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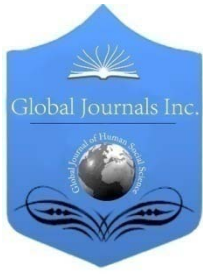
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Fiscal Federalism and Wage-Related Industrial Unrest in the Public Service in Nigeria

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Abstract- Wage- related industrial conflicts which manifest mainly in the form of strike actions have become recurring decimals in the public service in Nigeria. The frequency of these conflicts has become worrisome as a result of their disruptive tendencies in the country's industrial relations system. These conflicts that most often degenerate to industrial unrest have been partly attributed to absence of fiscal federalism in Nigeria, a situation that has ensured that the component units of the Federation do not have autonomy with respect to the control of resources located in their domains. The federating units have to always collect their fiscal allocation on monthly basis from the centre. Wage- related issues are also domiciled in the exclusive legislative list where only the Federal Government has prerogative. The fallout of all these is that today many of the federating units find it difficult to pay the National Minimum wage, salaries and wages of workers, and also meeting up with other financial commitments to workers. This situation frequently leads to industrial unrest in the country's public service. The paper therefore interrogates the relationship between absence of fiscal federalism in Nigeria and the frequent industrial unrest in the public service. The paper also makes recommendations that could prove helpful in ameliorating the situation.

Keywords: fiscal federalism, wage- related industrial unrest, industrial conflict, and public service.

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FISCAL FEDERALISM AND WAGE RELATED INDUSTRIAL UNREST IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE IN NIGERIA

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:



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Uzoh, Bonaventure Chigozie

Abstract- Wage- related industrial conflicts which manifest mainly in the form of strike actions have become recurring decimals in the public service in Nigeria. The frequency of these conflicts has become worrisome as a result of their disruptive tendencies in the country's industrial relations system. These conflicts that most often degenerate to industrial unrest have been partly attributed to absence of fiscal federalism in Nigeria, a situation that has ensured that the component units of the Federation do not have autonomy with respect to the control of resources located in their domains. The federating units have to always collect their fiscal allocation on monthly basis from the centre. Wage-related issues are also domiciled in the exclusive legislative list where only the Federal Government has prerogative. The fallout of all these is that today many of the federating units find it difficult to pay the National Minimum wage, salaries and wages of workers, and also meeting up with other financial commitments to workers. This situation frequently leads to industrial unrest in the country's public service. The paper therefore interrogates the relationship between absence of fiscal federalism in Nigeria and the frequent industrial unrest in the public service. The paper also makes recommendations that could prove helpful in ameliorating the situation.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The massive and sweeping industrial unrest that greeted the National Minimum Wage Act (2011) as a result of the inability of many state governments to pay has raised more questions about the nature of Nigeria's fiscal federalism. Questions have been asked about the rationale behind the Federal Government determining wages for the employees of other tiers of government. The argument has been that the process of wage determination should be such that wages can reflect the differing cost of living between different geographic areas as well as differences in the ability to pay of the different levels of governments that constitute the Nigeria Federation (Aiyede, 2002; Fabiyi, 2011). This suggests that wages should not be uniform across the Federation, since some states and local governments are richer than others. The current revenue allocation formula in the country which allows the Federal Government to take as much as 52.68 percent of the centrally collected revenue in the federation account leaving the states and local councils with 26.72 percent

and 20.60 percent respectively has been seriously criticized (Fabiyi, 2011; Solowe, 2011). It is widely believed that this situation has created glaring imbalance in the financial resources of the three tiers of government and reduces the ability of the second and third tiers of government from meeting their financial responsibilities to the masses, which include payment of 'living wages' (Fabiyi, 2011). This situation has been identified as part of the problem with wage determination in the Public Service that generates industrial unrest. When workers are not satisfied with their wages, it is always a problem, but it is even a bigger problem when the wages are not paid as at when due or not paid at all.

