnically and religiously inspired violent encounter, clashes and even battles, threats to the security of life and properties, the heightening of the fragility of the economy and political process." Condemning the incessant outbreak of ethno-religious conflicts in Plateau State in the early 2000s, Obasanjo lists the consequences to include: the destruction of lives and properties, breakdown of law and order, displacement of citizens, and loss of foreign investments. He posited that:

> "…hundreds have been killed with much more wounded or displaced from their homes on account of their ethnic or religious identification. Schooling for children has been disrupted and interrupted; business lost billions of naira and property worth much more destroyed…visitors and inventors have fled or are fleeing Plateau State and the neighbouring states have had their economies and social life disrupted and dislocated by the influx of internally displaced persons (Obasanjo, 2004 cited in Fawole & Bello 2011: 216).

According to Musa, Adamu, & Hasley, (2021), over 2000 lives were wasted during the February-May 2000 Sharia riot in Kaduna State alone. The onset of the 2000s in Nigeria witnessed the eruption of ethno-religious violence over the introduction of Sharia law (Islamic legal system) by most state governments in the north. Fears over its application to Christians in the affected states led to religious conflicts across several states.

In the same vein, Onwumah (2014), cited in Eze, (2021) identifies other consequences linked to the incessant outbreak of violence in Nigeria. He highlighted the damage done to critical national infrastructures, discourages foreign investors (which reduces Nigeria's share of FDI), portray Nigeria in bad

light internationally, rapid reduction in productivity in agriculture and related sectors, and the displacement of thousands of citizens from their homes amongst others. As regards displacement of people, a recent Punch Newspaper's report indicated that over 2 million people were displaced in the North East (Punch 2018).

Ethno-Religious Conflict in Northern Nigeria: A Historical Background

The works of scholars across different fields have established that Nigeria is a hotbed of ethnic and religious conflicts (Abdulkadir, 2011; Sampson, 2012; Bagaji, 2012; Gyong & Ogbadoyi, 2013). However, the situation in Northern Nigeria in particular, with a reputation as a breeding ground for ethno-religious conflict in the country is most complex. From a historical perspective, the origin of crises of ethno-religious nature has been traced to Lord Lugard's amalgamation of 1914 which merged the Northern and Southern protectorates to form a single entity (Essien 2009: 153). Before this period, the two protectorates, with opposing characteristics and people, and different levels of development, were administered separately and would have potentially formed different countries. There is a general feeling that the 1914 unification resulted in the creation of a union of unequal, incompatible, and diverse ethnic groups with different traditional, cultural and religious histories. The

"unholy alliance," says Bradat (1979), cited in Umaru, & Isaac, (2019) has resulted in unspoken competition embedded in intergroup relations in contemporary Nigeria society (Nnoli 1980). This pattern, according to Nnoli, is a product of unequal treatment of ethnic groups at the height of British colonialism with the north seen in several quarters as having been favoured by the British despite its backwardness in education, economic potentials and political awareness in comparison to the south. The political structure established by the British during the amalgamation aggravated the disconnect and set in motion conditions for endless contestations between the north and south. Hence, following independence, fierce competition, violent clashes, ethno-religious conflicts, and bloodshed have become a regular occurrence. Describing British colonial agenda, Harold Smith, who served as a colonial administrator in Nigeria affirmed that:

> …Nigeria was my duty post, when we assessed Nigeria…we found in the Southern region: strength, intelligence, determination to succeed, well-established history, complex but focused life style, great hope, and aspirations…the East was good in business and technology, the West was good in administration and commerce, law and medicine but it was a pity we planned our agenda to give power at all cost to the Northerners (Okon, 2008, p.2).

Accordingly, Fearon & Laitin, (2003); Ojo, 2007; Ostien, 2009); Akpanika 2017, p. 69) submitted that 'divide and rule,' instituted by British colonial policies are behind the political crises, intergroup grievances, resentment, socio-economic disequilibrium and ethno-religious conflicts that have characterized post-independent Nigeria. With regard to intractable ethno-religious conflict in northern Nigeria, as Bahir succinctly puts it, the once accommodating and caring nature of the region has been transformed into an aggressive hotbed of "violence and uncontrollable destruction of lives and property" (Bahir 2005, cited in Umaru, & Isaac, 2019: 139). The emergence of terror groups in the mode of Boko Haram and bandits has created a vast array of ungoverned spaces which have made the north, unsafe, dangerous, and unstable.

Scholars have identified various factors responsible for the incessant outbreak of ethnic and religious crises in northern Nigeria (Ostien, 2009). First, a school of thought heaps the blame on fear of domination and mutual suspicion among members of various ethnic and religious groups in the north. In this connection, inter-group conflict pitching indigenes against settlers is widespread across the North. For instance, from Plateau (Jos) and Taraba to Benue and Kaduna States, clashes between indigenes and settlers have continued to trigger violent conflicts resulting in destruction, killings, and displacement. The influx of pastoralist

from the core north to Middle Belt states have created a situation in which indigenous people (mostly Christians) are locked in an endless battle with settlers (majorly Muslims) over land (for grazing and farming), water, political rights, and religious freedom.
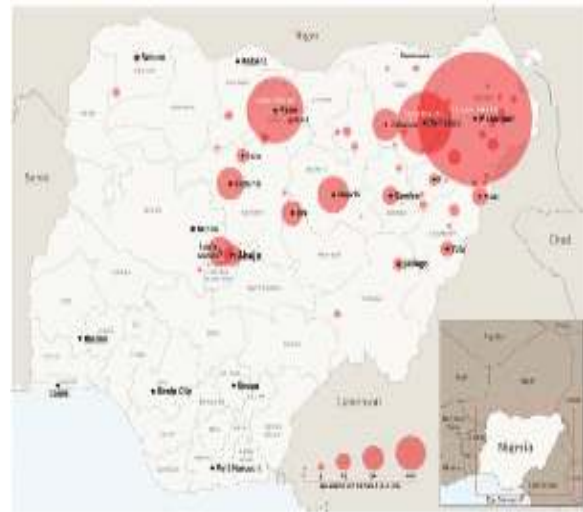
Nigeria map showing ethno-religious conflict endemic areas. Source: Human Right Watch

Regarding the historical and ongoing ethnic and religious tension in Kaduna State, Michael; Egwemi; Boniface, (2021) links it to the growing fears of political dominance and religious freedom in the state. There is an existence of mutual distrust and anxiety between Muslim faithful and Christian adherents over what they see as potential Christian/Muslim domination. Though no up-to-date statistic on religious composition in the area, the north is dominated by Muslims, however, Middle Belt states

such as Plateau, Taraba, Benue, and to a lesser extent Kaduna are mostly Christians (Pierri, and Barkindo, 2016).

Muslim fundamentalists have also expressed fears over westernization. On his part, Falaki (1988) cited in Michael et al, (2022) posits that rivalry between the two groups also manifests in the political sphere. Consequently, Muslims are not known to give their votes to a non-Muslim candidate for fear of a government alien to the norms, values, and aims of Islam. On the other hand, Christian fundamentalists and activists also express fear over what they term the Islamization agenda of the Muslims located in a possible extension of Sharia law on non-Muslims. Chabal, (2009) in the same vein, link ethno-religious crises in Kaduna State to land-related disagreement between southern Kaduna Christian indigenes and their settlers' Muslim Fulani counterparts. This is also the situation in neighbouring Plateau State and other parts of Northern Nigeria where ethno-religious-related crises occur regularly.

According to Kwaja, (2011), the constant outbreak of ethno-religious conflicts in the state, pitching mainly the Anaguta, Afiere, and Berom (Christian-dominated ethnic groups), against the mostly Hausa and Fulani Muslims are attributable to the struggle over land, fear of religious domination and political power. In the view of Usman, (1987), the exploitation of ethnic and

religious fault-lines for personal interest by the political class and elites has added a dangerous dimension to the fragile ethno-religious identity of the north. According to Nwagwu, (2016), the fundamental factors in indigenous and settlers' struggles are located in the uneven redistribution of societal advantages and unhealthy competition for scarce economic resources, cultural heritage syndrome, fear of religious dominance, and distrust.

Similarly, the weaponisation of poverty and deliberate impoverishment of the people so as to perpetuate political and economic status quo in addition to low investment in education, high birth rate, social exclusion, and feudal tradition that is prevalent across the north have continued to produce the social forces that have sustained the trend of violence of ethnic, religious and communal background.

Research has shown that dangerous ethno-religious conflicts began to dominate the north from the late 1970s and early 1980s. With the passage of time, it has, unfortunately, become a rather constant threat and sad norm. Examples of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria, particularly in the northern part of Nigeria abound. For instance, the December 18, 1980, Maitasine religious riot in Kano which witnessed the death of 4,000 people (including the founder, Marwa) and massive destruction of properties was the first major religious crisis in Nigeria (Adesoji, 2011);

Okwueze: 2003:143). Masterminded by Muhammadu Marwa, a Cameroonian resident in Kano, Maitasine, spread anti-government and secular messages and unleashed religiously motivated violence that would go on to plant faith-based discord between Christians and Muslims in the region. Seen by his followers (mostly young, uneducated, and poor) as an Islamic reformer (*mujaddid*), Marwa condemned western education, technological innovation, and culture and referred to those who take part in them as "infidel" (Adesoji, 2011; Isichei, 1987). Maitatsine's core ideology and *modus Operandi* has portrayed it as a precursor of contemporary Boko Haram.

Immediately following Maitasine were disturbing and destructive ethno-religious crises that erupted in Jimeta Yola, Gombe, Ilorin, Bauchi town, Kano, and Zango-Kataf (Kaduna State) in 1984, 1985, 1986, 1991, 1991, and 1992 respectively (all in Northern Nigeria). The return to democratic rule in 1999, following decades of military dictatorship, against popular expectation, resulted in the eruption of even more damaging ethno-religious conflicts in Northern Nigeria particularly. The introduction of civilian leadership was said to have awaken passive agitations, intergroup resentment, and revolt against socioeconomic exploitation that favoured the political class. The existence of ethnic and religious distrust further gave voice to these conditions.

The introduction of Sharia, the Islamic legal system, which among other things, permit the prosecution of offenders under Islamic laws, rather than the conventional courts, first in Zamfara State, and subsequently in several other states in the north, kick-started a new but dangerous episode of ethno-religious crises in the north Eze, (2021). The circle of violence that followed sharia has been described by many as the most single destructive violence in Nigeria since the civil war, 1967 – 1970. Sharia-related crises (known locally as sharia riots) broke out in several northern states including Kano, Zamfara, Kaduna, and Plateau between 2000 and 2005. One remarkable feature of the Sharia riots was the fact that for the first time in Nigeria's history of ethno-religious violence, there were reprisal attacks in other parts of the country where victims killed in the north hailed from. In Aba, Abia State (South East), the return of corpses of Igbos Killed in the north triggered reprisal attacks on northerners in the state where many were reported killed with survival seeking refuge in military installations. Meanwhile, the Governor of Abia State at the time, Orji Uzor-Kalu warned that Islamic fundamentalists and extremists in the north should desist from further killing Igbos residing in the north at the slightest provocation, even when Igbos were not directly linked or responsible for violence and carnage. Speaking as the governor of Abia State

whose citizens residing in the north were victims of the riots, Kalu threatened that "Nobody should kill an Igbo man again in the name of religion…there will be retaliation" (The New Humanitarian, 2000).

Meanwhile, the greatest form of ethno-religious violence in northern Nigeria crept into the national consciousness in 2009, having been incubated for over a decade. The outbreak of Boko Haram insurgence in some northern states (simultaneous attacks on police stations in Bauchi, Borno, Yobe states) in 2009 signposted the start of Nigeria's long history with sectarian violence, suicide bombing, terrorism, abduction, attacks on religious places, and the disruption of productive activities in the northeast. According to the BBC, Boko Haram preaches an interpretation of Islam that renders participation in any political or social action connected with Western civilization un-Islamic or "haram." Voting in elections, wearing shirts and other forms of western clothing, and having a secular education (BBC, 2016) were all considered to be "haram" and against the will of Allah. It's Arabic and official name Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad, translates to "People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad" (BBC, 2016). The escalation of violence has seen Boko Haram and its splinter groups attack or bomb the UN building in Abuja, Police Headquarters in Abuja, Military and police barracks,

schools, churches, farmlands, and several others. According to UNDP, attacks and violence linked to Boko Haram have killed over 350, 000 people and displaced millions (Reuters 2021), especially in the northeastern states of Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa. In recent times, it has extended attacks to neighbouring countries of Cameroon, Niger Republic, and Chad in the Chad Basin region.

Furthermore, ethno-religious crises in Nigeria may also occur as a reaction to external events or over comments deemed blasphemous towards Allah. Examples include the 2002 Miss World Beauty Pageant and the Danish Carton. More than 100 lives were lost in 2002 over Miss World beauty held in Kaduna in northern Nigeria (Agbo, 2018). In 2006, protests by Muslims in northern Nigeria over the Danish cartoon which depicted Prophet Muhammad, and retaliation over the killing of southerners in the north during the crises left dozens dead (New York Times, 2006). Another example of an external event triggering ethno-religious conflict in northern Nigeria took place in 2001 following the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attack on the United States of America. Muslims across some northern cities (Kaduna, Kano, Gusau, and Bauchi) attacked and destroyed churches and homes of Christians while matching in solidarity with Osama Bin Laden who became a cult hero of some sort Bodi,

Abbare & Leawat, (2021). The crisis that followed claimed lives in the region.

The Case for New Resolution Strategies

Ethno-religious violence in northern Nigeria has been a major hindrance to the region's development, with the insecurity of lives and property continuing to be the norm. The repeated outbreak of these ethno-religious conflicts, as well as their effects on the lives of Nigerians and the socio-economic sphere of the country, has always posed massive problems to the government. The government has thus developed one form of management technique or another to bring them under control (Salawu, 2010). Unfortunately, these techniques have not solved the problem, hence, their intractable nature.

However, scholars have identified numerous channels of intervention and resolution commonly deployed by the Nigerian state to solve ethno-religious conflicts. First, the deployment of security agencies, comprising the military and the police to "restore peace" seems to be the most commonly used strategy. Scholars such as Omorogbe & Omohan (2005), Oromareghake & Akpator (2005), and Salawu, (2010) have restated this fact. This has been the case in Jos, Kaduna, Kano, Bauchi, Maiduguri, Shagamu, and other flashpoints of ethno-religious crises in Nigeria where the deployment of a combined teams of military and police (often code-named Joint Security Task Force)

to quell conflicts is often ineffective and counterproductive. The coercive or military approach, however, is often accompanied by allegations of rape, extrajudicial killing, human rights abuses, and other related vices associated with military operations in Nigeria (Omorogbe and Omohan, 2005; 556). The security forces (riot police and the military) are often removed once a semblance of peace (negative peace) seems to have been achieved only to be returned when the next crisis happens. This approach corroborates Galtung's 'negative peace' framing of conflict cessation pattern without corresponding effort to address its root cause(s) (Galtung, 1988). The shortcoming of this approach could be seen in the fact that despite an extensive military operation that quelled Marwa's maitatsine religious riot in the early 1980s, it did not stop the underlying ideology and the emergence of similar groups such as the contemporary Boko Haram in the region. Reaffirming the inefficiency in this approach, Oromareghake and Akpator (2005) noted that:

> …the problem with the deployment of security forces that are not backed by intensive mediation effort is that it unnecessarily prolongs the stay of such security forces deployed in different parts of Nigeria. This is because the units of mobile police or armies frequently deployed to quell disturbances in Nigeria have neither the mandate nor the training to act as conflict

resolution facilitator (p. 601).

Secondly, governments at both federal and state levels are known to set judicial panels of inquiry to probe the causes, identify perpetrators and make recommendations immediately following each conflict. However, even when reports are turned in, the government hardly acts on them. Major examples include the Kafanchan riot of 1987 and several Jos riots whose white papers, though submitted to the government, have neither been implemented nor made public. On the failure of these approaches, Omohan (2005) observed that:

> …the main reasons for the poor performance of the often-used conflict management mechanisms are poor logistics, delay in deployment of troops to the crises areas, lack of cooperation by parties to the conflicts, non-implementation of whitepaper or recommendations submitted to the government by the panel of inquiry, etc (P.577).

Commenting further, Kwaja, (2011) noted at least 16 public commissions of enquiries have been launched by various governments to look into the incessant outbreak of ethno-religious in Jos (Plateau State). But findings are never made public nor are identified perpetrators brought to book. To make matters worse,

Federal and state governments as well as independent groups have frequently worked at cross-purposes (Kwaja, 2011: 2).

Owing to the failure of all current government intervention models to resolve the diverse crises in Nigeria, there is the need to formulate competent conflict resolution strategies capable of addressing several of the country's troubling and persistent crises. One fundamental flaw of conflict resolution strategies in Nigeria is that they are all reactive instead of being proactive. To stem the tide of incessant conflicts, governments at various levels must lay emphasis on prevention rather than reacting after outbreaks. Thus having adequate security around crucial flashpoints, rather than waiting for an ethno-religious crisis before deploying them will go a long way to prevent the outbreak of conflicts. This is because the presence of the military in an area for instance has proven to deter would-be trouble makers.

Secondly, Nigeria is a deeply religious country. Religious leaders should work together with their members to douse tension and imbibe tolerance, peace, and love of neighbours which their religions preach. The best way of achieving this is to expand the activities of the Nigeria Inter-Religious Council (NIREC), which has so far underperformed. Leaders of ethnic groups who are often at the centre of ethno-religious crises should be included in NIREC dialogue

and peacebuilding activities. This is against the backdrop of the fact that being deeply religious people, Nigerians are known to respect, trust and obey their religious leaders who they see as the representative of the Supreme Being rather than the government. Years of broken promises, corruption and exploitation have engineered a massive distrust and suspicion of the government and its policies.

Third, according to Azar, "security, recognition and acceptance, fair access to political institutions and economic participation" Azar, (1991: 93) are integral to solving structural social problems. Thus, the provision of basic human needs and equal access to political and economic resources to all Nigerians, particularly the downtrodden will go a long way in solving the problem of incessant ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria, particularly in Northern Nigeria where it is a regular occurrence.

Fourth, resolution strategies currently applied to ethno-religious conflicts in the country reinforce 'negative peace.' Those strategies – deployment of police and the military, setting up committees to investigate the causes of conflicts, etc –have often prioritised ending hostilities without addressing the root cause of conflicts which is structural. It is therefore necessary to apply Galtung's principle of 'positive peace' which goes beyond the immediate causes of conflicts to develop new resolution models

for ethnic and religious conflicts in Nigeria (Galtung,1988).

The government must be proactive in using an early warning system to check the potential outbreak of conflict before they erupt into major ethno-religious violence. In addition, the government must embark on a campaign of reorientation of citizens, especially in rural areas on the importance of peace and coexistence. Agencies such as the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) and National Orientation Agency (NOA) should be charged with this responsibility.

Moreso, in line with Dahrendorf, (1959a) finding that conflicts always pitch the attacking party, (fighting to improve its condition) against the defending party (bent on securing the existing condition of things), thus, identified oppressors in Nigeria needs to start yielding to the demands of the oppressed as sustaining the status quo will only perpetuate structural conflicts. This aligns with Marx's position on class struggle (Marx, 1848).

Another crucial factor to the development of new conflict resolution strategy is the need for the Nigerian state to revamp its security apparatus and its ability to protect vulnerable citizens beyond what has been the norm. Burton and Ho-Won Jeong had identified the failure of the modern states, such as Nigeria to play its 'protective' role and preserve the 'identity needs' of

oppressed groups as the trigger of conflicts of varied forms (cited in Rubenstein, 2001; Ramsbotham, et al, 2005, 68 – 77; Ho-Won Jeong's, 2010). Consequently, Nigeria must further develop its capacity to guarantee safety, right to existence, and personal development which is some of the most fundamental needs of all people. As a way of example, improving Nigeria's capacity to meet the security needs of its citizens and address structural imbalances in socio-economic and political spheres would address the core reasons behind the agitations by IPOB, OPC, MEND, MASSOB, and several other such groups. This is because the conduct of these groups are driven by their search for fundamental needs – security, equality, and justice.

It is a given that the Nigerian state is one characterized by structural inequality, normalized group deprivation, and domination of the poor by the super-rich and political class. In line with Galtung, Azar, and Loadenthal models, the structural conflict this anomaly has caused can only be addressed through inclusivity, equal political rights, religious tolerance, education, equal distribution of resources, provision of medical services, employment, and security (Galtung, 1969; Azar, 1990, 1991; Loadenthal, 2019).

Closely related is the need to address all structural issues at the root of diverse inequality in Nigeria. According to Loadenthal, (2019), structural inequality

fosters structural violence and a resultant reactionary force from those seeking a remedy. As a result, the Nigerian government should embark on reforms that will change the political structure by ensuring that elections are free and fair. The current situation where leaders emerge from a flawed electoral process alienates the people from genuinely playing a role in determining who their leaders would be. Also, inclusive political representation is vital in this regard. The Igbo ethnic group for example has been crying political marginalization over its inability to produce a Nigerian president since 1966. This perhaps is behind the loud agitation for secession in the southeast. Nigeria must engender an inclusive political culture where every citizen and ethnic group will feel belonged, safe, and valued. This will reduce unnecessary agitations and bad blood that give rise to violence.

In addition, the gap between the rich and poor is on a humongous scale. A study compiled by Brookings Institute in 2018, following a projection by the World Poverty Clock revealed that in spite of its huge resources and wealth, Nigeria is the poverty capital of the world, with an estimated 87 million of its population (out of 643 million people globally) living in extreme poverty (on less than $1.90 a day) (CNN, 2018). This situation is akin to Marx's 'class struggle' between the have and have not. This situation is even

more pronounced in the north where poverty, hunger and insecurity reign supremely. The government therefore should work on wealth redistribution by creating employment, business friendly environments for investors, fighting corruption, taxing the rich appropriately and effective social welfare schemes for the downtrodden.

It is also important for leaders of ethnic groups to meet regularly to build bridges of trust, friendship, and understanding. Such programmes and intergroup dialogue should be made to include high-ranking traditional rulers (who have the trust of their people).

More importantly, there is a need for a constitutional amendment that will grant Nigerians from any part of the country citizenship of any state or local government where they have resided over some years. Such a move will make settlers stakeholders in their places of residence. The current provision section 147 that stipulates that one must be an indigene of a given state to be appointed a minister to represent such state in the Federal Executive Council elevates conflicts over indigenes hip and settler debate.

Crucially, a good sense of the history of a recurring conflict is a major requirement for effective peacebuilding. According to Njemanze, it is "through the appropriate application of history that peacemakers can achieve justice, pacification, and reconciliation," Njemanze, (2000: 12), in line with

this, peacemakers and conflict resolution experts usually charged with the resolution of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria must understand the historical context underpinning of such conflicts. In other words, experts appointed to be members of judicial panels of inquiries must be well-schooled in the history of the conflicts over which they adjudicate or mediate.

There should be educational reform across all states, especially in the north. In that regard emphasis on peace and unity should be a part of the focus of education from a tender age. This is indeed imperative given that Nigeria currently has the highest number of out-of-school children in the world (10 million). Unfortunately, most of these children are found in the north where they enrolled in the Alma Jiri system.