According to Folasade-Koyi (2011), absence of laws consistent with the principle of derivation which include moving wage- related issues from the exclusive list so that the various tiers of government can legislate on what they can pay is strongly linked to the frequent wage- related industrial unrest in the Public Service. The logic of central planning and imposition of the military command structure on a supposedly federal system moved Nigeria from a decentralized collective bargaining system to a situation where public sector pay was nationally determined and made uniform across all levels of government in the 1970s (Adesina, 1995; Aiyede, 2002). This was attended with a centralization of revenue powers and adjustment of the Revenue Allocation Formula in favour of the centre (Aiyede, 2002). The paper therefore sets out to examine the link between absence of fiscal federalism and wage-related industrial unrest in the public service in Nigeria.

II. CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

Some important concepts used in this paper are hereby clarified to remove any ambiguity about their meaning in the context of this work. The concepts are as follows;

Federalism; this refers to the existence in one country of more than one level of government, each with different expenditure responsibilities and taxing powers. It is a kind of non-centralization of power and authority. It is about equality and equity, justice and fair play among constituent units and between the units and the central government (Ejeh and Orokpo, 2014). According to Oladele (2014), federalism is a system of government with in-built mechanisms that allow the various

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component constituent-state governments certain spheres of operation which are not necessarily mutually exclusive but which in the main, assures them of specific powers in terms of the legislation and control or adjudication over this sphere. However, in Nigeria, due to its peculiar evolution, the federal system tends to emphasize not cooperation but competition between the constituent units and the centre and amongst the constituent units themselves.

Fiscal Federalism; the term fiscal federalism itself is rooted in a political arrangement called federalism and refers to the financial relationships among existing tiers of government. In other types of political structure it is known as intergovernmental fiscal relations. Sometimes, both terms are used interchangeably (Ejeh and Orokpo, 2014). Fiscal federalism is part of broader public finance discipline. The term was introduced by the German-born American economist Richard Musgrave in 1959. Fiscal federalism deals with the division of government functions and financial relations among levels of government (Kapucu, 2013). Fiscal federalism is a subfield of public economics concerned with understanding what functions and instruments are best centralized and which is best placed in the sphere of decentralized areas of government. It is therefore the system of revenue generation, allocation and redistribution within a federal system. It is that aspect of federalism that concerns the financial and attendant functions and responsibilities of component units within a federal structure (Oladele, 2014). The theory of fiscal federalism assumes that a federal system of government can be efficient and effective at solving problems governments face today, such as just distribution of income, efficient and effective allocation of resources, and economic stability (Kapucu, 2013).

Wage; employers usually see wage as all costs incurred for the recruitment and use of labour in their enterprises. These include direct wages, fringe benefits, social security benefits paid to the employees and other costs incurred for occupational safety and health and human resource development. Employers are therefore concerned with the total cost of labour. Workers on their own see wages as the direct payment received for work done (Kessler, 1995; 2000).

Duncan (1989) and Poole and Jenkins (1998) posit that workers are concerned with the immediate quantum of disposable income, although they recognize that fringe benefits associated with terms and conditions of employment and all other benefits in cash or kind are also part of wages. The types and quantum of fringe benefits vary with countries. It is determined through government intervention with legislation and collective bargaining between employers and trade unions. It is therefore a result of tripartite consultation and agreement (Milkovitch and Newman, 1990).

According to Armstrong (1999), the main components of payment systems include; basic pay, productivity incentives, social security, fringe benefits such as medical benefits, paid leave and allowances. Some of the allowances include rent in lieu of quarters, basic amenities for electricity, water, transport, subsidies for education of children, and Domestic Assistants (Armstrong, 1999; Bratton, 1999).

Industrial unrest; is a generic term that covers all forms of industrial actions undertaken by workers and employers to express their dissatisfaction in the workplace (Anugwom, 2007). Although, strike is the most popular form of the manifestations of industrial unrest in any society, there are other forms, which do not attract much notice or public attention. Yet this latter category accounts for a significant proportion of labour - Management dispute (Fashoyin, 2005). The other forms through which industrial unrest manifests itself are mainly used by workers and their unions as pressure methods on the employers to win their demands (Fashoyin, 2005). The types of action in this category include, work-to-rule, over time ban, lock-in/out, and intimidation (Fashoyin, 2005).

Work-to-rule aims at the restriction of output through deliberate reduction in the pace of work. In Nigeria, for instance, Work-to-rule (popularly referred to as 'go slow') actions have featured prominently in labour-management relations for a long time, although they became a regular instrument of union bargaining strategy following the no-strike provision of the wartime legislation (Yesufu, 1984; Ubeku, 1986; Fashoyin, 2005).

The overtime ban is a union strategy, which seeks to impose additional costs on the employer if more production is needed. Overtime ban is an effective means of securing the employer's concession. Where, however, the union embarks on overtime ban, this has a disruptive effect on efficiency (Fashoyin, 2005). In Nigeria, for instance, this strategy is used in the banking industry where normal work usually continues for several hours after the close of banking services to the public (Yesufu, 1984; Fashoyin, 2005).

Lock-in/out is an action in which employees physically 'take over' the company premises, either by locking-in or locking-out the management staff, thus denying them access to or exit from the premises (Fashoyin, 2005). Unlike the first two forms, this action is often an indication of extremely unhealthy labour relations, which sometimes suggests excessive use of union power. In many cases, union leaderships do not sanction this strategy (Fashoyin, 2005).

Intimidation aims at putting the employer in a bad light by doing things, which are embarrassing or antithetical to normal work behaviour. This form of industrial action is a more recent phenomenon and now commonly used in public -oriented organizations

(Ubeku, 1986; Fashoyin, 2005). This form of industrial action is used to induce the employer to negotiate. In quite a number of cases, the foregoing forms of industrial action have been used to induce the employer to negotiate. In quite a number of cases too, the foregoing forms of industrial action have also been as effective as the strike (Ubeku, 1986; Fashoyin, 2005).

Strike action is the most common form of industrial unrest in Nigeria and remains the most used instrument by organized labour in Nigeria for pushing through their demands from employers (Yesufu, 1984). Strike indicates a breakdown of cordial relationship between labour and management and is usually the one aspect of industrial relations that invites the most negative commentary. Yet the strike, distasteful as it is, performs various useful functions for the two sides of industry (Ubeku, 1986). When a union calls out its members on strike, it is in the belief that the strike will exert pressure on the employer (and sometimes indirectly on government) to take a desired action, such as conceding a demand for improvement in terms of employment, or ameliorating an unsatisfactory working condition. All strikes, whether orthodox or political, fit into this description (Yesufu, 1984; Fashoyin, 2005). In many cases, non-strike actions serve as the first phase of an action package that ultimately ends up in a strike.

There are also cases where workers have been locked out of the company premises by management. Lockout is actually the employers' counterpart of the strike. The company gates are locked, thereby preventing workers from entering company premises (Fashoyin, 2005). Lockouts are not common occurrence in labour-management relations in Nigeria. In fact, it appears that most lockouts that occur are preceded by strike action or other forms of industrial action. Oftentimes, when workers embark on an action and the management or the third party intervention has failed to resolve it, they might find it expedient to lock out the workers, either to reduce overhead costs or to safeguard lives and properties. For this reason, it is not usually easy to separate the two phenomena in labour-management relations (Fashoyin, 2005).

Yesufu (1984: 26) observes that industrial unrest can also manifest in the form of covert or unorganized action. In his own words "the signs of unorganized discontent that result from each individual taking whatever step he can in pursuit of his own happiness are; a high rate of labour turnover, absenteeism, and general inefficiency and unwillingness to work".

Public Service; refers to service provided by government to people living within its jurisdiction, either directly (through the public sector) or by financing provision of services. In other words, service provided or supported by government or its agencies (Wikipedia, 2014). Service performed for the benefit of the public,

especially by a non-governmental organization. Public service also refers to the business of supplying an essential commodity, such as water or electricity, or a service, such as communication, to the public.