Also, the government at all levels should de-emphasize the use of coercive force in resolving conflicts. Thus non-violent techniques should be taught and recognized.

Nigeria has huge diaspora citizens including experts in some of the most rewarding and celebrated fields of human endeavours. Using their exposure and experience, they should work together with the government and bring innovations from other countries that can help douse tension and clashes.

In the end, good governance, inclusive political space, and protection of minority rights are crucial to peacebuilding in a religious and ethnic diverse nation

like Nigeria. Government at all levels, Civil Society Organisations, and Non-Governmental organisations (NGO) must strive to ensure the effective resolution of ethno-religious conflicts that will lead to the enthronement of positive peace across Nigeria.

Fake news that creates panic, leading to violence should be checked and culprits severely punished. It is also important to use top-level technologies in the fight against insurgency, banditry, and outbreak of violence. There should be constitutional reform that will ensure inclusion and religious circularity in all states.

Conclusion

This study has examined the prevalence of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria with a particular focus on the northern part of the country. The task of building a united nation out of a highly diverse country like Nigeria is no doubt daunting. Welding the over 250 ethnic groups into a united and formidable nation has proved challenging since independence in 1960. Of particularly challenging has been the intractable ethno-religious conflict, especially in the north.

Using Structural Conflict and Structural Violence theories by Karl Marx and Johan Galtung (with additional theoretical perspectives from the works of Azar, Burton, and Dahrendorf), the paper revealed that structural violence, that manifests through struggle over political interest, resources, fear of religious

domination, external religious occurrence (as in the cases of Danish cartoon and protest over US invasion of Afghanistan), or even allegations of blasphemy and a host of inequalities are the major triggers of ethno-religious conflicts in the country.

Beginning with the history of ethno-religious violence and arriving at its causes, consequences, and the failure of current resolution strategies, the reader is treated to a host of analytical framings that characterise structural violence in Nigeria. In all, new conflict resolution strategies proposed in this study reflect the product of findings that could be central to the resolution of ethno-religious and insurrectionary conflicts in Nigeria.

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Regulatory Initiatives for Driving Water, Energy and Food Nexus: The Nigerian Episode

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Abstract: Water, energy and food are deeply connected and are fundamental to the sustainable development in all societies. This connection is recognized by the United Nation (UN), as part of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted in 2015. Achieving this goal is a major concern to the global community. However, there is limited access to these three essential resources due to incessant growth in population and climate change. As a result, there are growing concerns regarding the future, these three elements and sustainable development. Advanced technology development in the era of artificial intelligence (AI) has proven to be the greatest panacea to the water-energy-food challenge. This paper examined the nexus between the water, energy, and food sectors; identifies the challenges facing them, and proposes legal regimes to promote the use of local technology (taking into consideration the low level of technology in Nigeria in the era of AI) and adequate regulation to ensure food, water, and energy security in Nigeria.
Keywords: *Water-Energy-Food, Regulation, Local technology, Environmental justice, Sustainable development, Nigeria*

Introduction

Water, energy and food (WEF) are fundamental to human development, poverty alleviation, economic and sustainable development of any society. At the heart of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development adopted by all member states of the United Nations in 2015 is the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) or Global Goals which provides inter alia, for the security of water, energy and food as strategies to improve health, spur economic growth, reduce inequality and climate change in the world. Worldwide projections demonstrate that there will be significant upsurge in the demand for WEF in the coming years, owing to the weight of population growth, climate change, urbanization, industrialization, cultural and technological advancement, and global/international trade (Vishwakarma, Khare, & Haghighi, 2020).

According to the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), 70 percent more food production would be required to meet the nutritional needs of the growing world populace by 2050. The International Energy Agency, predicts that global energy utilization is anticipated to grow by up to 50 percent by 2035 while total worldwide freshwater consumption is projected to rise by 10 percent by 2050 (FAO, 2017). This demands management and adequate WEF policies and regulatory frameworks.

The methodology adapted in this paper is doctrinal. Doctrinal research is a traditional epistemological approach in the legal discipline. It is alternatively known as 'theory-testing' or 'knowledge building. It is concerned with the analytical engagement of laws, relevant cases and for research purposes (Kharel, 2018). The authors made use of library based sources such as Ebscohost and HeinOnline in conducting the research. The paper seeks to explore how technology checked by proper regulatory framework and policies can be effectively employed to ensure WEF security in Nigeria.

Water, Energy and Food: The Nexus

The WEF nexus represents the bedrock of sustainable human, economic and environmental development of any nation. It connotes a structure for investigating the dynamic connections between water, energy and food framework and creating systems for practical and sustainable advancement of the resources. In essence, the nexus refers to the connection between water, energy and food and the interdependence between them. These three resources are so deeply interconnected that they have been identified as the main constituent pillars of any successful society

(Rabi and Bassel, 2016). Understanding the nexus and managing them effectively is basic to sustainability in the sectors and achieving the SDGs. Any impact on one affects the other two.

Water Sector of the Nexus

Water is very important in the production of food and energy. For example, energy is produced using hydropower plants which utilizes reservoir of water. Hydropower occupies a large percentage in the energy mix of most countries, including Nigeria. Hydropower is the 2nd largest source of electricity production in Nigeria. For food production, Farmers need access to water for irrigation to grow their crops. Crop cultivation in Nigeria is mostly rain fed as irrigation farming is yet to be fully imbibed by local farmers who make up the bulk of farmers in Nigeria. This has led to low farm output as crop cultivation is seasonal and farming is carried out mostly during the raining season which lasts between 4 to 6 months in Nigeria, hence the need for other water sources to support irrigated agriculture (Kougias, Szabo, Scarlat and Moner-Girona, 2018).

Energy Sector of the Nexus

Agriculture has advanced in the past century into mechanized agriculture leaving behind the era of crude farm implements such as hoe, cutlasses, sickles etc. However, in Nigeria, many farmers still make use of these manual implements in their operations, leading to low farm output. Mechanized farming involves the use of mechanical and electrical energy using advanced technological machines, tools and techniques in the cultivation of plants and animal rearing which results in improved productivity, more farm output and invariably, increase in the economy of the country. Examples of machines and tools used in mechanized farming include: tractors, ploughing machines, boom sprayers, water pumps, etc. The machinery for mechanized farming are mostly fossil fuel energy dependent (Kougias, Szabo, Scarlat and Moner-Girona, 2018).

One of the major effects of poor storage of agricultural products is the loss in both the quality and quantity of the products over time. When viewed in monetary terms, this amount to huge losses for the economy. Energy is also required for the production of fertilizers, pumping of water for irrigation farming, food transportation and distribution services, etc.

Food Sector in the Nexus

The increase in the world population which is exacerbated by the increased income and high standard of living has increased the pressure on the world's resources most especially, water, food and energy leading to over-

exploitation, deforestation and degradation in the ecosystems resulting in climate change. "So, there is increasing risks associated with disasters such as droughts, desertification and floods" (Office of the Senior Special Assistant to the President of Nigeria, 2017).

WEF Challenges

The WEF sectors have been ravaged with challenges not just in Nigeria, but in the global communities. The combined effects of growing population, rising incomes, rural to urban migration, poor regulatory framework and inadequate government policies are but a few of the challenges afflicting the WEF sectors in Nigeria. However, the two most prominent challenges facing the WEF sectors worldwide is the problem of incessant population growth and climate change.

Incessant Population Growth

The global population (which is presently 7.7 billion) is expected to reach 9.7 billion in 2050 and (UN, 2019). This boom in global population is expected to increase the constraints on the availability, accessibility and adequacy of WEF due to expected increase in demand of these resources and decrease in its supply. According to the UN, globally, one in nine people in the world today, that is, 795 million people are undernourished. Oguntegbe, Okoruwa, Oghenerueme and Olagunju (2018) predicted that there is a tendency for the earth's population to outgrow the capacity to feed it, especially, where there is no political
will by majority of the governments worldwide to legislate on birth control.

Although 70% of the earth's surface is water, 2.5% of it is fresh. Water is relatively scarce. According to WaterAid, 60 million Nigerians lack access to clean water. The Energy sector is not left out, according to USAid (2019), Nigeria current access rate to electricity is 45% and 20 million households are without power in Nigeria. The electricity generated in Nigeria is not sufficient to cater for the energy needs of its almost 200 million occupants.

Population outburst has been attributed to lack of legal and policy initiatives on birth control, religious ignorance, immigration, education, financial incentives, coupled with low mortality rate (Oguntegbe et al. 2018). This has led to a continuous growth in the population of Nigeria putting more pressure on the available WEF resources. In the coming decades, per capital WEF demand will increase tremendously as a result of the fast growing population. This will increase the pressure on the already limited resources, affect food production, and lead to water scarcity and energy depletion.

Climate Change

The world has advanced very far in technological and scientific inventions since the industrial revolution in the latter half of the 18th century. This advancement has greatly impacted not only human life, but also the atmospheric condition and the environment albeit negatively in the latter.

Larry, Swatuk and Corrine attributed the depleted natural capital and ecosystems around the world to agricultural, industrial and household practices. Climate change has very severe impact on WEF security. It can lead to WEF scarcity and shortage. The adverse effects of climate change such as drought, flooding, irregular rainfall pattern and increase in temperature and humidity will have a huge impact on WEF availability and sustainability. Climate change will lead:

> To a reduction in agricultural productivity, increase in crop water requirement, decrease in soil moisture availability, and reductions in hydropower generation. It also reported that there will be significant decrease in surface and subsurface water resources due to climate change which will significantly impact food production and energy generation (Keulertz and Woertz, 2015).

These challenges as discussed above have inhibited global economic growth and sustainable development especially in Nigeria, and have increased the clamor for improved WEF technology and regulations that is environmentally friendly and will lead to environmental justice.

Local Technology

To ensure WEF sustainability, it is imperative that the use of modern technology be adequately utilized to manage these limited resources. From time immemorial, Nigerians have utilized local methods and facilities in the production, storage and preservation of WEF. These traditional methods which have evolved over time have been passed down from one generation to another. These methods include:

i. The use of solar energy in drying farm produce especially grains;
ii. The use of heat energy to preserve animal products such as meat and fish.
iii. The use of adequately aired barns to store root and tuber crops such as yams and potatoes.
iv. The use of clay pots, calabashes and shallow wells to store and preserve water.

v.   The use of stones, rocks, dry wood, cloths and oil lamps to produce heat energy.

vi. The utilization of wells, rivers, streams, lakes, ponds, seas and waterbeds as a source of water for

vii. drinking, food and personal hygiene etcetera.

In Nigeria, the prominent structures used by local farmers for food storage are:

granaries, mud rhombus, thatched rhombus, platforms, cribs, earthen pots or baskets, domestic or indoor storage such as plastic containers, gourds, earthen pots and metal containers. Other storage structures include bags, which could be made of jute, hessian, polyethylene or plant fiber (Mobolade, Bunindro, Sahoo and Rajasheka, 2019).

These methods and facilities are not foolproof as they give way to insect, pest infestation and moisture absorption of the stored products. The result is waste of produce agriculture and reduction of the quality and quantity of products, which leads to huge economic losses, illnesses and death in extreme cases.

Nigeria's food insecurity is on the rise, according to World Bank's Development Indicators as cited in Falodun (2019), almost 8 percent of Nigeria's population was found to be undernourished in 2015 as compared to 6 percent in 2007 (Falodun,2019). Nigeria has extensive surface water resources. Odume and Slaughter (2017) reported that Nigeria has 215 cubic kilometres a year of available surface water which is a lot higher than many African countries, particularly those in the southern and northern regions of the continent (Odume & Slaughter, 2017). South Africa, for example, has about 49 cubic kilometres a year. One would imagine that Nigerians have plenty of water to drink. But this is not the case. In fact, only 19% of Nigeria's population has access to safe drinking water. Traditionally, water is sourced from wells, streams, rivers, lakes and rocks. During the rainy season, rain water and water from wells and streams is collected and stored in clay pots, calabashes and shallow wells. However, during the dry season, most rivers, streams and wells dry up resulting to water scarcity. A not rare and unfortunate situation appears when a community that has access to clean source of water cannot extract it due to lack of technological know-how and economic reasons: in such occasions people resort to accessible surface or shallow waters that can be manually collected. It is this time of the year when mechanised equipment is particularly important to secure water supply. Mechanised pumps have a much higher yield than hand ones and more importantly the required capacity to extract water from deep boreholes and larger distances (Odume &

Slaughter, 2017).

Due to the geography and climate in Nigeria, some regions are relatively blessed with water while others face drought and scarcity most especially in the dry seasons. The most negatively affected region is Northern Nigeria which is faced with drought and desertification. According to Alhaji Aminu Bello Masari, Governor of Katsina State, there is a need for a strategic plan and implementation framework to address the decline in water in the state (Idris, 2019). This shows that we cannot continue our reliance on Nigerian local technology in its current state in securing the WEF resources. It is therefore imperative that sustainable advanced technology which is environmentally friendly be utilized in managing these resources so as to ensure WEF security.

To adequately address the problem posed by water scarcity in Nigeria, the adoption of new technologies and modernizing infrastructure including the utilization of solar pho-tovoltaic water pumping systems (PVWPS) will have to be installed in communities in the 774 local governments in Nigeria. The Katsina State Government in a bid to curb the challenges faced by water insecurity in the state have provided over 3,500 hand pumps and over 100 solar hand pumps to people of the state (Idris, 2019). Nanotechnology should also be employed to purify drinking water in Nigeria.

Modern technology such as the use of aeroponics farming should be encouraged and the government should allocate more funds to research on both the ethical and health implications of consuming crops produced through aeroponics farming. Aeroponics farming requires minimal water, electricity, and labour, less susceptible to pests yet the crops are more easily realised (Falodun, 2019). PS Nutraceuticals, a Nigerian company founded in 2016 is currently using aeroponics farming in crop cultivation. According to Samson Ogbole, a co-founder of PS Nutraceuticals, aeroponics farming is not meant to replace the soil but to complement it. Using aeroponics, food is produced all year round (Falodun, 2019).

Adopting certain modern technologies such as humidifiers, temperature-controlled containers, modern irrigation, etc. for local farmers would promote food security. The Food Security Portal (FSP), reported that of the available land for agriculture in Nigeria, just about half is currently utilized. Also, Kougias *et al* (2018) recommended that rain fed agriculture should be complimented by solar pho-tovoltaic water pumping systems (PVWPS). However, increasing food production alone will not ensure food security. Access of the food by the populace is the ultimate.

Nigeria is blessed with several energy sources. However, the country's primary energy source is fossil fuels. There cannot be a denial of the effect of pollution which has originated from relying heavily on fossil fuels, however, the Nigerian legal frame work could be strengthened to encompass stringent penalties to force the international oil companies (IOCs) and all other players in the energy sector to comply with corporate governance ESG best practices and limit to the barest minimum if not totally eliminate gas flaring and other resultant causes of pollution. Also, cost-effective and environmental friendly renewable energy technology like solar energy, tidal and wind energy, bio space-based energy, and hydropower, etc. can be adopted in replacing fossil fuel gradually, and thereby reducing environmental pollution, preventing toxic gas emission, mitigate climate change and its effects and foster WEF security.

Regulatory Initiatives Driving Wet in Nigeria
Notwithstanding Nigeria's abundant natural resources, it has remained debased by high percentage of poverty stricken population that could not afford the base US$1.25 per day and lack food. The reason can be easily traced to the failure in WEF management owing to lack of technology-know-how. According to USAID (2019), energy consumption patterns in the world shows that Nigeria and indeed African countries have the lowest rates of consumption. The USAID further placed the energy consumption *per capita* in Nigeria to be about one-sixth of the energy consumed in developed countries while 20 million households in Nigeria lack access to power and just about 19% of Nigeria's population has access to safe drinking water.

In order to achieve WEF security in Nigeria, the Nigerian government adopted the Sustainable Development Goals also known as the Global Goals in September 2015 and has since then put in place regulatory measures to ensure the attainment of these goals. Data from the National Bureau of Statistics as cited by the Office of the Senior Special Assistant to the President (2017), reflects the prevalence of undernourishment in Nigeria. The data shows that:

> 25.5% of the population was lacking adequate and improved nutrition. Also, severe food insecurity within the population based on the Food Insecurity Experience Scale stood at 26.4%. In addition, there was a stunting or delayed growth prevalence of 37.45% among children of kindergarten; 37.4% for school age and 15% severe cases of malnutrition for under 5 children (the Office of the Senior Special Assistant to the President, 2017).

In a bid to tackle hunger and poverty in Nigeria and in a quest to satisfy the 2nd global goal, which is to end hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture, the Federal Government initiated the National Social Investment Programmes (NSIP) in 2016. Under the NSIP, we have the N-power programme; Government Enterprise and Empowerment Programme; the Conditional Cash Transfer Programme and the Home Grown School Feeding Programme which is briefly discussed below.

Home Grown School Feeding Programme
The National Home Grown School Feeding Programme (NHGSFP) is a government led programme which started in 2016, and according to the Federal Government, over 300 million meals have been served to more than 7.5 million pupils in 46,000 Public Primary Schools in 22 states. Among the objectives of the programme is to improve the nutritional and health status of school children and to stimulate local agricultural production and boost the income of farmers by creating a viable and ready market via the school feeding programme.

According to the World Food Programme (WFP), the Home Grown School Feeding initiatives promote nutrition education and better eating habits, and encourage the diversification of production with a special emphasis on local crops. The WFP also noted the contribution of the Home Grown School Feeding Programmes to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly SDG 2.

Agriculture Promotion Policy (2016 - 2020)
The Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (FMARD, 2016) asserted that the Agriculture Promotion Policy (APP) was enacted to primarily solve the inability of the agricultural sector to meet domestic food requirement and the inability of the sector to export agricultural products at quality levels. The APP aims to achieve its goal between 2016 to 2020. The objectives of the Policy is to ensure seamless access to land to attract investments by small, medium and large scale farmers and processors and 'to ensure national food and nutrition security by ensuring adequate availability of safe and nutritious food at affordable prices for rural and urban population in Nigeria at national and household level' (The Agriculture Promotion Policy, 2016 – 2020).

National Water Policy (NWP)
The NWP was meant to develop potentials of water resources in Nigeria. The policy provides for government goals to provide access to water, however 75 percent of Nigerians don't have safe water (Enyidi,

2017).

Border Closure Policy

The discovery of oil in the Niger-Delta region is the major cause of Nigeria's re-alignment of its focus from the agricultural sector to the oil sector. Nigeria which was once a major exporter of food crops is now heavily dependent on importation of food and other items. As a result, Nigeria closed her borders in October 2019 in an effort to curb smuggling and importation of substandard agricultural products and other products in Nigeria. In July 2015, the Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria, Mr. Godwin Emefiele had recommended the closure of the borders to avert economic recession, capital flight and to cushion the local producers and farmers from the effects of uneven balance of trade threatening to cripple the Nigerian Economy (Osuntokun, 2019).

So far, the effect of the border closure policy may seem to be successful as local products and farm produce are now being accepted as worthy alternatives to foreign and imported products. However, the implementation has to be strengthened to achieve in the long run the aim of the Government which is to encourage local farmers and manufacturers.

Some Regulatory Agencies

National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC)

The NAFDAC was established to regulate and control the manufacture, importation, exportation, distribution, advertisement, sale and use of regulated products such as food, drugs, cosmetics, medical devices, packaged water, chemicals and detergents (NAFDAC). NAFDAC support food safety programs by ensuring food facilities adhere to good manufacturing practice (GMP) that can sustain quality food product that is safe for human consumption (NAFDAC). In order to properly carry out its functions, NAFDAC is divided into 14 directorates which are further divided into divisions. The Food Safety and Applied Nutrition (FSAN) Directorate of NAFDAC is empowered to take all steps to ensure that food manufactured, imported, exported, distributed, sold, advertised and used in Nigeria meet the highest standard of Food Safety reasonably achievable (NAFDAC). The FSAN is further divided into 7 divisions. NAFDAC whose main objective is to protect the health of Nigerians have been lackadaisical in carrying out their functions. In 2019, contaminated Eva premium table water produced in May 22/23 2019 with expiry date of May 22 2020 were distributed all over Nigeria and this went unchecked until the manufacturers of Eva water

voluntarily reported to NAFDAC on June 20, 2019. It however, took NAFDAC over 2 weeks to instruct the Nigerian Bottling Company to recall the said table water until investigations was concluded (Ubong, 2019).

Standards Organisation of Nigeria (SON)

Standards Organisation of Nigeria (SON) is a federal government parastatal, established with the aim of maintaining standard in manufactured products, these products include implements and machines that are largely connected to the WEF nexus. The Standards Organization of Nigeria is known for Meteorology, and Standardization and Testing and Quality control. The responsibility is carried out both at the national and international level, all for the interest of the Nigerian citizens (Athanasius). SON is empowered to seal up premises where substandard products are manufactured or stored (Standard Organisation of Nigeria Act, 1990). The SON is responsible for regulating the standard and quality of all products in Nigeria and has the powers to confiscate and destroy substandard products (Standard Organisation of Nigeria Act, 1990).

Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (FMARD)

The FMARD was created in 1966 as the then Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources. FMARD has passed through a series of modifications and adjustments with related sectors to suit the prevailing climes in order to enable the Federal Government play a leading role in promoting agricultural activities in the country (FMARD). The ministry regulates agriculture and natural resources, agricultural research, forestry and veterinary research in Nigeria. It aims to organize and manage the agricultural sector and facilitate agricultural business for increased food security and employment along commodity value chains and agro industrial development to earn foreign exchange and contribute to socio-economic development of the country (FMARD). It is also responsible for the formulation and implementation of Agricultural policies and legislations in Nigeria through its several departments and parastatals.

Federal Competition and Consumer Protection Commission Act (FCCPCA)

The FCCPCA established the Federal Competition and Consumer Protection Commission. The Commission was established to monitor and modify behavior of service providers and manufacturers. Some key areas of operation include complaint resolution, surveillance and enforcement, consumer education, as well as research and strategy (FCCPC).

The MacAurthur Foundation reported that it awarded the sum of $300,000 (three hundred thousand dollars) to the FCCPC in 2016. According to the Foundation, the award is expected to provide citizens with a platform for demanding accountability, inform them about their rights and responsibilities, establish a dialogue with electricity distributors and other actors, and, ultimately, contribute to a reduction in corruption in the sector.

Nigerian Electricity Regulatory Commission (NERC)

The Electric Power Sector Reform Act (2005) established the Nigerian Electricity Regulatory Commission (NERC) as a body corporate with perpetual succession which can sue or be sued in its corporate name, and pursuant to the provisions of the Act, performs all acts that bodies corporate may by law perform. The objectives of NERC is to create, promote and preserve efficient industry and market structures to ensure the optimal utilization of resources for the provision of electricity services to ensure the safety, security, reliability and quality of service in the production and delivery of electricity to consumers (Electric Power Sector Reform Act, 2005). The NERC is vested with unrestrained powers to make regulations on electricity where in its opinion such regulatory codes are necessary and permitted to be prescribed, for carrying out matters required or permitted to be done under the Act for giving effects to the provisions of law (Benchmac and Ince, 2018). The budget of the NERC is mainstreamed into that of the Ministry of Power.

Federal Ministry of Water Resources

According to the Federal Ministry of Water Resources, the aim of the Ministry is to develop and implement policies, projects and programmes that will enable sustainable access to safe and sufficient water to meet the social, cultural, environmental and economic development needs of all Nigerians. The Ministry is in charge of the national water fund.

Federal Ministry of Power

The Federal Ministry of Power is the policy making arm of the Federal Government with respect to power provision in the country. In discharging its mandate, the ministry is guided by the provisions of the National Electric Power Policy (NEPP) of 2001, the Electric Power Sector Reform (EPSR) Act of 2005, and the Roadmap for Power Sector Reform of August 2010. The Ministry is responsible for initiating and formulating broad policies and programmes on the development of the power sector (electricity) in general (Federal Ministry of Power).

Recommendation/Conclusion

The paper has shown the connection in the WEF nexus and identifying the WEF challenge to be majorly two, i.e., population growth and climate change. It reviewed the local technology currently adapted by the majority of Nigerian farmers from history to include the use of; solar energy in drying farm produce especially grains; the use of heat energy to preserve animal products such as meat and fish; the use of adequately aired barns to store root and tuber crops such as yams and potatoes; the use of clay pots, calabashes and shallow wells to store and preserve water; the use of stones, rocks, dry wood, cloths and oil lamps to produce heat energy and the utilization of wells, rivers, streams, lakes, ponds, seas and waterbeds as a source of water for drinking, food and personal hygiene etc. It showed that the common means of water, energy and food storage, preservation and generation currently adopted is not environmentally sustainable to sustain Nigerian citizens and neighboring countries in light of the projected geometric growth in Nigerian population. The paper also suggested the adoption of the use of modern advanced technologies where they are environmentally friendly and sustainable are to be utilized in managing the resources to ensure WEF Security. An example for instance, would be the Government's encouragement of the use of aeroponics farming all over the Country, in at least the six geopolitical zones for starters. Also, the paper suggested that the Government should allocate more funds to research on both the ethical and health implications of consuming crops produced through aeroponics farming. The government may partner with private sector individuals, companies and educational institutions via public private partnership schemes to research, develop and invest in new technologies in the various geopolitical zones of the country.

The use of advanced modern technology which may involve the use of Artificial Intelligence (AI) where it does not have any adverse repercussion is also suggested for generation of energy, cultivation and processing of food crops and ensuring adequate water supply all year round to every part of the country. The government and concerned stakeholders like non-state actors can also subsidize and actually monitor the commercial activities of local players in the WEF sectors, for example, aiding the farmers with modern environmentally friendly technological tools/equipment and machines to enhance production and output of each season.

In order to ensure the WEF security and sustainability, the following recommendations are also proposed; a

robust review of the legal frame work/regulatory initiatives of the WEF sector is urgently recommended. The current legal framework and the roles being played by the various government agencies would have better effect if implementation drive is strengthened by the integrative laws and policies that would create sustainable synergy between the agencies. For Instance, NAFDAC and NERC have veritable roles to play in the WEF nexus as NAFDAC's terms of reference touches directly on Food and Water, production and consumption and NERC deals with the regulation of Energy distribution.

Like in most agencies in Nigeria, where regulations are replete, the strategies of implementation need to be urgently reviewed and strengthened for greater impact and results in the WEF sectors to ensure better planning for WEF resource allocation; adoption of incentives to increase efficiency; investment in infrastructure for more secure WEF supplies and availability. With daily advancement in civilization and growth in population, these sectors need more flexible, adaptive and responsible institutions.

It also requires a quality monitoring network and data base. These data base would store physical, chemical, biological and ecological information. It is also important to raise public awareness about the value of the connection in the WEF nexus, especially in the sectors of all stakeholders at all level of government as getting people involved would foster sustainability. The use of electricity-powered water pumps in irrigation farming in Nigeria should be encouraged by the government by subsidizing the cost of electric water pumps in rural communities. Achieving higher agricultural yields requires additional water extraction and correspondingly extra energy.

To enhance the developmental trend in the country, there is every need to support the existing unreliable energy sector with a sustainable source of power supply through solar energy. The Government should encourage the use of Rooftop solar panel by households and commercial businesses by subsidizing the price of solar panels and providing solar panels to indigent's homes and rural areas free of payment. The annual average of total solar radiation varies from about 12.6mj/m2-day (megajoule per square metre per day) in the coastal latitudes to about 25.2mj/m2-day in the far north.

Advanced Technology, particularly AI, can be applied to aid the global monitoring information system on water, as well as provide the information needed for water management, renewable energy and food security. Carbon Capture and Storage (CCS) technology with renewable biomass which can capture up to 90% of the carbon dioxide emissions produced from the use of fossil fuels in electricity generation and industrial processes, preventing the carbon dioxide from entering the atmosphere can be used in achieving WEF security by abating environmental degradation. Biotechnology (genetic engineering like Genetically Modified Organisms/Food (GMO/GMF) can help cater for WEF needs of the growing population and save endangered species. The above recommendations though not exhaustive if implemented with adequate regulation of the legal frame work can ensure food, water, and energy security in Nigeria. All these recommendations must be provided for in the suggested integrated legal regime that can drive a synergized WEF production in Nigeria.

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Contemporary Security Challenges and Its Effects on Nigeria's Foreign Relations, 2015-2022

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Abstract: The nefarious activities of *Boko Haram* terrorists, armed bandits, herders-farmers clashes and Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) among others have devastating effects on Nigeria's national security. Efforts by the federal government at curtailing their activities notwithstanding, these criminal elements have continued to operate with impunity; killing, maiming and raping of innocent citizens across the country. *Boko Haram* terrorists mostly operate in the North-East Region while armed herders violently attack sedentary crop farmers in the North-Central; the North-West and South-East Regions have been riddled by the activities of armed bandits and IPOB members respectively. Consequently, the security situation in the country is deteriorating with debilitating consequences on her foreign relations. Relying on exegesis of relevant secondary sources such as books, journals, newspapers and web-based materials among others; the paper posits that the nefarious activities of *Boko Haram* terrorists, armed bandits, IPOB members and violent herders among other criminal elements threatens Nigeria's national security, which by extension affects her foreign relations. The paper concludes that the country's security situation may further deteriorate as long as the government keeps politicizing insecurity in the country. The paper therefore recommends, among other things, that the government should stop politicizing insecurity and stand up to its primary responsibility of securing the lives and property of its citizens while at the same time delivering dividends of democracy in an atmosphere of good governance characterized by freedom, equity and justice.
Key words: Contemporary Effects, Foreign Relations, IPOB, Nigeria, Security Threats

Introduction
Introduction

Nigeria is considered the giant of Africa basically because of her size in terms of human population, military strength and economic resource endowment. The country is rich in both human and material resources, making it the commercial nerve center of the African continent. This makes the country a major State player not only in Africa but also among the comity of nations at the international panorama. The strengths of the country have however been weakened by a myriad of security challenges bedeviling her in recent years. Almost all the geo-political zones of the country are faced with one security challenge or the other. While the North-East has been reduced to the den of *Boko Haram* terrorist group, the North-West has become the haven of all manner of armed bandits such as kidnappers, village/market raiders, armed robbers and cattle rustlers among others. The North-Central has degenerated into a theatre of violent confrontations between cattle herders and crop farmers over access to and use of ecological resources such as farming lands, grazing fields and water points. The South-East has become insecure as a result of the incessant agitations by a group called the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) among other ethic militias, which recently gave a "sit at home order" on Mondays as a form of civil disobedience. The South-West is also faced with security challenges such as kidnapping for ransom, nomadic terrorism, ritual killings and armed robbery among others. In fact, the failure of the Nigerian State to effectively manage the security challenge emanating from the nomadic activities of Fulani cattle herders has resulted to more security challenges in the Nigeria's South-West Region as activists such as Sunday Igboho among others had to take laws into their hands by prohibiting open grazing of cattle in all the forests in the Region. The oil rich

South-South is not immune to security challenges as the Region has been characterized by agitations for resource control.

The internal security situations in Nigeria have adversely affected her image and status as a major contributor to peace keeping operations in the African Continent and the rest of the World. Nigeria, which hitherto used to be the giant of Africa, reputed for assisting other smaller countries such as Chad, Niger, Sierra-Leone and Liberia among others to manage their security challenges, now relies on the support of these countries to fight *Boko Haram* insurgency. The various security challenges facing the country seem to be overwhelming so much so that the country is now reduced to a "crippled giant" in the African Continent. The series of communal conflicts, herders-farmers' conflicts, terrorists attacks and the nefarious activities of armed bandits have continued to threaten the country's national security and corporate existence (Fadeyi & Muhammed 2019). The presence of insecurity in any environment constitutes threats to lives and property, hinders business activities and discourages local and foreign investors, all of which repress and reduce socio-economic development of a nation. In Nigeria, there has been increasing wave of security crisis in recent times which threaten the corporate existence of the country as one geographical entity (Owetan & Urhie, 2014)

Furthermore, the survival of a country as a viable entity depends largely on developing an effective grand strategy that directs the main elements of power towards the attainment of set objectives which include economy, technology, population, ideology, foreign policy and security as diplomacy fosters peaceful co-existence among States (Oladeji, 2012, p.403). The foreign policy which any country adopts is a reflection of her domestic policy. The internal security situation

is one of the components of the domestic policy as well as some aspects of the current internal security challenges especially towards determining if those that have had foreign policy consequences or not (Azazi, 2012, p.118). This implies that the internal security situation of a country directly or indirectly affects her foreign policy and her relationship with other countries in the international community

Against this backdrop therefore, this paper examines contemporary security challenges in Nigeria's fourth Republic between 2015 and 2022 and by implication its effects on her foreign relations within the period under review. The paper is divided into seven sections beginning with the introduction. Section two focuses on clarification of key concepts. In section three, the forms of security challenges in Nigeria are examined. Section four takes a look at the causes of security challenges in Nigeria. Section five addresses government's responses to security challenge in Nigeria. And in section six, the effects of security challenge on Nigeria's foreign relations is examined. Section seven concludes the paper and gives some useful policy recommendations as a panacea to the security crisis in the country.

Conceptual Clarifications

Security is perceived as referring to being secure and free from both fear of physical, psychological abuse, violence, persecution, or death and from want such as food, health and good job (Asmau & Abdulrasheed, 2020). Omede (2012) on his part sees security as a dynamic condition which involves the relative ability of a state to counter threats to its core values and interests. Also, security can be described as stability and continuity of livelihood (stable and steady income), predictability of daily life (knowing what to expect), protection from crime (feeling safe), and

freedom from psychological harm (safety or protection from emotional stress) which results from the assurance or knowing that one is wanted, accepted, loved and protected in one's community or neighbourhood and by people around (Nwanegbo & Odigbo, 2013). It also focuses on emotional and psychological sense of belonging to a social group which can offer one protection.

Furthermore, security is defined as the protection against all forms of harm whether physical, economic or psychological (Olabanji & Ese, 2014). Security is the state or condition of being free from danger or threat in the daily activities of human beings (Imam, 2014). Security represents a situation when an individual, group or community can move freely to carry out their daily activities without fear of danger, injury to the body or destruction of properties. Ensuring the security of lives and properties is the primary responsibility of the Government. It is because of this that Governments have established several security forces to ensure and maintain security within a country and even to respond to external aggressions and threats. It is, however, contended that security is not the absence of threats or security issues, but the ability to rise to the challenges posed by these threats with expediency and expertise. It demands safety from chronic threats and protection from harmful disruption (Igbuzor, 2011). Security embraces all measures designed to protect and safeguard the citizenry and the resources of individuals, groups, businesses and the nation against sabotage or violent occurrence (Ogunleye, Adewale, Alese, & Ogunde, 2013).

Insecurity is lack of security or a situation of uncertainty when a person, group or community is at the stage of been subjected to or exposed to danger at a given location (Ladan, 2019). Insecurity can also be

defined as a situation when someone is not adequately guarded, protected or defended by the authorities that are supposed to provide security (Webster, 2019). Insecurity in which ever country it is experienced, constitutes serious threats to lives and property, hinders business activities and discourages both domestic and foreign investors, all of which retard a country's socio-economic development (Ewetan, 2014). Achumba, Ighomereho and Akpor-Rabaro (2013) define insecurity from two perspectives. Firstly, insecurity is the state of being opened or subjected to danger or threat of danger, where danger is the condition of being susceptible to harm or injury. Secondly, insecurity is the state of being exposed to risk or anxiety, where anxiety is a vague unpleasant emotion that is experienced in anticipation of some misfortune. Security crisis means a situation where a state and its citizens are overwhelmed by different forms of security challenges at the same time. For instance, Nigeria is overwhelmed by security crisis arising from armed banditry, kidnapping, *Boko Haram* insurgency, agitations as in the case of Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and herders'-crop farmers' conflict among others.

3.0 Theoretical Framework

This paper is anchored on the Revisionist Theory of national security as its framework of analysis. The Revisionist Theory of national security arose in a dialectical opposition to the classical or traditional approach to national security. It was largely informed by the dynamics of the New World Order (NWO) and the corresponding security threats thereof. The theory is characterized by its people-centric focus, multi-disciplinary posture and radical stance (Usman, 2012) as different from the classical or traditional approach to national security that is characterized by

its State-centric focus, pro-military nature, prioritizing territorial integrity and regime security and the fact that it is reductionist and conservative. The theory is pioneered by scholars like MacNamara (1968) (Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014).

The Revisionist conception of national security therefore views national security more comprehensively in terms of freedom from all forms of social, socio-economic, ecological, territorial, economic and sociopolitical vulnerabilities (Okoli, 2012). Specifically, the Revisionist Theory emphasizes the following dimensions of national security: physical security, community security, economic security, social security, food security, ecological security, regional security and livelihood security.

The above mentioned aspects of national security correspond to what is popularly known in the literature as the 'human security' paradigm. The 'human security' notion of national security was originally proposed by Dr. Mahud ul Haq in the 1994 United Nations Human Development Report. It emerged from the post-Cold War multi-disciplinary re-assessment of security in the light of the emerging global security exigencies and challenges (Usman, 2012). The Revisionist Theory does not repudiate the Classical conception of national security in its entirety. In fact, it seeks to make up its fundamental flaws and inadequacies. Thus, when the Revisionist understanding of national security is synthesized with that of the Classical Perspective, what results is a robust and comprehensive conception that presents the total picture of the subject matter.

Applied to the purpose of this paper, the Revisionist Theory enables us to come to terms with the strategic implications of contemporary security challenges in Nigeria on her foreign relations. In this regard, it could

be argued that any threat to people's lives and property constitutes a security challenge. Kidnapping, cattle rustling, armed robbery, village/market raids, terrorism, arms trafficking, drugs trafficking and human trafficking among others constitutes security challenge and by extension affects how the country relates with other countries in the international community.

4.0 Contemporary Security Challenges in Nigeria

Nigeria is currently besieged by a myriad of security challenges so much so that the country, which has always been regarded as the giant of Africa, is now seeking assistance from smaller counties in the continent such as Chad and Niger among others, especially as it pertains to the issue of *Boko Haram* insurgency. Nigeria has now been reduced to what has come to be known as a "cripple giant"; it can bark but can no longer bite! Some of these security challenges threatening Nigeria include:

Boko Haram Insurgency

One of the security challenges facing Nigeria, especially the North-east region of the country, is the problem of *Boko Haram* insurgency. Insurgency is not a new phenomenon but became well-known following the September 11 bombing of the United States of America by *Al-Qaeda* terrorist group. These twin bombings were carried out on the World Trade Center (WTC) and the Pentagon. Other insurgent activities were orchestrated by similar groups such as *Al-Shabaab* of Somalia with concomitant devastating repercussion on the country's relations with other countries in the international community. In Nigeria, *Boko Haram* started as a small radical Islamic organization, which then enjoyed limited support from among the *Sufi* Islamic communities in the North eastern parts of Nigeria. The agenda of *Boko Haram* is

to ensure that Western education has no place in Nigeria, which explains why they have relations with other similar terrorist groups elsewhere. Aside being anti-western in posture, these groups carry out attacks on shopping malls, air ports, educational institutions, market places, Police barracks, army camps, immigration offices, Prisons, and worship centers among others. *Boko Haram* started its attacks domestically in Borno State of North-eastern Nigeria, but has now spread its tentacles to other States such Kano, Yobe, Adamawa, Bauchi and Abuja among others.

Armed Banditry

Another form of contemporary security challenge facing Nigeria which has become unbearable in the last decade is the issue of armed banditry. Armed banditry involves the use of force, or threat to that effect, to intimidate a person with the intent to rob; rape or kill. Banditry manifests in four major dimensions, namely kidnapping, armed robbery, village raids and cattle rustling. Of these four dimensions, kidnapping and mass abduction of people, especially innocent and defenseless school students/pupils for ransom is gradually taking the lead as no day passes by without hearing on the radio or reading in the national dailies news of kidnap of innocent citizens in one part of the country or the other. By the end of 2009, police record revealed that a total of 2,148 people had been kidnapped in Nigeria based on reported incidences (Alemika, 2012, p.48). These figures have been more than tripled as recent studies tend to suggest (Okoli & Agada, 2014). Between July and October, 2021 alone armed bandits killed 213 persons while about 676 others were kidnapped across Local Government Areas (LGAs) in Katsina State. On the 28th of March, 2022, a train from

Kaduna to Abuja was attacked by 'unknown gunmen' leaving at least eight persons dead and several others sustaining different degrees of injuries while over a hundred others were kidnapped to 'unknown destinations'. In the same vein, 2 Catholic Priests attached to St. Patrick's Catholic church and two other boys were kidnapped at gunpoint in Gidan Maikambo in Kafur LGA of Katsina State on 25th May, 2022 (Ankeli, 2022).

Armed banditry started in Nigeria as a result of nearly forty years of unresolved conflicts between crop farmers and nomadic cattle herders that often wander on the high plains of Northern Nigeria particularly the North-West geo-political zone in such States as Zamfara. Armed banditry in Zamfara State started since around 2009 and increased in 2011 especially after the general elections (Anka, 2017). In fact, Zamfara State has been the epicenter of armed banditry in Nigeria in recent years, where most of the armed bandits' leaders were based and from Zamfara State forests they would move riding on motor cycles to other States such as Katsina, to operate and return to their forest dens (Farouq & Chukwu, 2020). Therefore, by the year 2010, armed banditry had started in Katsina State primarily in the seven Local Government Areas (LGAs) that shared boundary with Zamfara State namely Jibia, Batsari, Safana, Danmusa, Kankara, Faskari and Sabua (Ladan & Matawalli, 2020).

To address the security challenge occasioned by the activities of armed bandits, the Governor of the Katsina State initially granted amnesty to repentant armed bandits, but had to pull out of the programme when it was discovered that the armed bandits refused to stop the killings and destruction of people's property in the State as agreed. Other measures such as deployment of more security agents, shutting down of communication networks, non-negotiation with armed bandits, banning of the movement of motor circles (popularly called *Okada* in local parlance) and tricycles (popularly called *Keke NAPEP* in local parlance) by 6pm daily, shutting down of all illegal motor parks, and ban on the sale of fuel in jerry cans among others in the most affected LGAs in the State did not really yield the desired results as the nefarious activities of armed bandits continued unabated. The incessant and unpredictable attacks orchestrated by armed bandits on motorists and travelers on roads across cities, towns and LGAs in Nigeria's North-West, has made traveling look like a "suicide mission" for those that dare to travel.

Farmer-Herder Conflict

Nigeria's North-Central Region (especially States such as Benue, Nasarawa and Plateau) is not immune against security challenge as the zone has degenerated into a theatre of full blown war between indigenous settled crop farmers and nomadic cattle herders. The conflict, which is usually over ecological resources such as land and water points, has always been there; but seems to have escalated in the last decade as a result of stiff contestation over the shrinking vegetal resources occasioned by change in climatic conditions, expansion in both human and animal population, and increasing level of agricultural production (Ilevbare & Yusufu, 2021). Like the other security challenges examined above, the conflict between crop farmers and nomadic cattle herders seems to have defied all measures put in place to curtail it. Some scholars like Genyi (2019) among others have even argued that the conflict has been politicized by the Nigeria government especially since the inception of the Buhari administration in 2015. President Muhammadu Buhari, it has been argued, has a soft spot for the

nomadic cattle herders because they are his Fulani kinsmen, which explains why his government often blames attacks on crop farmers on immigrants who took advantage of the porosity of Nigeria's borders and illegally migrated into the country. Whether those attacking indigenous crop farmers are indigenous Fulani cattle herders or not, the fact remains that the Buhari administration has failed woefully to protect the lives and property of its people as contained in the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended) (Yusufu & Umoru, 2022). In fact, never in the history of this great nation, has insecurity been politicized as is the case with the Buhari administration.

Niger Delta Crisis

Also constituting a security threat to the Nigerian State is the Niger Delta crisis that has rocked the oil rich region of the country. The conflict started in the early 1960s due to tension between Foreign Oil Corporations (FOCs) and some Niger Delta minority ethnic groups such as the Ogoni and Ijaw people who felt they were being exploited (Osungade, 2008). Consequently, ethnic and political unrest continued in the region throughout the 1990s and persisted despite the enthronement of democracy in 1999. It should be noted however that, the competition for oil wealth in the region gave rise to agitations, violence, and subsequent extra-judicial killing of Ken Saro-Wiwa and nine Ogoni by the Abacha regime (Ogbodo, 2010). The action by the Abacha administration was condemned not only by well meaning Nigerians, but also by the international community. As a result of this therefore, the international community expressed her anger by imposing several sanctions on Nigeria during that period. The inability of the government to address the major triggers of the agitation such as

environmental degradation, poverty, unemployment and lack of social amenities among others resulted in the proliferation different militia groups such as Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) founded by Ken Saro-Wiwa and Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) among others. The emergence of these groups was informed by the injustice against the Niger Delta region by the Federal government.

To address the agitations by the Niger Delta people, the government established the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) and the Ministry of Niger Delta (MND) among others. The establishment of these agencies notwithstanding, the crises still persisted. Socio-economic activities of the people were adversely affected and property worth millions of naira was destroyed. This led to the launching of a massive military crackdown on the militants in August 2008 (Amaizu, 2008). Rather than the measures put in place by the Federal government to address this security challenge, the reverse became the case as the situation led to kidnapping of foreign oil workers and residents in the region. To address the aggravating security challenge in the region, the administration of Late President Umaru Yar'Adua decided to unconditionally pardon and grant amnesty to the repentant militants, and were given two-month ultimatum to surrender all their weapons to the Federal government in exchange for training and rehabilitation (Rotimi, 2009). During the two-month period, the militants led their groups to surrender their weapons which included rocket-propelled grenades, guns, explosives and gunboats among other dangerous weapons of warfare. The Federal government's amnesty programme led to the reduction of militancy in the region, but then kidnapping and other petty crimes still continued and this spilled over into other

States in the South-East geo-political zone of the country (Effiom, 2016).

5.0 Sources of Security Challenge in Nigeria

Many factors have been blamed for the security challenges bedeviling the country today. Prominent among these factors is the issue of unemployment (Shalangwa, 2013; Nadama, 2019; Ladan, 2019). The countries' tertiary institutions keep graduating students en mass on a yearly basis without hope of where they would work after graduation. Nigeria's unemployment rate keeps rising on a daily basis and this has implications on national security of the country. Since there are no adequate jobs to go round, the teeming population of youth of the country has to make a living and this has made some of them to become cheap recruits as armed bandits, political thugs and fraudsters among other criminal elements. The rates of unemployment may further increase as farming activities are presently threatened by armed banditry, kidnapping and herders militancy (Ladan, 2019).