III. FISCAL FEDERALISM AND WAGE-RELATED INDUSTRIAL UNREST IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE IN NIGERIA: A THEORETICAL REVIEW

The incessant wage- instigated industrial unrests in Nigeria's public service have been largely attributed to the absence of fiscal federalism (Ademiluyi, 2011). It has been argued that Nigeria was better governed and on the path of an economic medium power before the brutal termination of the first republic by the military on January 15, 1966 (Ademiluyi, 2011). According to Otobo (1992), with the introduction of the federal principles in the administration of the country by the Macpherson Constitution of 1951, which continued from the first Republic, regional governments and their employees dealt with wage issues at the regional levels. Regional governments for this purpose established Wage Review Commissions and wage levels differed from region to region reflecting the budgetary disparities among the various governments, an arrangement that helped to keep wage-related industrial unrest at the lowest level (Otobo, 1992).

Aiyede (2002) argues that it was the logic of central planning and the imposition of the military command structure on a federal system that made public sector pay uniform across all levels of government by the 1970s. The military abused the Federal Government's leadership and policy shaping roles through the arbitrary usurpation of the power to perform certain federation functions such as restructuring of the internal boundaries of the federation, determination of the revenue jurisdiction and the adjustment of the revenue allocation formula (Otobo, 1992; Adesina, 1995; Aiyede, 2002).

According to Yesufu (1984), in the first republic, there was fiscal federalism principle under which federating units (regions) owned, controlled and developed the natural resources, which were located in their land. As a result of this, the resources of the country during the First Republic were distributed based on the derivation principle. Based on the principle, 50 percent of the revenue from minerals was given to the region from where the minerals were extracted. Another 30 percent was put in a distributable pool, which was divided among all the regions including the producing region. Only 20 percent went to the federal government. Under this arrangement, wage levels were based on the budget of each and therefore were not uniform across the different regions that made up the federation (Yesufu, 1984; Otobo, 1992; Aiyede, 2002). But the principle of derivation in resource allocation in Nigeria

has been consciously and systematically obliterated by successive regimes resulting in drastic change in the derivation principle. The derivation principle has been reduced from 100 percent in 1953 to 50 percent in 1960, 45 percent in 1970, and 20 percent in 1975, two percent in 1982 to three in 1992 and 13 percent till date (Ojo, 2010).

Nyemutu-Roberts (2005) opines that the most common source of friction in a federation as is the case in Nigeria is the distribution of fiscal resources. When equitably distributed, it can to a large extent foster national integration. When it is not equitably done however it can engender political altercations and contestations, which destabilize the political economy and tend to undermine the efficacy of federalism in fostering political accommodation and economic development. According to Aluko (1976), this negatively affects the capacity of the component units of the entity from living up to their basic responsibilities including payment of wages of employees thereby instigating frequent industrial unrests in the public service.

Adebayo (2001) and Ojo (2010) argue that the development of fiscal federalism in Nigeria since the intervention of the military in politics vis-à-vis the state tax autonomy has been in the opposite direction. Right now, the Federal Government collects most of the buoyant taxes and allocates the revenue to lower levels of government through the federation account for them to carry out their expenditure responsibilities (Aiyede, 2002). Fiscal autonomy derived from coordinate and independent fiscal powers of the state has been lost. While between 1954 and 1966, this used to be the major principle of fiscal federalism in Nigeria, now most of the autonomous tax powers of the states have been removed (Adebayo, 2001; Ojo, 2010). The cumulative impact of this erosion of the tax autonomy of the states is that they have been excessively dependent on the Federal Government. Thus, in Nigeria, it is fiscal unitarism and not fiscal federalism. This fiscal unitarism imposed through federal government's hegemony is a sure source of conflict and anti-democratic culture and of resource mismanagement and corruption (Adebayo, 2001). This has also significantly limited the capacity of governments of the federating units (states) from effectively performing their duties, which include paying wages to workers in their employment.

The responsibilities of the states have not only increased but the number of states has also multiplied. The revenue allocation system was thus affected by the distorted intergovernmental relations system in which the states were reduced to administrative units of the national government (Adesina, 1995; Esajere, 2001). This state of affairs in the federation has serious implications for the state governments' ability to pay wages of their employees and may explain why we now have frequent industrial unrest in the public service over wage-related issues.

The theoretical thrust of the paper is the theory of fiscal federalism. The basic foundations for the Initial theory of fiscal federalism were laid by Kenneth Arrow, Richard Musgrave, and Paul Samuelson's two important papers (1954, 1955) on the theory of public goods. Musgrave's book (1959) on public finance provided the framework for what became accepted as the proper role of the state in the economy. The theory was later referred to as "Decentralization Theorem".

Under this framework, three roles were identified for the government sector. These were the roles of government in correcting various forms of market failure, ensuring an equitable distribution of income and seeking to maintain stability in the macro-economy at full employment and stable prices (Musgrave, 1959). Thus, the government was expected to step in where the market mechanism failed due to various types of public goods characteristics. Governments and their officials were seen as the custodians of public interest who would seek to maximize social welfare based on their benevolence or the need to ensure electoral success in democracies.

Each tier of government is seen as seeking to maximize the social welfare of the citizens within its jurisdiction. This multi-layered quest becomes very important where public good exist, the consumption of which is not national in character, but localized. In such circumstances, local outputs targeted at local demands by respective local jurisdictions clearly provide higher social welfare than the central provision. This principle which Oats (1999) has formalized into the "Decentralization Theorem" constitutes the basic foundation of what may be referred to as the first generation theory of fiscal decentralization (Bird, 2009). The theory focused on situations where different levels of government provided efficient levels of output of public goods "for those goods whose special patterns of benefits were encompassed by the geographical scope of the jurisdictions" (Oates, 1999:5). Such situation came to be known as "perfect mapping" or "fiscal equivalence" (Olson, 1996).

It was also recognized that given the multiplicity of local public goods with varying geographical patterns of consumption, there was hardly any level of government that could produce a perfect mapping for all public goods. Therefore, it was recognized that there would be local public goods with inter-jurisdictional spillovers. For example, a road may confer public goods characteristics, the benefits of which are enjoyed beyond the local jurisdiction. The local authority may then under-provide for such good (Arowolo, 2011). To avoid this, the theory then resorts to situations whereby the central government is required to provide matching grants to the lower level government so that it can internalize the full benefits.

Based on the foregoing, the role of government in maximizing social welfare through public goods

provision came to be assigned to the lower tiers of government. The other two roles of income distribution and stabilization were however, regarded as suitable for the central government (Arowolo, 2011).

Following from the preceding, the role assignment which flows from the basic theory of fiscal federalism can be summarized. The central government is expected to ensure equitable distribution of income, maintain macroeconomic stability and provide public goods that are national in character. Decentralized levels of government on the other hand are expected to concentrate on the provision of local public goods with the central government providing targeted grants in cases where there jurisdictional spill-overs associated with local public goods (Arowolo, 2011).

Once the assignment of roles had been carried out, the next step in the theoretical framework was to determine the appropriate taxing framework. In addressing this tax assignment problem, attention was paid to the need to avoid distortions resulting from decentralized taxation of mobile tax bases. Following from the assignment of functions, taxes that matched more effectively the assigned functions were also assigned to the relevant tier of government. For example, progressive income tax is suited to the functions of income redistribution and macroeconomic stabilization and is therefore assigned to the central government (Arowolo, 2011). On the other hand, property taxes and user fees were deemed more appropriate for the local governments. Benefit taxes are also prescribed for centralized governments based on the conclusion that such taxes promote economic efficiency when dealing with mobile economic units, be they individuals or firms (Arowolo, 2011).

The final element of this basic theory that is worthy of note is the need for fiscal equalization. This is in the form of lump sum transfers from the central government to decentralized governments. The arguments for equalization were mainly two. The first which is on efficiency grounds saw equalization as a way of rectifying distorted migration patterns. The second is to provide assistance to poorer regions or jurisdictions. Equalization has been important in a number of federations (Arowolo, 2011).

This basic theory of fiscal federalism helps us to have a better understanding of the workings of Nigeria's fiscal federalism which is obviously a cause for deep concern because there has been dissatisfaction and violent agitation arising from fiscal federalism and the adopted revenue allocation formula. The centralism and the age-long hegemony of the Federal Government as well as the protracted period of the interregnum rule of the Military are some of the factors that contribute to the constant conflicts associated with fiscal federalism in Nigeria (Arowolo, 2011).