Another factor responsible for the security challenge facing the country is proliferation of arms and ammunition. Nigeria's borders are very porous and criminal elements such as arms traffickers have therefore taken advantage of this porosity to illegally import dangerous weapons of warfare into the country. The 2,000 miles of border that Nigeria shares with Niger, Chad, and Cameroon host almost 1,500 illegal or unmonitored crossing routes (Adejo, 2005). Today, it is not uncommon to see all manner of Small and Light Weapons (SALWs) in the hands of unauthorized individuals in the country. Citing Ogba (2005) Nzeako and Abdulsalam (2021, p. 166) disclosed that "The problems posed by arms smuggling are complex and multidimensional in character. They are entangled with other broad security and societal issues such as criminal activity and links to terrorism. It also has serious implications on human rights and humanitarian activities"

Also implicated as a factor responsible for the rising spate of security challenges in Nigeria; is the issue of politicization of insecurity. Never in the history of this country has insecurity been as politicized as we have now under the administration of Muhammadu Buhari. The South-South was grossly challenged by insecurity during the administration of Goodluck Jonathan and it is challenged by the same security issues up till date. Herders and crop farmers' conflict in Nigeria's North-Central zone has also been politicized which has made the conflict to linger till date (Yusufu & Umoru, 2022). This is particularly true as the government seems to be biased in the way and manner the conflict is managed (Genyi, 2019).

High rate of poverty is yet another factor responsible for rising level of insecurity in the country. Nigeria was once described as the poverty head quarter of the World. A study by Kabiru and Arshad, (2018) suggested that the prevalence of abject poverty in the rural areas of Nigeria's Northern Region made some people to work as informants or logistic suppliers to armed bandits operating from their hide-outs in the forests. According to Zakariya'u (2019) the rate of kidnapping for ransom is alarming in the North owing majorly to high rate of poverty. The more the poverty, the more the rate of crime will increase in both rural areas and urban centers. Abdulrashid, Saifullahi amd Amir (2018) revealed that rustling of cattle has deepened the vicious cycle of poverty in most rural communities in the Northern Region of the country.

Also responsible for the contemporary security challenge in Nigeria is the issue of high rates of illiteracy. There are so many youths who do not go to

school as well as so many out of school children in most States in the country, especially in the Northern Region as a result of poverty. Illiterate youths are very vulnerable and easily lured into criminal activities such as armed banditry, political thuggery, militancy and terrorism among others. Illiteracy among the youths also does not allow them to weight the risk of engaging in criminal activities that threatens the peace and security of the State (Ladan, 2019)

Limited security presence in most rural communities in the country is also responsible for the rising security challenge. The security personnel such as the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) and Nigeria Security and Civil Defense Corps (NSCDC) are not in adequate supply in most parts of the country in order to combat the numerous criminal activities carried out by criminals and other criminal elements. Umar and Shittu, (2017) observed that while the country's population has increased progressively over the years, Police manpower has not improved to match it; to at least meet up the expected global standard for effective policing. This obvious dearth of security personnel made it practically impossible for the NPF to effectively control and curtail the ever rising wave of crimes and insecurity in the country (Umar & Shittu, 2017).

Effects of Security Challenge on Nigeria's Foreign Relations

Since 1960 when Nigeria gained her freedom from the British Colonial Power (BCP) in what came to be known as "Political Independence" the goal and objectives the country's Foreign Policy were designed to achieve have remained the same even in this era of globalization!. These objectives and goal as outlined and identified to include; the protection of the territorial integrity of the Nigerian State; the promotion of economic and social well being of Nigerians; the enhancement of Nigeria's image and status in the World at large; the promotion of unity as well as the total political, economic, social and cultural liberation of Nigeria and Africa; the promotion of the rights of the black people and others under colonial domination; the promotion of international cooperation, conducive to the consolidation of World peace and security; mutual respect and friendship among all peoples among States; redressing the imbalance in the international power structures that has tended to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of developing countries; the promotion of World peace based on the principles of freedom, mutual respect and equality of all persons of the World (Gamawa, 2018, p.72). These have been the guiding principles of Nigeria's Foreign Policy (NFP).

The emergence of Muhammadu Buhari of the All Progressives Congress (APC) as the President of Nigeria in 2015 after three unsuccessful attempts in 2003, 2007 and 2011 respectively was welcome by well meaning Nigerians as a new dawn in the government and politics of the country. Hopes were high so also were peoples' expectations as the much anticipated change had come! The burning issues that needed to be addressed at the time Buhari took the helm of affairs of the country included *Boko Haram* insurgency in Northeast, the Niger Delta militancy, the secessionists' threats by Independent People of Biafra (IPOB); increasing unemployment rates, poverty and poor infrastructure among other problems confronting Nigeria. It should be noted that Buhari's government placed the wiping out of *Boko Haram* terrorists and corruption as the main agenda of his administration. Few days after assuming the presidency, Buhari visited Niger Republic, Cameroon, Benin Republic, Chad, G-7 meeting in Berlin and the United States.

Buhari's main mission was to raise awareness and international co-operation against *Boko Haram* insurgency in Nigeria and the West African sub-region. President Buhari ordered the relocation of military command to Maiduguri-the Borno State capital. It was a courageous move to take the fight against terrorism right to the door steps of *Boko Haram* terrorists. Also, President Buhari championed the creation of the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF), which was composed of 8,700 standing army officers pulled from member countries of the Lake Chad Basin Commission. The Multinational Joint Task Force has already attracted donations, military platforms and more shared intelligence. Buhari ordered the release of $21 million to facilitate the establishment of the MNJTF headquarters in N'Djamena. A further $79 million has been pledged by Buhari's administration (Vanguard, 2015). The MNJTF coupled with the Civilian Joint Task Force have yielded positive results in the fight against *Boko Haram* even though the terrorist group has not been totally wiped out of the country.

Furthermore, the Buhari administration made efforts to free the Chibok girls that were kidnapped by *Boko Haram* terrorists on April 14, 2014. Over 100 of these girls have so far been released by their abductors. The release of the kidnapped girls was done with the help of Swiss government, International Red Cross and the Nigerian government (Vanguard, 2017). Also, the emergent security threat occasioned by the activities of armed bandits in states like Zamfara and Katsina among others has also drawn the attention of the federal government. The anti-corruption crusade embarked upon by President Buhari has won him a lot of accolades both at home and abroad. To buttress this assertion, few days to the 2016 Anti-Corruption Summit held in London, in a video footage, the

Archbishop of Canterbury (Head of Anglican Communion), Justin Welby cautioned the former UK Prime Minister, David Cameron about his remarks that some countries such as Nigeria and Afghanistan are 'fantastically corrupt' (Independent, 2016). The 2016 Anti-Corruption Summit is considered by many observers as a step in the right direction towards combating corruption on a global scale. Buahri's zero tolerance against corruption is seen by many observers as a powerful tool that will restore the dignity of Nigeria as well as facilitate the inflow of massive Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Since 2015, the Buhari administration has kick started investigations and prosecution of high profile Nigerians such as former National Security Adviser, Col. Sambo Dasuki (retd) and former petroleum minister, Diezani Alison Madueke among other high profile personalities accused of corruption. The Minister of Information and Culture, Alhaji Lai Mohammed, disclosed that about 3.4 trillion naira (cash and assets) was recovered during the first year of the Buhari administration (Thisday, 2016).

Also, President Buhari's administration has strengthened diplomatic ties with great powers such as China, United States of America (USA), Germany and France. The friendly gestures accorded the Buhari administration is been reflected in the fight against International terrorism, recovery of looted funds, accessibility to loans and deepening trade deals. Apart from using foreign relations to tackle *Boko Haram* insurgency, President Buhari played a key role as the chief mediator in solving the Constitutional impasse in Gambia, where President Yahaya Jammeh initially refused to give up power to a democratically elected President Adama Barrow, President Buhari was tasked by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to lead a negotiation with Jammeh in

order to concede power to Barrow. President Buhari resolved for a peaceful transition and the need to avoid violence which could lead to a civil war and a possible humanitarian disaster for the ECOWAS sub-region. The negotiation was fruitful, and former President Jammeh conceded power and stepped aside and Adama Barrow took over as President of Gambia on January 27, 2017.

On the whole the security challenges facing Nigeria as at present have gone a long way in negatively affecting her relations with other countries and their nationals in the international community. Both State and Non-State actors interested in coming into Nigeria to invest in the economy are most times scared of doing so because of insecurity. The situation has become so terrible that most people now prefer to travel either by air or train to avoid being kidnapped by armed bandits on the high-ways until recently when an international airport in Kaduna State was attacked as well as the dastardly attacks orchestrated by terrorists on a train on its way from Kaduna to Abuja on 28th March, 2022 leaving 8 persons dead and several others sustaining different degrees of injuries while many more were abducted by trigger-happy "unknown gunmen". The security situation has become so worrisome that people are sometimes kidnapped for ransom from the comfort of their homes at gunpoint. As at present, nobody is safe and nowhere is safe in the country! This scenario must have been responsive for the swift conclusion drawn by Yusufu and Ilevbare (2021) that Nigeria is gradually transforming into a failed State.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This paper examined contemporary security challenges in Nigeria and its effect on her foreign relations between 2015 when the Buhari government came into power and early 2022 when these challenges aggravated with devastating consequences. These security challenges constitute a threat not only to the peaceful co-existence of Nigeria- a multi-ethnic country, but also discourage foreign investments. The paper concludes that the country's security situation may further deteriorate as long as the government keeps politicizing insecurity in the country. The persistence of these security challenges overwhelms the nation's security system and in the end discourages Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and also ultimately deteriorate her relationship with others countries in the international community.

The paper therefore recommends that the government should stop politicizing insecurity and stand up to its primary responsibility of securing the lives and property of its citizens while at the same time delivering dividends of democracy in an atmosphere of good governance characterized by freedom, equity and justice. Also, government should adopt a two way approach to some of these crippling problems; dialogue and the use of force. Those agitating for secession in South East and resource control in the Niger Delta region should be engaged in thorough dialogue. However, the government should strengthen the security architecture in order to completely wipe out *Boko Haram i*nsurgency and armed bandits as well as find a lasting solution to the incessant resource conflicts between cattle herders and crop farmers in different farming communities across the country.

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The Impact of COVID - 19 Pandemic on the Economy of the State of Pennsylvania from the Period of March 2020 - March 2021

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Abstract: The Covid 19 Pandemic changed the trajectory of polity, economics and trade as we know it; both from the local standpoint and on a global scale. This paper seeks to investigate the impact of the Covid 19 pandemic on the economy of the state of Pennsylvania from the period of March 2020 - March 2021. The purpose of this research is to establish the facts and values in perspective as regards the impact of the Covid 19 pandemic on the economy of Pennsylvania from the period of March 2020 - March 2021, to recognize and address the problems of reliability and validity, to clarify the meaning of concepts as wells as identify multidimensional concepts relating to this paper, to ensure an empirical analysis and controlled comparisons of variables, and data relating to the topical issue and to ensure that the quality and impact of this research is relevant and valid to the contribution of knowledge.
Key words: Apartheid, Bilateral Relations, Hegemony, Human Right, Nigeria, South Africa.

Introduction

The Covid-19 disease is defined as an illness that causes the severe acute respiratory syndrome. It was first identified amidst an outbreak of respiratory illness cases in the city of Wuhan, the Hubei province of China. On the 12th day of December 2019, a cluster of patients in Wuhan began to experience shortness of breath and fever. Thus, the variant was identified as "SARS-CoV-2" by the "WHO - World Health Organization." The virus often causes some sort of "nose infection" as well as affects the respiratory functions of the nose and throat, hereby creating sinuses - a connected system of hollow cavities in the skull, making it difficult to breathe. The aspect which makes the virus deadly is the fact that it gets transferred from one host to the other. The common hosts for the virus include human beings and not any other living species. Thus, the "respiratory illness" caused as a result of coronavirus includes "SARS-Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome," "MERS-Middle East Respiratory Syndrome" and "common cold." Starting from "China," the "coronavirus" has spread to all parts of the world resulting in a great number of cases.

The pandemic has had a lot of "socio-economic" and "political" impacts on the world's economy. It won't be wrong to say that the increasing spread of the virus led to strict lockdowns in several areas to which trade activities, education, employment, and markets were seriously affected. It suffered as a severe backlash for the entire economy because it gave rise to unemployment as activities were restricted. As a result, the world economy got affected in a major way. The Corona Virus caused direct impacts on income due to premature deaths, workplace absenteeism, and a reduction in productivity. The ripple effect of this is evident in the creation of a negative supply shock, which was also influenced by the slowing down of manufacturing production activities due to the disruptions in the global supply chain and the closures of businesses, factories, and companies. Everything has become unpredictable and policy-making on the part of the government is extremely volatile. In addition to policy formation, the effects of the Covid-19 have in no way decreased, but rather a continuous phenomenon. The emergence of the Omicron Covid-19 variant further deepens the possibility of a global economic crisis. Furthermore, thoughts on the metamorphosis of an incurable OMEGA VARIANT also inform the need to share the scientific and technological know-how of how to best tackle the virus. Increasing effects of "COVID-19" have also led to the disruption of the chain of supply, "population," "financial markets" and overall the entire nation. On the contrary, some aspects have contributed to the decreased spread of the coronavirus. These aspects include some efficient policies on the part of the

government like "Following the SOPs" was made compulsory. Similarly, "Social Distancing" in public areas, banks, and other relevant financial institutes. Furthermore, "Work from Home" policies have also played a key role in lessening the impact.

Now, it is also important to realize that "sustainable development" and "green investments" are not at all dependent on "globalization" and "economic growth." Other contributing factors include "resource consumption," "waste management" and "wealth creation"

For this research, data will be obtained from multiple sources based on analysis from multiple documents. The main purpose of the research is to establish the related facts and values that are a result of the COVID-19 pandemic on Pennsylvania's economy. The period for analysis is 'March 2020' till 'March 2021.' Thus, our research will reflect upon the economic aspects of how these have been affected in major ways. Moreover, the software that is to be used for the analysis of datasets is "IBM SPSS Statistics".

Literature Review

Seeing that the Covid-19 pandemic is an evolving and continuous phenomenon, this makes it somewhat cumbersome to arrive at an absolute value of population as regards the degree of its impact on both the state of Pennsylvania and the world at large. This serves as a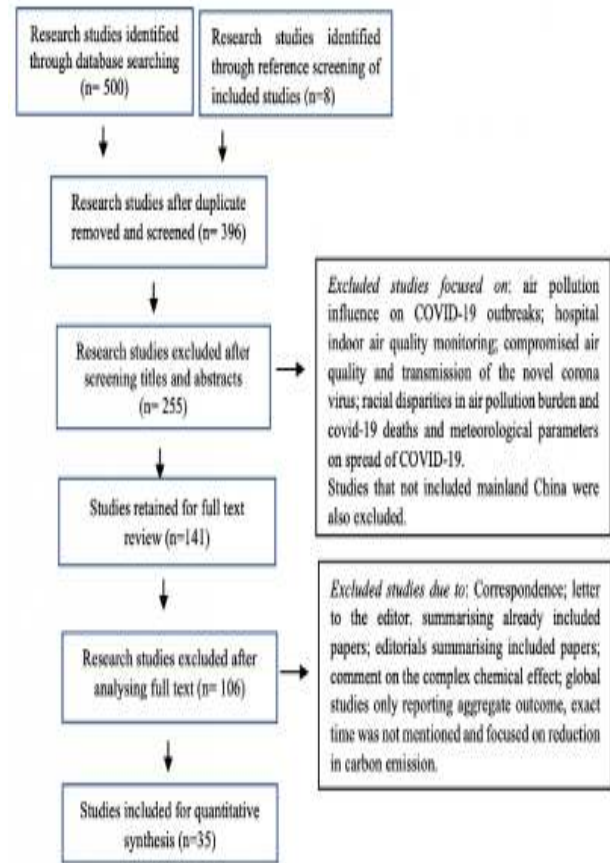 limitation of study seeing my analysis is limited to previously existing and inconclusive data. Given my analysis, certain considerations such as the various existing scientific research methods adopted by various scholars in addressing the socio-economic impacts of the virus as well as the steps and policies being implemented to mitigate the spread of the virus are being considered.

A lot of different findings have been presented by different committees and several other organizations. The "National Health Commission of China" has presented some features concerning the health rate. This includes that "2.1 %" was the rate for the positive cases in "China" whereas "0.2 %" was the rate for other countries outside of China. The admitted patients in hospitals had a mortality rate between "11 %" and "15 %." So, the awareness about the virus is rising among the people in different parts of the world such that they are developing awareness regarding the "disease," "diagnosis," "causative agent" and "treatment." "treatment". Also, in my personal opinion, in some parts of the world, local remedies such as herbs are being created to reduce the effect of the virus on people, prevention strategies are also being developed among the people.

The studies by "Mclnnes et al" (2018) and "Shaffril et al" (2018) have utilized the "PRISMA" approach to analyze the different datasets for identifying the major changes in air quality reflecting upon the pollutants

that how these have polluted the nature in many ways. With the increase in technology and pollution, construction activities have increased in different parts of the world that have polluted human nature such that these have given rise to increased emission of "greenhouse gasses." Some of the major activities include "curbing industrial; production," "household consumption," "engineering construction" etc.

Another study by "Chen et al," "Y. Bai," "L.Yao" and several others have reflected upon the ages for which age groups are the virus common. Some of the common age groups include "34" till "59" years. "SARA-COV-2" also has a deadly impact on the "cardio-vascular" and "cerebrovascular" systems of an individual resulting in "diabetes." In addition to this, it also won't be wrong to say that such systems are majorly disrupted in individuals above sixty years of age. Highly severe cases also take place in individuals above sixty years of age that have resulted in deaths of individuals.

Research studies identified through database searching (n= 500)

Research studies identified through reference screening of included studies (n=8)

Research studies after duplicate removed and screened (n= 396)

Research studies excluded after screening titles and abstracts (n= 255)

Excluded studies focused on: air pollution influence on COVID-19 outbreaks; hospital indoor air quality monitoring; compromised air quality and transmission of the novel corona virus; racial disparities in air pollution burden and covid-19 deaths and meteorological parameters on spread of COVID-19.
Studies that not included mainland China were also excluded.

Studies retained for full text review (n=141)

Research studies excluded after analysing full text (n= 106)

Excluded studies due to: Correspondence; letter to the editor. summarising already included papers; editorials summarising included papers; comment on the complex chemical effect; global studies only reporting aggregate outcome, exact time was not mentioned and focused on reduction in carbon emission.

Studies included for quantitative synthesis (n=35)

Recent studies by "C.Huang," "Y.Wang " and others (2020) have revealed the different levels of reactions of the immune system because a detailed analysis has been conducted in that regard. The immune system responses to "viral-infections" and "mediating inflammation" and "cellular antiviral" activity has been critical w.r.t "inhibit viral replication" and "dissemination." Furthermore, "pathogenesis" will be a result of "virus lytic effects" on "host cells." SO, collecting people's and other survey data it won't be wrong to say that common symptoms for individuals include suffering from "severe pneumonia", "fever" and "dry cough." Similarly, "ARDS - Acute

Respiratory Stress Syndrome" and "septic shock" have served as unique effects for the virus as these have resulted in malfunctioning of organs and immediate death. However, "10%" of the patients have died as a result of this. "Extensive damages" for the lungs as well as "ARDS progression" have been a major cause and source for the "COVID-19" because "ACE-2" is commonly a source for the "airway epithelium for ciliated cells" and "alveolar type II/pulmonary cells" in humans.

Study	Chen et al. [8]	Huang et al. [7]	Chung et al. [49]
Patient count	99	41	21
Age (mean, year)	55.5	49	51
Fever	83%	98%	67%
Cough	81%	76%	43%
Shortness of breath	31%	55%	–
Myalgia	11%	44%	3%
Haemoptysis	–	5%	–
Sputum production	–	28%	–
Confusion	9%	–	–
Sore throat	5%	–	–
Rhinorrhoea	4%	–	–
Chest pain	2%	–	–
Diarrhoea	2%	1%	–

Some of the common suspected cases for the "COVID-19" pandemic according to "WHO-World Health Organization" include "acute respiratory infections." It also won't be wrong to say that people or foreigners residing in China would have a higher possibility of acquiring the COVID-19 virus. Furthermore, an individual possessing the symptoms for a total of 14 days will have a higher possibility of acquiring the virus. He/she should get himself checked or treated. Considering the present day scenario, it is necessary to isolate yourself because of the increasing effects and there is a higher possibility that other individuals are most likely to catch the virus from the positive individual. Furthermore, an absolute surety for a positive case is a result of a clinical report which shows that the individual is a confirmed "SARS-COV-2."

"Bloom" and "Cadarette" (2019) have revealed that the "COVID-19" pandemic has been seriously devastating for the economy as well as health care because it has led to major challenges in the infrastructure thereby disturbing the overall structure leading to unpredictability and increased number of cases due to close contact of negative and positive patients. It also won't be wrong to say that economic breakdowns have been a result of several factors including "latency," "transmission rate" and "geographic spread." In addition to this, this is not the first time that the world is suffering from a deadly pandemic. Such types of pandemics have occurred before that resulted in the decline of empires and states, etc. At that time the contributing factors included "disturbances in infrastructure," "social unrest," "economic dislocations" and "fragility." Such sorts of pandemics also affected the world economy in an immense number of negative ways. "Bretescher et al" (2020) reveal that any threat to the health of one individual increases threats for other individuals too

because the risk factor increases in major ways. Hence, some of the pandemics of the past include "the great plague," "the Justinian plague," "the Black Death," "the Third Plague pandemic," "Spanish flu" etc. These also resulted in an immense number of deaths with threats to the entire economy.

Daata and Methodology

For data analysis and methodology, it won't be wrong to say that "IBM SPSS Statistics" software has been used for analyzing the datasets and also identifying the number of cases concerning each state. As our major focus is first of all identifying the number of COVID-19 cases from March 2020 till March 2021. Our focusing state is "Pennsylvania."

The Research Methodology for this paper is the scientific approach. This research methodology is most suitable for this paper because it enables the ability to analyze political relationships and events. It deals with the use of empirical methods for inquiry and the acquisition of knowledge.

Due to the peculiarity of this paper, the scientific approach ensures the ethnographic study of people, culture, customs, and habits within the state of Pennsylvania before and during the outbreak of the Covid-19 Pandemic. It also ensures the study of both the dependent and independent variables through a phenomenological perspective in regards to the human experience brought about by the Covid 19 pandemic as well as the reactions to the state of the economy from the period of March 2020 - March 2021.

The first data set that is being utilized reflects upon the data for all states such that what is the frequency and number of cases for each state. After that, the second dataset that has been utilized reflects upon the state "Pennsylvania" characteristics for the period of "March 2020- March 2021." The main sources for the public data being presented include several positive and negative tests, clinical data, positive reported individuals, and negative reported individuals as well as other tests. In the first part of the results, a frequency descriptive analysis has been done that reflects upon the fact that at what frequency did COVID-19 had an impact on the state. Afterward, an aggregation concerning the "Pennsylvania" state was done for the data set containing only state data.

In addition to this, the characteristic data has been combined with the economic data to identify the relationship between the two. So, it won't be wrong to say that the relationships for the "labor force participation rate," "employment-population rate," "labor force," "employment," "unemployment" and "unemployment rate" have been reflected upon in the form of "scatter plots" with the use of "IBM SPSS Statistics."

All the research data that is being utilized is public

survey data as well as other journal entries that shall contribute towards a better productive outcome and indicate a better economic impact that has resulted due to the present COVID-19 situation.
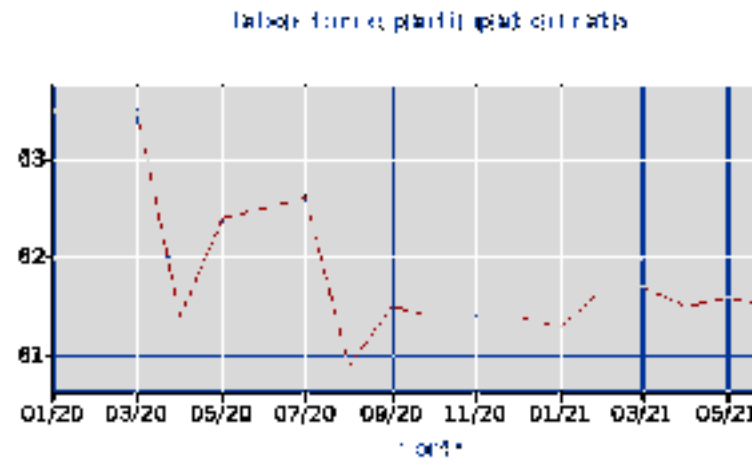
Results

At first, a frequency analysis was conducted for the widespread of COVID-19 in different states of the "United States." Thus, the pie graph attached below serves as a depiction of the frequency of different states. Our desired state "Pennsylvania" is at a frequency of 369. Moreover, it is an indication that COVID-19 is equally spread across the "United States."
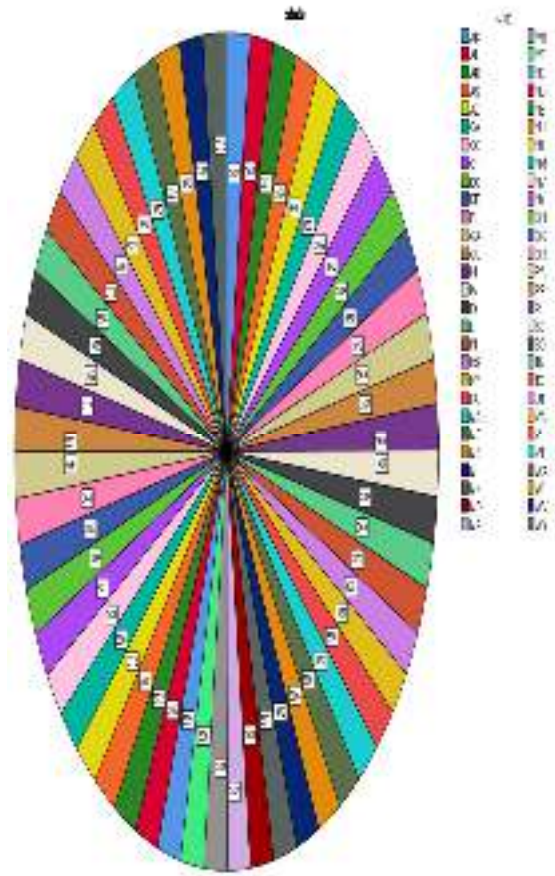
Before identifying the relationships between the different variables, it won't be wrong to say that the characteristic data and economic data has been merged in a major way. The merged data has been attached in the SPSS file attached below. It is as follows;

labor force participation rate

date	state	d
03/03/2020	PA	
03/04/2020	PA	
03/05/2020	PA	
03/06/2020	PA	
03/07/2020	PA	
03/08/2020	PA	
03/09/2020	PA	
03/10/2020	PA	
03/11/2020	PA	
03/12/2020	PA	
03/13/2020	PA	
03/14/2020	PA	
03/15/2020	PA	
03/16/2020	PA	
03/17/2020	PA	
03/18/2020	PA	
03/19/2020	PA	
03/20/2020	PA	
03/21/2020	PA	
03/22/2020	PA	
03/23/2020	PA	
03/24/2020	PA	

The "labor force participation rate" has been depicted in the following graph which indicates that due to the decreased number of jobs following COVID-19, there has been a major change in economic trends as it has led to a massive disruption in the economic structure. Decrease in the number of jobs have led to a decrease in the labor force participation rate.

laborf?rtecipationrate
63.5
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Simple Scatter of labor force participation rate by date

The second aspect which we reflected upon is the "employment-population ratio." It won't be wrong to say that the employment population ratio has been variable as it can clearly be seen that there have been a lot of changes and problems in that regard. So, the rate has not been constant and it has been fluctuating because a work from home policy was initiated by many companies whereas other companies became jobless.

employment-population ratio

decline in the labor force is because of the increasing effects of COVID-19. Government had imposed strict lockdown policies due to which the trade activities as well as business activities were affected in a major way. This had led to a decrease in job posts and effectiveness and work from home policies couldn't be applied to every job. Hence, the labor force declined with the passage of time as the graph indicates. It has led to an unstable economy.

Simple Scatter of employment-population rate by date

labor force
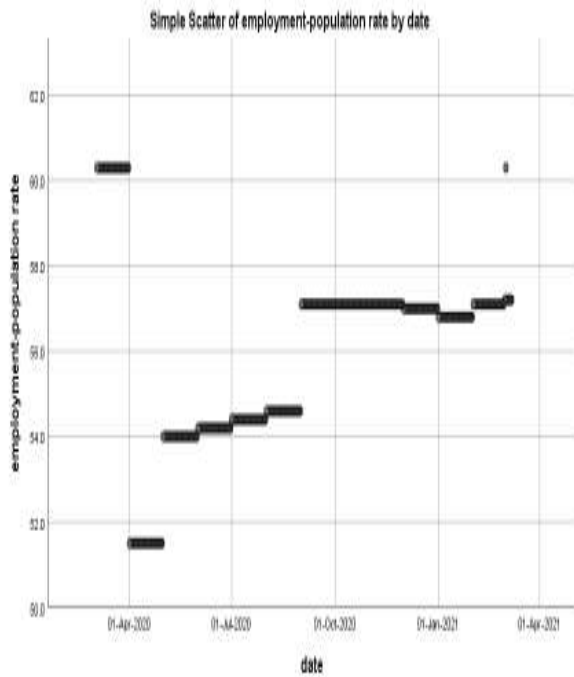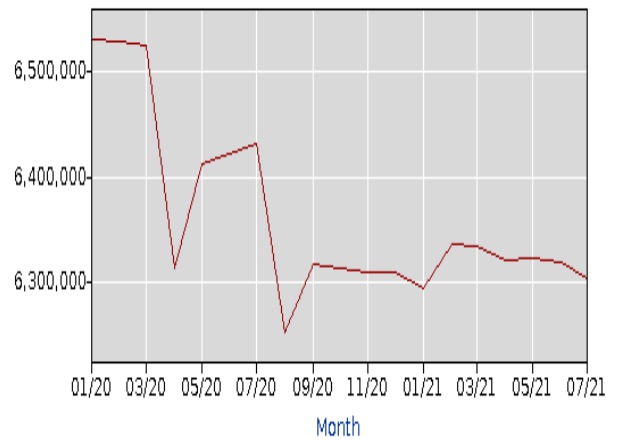
The scatter plot for the relationship has also been indicated that clearly reflects upon the fact that this has led to major economic challenges leading to a major global crisis.

Furthermore, the scatter plot has also been defined which reflects upon the complete data as well as highlighting the relationship between "employment-population rate" and "date."

Another proposition regarding the labor force has also been made. It won't be wrong to say that a major

Simple Scatter of labor force by date
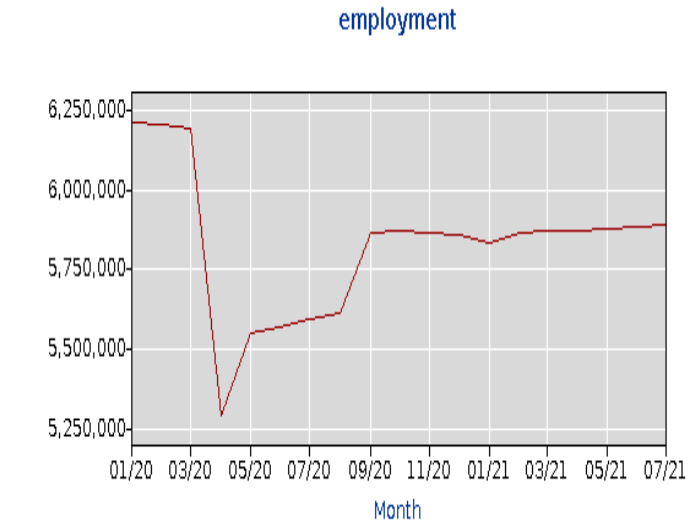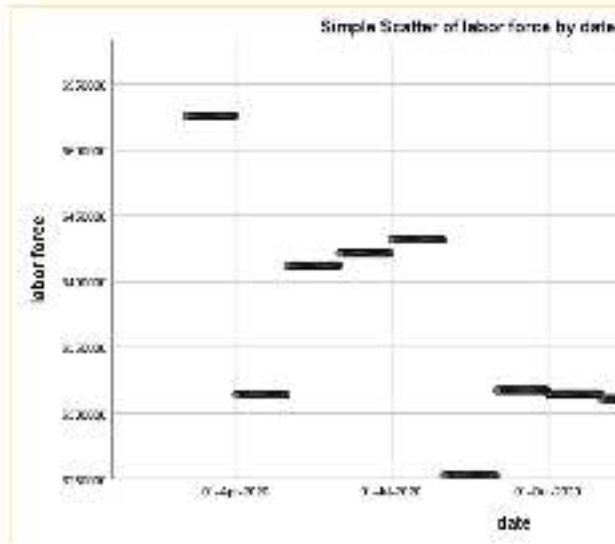
employment

In addition to the above mentioned factors, the aspects of "employment" were reflected upon on an individual basis such as how employment individuals of "Pennsylvania' have been affected as a result of the pandemic. It also won't be wrong to say that at the start of the pandemic, the graph indicates that the employment levels ahd majorly reduced as these had fallen down but with the passage of time, the implication of several policies has led to increased employment due to which things are proceeding towards betterment. So, at this particular moment, lockdowns have been uplifted and vaccination based campaigns are currently in effect. So, this indicates that restoration of employment can be a possible outcome after some time. The employment graph is as follows;

The scatter plot is as follows;

Simple Scatter of employment by date
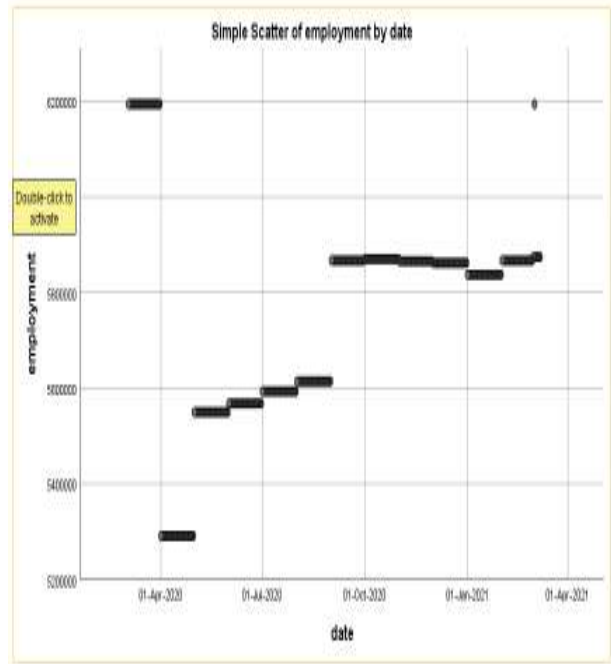
With respect to employment, another aspect has also been reflected upon which is "unemployment." It won't be wrong to say that policies like "Compulsory vaccination" and "Work from home" have led to a

decrease in unemployment as the majority of the people have led to the restoration of their jobs and work facilities. The decreasing graph of unemployment is as follows;
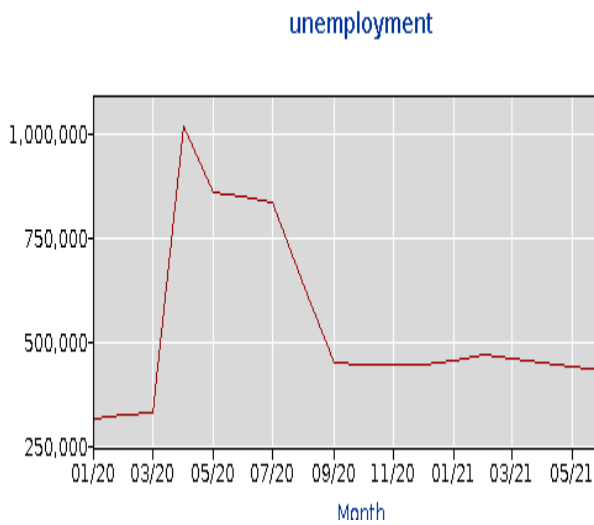
unemployment

The scatter plot also indicates the same results which are the same as mentioned in this line graph. However, the depiction for the data is in accordance with the per day basis.
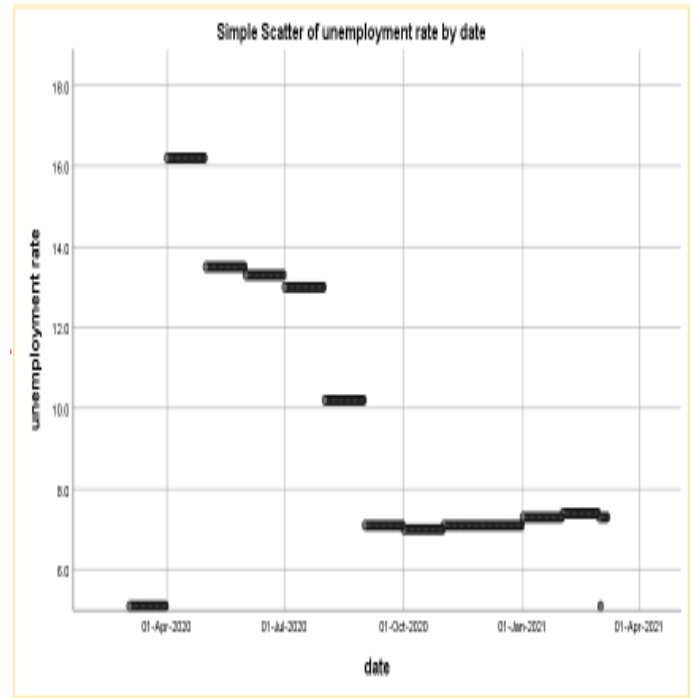
unemployment rate
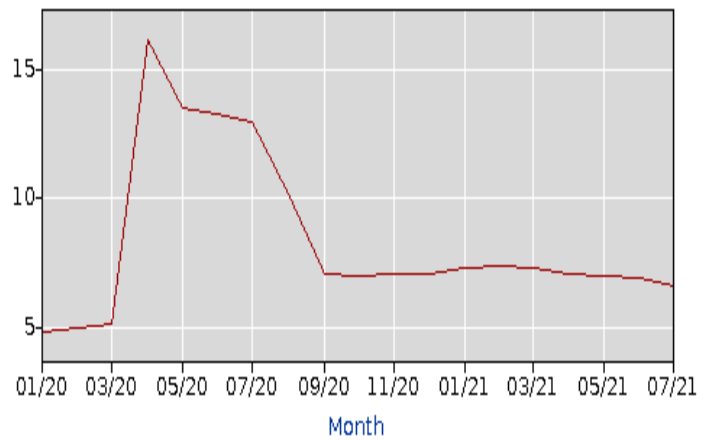
Last but not the least in importance, a combined depiction of all the factors which have been correlated with respect to each date from "March 2020" to "March 2021" have been presented. It won't be wrong

to say that all the results are the same as the results presented in the individualized findings with respect to each sector.

Simple Scatter of labor force participation rate, of employment-population rate, of labor force, of employment of unemployment, of unemployment rate by date
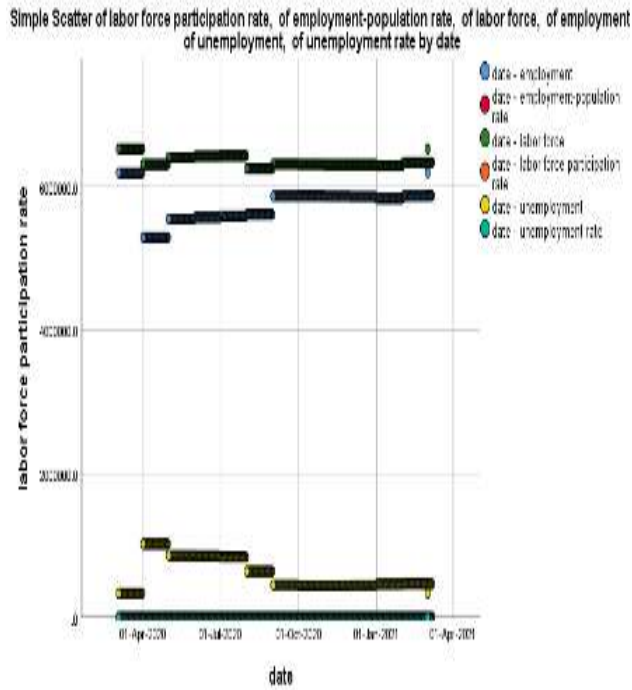
Conclusion

The paper aimed to reflect upon the major challenges to the economy of "Pennsylvania" that how it has been affected as a result of the pandemic and what the major challenges were faced. In short, it was important to reveal how these had an impact on the entire economy, serving as a major downtrend for the peoples' jobs and

also affecting the entire "GDP-Gross Domestic Product."

Thus, there are two methods for controlling inflation. Being considerate about the short run, inflation can be controlled in a major way by controlling the flow of money within a particular economy. For that purpose, it is necessary to increase the interest rates for controlling the purchasing power for a certain interval of time recognizing the market trends. In the long run, decreasing unemployment by paving ways for new opportunities can be a leading factor to inflation control. Furthermore, monetary policy for slow economic growth should be implemented for controlling inflation.

So, it is important to know about your priorities to uplift the entire economy. As per my perception, I would aim at following these seven approaches in that regard considering the drastic impact of COVID-19 on the entire economy.

My priority is for the enhancement of health care facilities. It is because with increased expenditure it often becomes difficult for the general public to cover their health needs especially in these difficult times of COVID-19 when everything in the economy is drastically damaged.

My second priority is regarding the innovation for the educational system as I would like to control different problems within this sector. These problems include

racism, mental health, etc. However, other necessary steps like providing the required counseling, etc. shall also be taken.

The third priority will be taking different steps for the regulation of a government budget. In this way, a more stable economy shall be generated. Moreover, I'd take necessary measures for a stable and equal distribution of budget.

The fourth priority will be taking steps for the prevention of global warming. The most important problem in the entire world is the damage of the ozone layer and is highly neglected. However, I'd prefer to take steps towards its betterment.

My fifth priority will be the establishment of a threat management system where different types of detected threats shall be minimized. Moreover, with my proposed system threats shall be classified into different levels based on the circumstances. So, by the detection steps shall easily be taken.

The sixth priority will be regarding the preservation of the environment. It is because ensuring eco-friendliness is also the most important. So, following the phenomenon, I'd implement strict laws against smoke-emitting vehicles and factories.

Nowadays, the coronavirus vaccine has also been introduced in the market which is now being followed. So, it is necessary to understand the role of a vaccine such that it is important in the lives of individuals.

vaccines play a pivotal role in putting an end to preventable child deaths if specific vaccination schedules are adhered to, in addition to protecting children from some infectious diseases and their serious complications. Although the presence of disease-causing bacteria and viruses continues, they have been controlled by vaccinations, and this is evidence of the importance and benefits of vaccinations. Moreover, when children are immunized, this helps protect others as well. This means that if the child is immunized, he will not contract infectious diseases and will not infect others because these vaccines contribute to protecting the entire community from the risk of epidemics. In addition, vaccines are very safe, easy to obtain, and safer than contracting the disease. Moreover, the side effects of vaccinations are very rare so that minor reactions such as fever, pain, and redness around the injection site, but these effects disappear within a few days Another point is that vaccinations help prevent diseases that cause permanent damage to children for life, for example, polio and meningococcal disease, which damages brain cells and leads to limb loss in addition to whooping cough, German measles and many other diseases including "COVID-19" which is currently being tested. In conclusion, vaccinations are very important and useful for children, and their goal is to prevent diseases because prevention is much

easier and more effective than the cost of treatment.

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Afro-European Relations: A Thorough Appraisal of the Activities of the Europeans in Africa from Pre-Colonial to Colonial Era

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Abstract: This paper starts with the assertion that the international system is a home to great and small, powerful and weak, developed and underdeveloped states/entities. It supports the notion that interaction or interrelationship is a major characteristic of the system due to the gregarious nature of states. The principal aim of the paper is to examine the nature and pattern of the intercontinental relations of Africa and Europe in pre-colonial and colonial times. In an attempt to realise the aim, the study employed historical-chronological research method, with data generated mainly from relevant textbooks, journals and online sources. The data used in the study were both qualitative and qualitative. Marxist as well as dependency theory was used in explaining the complex, but interesting subject of African-European relations. The paper concludes that the activities of the Europeans in Africa in the periods under consideration benefited the former more than it did to the latter; thus, the relations were never a partnership of equals, it was lopsided and parasitic.

Key words: Africa, Europe, Pre-colonial Era, Colonial Era, Partnership of Equals.

Introduction

Inter-state [or inter-continental] relations is one of the inevitabilities of the international system. States and non-state actors can hardly afford the costly game of seclusion, otherwise known as isolation. Isolation in the international system is nearly impossible due to the fact that states, just like humans, are quite gregarious in nature. This is evident in the interrelations of ancient Sumerian city-states, which, according to Barry Buzan and Richard Little in Awais (2020), dates back to 3500 BC. The inter-state relations of the papal era, the 1648 Peace Treaty of Westphalia, and the 1814/15 Congress of Vienna still reveal the importance and the inevitability of interstate relations (*see* Holsti, 2020). John Donne – a 16th century English poet – on the other hand, notes: *No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main*. Reasoning from these lines of thought, therefore, Afro-European relations become a norm.

The interrelations of Africa and Europe have endured for over six centuries now. It could be said to date back to the 15th century, which was the period European seamen began to explore the world greatly. The same century also witnessed the evolution of trans-Atlantic slave trade (Eluwa et al, 1996; Williams, 1944). The slave trade was chiefly between Europeans and Africans, at the expense of Africa though (Rodney, 1972). Some centuries later, in the 19th century precisely, a new era in Afro-European relations opened up. The era was that of colonial rule, with the colonial powers being the Europeans and the colonised, the Africans.