Revenue sharing among the component units of Nigerian federation has from the inception been replete

with agitations, controversies and outright rejections due to the nature of the politics that is involved in it. The process of revenue sharing is inundated with conflicting criteria that were, often times, rejected by majority of states in Nigeria (Arowolo, 2011).

The revenue allocation formula in Nigeria inevitably encourages parasitic governance where states become relaxed and endlessly expectant of the monthly ritual of allocation from the Federal Government. The implication of this is that while it limits the capacity of component states to provide public goods needed to promote and sustain governance which of course includes payment of wages to workers in the public service, it also reduces the Internally Generated Revenue (IGR) of each state, thus making the states perpetually dependent on the Federal government. As long as states continue to depend on the Federal Government for their economic development and survival, the controversy surrounding the issue of revenue allocation will remain persistent and a recurrent problem in Nigerian fiscal federalism.

In Nigeria, several attempts have been made in the direction of achieving a harmonious sharing formula of its national economic resources among the component units of the federation. In spite of all these efforts, there are still inherent challenging issues that are posing serious problems to the Nigerian federalism (Arowolo, 2011). This explains why today some states in the Nigerian federation are still not able to pay the National Minimum Wage of 18,000 Naira and the story does not end there because payment of monthly salaries of workers in the public service has become an issue. The monthly allocation the component states of the Nigerian federation get from the federation account is hardly enough to properly take care of their individual responsibilities including payment of wages which explains the high frequency of wage-related industrial unrest occasioned by the inability of the states to meet the expectations of workers in the public service mainly with regards to their welfare.

IV. THE WAY OUT

It is absolutely imperative for the government at the centre to take the issue of federalism in Nigeria more seriously especially now that the review of the constitution is on-going. Genuine federalism also ensures fiscal federalism and allows the constituent units of the federation to control their resources, negotiate, and determine wages of their employees based on their financial capacities. There is therefore the urgent need to review the constitution especially as it relates to federalism. As it is now the Federal Government enjoys unlimited power and too many responsibilities in the exclusive legislative list. The constitution should be amended to divest the Federal Government of its powers that are becoming increasingly alien in modern day federal practices.

Moreover, fiscal decentralization has become fashionable regardless of levels of development of societies. This is because nations are beginning to devolve powers so as to improve the performance of the public sector. It is also imperative that the government at the centre turn back significant portions of federal authority to the states for a wide range of other responsibilities including wage and labour –related issues. The idea and hope is that states and local governments, being closer to the people, will be more responsive to the particular preferences of their constituencies and will be able to find new and better ways to provide these services.

Furthermore, the readjustment of the tax revenue sharing power of the federation in an equitable manner among the component units which presently is in favour of the Federal Government is something that needs to be done urgently. A situation where the government at the centre appropriates all the revenue coming from the most lucrative taxes and then try to give the component units of the federation paltry sums from it does not in any way auger well for the federation. The adoption of the principle of derivation is capable of motivating the states to work harder so as to contribute optimally to federation account.

V. CONCLUSION

The dynamics of federalism makes it imperative for nations operating federal system of government to review periodically and come out with equitable and workable tax system and revenue allocation principle in such federation. Unfortunately, it is not so in the Nigerian federal system, instead the government at the centre takes a greater percentage of the revenue accruing in the federation account leaving the states and local governments with what is remaining which is hardly enough to take care of their responsibilities which include payment of wages to workers in the public service. All the attempts to rectify this anomaly have so far yielded no positive results and has become a situation that puts a question mark on the brand of federalism practiced in Nigeria. This situation has remained like this mainly because it serves the interests of some powerful groups within the federation.

The incessant wage-related industrial unrest plaguing the public service in Nigeria has been strongly attributed to absence of fiscal federalism which is also an inevitable consequence of absence of genuine federalism. As a result of the lopsided nature of revenue allocation in the Nigerian federalism, the government at the centre takes more than 50 percent of revenue in the federation account monthly leaving the 36 states, the federal capital territory, and 774 local government councils with less than 50 percent. This is obviously an aberration that needs to be redressed urgently.