In essence, we shall examine in this paper the economic and political activities or relations of Africa and Europe in the period before colonialism and in the colonial era. This would be done with the utmost aim

of establishing whether the two entities had a cordial or a lopsided relationship.

Theoretical Background

There are numerous theories that are often used to analyse the activities of first world nations in the third world. These include world systems theory, structuralism, imperialism, and so forth (Chirot and Hall, 1982; Chenery, 1975; Smith, 1996). However, in this study, Marxist theory as well as Dependency theory was chosen as they were deemed more appropriate in explicating or explaining the nature of relationship Africa had with Europe in the periods under study.

Marxist Theory the Marxist Theory has been widely used by scholars to explain the subject of exploitation, which centres on taking undue advantage of others (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2001). The theory was predicated on the ideas of the widely celebrated German philosopher, Karl Marx whose thoughts were expressed in his 1867 publication titled *Das Kapital* (Garner, 2013). The theory was further enhanced, especially as it concerns explaining international processes – imperialism, via the thoughts and the writings and the actions of communist revolutionaries of the early twentieth century, such as Rosa Luxemburg, Rudolf Hilferding and Vladimir Lenin (Pal, 2018). The thoughts of Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), who developed the concept of hegemony, are also useful in explaining the domination and exploitation of some groups [of states] by others (Pal, 2018).

Dependency Theory – a mixture of both Marxist and world systems theories – on the other hand, stresses that the international system is composed of two sets of states, viz., the 'dominant' and the 'dependent'. The

former manipulates the latter to its own advantage (Romaniuk, 2017). Raul Prebisch [a proponent of the theory] and his disciples assert that the economic activities of the richer countries often impair the economies of the poorer countries (Ferraro, 2008). Walter Rodney, in support, argues that Africa was a developed continent, with its own institutions, and peculiar political and economic systems. He argues further that exploitation generally hinders a region from getting to the peak [efflorescence] of development (Rodney, 1972).

Scope and Methodology

The scope of this study is limited in nature, as only two continents – Africa and Europe – were mainly under study. The economic, political and socio-cultural relations of the two entities between the periods of 1400s and early 1900s also fall within the scope of the study. The methodological framework relied upon, in achieving the lofty objectives of the study, is both qualitative and quantitative (numerical). Data were thus generated from books, journals, online articles, encyclopedia, and monographs. The Marxist-Dependency Theory was adopted in explaining and justifying the argument that Afro-European relations in the past were not purely rooted in the principles of 'partnership of equals' or mutual benefit. The activities of the Europeans in the continent were rather geared toward exploitation and alteration of the ways of life of the African people.

Literature Review: Afro-European Relations

Scholarly writings on Afro-European relations can be clearly divided into pre-colonial (Rodney, 1972; Ball,

2000; Babacar, 2006; Williams, 1944; Domingues da Silva, 2017 etc) and colonial times (Folayan, 1974; Birmingham, 1974; Afigbo, 1980; Tamuno, 1980; Chenntouf, 1993; Uzoigwe, 1985; Boahen, 1985 etc.).

Walter Rodney, in his 1972 controversial book titled *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Chapter three precisely), examined the intercontinental relations of Africa and [Western] Europe in the pre-colonial time. The kind of relationship that existed between the two entities, as he pointed out, was basically of trade, trade that witnessed the 'transfer of wealth from Africa to Europe'. In addition, Rodney argued that the internationalisation of trade in the 15th century benefitted Europe the most as it led to exploitation of gold in the Gold Coast in the 16th and 17th centuries. It also triggered transfer of labour from Africa to the New World. Williams (1944) and Domingues da Silva (2017) conducted studies similar to that of Rodney. The findings of their works still validates Rodney's assertion that trade, Atlantic slave trade precisely, was the major activity between Africa and Europe in the pre-colonial era. The trade, as their works suggest, strengthened European economy more than it did to Africa's.

The early years of colonial Africa were full of resistance by Africans, especially by uneducated Africans who were not incorporated in the government and were denied the privileges of 'Special Citizenship'. The crisis between the indigenous Libyans and the Italian colonists (Folayan, 1974; Chenntouf, 1993); the crisis between Kabaka Mwanga and the British authority in Buganda in the 1890s (Atanda, 1974); the Brassmen crisis with the Royal Niger Company in the 1890s, the Afikpo and Umunneoha – British conflict of 1903, and the Women's Roit of the 1920s – all in Eastern Nigeria

(Ayandele, 1980; Afigbo, 1980; Afigbo, 1974); and the Franco-Maghrebi-Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia crisis of 1930-40 (Chenntouf, 1993) were some examples of the resistances against the European colonists on African soil by the colonised peoples of Africa.

Table 1: Summary of Afro-European Relations Literature

PERIOD COVERED	STUDY	AREAS OF CONCENTRATION
Pre-colonial	Williams (1944)	Capitalism and slavery
	Domingues da Silva (2017)	Slave trade in West central Africa between 1780 and 1867
	Babacar (2006)	The socio-political and economic effects of slave trade on Africans
	Inikori (1992)	Slave trade and its impacts on the economies of Western Europe and North America
	Ball (2000)	Atlantic slave trade and slavery
Pre-colonial & colonial	Rodney (1972)	The effects of the pre-colonial and colonial activities of Europe on Africa
Colonial	Folayan (1974)	Libya under Italian colonial rule
	Birmingham (1974)	The colonial activities of the Portuguese in Angola
	Chenntouf (1993)	The Second World War and the Horn and North Africa
	Afigbo (1980)	Colonial rule in Eastern Nigeria
	Tamuno (1980)	British colonial administration in Nigeria in the 20th century
	Atanda (1974)	British colonial rule in Buganda
	Afigbo (1974)	Indirect rule and warrant chief system in south-eastern Nigeria
	Uzoigwe (1985)	The scramble and partition of Africa by European powers
	Boahen (1985)	Colonial attempts and the responses of Africans

Empirical Results and Discussion

Pre-colonial Africa and European Activities

History has shown that Africa is, more or less, the world's centre of attention/attraction, the cynosure of all eyes. Its geographical position is of great strategic importance, especially to the entirety of Western powers (Alford, 1981). Its strategic significance is predicated on the availability and abundance of human and material resources in it. It is also naturally blessed

with prodigious landmass and stupendous coastline (Smiley, 1981). It is on the basis of this that the Europeans swoop down over the continental Africa.

One of the resounding activities of the Europeans in Africa in the pre-colonial times was their involvement in slave trade, trans-Atlantic slave trade. The history of Africa won't be properly and fully told without a mention of the trans-Atlantic slave trade championed by Europe. It should be noted, however, that slave trade was not new to the world and to Africa, before 15th century. For sure, Africa had witnessed the trans-Saharan slave trade before the aforementioned century. In the Roman Empire also, slave trade and slavery were never non-existent. But the size and volume of the trans-Atlantic trade, the continents it affected (Africa, Europe and the Americas) and the mode of its occurrence made it unique and worth studying (Inikori, 1992).

The foundation of the Atlantic slave trade was laid in 1441 when Antonio Goncalves [and Nino Tristao] – an experienced Portuguese Mariner under the service of Prince Henry the Navigator, kidnapped and took ten Africans as slaves back to his country (Eluwa et al., 1996; and Buah, 1982).

By 1450 and 1500 the number of African slaves taken annually to Lisbon (Portugal) increased and was estimated 700 to 900. With this, therefore, the number of slaves present in Portugal and Madeira Islands as at the beginning of the seventeenth century was estimated 100,000. The slaves were used as workers in Portuguese [and Spanish] mines, farmlands, and construction sites. They also served as soldiers, guards, domestics, couriers, stevedores, factory labourers and concubines (Harris, 1992).

This notwithstanding, the discovery of America, the New World, by Christopher Columbus in 1492 intensified the Atlantic slave trade (Inikori, 1992). The reasons for the increase in the number of African slaves traded by the Europeans were presented by Rodney. He argued that the indigenous Indians initially used in the gold mines and plantations of the New World by the Europeans could not withstand new European diseases [one of which was small-pox]. They could not also endure the toils of the plantation and the mines, as they were by nature fragile. In fact, an attempt to engage the Indians in the islands of Cuba and Hispaniola by the Europeans resulted in a complete genocide.

According to Eric Williams' analysis, many things triggered the coming of the Europeans to Africa to source for slaves. One of such was the need, just like Rodney postulated above, to get men and women of unquestionable natural strength (Africans) to till "the land stolen from the Indians in America", to work in the cotton miles and sugar plantations. The Spaniards, for example, noticed that one Negro was worth four Indians, hence the clamour for their replacement with Africans, in 1518 in Hispaniola. Prior to the massive stealing/kidnapping/trading of Africans and their shipping to the New World, the Europeans once resorted to using some convicts and poor [European] families to replace the fragile Indians. Williams (1944) writes:

> *The immediate successor of the Indian, however, was not the Negro but the poor white. These white servants included a variety of types. Some were indentured servants and "redemptioners" who had*

Spanish slave imports	1500-1810	1,500,000
Brazilian slave imports	1821-43	829,100
French slave exports	1713-92/3	1,140,257

(see Inikori, 1992)

already signed a contract at home to work for a stipulated time. Others were convicts sent out by the deliberate policy of the home government to serve for a stipulated period (p.9)

Giving the reason for such decision, Williams noted that the potentates wanted to put the poor amongst them to industrious and useful labour in the New World. However, discovering that the policy to use native Europeans as labourers in the New World would affect their population negatively, they thought it wise to enter Africa (p.16).

Considering the above and the fact that Europe had small population and thus could not afford to provide necessary labour needed to tap the wealth of the New World, as Rodney notes, the Europeans turned to Africa, the nearest continent, for the provision of the necessary labour (p.90).

Several estimates of the number of Africans that were victims of the transatlantic slave trade have been provided by several scholars. But for the purpose of this study, we shall go by the one provided by J.E. Inikori as it can be seen in Table 2 below.

Slave Exports & Imports	Period	Estimated Number of Slaves
British slave exports from Africa	1701-1808	3,699,572
Spanish slave imports	1521-95	73,000
Spanish slave imports	1595-1640	268,664

Euro-African Relations in Pre-colonial Times, a Partnership of Equals?

Partnership of equals, as used in the study, infers a mutual business relationship whereby parties involved make equal contributions and share their gains and losses equally. No one party swindles the other or exhibits narcissistic or avaricious tendencies.

As noted earlier, the interrelations of Europe and Africa in the pre-colonial times centred basically on trade. And in every trade, it's either the parties involved gain and none loses, or one gains and the other loses. According to Whatley and Gillezeau (2009), trading activities in Africa in the pre-colonial era was beneficial to the both parties – Africa and Europe. They argued that Africa benefited from Europe and vice versa. Their work, which centred on exchange of guns for slaves or "cycle controversy", revealed that Africans were offered new, valuable European technology – guns – in exchange for slaves. Britain, as Inikori (1977) estimates, offered Africans more than 20 million guns between 1750 and 1807. The guns, however, triggered new problems in Africa. It caused militarisation in mostly Gold and Slave Coasts, Senegambia and Angola (Whatley and Gillezeau, 2009). It also precipitated internal conflict and security problems, ethnic fractionalisation, state fragmentation and the weakening of states, as it can be seen among the Balanta [of the modern day Guinea-

Bissau], the Minyanka [of the modern day Mali] and the Kabre [of Northern Togo] (Nunn, 2006).

On the other hand, some studies criticised the Europeans for their activities in Africa. In the pre-colonial Euro-African transactions, Africa happened to be the unfortunate loser (Obiwuru, 2020:50). The Europeans engaged in copper and gold exploitation and trade in pre-colonial Africa. The Portuguese, for example, were very notorious in the search for copper and gold in Africa. They amassed copper in Limpopo, "in other to free themselves from dependence on the European producers of this metal" (Niane, 1984). In the 16th and 17thcenturies, the Portuguese, together with some other Europeans, were able to secure for themselves gold in some parts of West Africa, in eastern Central Africa and most especially in the Gold Coast (Rodney, 1972).

In terms of slave trade, the Europeans exchanged Africans for horses. Quantity-wise, a horse was given in exchange for six African slaves (Devisse and Labib, 1984). In some instances, the Europeans benevolently offered the gullible Africans, in exchange for their productive and reproductive young brothers and sisters, European items of "no commercial value", such as old sheets, cast-off uniforms, technologically outdated firearms, and lots of odds and ends. Dutch linen, Spanish iron, English pewter, Portuguese wines, French brandy, Venetian glass beads and German muskets, which had become unsalable in Europe [and which Dr. Kenneth Dike referred to as 'meretricious goods'] were also used in obtaining African slaves (Rodney, 1972; and Ajayi, 2002). Apart from the meretricious items "gained" by the Africans from their European counterparts, the transatlantic slave trade cost Africa approximately 12.5 million people, according to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database,

and as many as 20 million people, as could be found in other estimates presented by some institutions and scholars.

Monetarily, Africa lost a lot to the trade. Enormous gains were made by the Europeans from the slaves and the copper and gold they amassed in Africa. For each trip made by European slave merchants, a total profit of about £5000 to £100,000 was made at the beginning of the 19th century as they only used goods worth as low as £25 to pay for an able-bodied, young African slave (Onwubiko, 1977). The Portuguese alone made as much as 60 million Portuguese reals in the 1480s, 200 million reals between 1491 and 1521, and 279.5 million reals by 1534 from engaging in trade with the gullible Africans (Malowist, 1992). Looking at all these losses, some groups of Africans in the 1990s and early 2000s, for example, pushed for reparations totalling 777 trillion dollars (according to a Truth Commission in Accra in 1999) and 100 trillion dollars (according to Daniel Tetteh Osabu-Kle in 2000) (see Chutel, 2020).

Colonial Africa and European Activities in the Region

The genesis of European rule in the continental Africa can be traced to the Berlin Conference of 1884/85. Prior to the date, Europe, through extensive exploration, had already gained good knowledge of Africa and the opportunities that were within. Hence in the 1870s, the European powers started indirect competitions for territories in Africa. For example, the Duke of Brabant – Leopold I, as cited by Uzoigwe (1985:28), with the intension to explore and acquire the Congos, declared his interest in the 1876 Brussels Geographical Conference, and finally set up the African International Association and employed the services of the experienced explorer, Henry M.

Stanley (the "Breaker of Rocks"). All these efforts of Leopold led to the establishment of the Congo Free State (Middleton, 2021).

The Portuguese from 1876 onwards, and the British and the French from 1879 onwards were seen securing territories for themselves in Mozambique, Egypt, Tunisia and Madagascar (Uzoigwe, 1985:28).

In the momentous Berlin Conference chaired by Otto von Bismarck – the then German chancellor, a greater number of European nations [inclusive of Germany, France, Britain, Portugal, Spain, Italy and Denmark) were seen working assiduously for territorial gains. In the conference, the continental map of Africa was meticulously redrawn, and different parts of it indirectly assigned to different powers.

With the partition, the colonial powers started developing unique administrative systems with which to run their colonies. The Italians in Libya, while administering it from the provinces of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, made use of, first, "indirect rule" and, second, "direct rule" (Folayan, 1974). On the other hand, the Portuguese utilised full-fledged "assimilation" system – with the *Assimilados* (the few assimilated persons) being given some privileges and/or preferential treatments by the colonizers (Birmingham, 1974). The British and the French respectively used the indirect rule system, and the policies of assimilation and association in most of their West African and non-West African colonies (Tamuno, 1980; Afigbo 1974; Atanda, 1974; Eluwa et al., 1996). Paternalism, which was characterised with use of forced labour and oppressive taxation, was also used by the Germans and the Belgians in Tanganyika and Congo (Eluwa et al., 1996).

During the period of colonial rule, the Europeans engaged in a series of political, military and socio-economic activities in Africa. Based on the analyses of some African historians, the European colonizers initiated some policies which were not compatible with the natives and which eventually triggered political rivalry. The autocratic rule of the Germans in Tanganyika, for example, was responsible for the *maji maji* rebellion of 1905 (Eluwa et al. 1996:189). Same was also witnessed in Nigeria during the Women's Riot of 1929 in Igboland, when it was rumoured that women were to be counted and forced to pay tax as it had already be done to their male counterparts by the British colonial government in 1927 and 1928 (Afigbo, 1974:21). In Egypt in the late 1890s and early 1900s, the nationalist – Muṣṭafa Kámîl – was seen busy fighting the autocratic government of Lord Cromer, the British Agent and Consul-General, who claimed that the Egyptians were incapable of ruling themselves. In his speeches, and articles in newspaper outlets such as *al-Liwā* (The Flag), Kámîl noted that Egypt deserves self-rule. His love for his nation is crystallised in his statement (documented by Ibrahim, 1985:72):

> *Had I not been born an Egyptian, I would have wished to become one... there is no sense in life when it is coupled with despair, and no sense in despair as long as there is life.*

Socially, the Europeans entered the region with a good number of missionaries who emphasised the importance or the need for the African man to forsake his "barbaric" and "idolatrous" ways of life. Various denominations – Protestants and Catholics – sought to have people converted and brought into their fold

(Ajayi, 1989:778) King Leopold II of Belgium even claimed that his coming to Africa was to make the people drink from the majestic cup of European civilisation, and to assist them come out of their primitivity. Economically, the Europeans engaged in commercial activities (involving exportation of raw materials and importation of finished goods) with the locals, which later led to infrastructural development, monetisation of African economy and creation of banks (e.g. the Banque de l' Afrique Occidentale in 1901, the Bank of British West Africa in 1894, and the West African Currency Board in 1912) (Ake, 1981:34).

Euro-African Relations in Colonial Era, a Partnership of Equals?

To Ngugi wa Thiong'o, in Botwe-Asamoah (2005:38), relationship can be one of hostility, indifference, or mutual give and take. But to Kwame Nkrumah, Afro-European relations during the heydays of colonialism were one of hostility and exploitation, exploitation of the former by the later. He wrote:

> *In 1942...while I was a student in the United States of America, I was so revolted by the ruthless colonial exploitation and political oppression of the people of Africa, that I knew no peace. The matter exercised my mind to such a degree that I decided to put down my thoughts in writing and to dilate on the results of some of my research concerning the subject of colonialism and imperialism (see Botwe-Asamoah, 2005:40).*

Again he wrote:

> *The imperialist powers need the raw materials and cheap labour of the colonies for their own capitalist industries. Through their system of monopolist control they eliminate native competition, and use the colonies as dumping grounds for their surplus mass-produced goods. In attempting to legitimise their presence they claim to be improving the welfare of the population* (ibid: 40).

Other atrocities were committed by the Europeans in Africa. The British liberal writer, J.A. Hobson, in support of the above statements of Nkrumah, argued that, *the South African (or 'Boer') War of 1899-1902 was waged in order that British-based capitalists could secure control over the region's gold mines*, for exploitation. In like manner, the British [though in an attempt to avenge the killing of few members of its force by the natives] destroyed and massively looted the kingdom of Benin in 1897. In the expedition, thousands of Benin artefacts –Benin Bronzes – were stolen and ferried to Europe where they were kept in museums and art centres (see Parker and Rathbone, 2007:64,94; BBC, 2021).

To add to the forgoing argument, Ajayi (1989), from his analysis, made us to understand that no matter the occupation the European man took up in the region of Africa, he had covert, hidden intention to work for his home government, to rip the Africa off its human and natural resources. He noted that even the missionaries

were part of the business. Starting with the explorers to the traders, Ajayi wrote:

> *Explorers were longer expected merely to satisfy scientific curiosity but were also encouraged to gather strategic intelligence and trade secrets. Missionaries were not just individual servants of God obeying a divine Call to evangelise but were regarded as organised national agents of acculturation, part of whose objective was to weaken the cultural and commercial exclusivity of their hosts. Traders were not just seeking profit but were preparing the way for their own nations to establish control* (p.786).

In fact, Nkwazi N. Mhango, in the introductory part of his 2018 publication entitled *How Africa Developed Europe: Deconstructing the History of Africa, Excavating Untold Truth and What Ought to be Done and Known,* noted that everything done in Africa by the Europeans was done with clear eyes and mostly to their benefit. He noted that they wanted to cover their "atrocities" through the history they concocted. He wrote: "His-story epitomises Europe's arrogance, animality, veristic idiocy, criminality and shamelessness if we underscore the crime against humanity Europe committed in Africa for many years without being brought to book". But Europe, he continued, "will never fool all people all of the time as deconstructing his-story had already become conditio sine qua non" and because it is obvious today that

"Europe's development came at the cost of the development of others, particularly Africa" (Mhango, 2018:3,4).

On the other hand, European activities in the region during colonial era benefited Africa in some ways. If not for any other thing, the Europeans indirectly stirred the spirit of nationalism and boldness in the region. In French Guinea and Ghana, for example, Ahmed Sekou Toure and Kwame Nkrumah were seen challenging the colonial authorities. Sekou Toure made it crystal clear to the French that his country, Guinea, preferred freedom in poverty to wealth in slavery while Nkrumah and his co-Ghanaian nationalists developed the following slogans: 'We prefer self-government in danger to tranquillity in servitude'; 'Seek ye first the political freedom, and all other things will be added to you'; 'Workers, what will you lose in gaining self-rule? Nothing, but your chains' (Buah, 1982:212).

Again, and as Ake (1981) made us to understand, the Europeans, in a bid to replace old currencies (such as gold dinars or mothballs, gold dust, cloth money, copper rods, iron, cowries and manilas) used in Africa in pre-colonial era, introduced modern money system as well modern credit system.

Conclusion

The Europeans' activities in Africa in the pre-colonial and colonial eras benefitted them and their African counterparts, though in varied degrees. Their activities led to transfer of technology from Europe to Africa. They also introduced a new form of religion [Christianity] in the region, and facilitated the establishment and development of banking institution and money system. On the contrarily, the interrelations of the two entities exposed Africa particularly to a

number of issues: exploitation of human and material resources, and intensification of internal conflict and ethnicity problem. Their activities, in social aspect, suffocated the indigenous culture and religion, and nearly displaced African civilization. It also, to an appreciable extent, introduced and amplified racism on the long run as Africans faced issues of discrimination and segregation abroad and even on African soil (apartheid in Southern Africa as a case study) in pre-colonial and colonial times. In essence, Afro-European relations in the periods under study never reflected a partnership of equals; it was rather a lopsided and parasitic partnership.

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Population and Policy: The Evolution and Effects of China's One-Child Policy

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Abstract: *The term Population pertains to the percentage of the number of inhabitants that live in a geographical area or location. It typically quantifies the size of individuals or animals in specific places. The specifics as regards how many people or animals reside in a given area are often attained through a process called census. A census is when the government, an organized group, or an administrative entity principally adopts effective and transparent models in counting and arriving after the number of people in a region, area, or settlement. This paper will undertake a series of empirical analyses on the concepts of population and policy. Why are they important and how do they impact society? Using China as the springboard of my empirical analysis, I intend to appraise the concepts of policy formation within the framework of its legalistic assessment in the political sense, overall impact on the environment and polity of the state; with the use of political theory as the theoretical framework of my analysis throughout the entirety of this paper. Organically, this study seeks to understand the evolution of China's one-child policy and its overall impact on all spheres of life. The numerous objectives for the exploration include the following; To understand the concepts of population and policy formation, to evaluate the implications of China's one-child policy, to evaluate the consolidation and transition of China's one-child policy, to define the concepts of population theory.*
Key words: Apartheid, Bilateral Relations, Hegemony, Human Right, Nigeria, South Africa.

Reasons and Implications of China's One Child Policy

China's introduction of the one child policy was an unprecedented development as at 1979. Households that exceeded the birth quota were held accountable as the one child policy was simultaneously executed right around when China's Market oriented economic reforms was implemented. These reforms went on to trigger accelerative economic growth in decades to come but implicitly reduced fertility rates (Zhang, 2017).

In reaction to this, decades later, China has had to rethink its one-child policy and address its relative effect on fertility rates in the country as well the ratio of its young citizenry in comparison to the older generation. Thus, since January 1, 2016, all Chinese couples were given the privilege of having two children which very well marked an end to China's one-child policy, which limited practically all Chinese from having more than one child per family (Feng, Cai, Gu, 2016).

China's revised one-child policy means that families with unauthorized births will have to pay a Social compensation charge. This charge was designed to define a concerted price as against serving punishment to couples for child bearing. This evolution was believed to be a sound approach towards a more liberal construct for family planning (China Amends One-Child policy, 2003).

One pivotal yet seemingly complex puzzle of both social history and modern population is the question of China's decision to adopt an extreme measure of birth control such as the one-child policy (Feng, Cai, Gu, 2013).

"Of all reforms and policies set in the early 1980s in China, the One-Child policy has been called the most far-reaching. Over two decades later, this policy has had a lasting impact on local neighborhoods and villages in China" (Short, Susan, Zhai, Fengying, 2018).

In a more historic perspective, the 1970s saw China's fertility rate fall at an extraordinarily rapid pace not previously experienced by any other population over a comparable period. Up to 1970, fertility had been high and relatively stable at about six births per woman, except for crisis periods. The decline in child broth was evident in it's indication of 2.2 births per women by 1980. This occurred simultaneously with the world record holder Japan who merely experienced a 56% reduction which happened to be from 4.5 births per woman in 1947 to 2.0 in 1957. Although China's fertility rose slightly in 1981 and 1982, preliminary estimates for 1984 indicate that the total fertility rate reduced further to near 2.0 and as long as the population policy continued at the time, fertility rates were most likely to remain near or possibly even sink

below present levels (Bongaarts, Greenhalgh, 1985). According to the article titled "The End of China's One-Child Policy, Wang Feng, Boachang Gu and Yong Cai stated that China's policy change from its previous One-Child policy most likely developed around a decade behind schedule. This position could be a result of the disparities in the various age groups in China following its policy transition (Feng, Gu, Cai, 2016).

One of the many repercussions of China's one child policy was the construct of the missing girls phenomenon whereby fertility rates became lower and sex ratios adversely increased particularly amongst those under rigid fertility control and the all - inclusive increase in sex ratio is driven by an increase in the prevalence of sex selection among first and second births. The exploitation of regional and secular disparities in fines imposed for unapproved births, the discovery is that fertility was hindered by higher fine governments but are affiliated with higher proportion of males to females (Ebenstein, 2010).

History and Formation of China

In an attempt to better understand the rationale behind China's One-Child policy and the outcomes of such policy, it is imperative to analyze the political, economic, social, and traditional history of China. These spheres of influence play a pivotal role in China's adoption of the one-child policy. In an economic sense, China offers double attraction to the students of economic history. It informs the availability of relatively copious records that provide the mode of economic transitions over a period of 2,000 years. From largely self-reliant localities to an entity that experienced economic integration in the thirteenth century and beyond; induced by a fairly developed monetary system, regional advancement with internal and foreign trade in common commodities. In the second place, China has left the record of many and varied experiments in governmental economic controls at all stages of its evolution.

With regards to the historical specificities of China under the republic, it is important to not that the Literati's of China and its ordinary people freely acknowledged the leadership of the Manchus from the period of 1644 to 1912, a fact that some westerners failed to understand during the nineteenth century, but which is of importance in understanding developments in that country for many years before the outbreak of revolution in 1911. The Southern provinces were the last to be conquered by the Manchus, and trouble might always be expected from them. Kwangtung in particular was ever in a state of revolutionary fermentation. Alien thought and Alien blood has always had an impact on this province than any other

in China; this, for this cause, Canton has long been the center of foreign trade, and that from that city thousands of Chinese have gone to foreign lands, many of these had returned with the Ideas and the funds gained from residence abroad" (MacNair, 1930). China's Social and economic dynamics was more or less daunting especially to economic historians. The case study of the Qing Empire, which was home to the world's largest national economy at the time from the era of 1644-1911 saw its population drastically increase from seventeenth to eighteenth century respectively showing no decline in it's per capita income which gave room for an extensive gap between neo-wealthy industrial nations in comparison to China's lagging economy in the wake of the revolution (Brandt, Rowski, Ma, 2014).

The socio-political economic initiation endorsed by a course of action of significant growth preceding 1800; subsequently hindered China from reaping benefits distinctive to the industrial revolution. The twentieth century ensured the procedural disintegration of these historic curtailments and new impediments put together by Socialist schemes which ultimately opened the door to China's Current boom (Brandt, Ma, Rowski, 2014).

"Urban daughters have become large beneficiaries from the socio-demographic patterns due to China's one-child policy in an apparatus patrimonial kinship that has long distinguished the majority of Chinese communities; parents had little incentives to invest in their daughters. . This was not the case with singleton daughters as the condition of being the only child meant they did not have to compete with brothers for parental resources and investments. Low fertility enabled mothers to get paid work and thus, gain the ability to demonstrate their filiality by providing their parents with financial support. Because they favor their parents, daughters have more power than ever before to defy disadvantageous gender norms while using equivocal ones to their advantage" (Fong, 2002). The primary goal of China's one-child policy was premised on the on the population control and the revamping of the ratio of people who struggle for finite resources within the community, Family and the entire state with the hopes of invariably liberating women from the load of costly fertility through the promotion of contraceptive technology from the periods of 1950-1960. In an attempt to ensure that the masses were receptive to the one-child policy, government fueled propaganda and talks about gender empowerment was merely a supplementary benefit for the policy (Fong, 2002).

Based on the genesis of human development and societal construct, the essential manufacturing systems through which China encountered have been the same as those of other countries; judging by the concrete

conditions of the different modes of production. Albeit, the materialization of great distinctiveness proves the existence of numerous complications in China's economic history that are quite peculiar to other countries. These distinctive differences have been pivotal to the formative development of and changes in its socio-economic space (Zhufu, 1981).

The Concept of Population and Policy Formation

This special issue of population is the outcome of invitations to several scholars in demographic and related sciences to contribute to an exploration of large-scale, long-term, interdisciplinary population problems (Coleman, Basten, Billari 2015).

The macro/micro divergence of population studies is marked in the public realm of politics and the media, as opposed to academia. "Increased public apprehension about population affairs is prone to disposition at the principal point of population change. The close front of population to resource ratio, accelerating growth in the developing world, population aging in wealthier nations; population decline in some countries and prospects for many in others; and all of these interacting under the cloud of climate change" (Coleman, Basken, Billari, 2015).

In the context of population density and technological change, an account of Kremer's model in conjunction with the study of population density, gives a better understanding of the peculiarities of China. The intent is the presentation of a more tenable description that conveys the value and importance of both population size and density for technological advancement. Kremer's facile model is based on two rudimentary suppositions; the first being the ideology that technology is a collective good because of its property of non-rivalry".

Kremer's second assumption is also premised on the reality that each person's research productivity is independent of population size (Klasen Nestmann, 2006).

Mombert's position claims that Nahrungs Spielraum is a definitive factor for optimum population vis a' vis the law of diminishing returns as is simultaneously set on by the level of density of population (Mombert, 2015).

"For optimal functionality of a population, Mombert argues that two situations must be met; the standard of living should be as high as possible for a fruitful foundation and at the same time with the productive base being enormous and ever increasing by acclamation the latter, a series of reaction is set off in which would prove difficult to address systematically. Therefore, the population is a factor of the population and productive base, and the productive base being in part a function of the population" (Mombert, 2015).

Policy formation deals with the government formation

of public policy. "When we think about how research in Political Science has contributed in a very direct and policy-relevant way to our understanding of the world we live in, it is clear that research into the making and breaking of governments goes to the heart of the political process".

"For most practical purposes, politics is about choosing between governments. For many people who live in democratic societies, their most obvious form of political participation is to play some small part in the competition between rival politicians for control of their country's government" (Laver, 2000).

Policy formation is designed to address systemic problems and proffer economic, political, social, and cultural solutions. These solutions are designed under the existing policy environment. "Good policy is defined by the presence and accuracy of clear objectives with considerations on the legalism of alternate policy tools available for the achievement of stipulated objectives, alongside the options for service conveyance, stakeholder (including internal government). Consultation as required, followed by the formal documentation (business case) and government approval (usually cabinet) processes" (Ferguson, 2019).

In the article titled: "Enhancing Citizen Participation: panel designs, perspectives and policy formation", Lyn Kathlene and John A. Martin believe that policy formation of any kind and at any level should begin at the grassroots seeing these policies are designed to improve social welfare and life in general for the masses & thus, governmental agencies ought to carry out effective policy analysis and research to arrive at tenable policies and concrete measures for implementation. In their minds, citizen participation is integral to achieving this feat (Kathlene, Martin, 1991).

"One pivotal enterprise in the study of political science is the correctness of the evolution of logic and rationale, empirically supported theoretical framework of public policy process. Numerous case studies of drafting policy making create insightful components that a political theory within the political procedure of policy making must account for. Common conceptual clarifications based on existing case studies are not concrete explanations of how political actors generate, implement and change public policies, to advance their purposes and respond to perceived problems. Specific actors are accounted for through the rigors of theoretical endeavors and primary actors such as legislators. Or the various phases of the policy formation process such as drafting and setting a program which continually abandons the public process wholly (Schlager, Blomquist, 1996).

Consolidations and Transitions of China's One

Child Policy

The transitions and consolidations of the One-child policy in China were primarily informed by certain undeniable realities such as the impact of population growth on sustainable agriculture in China: Traditions, blueprints and challenges of sustainable agricultural development. This is in tune with the reality that China struggled with adequately feeding its populace, ensuring the availability of social security and welfare which was a reflection of the immeasurable demands of its populace. For every nation. For every nation, entity, and individual - the issue of survival takes primacy. Our actions, be they directly or indirectly, are linked to our survival. In reference to China, the structural plan that is the one-child policy was also embedded in China's agricultural commerce (Sicular, 1998).

Agricultural sustainability is contingent on numerous conditions such as the quality of the natural environment, the structure of both economic and demographic schemes, the role of innovation, state institutions and technology. A strong dependence on land intensive methods has been pivotal to China's agricultural resource endowment. China's agricultural growth accounts since 1978 are astonishing, bringing into consideration its profusely enormous outstanding payment it owes to increases in yields per hectare. In the same vein, the intrusion of highly polluting industries into rural settings has been the reason for major crop losses that entailed significant economic costs. (Ash, Edmonds, 1998).

November 2013 witnessed the 18th Central Committee of the CPC announce its decision to moderate and lighten its One-child policy. The new policy established the liberties new for families to now have two children. Family planning reforms were adopted in scenarios whereby the birth of an extra child was approved considering either of the parents was an only child. Meaning for cases whereby certain families sought the enactment of family reforms in a case of Multiple child births, one of the said parents themselves had to be the only child of their parents as well. In a case where either parents with the case of multiple births were not the only children of their own parents as well, such reforms would not be enacted and they would go on to be penalized. The announcement garnered worldwide media coverage and stimulated academic and popular discussion (Basken, Jiang, 2014).

In an attempt to estimate the effect of the one-child policy in sex ratio imbalance in China, Li, Yi, and Zhang, the outcome was evident in how "the male-biased sex ratio has increased significantly. The one child policy was effectively more applicable to the Han Chinese as against other Chinese splinter group". Their argument is that China's rise in sex ratio was due

to the desire for male children, the progress of gender selection technology, The one-child policy promoted high rates of infertility as the cultural backdrop largely influenced the son-preference; gender selection and gender-selective abortion became prevalent which was a causal factor for the high rates of infertility induced by the one-child policy leads to increasing sex ratios. There's been varying levels of intensity as regards active gender selection at different measures and varying fertility rates which are repercussions of son preference and gender selection technology. The increase in sex ratios is a manifestation of the decline in fertility caused by the One-child policy. Because of the combination of lower fertility and gender selection, the impact of any factor on the sex ratio is higher (Li, Yi, Zhang, 2011).

China's Reversal from the One-Child Policy

One mind-boggling phenomenon is the fact that amongst all nations confronting rapid population growth in the second phase of the twentieth century, China decided to both adopt and implement extreme measures of birth control known as the One-Child policy. Whilst the decline of communism could have served as a contributing factor as well as the complexities of the green revolution which was aimed at feeding the entire Chinese populace, family planning was thus induced to curtail China's

accelerative and excessive growth. The categorization of the green revolution was technological, economic, and global whilst family programs were socially driven, political, and in more cases than not country-oriented (Feng, Gu, 2013)

The need for a post-revolutionary mobilization in China also forced the ruling class and the entire government of China to re-evaluate the One-child policy. In, a world of innovation, high levels of production, and accelerative technological growth, such that has never been seen since the inception of time even unto the primacy of civilization and globalization. It is thus important to note that an age population is very much catastrophic in these times; beyond economic and military implications, such a condition makes the sovereignty of China susceptible to threats and attacks; one that an aging China, however militarily sophisticated it is, cannot afford at unprecedented times like this (White, 1990).

Luther, Feeney, and Zhang sound a profound example of the implication of the One-Child policy. They state that China's census and one-per-thousand fertility survey of 1982 established an outcome for the first time, which was a full and detailed description of Chinese fertility change over the preceding decades (Luther, Feeney, Zhang, 1990).

While the process and principles are established in an attempt to mitigate the repercussions of the One-child

policy, one must note that the use of population projection methods to examine population change, one must do so with caution bearing in mind that they are just projections; outcomes of statistical exercises driven by a certain set of assumptions (Wang, Cai, Shen, Gietel-Basten, 2018).

Generally speaking, ending the One-child policy was a response to a prolonged cry from a large number of Chinese. Although China's birth control policy was at one time an overdue fine for having too many children. Albeit, it was a noble attitude toward the future of the entire world and the country of China (Wang, Yang, Zhang, 2016).

Historically speaking, since 1954 China has undergone two gradual and painful reversals in its population policies. In September of 1954, the sequel to the release of the official census numbers, a prominent member of the National People's Congress, made a public release advocating birth control measures (Orleans, 1960).

China's period of peak population growth especially regarding population policy and trends in China from the period of 1978 to 1983 was short-lived as the sharp decline in mortality rates followed in the 1950s (Banister, 1984).

The role of the population also largely impacted the execution of the social policy under the one country, two systems institutional dynamics in China and Hong Kong especially since 1997 even to date, China and Hong Kong remain peculiarly different in ways that have enormous social policy consequences (Holliday, Wong, 2003).

There are however claims that China's fertility restrictions adversely contributed to the use of prenatal sex selection; there is however the need for an empirical reappraisal of the reliability and validity of these assumptions (Goodkind, 2015). One impact of China's one-child policy is the reality of how it greatly impacted ethnic policy in China. One demanding subject for Chinese policymakers is balancing ethnocultural diversity and dignity alongside national integration and inter-ethnic cohesion (Leibold, 2013).

Did China's One-Child Policy Contribute to China's Economic Success?

The impact of China's one-child policy largely affected every facet of society and life in China, especially well over three decades. Aside from the logical and obvious impact of China's decline in its fertility rate from much of the period 1779 to 2000. At the time, China experienced a decline in its population growth, which inadvertently and drastically lowered China's national economic growth. At the provincial level, the reflection of population growth was negative after 1979 with every 1% increase in population growth out rightly decreasing GDP by 1.2%. To some

degree, China's one-child policy helped to stimulate the Chinese economy as the one-child policy played a systematic role in provincial economic growth. This also altered the spending and saving designs of households particularly households with twins and triplets which resulted in an indicative of 8-9 percent estimate rates in saving rates to right around 22% in subsequent decades. Amongst variables that helped stimulate China's economy was the influence or increase in intergenerational support. The family ultimately became closely knit together. Thus the traditional value system that was originally peculiar to Chinese society was further intensified due to the implementation of the one-child policy. Primary economic activities such as petty trading, sculpting, and pottery amongst others increased in value as goods and services were all the more in high demand.

The safe importance of China's one-child policy was of value, as evident largely in the demographic shift in national savings and a spike in the middle-aged working class. A variable that was non-existent in China's economic structure way before the adoption of China's one-child policy.

The Social Costs of China's One-Child Policy

The concept of social cost deals with the private dilemmas associated with a transaction alongside external value or price borne by third parties and affiliates not directly associated with such transactions. The social costs of China's one-child policy are numerous and multifaceted. Whilst some of these said costs are passive, others are pronounced. Amongst these costs are three profound factors and implications.

1. It reduced fertility rates considerably.

2. It altered China's gender ratio

3. A subsequent decline in the working-age population.

4. It was void of any form of ethical justification

5. It could only be a variant factor responsible for China's aging population

6. It also helped curb overpopulation that strained the country's food supply

7. It addressed social issues such as poverty

8. The policy was most effective in urbanized and economically viable areas but experienced some degree of resistance in agrarian and communal settlements.

The Effect of China's One-Child Policy

The effects of China's One-Child Policy are unquantifiable as these said effects transcend from socio-political, to economic spheres of Chinese society. This also influenced market transitions and the persistence of power in the changing stratification

system in Urban China (Bian, Logan, 1996). To my mind, one irreconcilable effect is China's aging population. This impact is solely responsible for China's reversal of the One-child policy as systemic reforms are been institutionalized in hopes of balancing population demography in China

Significance of Study

The significance of this study is to enable social scientists the ability to assess, examine, analyze and comprehend complexities as regards the various causes of changes in population size and growth rate. Using China as the springboard of my analysis in this research, with the premise of research being China's One-child policy, my highlight on how policy formation impacts all facets of society will inform political actors, governments, states, and institutions on what steps to take in the future when adopting or creating new policies for the state. This research will thus ensure the contribution of knowledge and serve as a point of reference in the future for any related topical issue or field of study. The evolution and effect of China's one-child policy took various forms and dimensions. Although no longer a viable policy, this prompted the no Chinese government to take more innovative steps in the management of its population.

Limitation of Study

The researcher's inability to make a trip down to China in an attempt to feel the pulse of the average Chinese position as regards the implications of the one-child policy. In light of this view, collecting data from locals, government agencies and political actors in China would have further improved the quality of this paper.

Conclusion

China's paradigm shift is premised on the reality of its aging population demography. Hence, China now advocates for multiple child births in an attempt to stabilize its deteriorating population demography.

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The Menace of Armed Banditry and Its Implications on Voter Turnout at Elections in Katsina State of North-Western Nigeria (2015-2019)

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Abstract: Guided by Frustration-Aggression Theory (FAT), this paper examined the menace of armed banditry and its implications on voter turnout at elections in Katsina State of North-Western Nigeria from 2015 to 2019. The paper utilized both primary and secondary methods of data collection. Primary method involves generating data via Structured Questionnaire (SQ) administered to target respondents selected through multi-stage sampling procedure. 400 respondents formed the sample size determined through Krejcie and Morgan (1970) statistical table for sample size determination Secondary method entails that data were generated from books, journals and web-based materials among others. Descriptive statistics was used to analyse data generated from the field survey. The research hypotheses were tested with the aid of non-parametric statistical tool known as the Chi-Square (X^2) at 0.05 (5%) level of significance. Findings of the study showed that poverty and unemployment are the major factors responsible for the rising spate of armed banditry in the State. Findings also showed that armed banditry manifests mostly in the form of kidnapping/mass abduction of people for ransom. Further findings revealed that, armed banditry poses a threat to the security of lives and property of the people in the State, which in turn has negative implications on voter turnout at elections. Provisions of employment opportunities by the State government and other stakeholders as well as strengthening of the security architecture before, during and after elections are recommended as the way forward.
Keywords: *Armed banditry, Democracy, Elections, Menace, Voter Turnout*

Introduction

The phenomenon of armed banditry is not peculiar to Nigeria as it has been a major security challenge in the African continent where armed bandits have ceaselessly devastated the horn of Africa, East and Central Africa and the trans-Saharan trade routes from Niger Republic all the way to Libya (Ladan & Matawalli, 2020). Armed banditry has been in existence in parts of Chad and around Lake Chad and they also have significant presence in parts of Southern Africa (Aregbesola, 2020). In West Africa, the prevalence and severity of armed banditry has contributed to the rising wave in regional insecurity with a potential threat to regional integration of the sub-region (Abdullahi, 2019). Reports have shown that some of the armed bandits from some countries of the West African sub-region such as Niger Republic and Mali among others were invited to orchestrate large-scale attacks in some countries of the sub-region with devastating consequences. These armed bandits usually moved through the porous West African borders with their arms and ammunition to assist their fellow armed bandits in orchestrating large-scale or reprisal attacks.

In Nigeria, armed banditry emerged as concomitant consequence of about forty (40) years of protracted conflicts between sedentary crop farmers and nomadic cattle herders that meander on the high plains of northern Nigeria particularly the North West geo-political zone in states such as Zamfara. Armed banditry in Zamfara State started since around 2009 and escalated in 2011 especially after the general elections (Olaniyan & Yahaya, 2016; Anka, 2017). It is axiomatic that Zamfara State has degenerated into the theatre of armed banditry in Nigeria in recent years, where most of these armed bandits' leaders were based and from forests in Zamfara State they would move riding on motor cycles to other States in

the North-West such as Katsina among others, to operate and return to their forest dens (Farouq & Chukwu, 2020). Thus, by the year 2010, armed banditry had started in Katsina State primarily in the seven Local Government Areas (LGAs) that shared boundary with Zamfara State namely Jibia, Batsari, Safana, Danmusa, Kankara, Faskari and Sabua. Since its inception in 2010, the nefarious activities of armed bandits in Katsina State in the forms of kidnapping/mass abduction for ransom, village raids and armed robbery among others have continued to have political and socio-economic effects on the people of the State.

Armed banditry refers to the incidences of armed robbery or allied violent crimes, such as kidnapping, cattle rustling, and village or market raids. It involves the use of force, or threat to that effect, to intimidate a person or a group of persons in order to rob, rape or kill (Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014). Armed banditry consists of the organization of armed bands for the purpose of attacking State or social institutions or enterprises or individual persons (Ladan & Matawalli, 2020). Participation in such bands and in the attacks committed by them is equally regarded as armed banditry (Collins, 2000). According to Shalangwa (2013), armed banditry refers to the practice of raiding and attacking victims by members of an armed group, whether or not premeditated, using weapons of offence or defense, especially in semi-organised groups for the purpose of overpowering the victim and obtaining loot or achieving some political goals. Such armed bandits are usually perceived as outlaws; desperate and lawless marauders who do not have a definite residence or destination but roam around the forest and mountains to avoid being identified, detected and arrested (Okoli & Ugwu, 2019). Armed banditry is also reflected in criminal escapades like

drug abuse, arson, rape and other forms of violence; the brazen and gruesome massacre of agrarian communities with sophisticated weapons by suspected herdsmen and reprisal attacks from surviving victims threw it up to the front burner of national security (Uche & Ikwuamadi, 2018). Economic or political interests motivate banditry. The former refers to banditries motivated by the imperative of material accumulation while the latter has to do with those driven by the quest to rob, to assault or to liquidate a person or a group of persons based on political or ideological considerations (Okoli & Ugwu, 2019).