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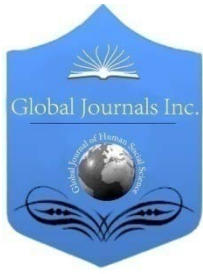
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Christianity and Indigenous Practices: A Brief Sketch of the Baites of Manipur

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Abstract- Baites, like other tribal societies, had indigenous religious belief system. Embracing of Christianity has brought tremendous changes, not only to religious belief systems, but also to socio-cultural and educational life of its people. This owes to British colonial administration and Christian missionaries. While the impact has been largely positive, there is lurking concern amongst the tribesmen of having lost the traditional values and the life world.

Keywords: christianity, culture, change, religion.

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Christianity and Indigenous Practices: A Brief Sketch of the Baites of Manipur

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Abstract- Baites, like other tribal societies, had indigenous religious belief system. Embracing of Christianity has brought tremendous changes, not only to religious belief systems, but also to socio-cultural and educational life of its people. This owes to British colonial administration and Christian missionaries. While the impact has been largely positive, there is lurking concern amongst the tribesmen of having lost the traditional values and the life world.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Baites are a least and officially unrecognized tribe in India who were scattered in the northeastern states of India, Sagaing and Chin province of Myanmar (erstwhile Burma), with a high concentration in Manipur. They are sparsely settled in four hills district of Manipur, viz. Chandel, Churachanpur, Senapati and Ukhrul. Christianity has made a tremendous change in the lives of the Baite tribes of Manipur especially in the field of indigenous religious practices, Socio-culture tradition and educational sphere. The influence of Christianity is reasonably remarkable and at the same time there are positive and negative impacts. Conversion to Christianity freed the Baites from bondage of blind faith and superstition. It is also because of conversion and subsequent adaption of western education system or western culture implanted by the Christian Missionaries in the mind of the tribesmen they are enlightened with modern way of life and at the same time moral degradations like immorality, drug abuse, filthy fashion, disrespect towards the elders, etc. triumph in the society. The influence of Christianity is so great that the younger generation of the Baites do not know about their traditional socio-cultural values. This paper intends to throw lights the indigenous religious practices of the Baites, the coming of Christianity in Manipur and how far Christianity has brought changes on their traditional religion or belief system and socio-cultural life. Though the focus of the paper is on the Baite tribes residing in Manipur, it may equally apply to their counterpart residing in other regions mentioned above.

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II. INDIGENOUS BELIEF (OR RELIGION) OF THE BAITES

The Baites, before conversion to Christianity, used to believe in the existence of a Supreme Being called the *Chung Pathen*. The *Chung Pathen* is the creator, the sustainer and the sovereign over all things – visible and non-visible – in heaven and earth, with power over all human beings, and among the Baite society. The Baites worship *Chung Pathen* in the form of *Doi Bom* (magical box). It is made up of a cow's skull, one bamboo (as big as finger and 12 inch length), tied together with ropes and kept inside a bamboo basket. The *Doi Bom* lie hanging on the post erected for the purpose in front of every Baite house. Every household in a village have one *Doi Bom* each. Nobody is allowed to touch the *Doi Bom*, except the village priest at the time of performing rites and ritual sacrifices or offerings.

Once in a year, the Baites perform rites of *Ahkang Tha* (killing white cock) to appease the Supreme Being in front of *Doi Bom* so that good health and wealth will be showered on the family. To commemorate this occasion, the priest will sacrifice a white cock, which should not have any spot or any coloration. The sacrificed cock is cooked wholly, along with the bones. The family elders eat only the head portion of the cock and the flesh is consumed by the priest. All the bones are kept inside *Doi Bom* till the next sacrifice in the year to come.