Voter turnout is the percentage of eligible voters who cast a vote in an election. Put slightly differently, voter turnout is the voting eligible population or the percentage of eligible voters who cast a ballot in an election (Chukwuma & Okpala, 2018). In every democratic society, voter turnout is the most common form of political participation. In other words, voter turnouts are important measures of political legitimacy and are contrasted with the measures of trust in politicians and satisfaction with the performance of the current government. Political legitimacy has the potentials of affecting voter turnout at elections, whereas citizens' trust in political actors and satisfaction with the government may influence voters' choice but may not have a straightforward connection with turnout during elections (Grönlund & Setälä, 2004).

Political apathy which is one of the causes of the low turnout of voters is based strongly on the lack of interest towards political activities. According to Roskin, Cord, Medeiros, Jones (2010), political apathy is mainly seen among young people who do not vote as much as the elderly ones or middle age. This is because the middle aged are concerned about social security and are more interested in voting leaders who will make policies that have positive impact on the economy. This shows that in a situation where a greater percentage of young people in the society do not vote, there will continue to be massive low turnout since majority of the population are not interested in political activities. Below is a table showing the rate of voter turnout for Presidential elections in Nigeria from 2003 to 2019.

Table 1: Nigerian voter registration, turnouts, and Voting Age Population for presidential elections (2003 to 2019)

Year	Voter Turnout (%)	Total Votes	Registration	VAP Turnout (%)	Voting Age Population (VAP)
2003	69.08	42018735	60823022	65.33	64319246
2007	57.49	35397517	61567036	49.85	71004507
2011	53.68	39469484	73528040	48.32	81691751
2015	43.65	29432083	67422005	32.11	91669312
2019	34.75	28614190	82344107	26.87	106490312

Source: IDEA Voter Turnout Database, 2019 https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/voter-turnout

In Nigeria voter turnout has steadily declined since 2003 as shown in Table 1. In 2003 voter turnout during the Presidential election was 69.08% and in 2019 it dropped to 34.75%, which represents a 34.33% drop in voter turnout. Many reasons have been adduced for this steady decline. Scholars like Robinson & Torvik, (2009) Collier and Vicente (2012), Collier and Vicente (2014), Adeleke (2016), Chukwuma and Okpala (2018) and Adigun (2020) have argued that electoral violence, intimidation, political thuggery, voter fraud, political apathy and the prevalence of socio-economic factors tend to influence voter turnouts at elections.

Other scholars such as Bashir (2022) have blamed insecurity for the steady decline in voter turnout at elections in Nigeria. However, available literature shows that no concrete empirical study has been carried out linking voter turnout to the activities of armed bandits in North-Western Nigeria in particular and the country at large.

It is against this backdrop that this paper interrogates the implications of armed banditry on voter turnout in North-Western Nigeria using Katsina State as a reference point from 2015 to 2019. In other words, the paper examined the relationship between armed banditry and voter turnout in Nigeria's North-West using Katsina State as a reference point between 2015 and 2019. The paper is divided into seven sections. Section one is the introduction. Section two focuses on the research hypotheses. Extant literature is reviewed in section three. In section four, the framework of analysis of this paper is examined. The methodology of this paper is the focus of section five. The results/findings of this study are discussed in section six while conclusion and recommendations formed the thrust of section seven

2.0 Research Hypotheses

H₀: The is no significant relationship between armed banditry and voter turnout at elections in Katsina State

H₁: The is significant relationship between armed banditry and voter turnout at elections in Katsina State

3.0 Literature Review

The incessant incidences of armed banditry and its associated threats to security, which have enveloped the North-West region of Nigeria, particularly, Zamfara, Katsina, Kaduna, Sokoto and Niger States, have become a worrisome national security issue of public concern (Olaniyan & Yahaya, 2016). Reports indicate the burgeoning of armed bandit groups, whose members are seen conspicuously displaying sophisticated weapons of warfare, and terrorizing herders' settlements, farms, villages and the highways with the mission of killing people, kidnapping/abducting of persons for ransom, and rustling cattle (Olaniyan, 2018). It was reported that between October, 2013 and March, 2014, 7,000 cattle were rustled from commercial livestock farms and traditional herders in Northern Nigeria (Bashir, 2014; Tauna, 2016) while about 330 attacks were orchestrated by armed bandits and 1,460 deaths were recorded between January and July, 2019 (Abdullahi, 2019). In most cases, the armed bandits killed and maimed the people and raped the women before dispossessing them of their money and other valuable property (Akowe & Kayode, 2014) while in some instances, they also kidnapped girls or women in the process (Adeniyi, 2015; Yusuf, 2015)

Different narratives, explanations and reasons have been adduced for the rising incidences of armed banditry in the North-West in particular and the country at large. One of such factor is poverty (Alao, Atere & Alao, 2015). While concurring with Adebayo's (2018) perception, Adeolu, (2018) noted that Nigeria has overtaken India as the country with the largest number of people living in extreme poverty, with an estimated 87 million Nigerians, or around half of the country's population, estimated to be living on less than $1.90 a day! This suggests that unemployed youths tend to join criminal gangs to perpetuate crime in order to make a living in the midst of extreme lack of the basic needs of life. Other causative factors worth mentioning include weak security system (Achumba, Ighomereho, & Akpor-Rabaro, 2013); and arms proliferation (Uche & Ikwuamadi, 2018) among others.

Available records show that while more than 1,100 people were killed in 2018 in the six states of Zamfara, Katsina, Sokoto, Kaduna, Niger and Kebbi over 2,200 were killed in 2019, and more than 1,600 fatalities were recorded between January and June 2020 (Council on Foreign Relations, 2020). By September 2019, such attacks had internally displaced over 160,000 people and produced more than 41,000 refugees (World Food Programme, 2019; United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees, 2019). Displacement numbers stood at over 247,000 IDPs and some 60,000 refugees as at 2020 (Selim, 2020).

Yusufu and Ilevbare (2021) explored the phenomenon of armed banditry in Katsina State of Northern Nigeria against the backdrop of its rising incidences in recent years. The study utilized both survey and documentary methods. Survey method involves collecting data from structured questionnaire administered to 400 respondents selected via a multi-stage sampling procedure. Documentary method entails that data were generated from books, journals and web-based materials. Findings of the study showed that high rates of poverty and unemployment among the youths is the most significant factor responsible for the persistence of armed banditry in Katsina State. The study also found out that armed banditry manifests in different forms such as kidnapping, cattle rustling, armed robbery, and village/market raids while proliferation of arms is the major threat of armed banditry to internal security in the state. The paper concludes that armed banditry constitutes a threat to the safety of lives and property of the people of Katsina State in particular and by extension the security of Northern region as a whole. The paper thus recommended among others that there is an urgent need for the creation of employment opportunities for the teeming youths in the State while at the same time alleviating rural poverty.

Dutse and Abdulrasheed (2020) examined the effects of armed banditry on human security in Kaduna State. Sample for this study was 100 community leaders selected through purposive sampling technique. The instrument for data collection was questionnaire. Data collected were analysed using descriptive statistics such as mean and standard deviation. The results of this study revealed that, armed banditry has high effect on human security in Kaduna State. Further findings revealed that there was high incidence of armed banditry in the State during the period under review. The study therefore recommended that government should provide adequate security to improve the human security level of the people in Kaduna State.

In their studies, Tracey (2016), Burden and Wichowsky (2014), and Stockemer, LaMontagne and Scruggs (2013) reveal that potential voters may withdraw their participation in elections because they may have gone frustrated by socio-economic challenges, such as unemployment, poor infrastructure, and corruption in the electoral process. Stockemer, LaMontagne and Scruggs (2013) argued that citizens may not be willing to participate in the electoral process or may completely distance themselves from the electoral process because they may feel incapacitated to elect trustworthy representatives that will serve their interests when elected. While conventional hypothesis may argue that high unemployment rates could induce low voter turnouts, Burden and Wichowsky (2014, p.897) argue the ''withdrawal hypothesis'' may not hold water because "unemployment brings out more voters" since the potential voter is "more likely…to select candidates based on economic performance" rather than their current state. Even though unemployment

may be a crucial factor in voter turnout, some researchers, therefore, argue that it is not so much that unemployed potential voters are apathetic, but that the political institutions have failed to engage them to participate effectively in the electoral process by including issues seeking to address unemployment on the political agenda (Tracey 2016, p. 3).

Bashir (2022) in his study interrogated the effects of banditry on voter turnout in North-Western Nigeria using Katsina State as a reference point and found that voter turnout was high during the 2015 and 2019 general elections in the State despite the atmosphere of insecurity created by the activities of armed bandits who kidnapped and raided villages indiscriminately. The study deployed mixed methods approach (triangulation) in data collection and analysis. 400 respondents determined via Yamani (1967) sampling formula formed the sample size of the study. The respondents were drawn from eight most affected LGAs in the State.

Theoretical Framework

This paper is framed within the context of Frustration-Aggression Theory (FAT) propounded by John Dollard, Leonard Doob, Neal Milles, O.H Mowrer and Robert Sears (Akuva, 2012). The theory was later modified and its frontiers expanded by other scholars such as Aubrey Tates *Frustration and Conflict* (1962); *Leonard Berkowiz Aggression: A Social Psychological Aggression* (1961) and Ted Robert Gur *Why Men Rebel* (1970).

The major assumption of the theory is that aggression is usually a direct repercussion of frustration, and that the occurrence of aggressive behaviour usually presupposes the existence of frustration and that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression (Dollard, Miller, Doob, Mowrer, & Sears, 1939). Frustration is therefore defined an interference with the occurrence of an instigated goal response at its proper time in the behaviour sequence (Dollard et al., 1939). The controversy that this theory generated led one of its proponents to modify the central idea of the theory. Thus, Miller (1941) criticized the theory for being too general for assuming that frustration must always lead to aggression or that aggression is always propelled by frustration. Miller's intervention led to the second phase of the hypothesis which reflected a more acceptable reality that frustration produces instigations to a number of different types of responses, one of which is instigation to some form of aggression. However, some years later, a significant modification was made by Berkowitz in 1989 when he argued that aggression can be driven by inherent personal benefits to the aggressor and not necessarily by past wrongdoings and that people are more likely to attack somebody or something when they discover that they are deliberately denied what is legitimately theirs than when the interference is an accidental occurrence. He concluded that frustrations are aversive events and generate aggressive inclinations only to the extent that they produce negative effects (Berkowitz, 1989).

Applied to the purpose of this study, the theory enables us to understand that increasing attacks orchestrated by armed bandits across Nigeria, most especially in the North-West geo-political zone of the country, are largely driven by frustrations occasioned by economic woes, which force people to seek other sources of livelihood via criminal means such as armed banditry in the form of kidnapping/mass abduction for ransom. As rightly noted by Fererabend and Feirauben (1972), aggression is as a result of frustration which emanates from an individual's inability to attain their goals. This

suggests that armed banditry is a direct product of frustration resulting from poverty and unemployment among others (Maureen & Blessing, 2018; Adegoke, 2019). Armed banditry in the North-Western Nigeria in particular and the country at large is as a result of the need by some frustrated persons in the society to break the jinx of poverty. That explains why the issue of ransom taking is common in armed banditry operations in the country. However, in some instances where the ransom payment is not forthcoming or delayed, the armed bandits became overwrought and frustrated and consequently resort to killing their victims (Yusufu & Ilevbare, 2020)

Research Methodology

The study was conducted in Katsina State of North-Western Nigeria. The State in one of the most affected States by the nefarious activities of armed banditry in Nigeria's North-West. The study adopted a survey design of an ex-post facto type. Mixed methods approach (triangulation) was used for data collection and analysis. SQ was the primary method (instrument) used for data collection while books, journals and web-based materials among others were the secondary instruments used for data collection. SQ was administered to target respondents selected through multi-stage sampling procedure. 400 respondents formed the sample size determined with the aid of Krejcie and Morgan (1970) statistical table for sample size determination. Simple random sampling technique was used to select 3 out of the 8 most affected LGAs in the State, namely Batsari, Faskari and Jibia while convenience sampling technique was used for SQ administration to target respondents. Descriptive statistics was used for data analysis. The research hypotheses were tested with the aid of non-

parametric statistical tool known as the Chi-Square (X^2) at 0.05 (5%) level of significance.

Table 2: Sampled LGAs and their Respective Respondents

LGAs	Population (2016)	Number of Respondents
Batsari	280,600	280,600*400/769,000=**146**
Faskari	262,400	262,400*400/769,000=**136**
Jibia	226,000	226,000*400/769,000=**118**
Total	**769,000**	**400**

Source: NPC, 2016

Results and Discussion

The respondents were asked to express their opinions based on the statements given in the SQ as tabulated below using 5-point Likert Scale of **SA (5), A (4), U (3), D (2), (1)**. The **Relative Importance Index (RII)** of the respondents is computed thus: **5+4+3+2+1=15/5=3.0**

Decision Rule: If the **RII** is less than **3.0**, the respondents *disagreed;* if the **RII** is equal to **3.0**, the respondents are *undecided;* if the **RII** is greater than **3.0**, the respondents *agreed and as such the statement is taken as important.*

Table 3: Relative Importance Index (RII) of the Causes of Armed Banditry

Causes	5	4	3	2	1	TWV	RII	RANK
Unemployment/Poverty	185	180	13	17	05	1723	4.31	1st
Weak security system	178	175	27	12	08	1703	4.26	2nd
Politicization of insecurity	175	173	35	10	07	1689	4.22	3rd

	5	4	3	2	1	TWV	RII	RANK
Porous borders	173	171	33	15	08	1686	4.21	4th
Poor governance	177	158	28	27	10	1665	4.16	5th
Arms proliferation	169	167	34	13	17	1658	4.14	6th

Source: Field Work, 2022

Analysis of the data in table 3 shows that the most important factor responsible for the increasing wave of armed banditry in Katsina State is unemployment/poverty with **RII (4.31) ranked 1st.** This finding is in line with the results of similar study conducted by Shalangwa (2013); Alao, Atere and Alao (2015) and Yusufu and Ilevbare (2021) who linked armed banditry, terrorism and other criminal acts to poverty. Also considered a significant factor responsible for the increasing wave of armed banditry in Katsina State is the issue of weak security system with **RII (4.26) ranked 2nd.** This finding is in tandem with the finding of a study carried out by Achumba, Ighomereho and Akpor-Rabaro, (2013) who blamed the weak Nigeria's security system on inadequate weapons of warfare and inadequate training of the security agents which made it difficult for the country to curtail the incidences of armed banditry and related criminal activities in the society. This was probably what Tahir and Usman (2021, p.6) had in mind when they said: "Nigeria is grossly under policed and this partly explains the inability of the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) to effectively combat crimes and criminality in the country. Other significant factors responsible for incessant armed banditry include: politicization of insecurity **(RII=4.22) ranked 3rd**; and porous borders **(RII=4.21) ranked 4th**. This is in tandem with the finding of similar study conducted by Adeola and Oluyemi (2012) who disclosed that the porosity of the Nigeria's borders has aided the uncontrollable influx of migrants, mainly young men, from neighboring countries such as Republic of Niger, Chad and Republic of Benin responsible for some of the criminal acts. Other significant factors responsible for the incessant armed banditry in the study area are poor governance **(RII=4.16) ranked 5th;** and arms proliferation **(RII=4.14) ranked 6th**

Table 4: Relative Importance Index (RII) of the Patterns of Armed Banditry

Patterns	5	4	3	2	1	TWV	RII	RANK
Kidnapping /Abduction	185	183	05	12	15	1712	4.28	1st
Armed Robbery	179	173	23	17	08	1698	4.25	2nd
Village Raids	175	167	29	10	19	1669	4.17	3rd
Cattle Rustling	155	151	14	47	33	1548	3.87	4th

Source: Field Work, 2022

Analysis of data in Table 4 shows that the most important manifestation of armed banditry in Katsnia State is kidnapping of persons for ransom with **RII (4.28) ranked 1st.** The second most important manifestation of armed banditry according to the respondents is armed robbery which has **RII (4.25) ranked 2nd**. Other significant manifestations of armed banditry as shown in the above analysis are village raids which has **RII (4.17) ranked 3rd** and cattle rustling which has **RII (3.87) ranked 4th**. These findings are in tandem with the findings of similar studies conducted by Okoli and Okpaleke (2014), Okoli and Ugwu (2019), Yaro and Tobias (2019), Ladan and Matawalli (2020)

Table 5: Relative Importance Index (RII) of the Implications of Armed Banditry on

Voter at Elections								Turnout
Turnout	**5**	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**TWV**	**RII**	**RANK**
Very Low Turnout	169	167	14	23	27	1628	4.07	1st
Low Turnout	158	151	09	47	35	1550	3.88	2nd
Moderate Turnout	112	109	79	56	44	1389	3.47	3rd
High Turnout	4	6	24	179	187	661	1.65	4th

Source: Field Work, 2022

Analysis of data in table 5 shows that the most important implication of armed banditry on voter turnout at elections is **very low turnout** with **RII (4.07) ranked 1st**. Also found to be an important implication of armed banditry on voter turnout at elections is **low turnout** with **RII (3.88)** at elections ranked **2nd**. The third most important implication of the activities of armed bandits on voter turnout at elections in the study area is **moderate turnout** with **RII (3.47) ranked 3rd**. **High voter turn** with **RII (1.65) ranked 4th** was found to be insignificant. This implies that voter turnout at elections cannot be high in an atmosphere of insecurity created by armed bandits. This finding contradicts the finding of similar study conducted by Bashir (2022) who found that voter turnout at elections increases in an atmosphere of insecurity created by armed bandits.

Table 6: Relative Importance Index (RII) of the Solutions to the Problem of Armed Banditry in Katsina State

Turnout	5	4	3	2	1	TWV	RII	RANK
Continuous provision of employment opportunities	190	178	18	08	06	1738	4.35	1st
Strengthening of the security architecture	183	175	12	17	13	1698	4.25	2nd
Border surveillance	177	172	29	13	09	1695	4.24	3rd
Good governance	173	168	17	19	23	1649	4.12	4th
Depoliticization of insecurity	166	157	31	20	26	1617	4.04	5th

Source: Field Work, 2022

Analysis of data in Table 6 shows that the most important remedy to the problem of incessant armed banditry in Katsina State is continuous provision of employment opportunities to the teeming youth in the State which has **RII (4.35) ranked 1st**. Another relevant solution to the problem of armed banditry, according to the respondents is strengthening of the security architecture with **RII (4.25) ranked 2nd**. Also found to be an important strategy that could be used to curtail the problem of armed banditry in the State is border surveillance with **RII (4.24) ranked 3rd**. Other important remedies to the problem of armed banditry include: good governance which has **RII (4.12) ranked 4th** and depoliticization of insecurity with **RII (4.04) ranked 5th**.

Test of Research Hypotheses

The research hypotheses stated below were tested with the aid of non-parametric statistical tool known as the Chi-Square (X^2) at 0.05 (5%) level of significance.

$$X^2= \sum \frac{(Fo – Fe)^2}{Fe}$$

α = 0.05 (5%)

DF= (c-1) (r-1)

Decision Rule for Chi-Square Test

Accept H_0, if $X^2_c < X^2_t$

Reject H_0, if $X^2_c > X^2_t$

H_0: There is no significant relationship between armed banditry and voter turnout at elections in Katsina State

H_1: There is significant relationship between armed banditry and voter turnout at elections in Katsina State

Table 7: Test of Hypothesis Table (Variables 1 & 2 on Table 5)

OPTION	SA (5)	A (4)	U (3)	D (2)	SD (1)	TOTAL
1	169	167	14	23	27	**400**
2	158	151	09	47	35	**400**
TOTAL	327	318	23	70	62	**800**

Source: Author's Computation, 2022

DF= (c-r) (r-1)

DF= (5-1) (2-1)

DF= (4) (1)

DF= 4

α = 0.05 (5%)

F_e= $\frac{\text{Column Total} \times \text{Row Total}}{\text{Grand Total}}$

Table 8: Observed Frequency (F_0) & Expected Frequency (F_e) Table

F_0	F_e	(F_0-F_e)	$(F_0-F_e)^2$	$\frac{(F_0-F_e)^2}{}$
				F_e
169	163.5	5.5	30.25	0.19
167	159	8	64	0.40
14	11.5	2.5	6.25	0.54
23	35	-12	144	4.11
27	31	-4	16	0.52
158	163.5	-5.5	30.25	0.19
151	159	-8	64	0.40
09	11.5	-2.5	6.25	0.54
47	35	12	144	4.11
35	31	4	16	0.52
TOTAL				**11.52**

Source: Author's Computation, 2022

$X^2_{c} = \textbf{11.52}$

$X^2_t = \textbf{9.49}$

DF= **4**

he results of the analysis in table 8 reveal that X^2_c value is **11.52** and it is greater than X^2_t value which is **9.49**. Thus, the study concludes by rejecting the null hypothesis and states that, there is significant relationship between armed banditry and voter turnout at elections in Katsina State. This suggests that, in an atmosphere of insecurity created by the manifestation of armed banditry in the forms of kidnapping/mass abduction of persons for ransom and village raids among others, voter turnout would be negatively affected as prospective voters would be scared of going out to exercise their franchise. This finding contradicts the result of a similar study conducted by Bashir (2022) who found that insecurity caused by armed banditry does not affect voter turnout at elections in North-Western Nigeria.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The study examined the implications of armed banditry on voter turnout at elections in Nigeria's North-West using Katsina State as a reference point from 2015 to 2019. The study was anchored on

Frustration-Aggression Theory (FAT) for the purpose of analytical systematization. The study deployed qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis with quantitative dominance. Findings of the study showed that an atmosphere of insecurity created by the nefarious activities of armed bandits negatively impacts on voter turnout at elections. The study concludes that an atmosphere of insecurity in the society will always scare voters away from pooling booths which in turn negatively affects voter turnouts at elections. However, if electronic voting in which eligible voters could stay at the comfort of their homes and cast their votes eventually becomes the practice in Nigeria, then the issue of declining voter turnout consequent upon insecurity caused by armed banditry would have been overcome.

Based on the above findings, the following recommendations were made:

i.   Employment opportunities should be continuously created by the government at all levels and all stakeholders so as to reduce the number of idle hands prone to commission of crimes on the streets.

ii.   There is an urgent need to strengthen the country's security system to make it par with those in the developed World. The security agents need to be motivated in cash and kind and also trained and retrained while at the same time providing them with sophisticated weapons of warfare to make them effectively combat armed bandits and all other criminal elements in the country.

iii.   The country's borders are too porous. This has made it very easy for criminal elements posing as cattle herders to migrate into the country with all manner of arms and ammunition to maim and kill Nigerians in their fatherland. Border surveillance by professional and well-armed security operatives therefore becomes imperative.

iv.   Lastly, there is need for government at all levels to depoliticize insecurity and shun corruption in all its forms and ramifications. Insecurity in the form of armed banditry would reduce in an atmosphere of good governance and equitable distribution of the resources in the land.

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