Like many other tribes or communities, the Baites believes in the existence of various lesser spirits. These spirits may be categorized as benevolent and malevolent. Benevolent Spirits are believed to be less harmful, depending on how they are treated. Some of them are *pugao-pagao* (ancestor-spirit) – shower of blessings and fortune to the family, *khuanu* (village-female deity), *Khuavang*, (village deity) - shower of village fortune, etc. It is primordial believed that these spirits are sources of blessing of family and villages if they are treated well. Therefore, rituals and sacrifices are performed at the time shifting to a new village, new house and at beginning of cultivation every year to appease these spirits. Malevolent spirits are harmful in all respects. Some of them are *Gamkao*, *Gamhoisie*, *kaosie*, *kaomei*, *Maltong*, etc. *Gamkao* is a harmful spirit which can cause serious illness to the person who meets such spirit. *Gamhoisie* is an evil spirit that causes

trouble to human being. *Kaosie* is believed to be a greedy spirit. It can enter in a person and converted such person into a different personality, voice, the behavior and strength. Such spirit can be released only when it is appeased with what it wants. *Kaomei* is an evil spirit which flies at night like a fire-fly in a much bigger volume of fire-ball. *Maltong* is believed to be a dangerous spirit which can bring misfortune and even physical death. As these spirits have immense strength and power of bringing sickness, misfortune, misery and even physical death to human being unless treated with due respect, rites and ritual sacrifices are performed by village priest once in every months to appease them.

Sickness within a family is viewed as a punishment by these spirits who are unhappy with a family or some of its members. When a person gets sick and if it is feared that the cause of the sickness is due to offence committed upon the spirits then the village priest (*Thiempu*) is usually requested to appease the spirits. For such rituals, red cock, a suckling pig, a dog or a Mithun, depending on the seriousness of the sick, is slaughtered as the offering. The spirit is offered with a portion of the animal killed – it could be the liver, the head or legs of the animals thus sacrificed, combined with one or two cups of *Zu*. The remaining portion of the meat and *Zu* are consumed by the family and the priest. In some cases the priest fights against the spirits.

It is traditional belief among the Baites that sickness is caused by spirit who enters the body. Or it may be that the spirit is being caught in the soul of the body. In such cases the priest recites a verse to drive away the spirit. These verses are handed down from one generation to another. In this way offerings are done to appease or drive away the spirit that causes sickness. Today, the traditional belief and worship of *Doi Bom* and the practices of performing rites and ritual sacrifices to the benevolent as well as malevolent spirits are completely abandoned as a result of the tribesmen converting to Christianity.

III. ADVENT OF CHRISTIANITY IN MANIPUR

Christianity made its foray into Northeast India for the first time in 1894. It was Reverend William Pettigrew who came from American Baptist Mission and preached the gospel in Manipur. He arrived at Imphal on the February 6, 1894. He came under the Ministry of Arthington to evangelize the Meiteis of Manipur. Before entering Manipur, he stayed at Silchar. During his stay at Silchar, he learnt Bengali and Manipuri languages from Yanmajoy Singh, a Manipuri residing there. Soon after his arrival in Manipur, he immediately started a Lower Primary School at Moirangkhom at Imphal, named after him: the Pettigrew Lower Primary School. In the beginning he collected eighty boys mostly the children of government officers as students of this school. After six month the orthodox Meiteis did not allow him to

continue the school fearing their children will be proselytized to Christianity. So Maxwell, the Political Agent of Manipur suggested him to work in the hill areas, where people were projected as savage and wild, and where practice of head hunting was still prevalent. Pettigrew then went to Kuki village of Senvon in the southern hills and requested the chief of the village, Kamkholun Singson, to allow him start a school in the village. As the chief refused Pettigrew went to the north and reached Songjang village near Mao Gate in the present Senapati District. There Pettigrew asked Sani Kopani Mao to purchase a land to start his work or Mission. So, Kopani called sixteen chiefs of Mao together and discussed whether the request of the missionary deserves merit. The chiefs unanimously refused the request and asked Pettigrew to leave the place immediately. After being denied permission to start a missionary school again, Pettigrew went to Ukhrul and set up a school and made it a mission centre. But he hardly found students as the parents were not willing to send their children to school. Ultimately British Political Agent Maxwell intervened during his visit to Ukhrul where he called all the chiefs together and ordered the chiefs to send their sons to school. By this time, Arthington Ministry has stopped supporting Pettigrew. Nevertheless, the American Baptist Mission continued to support his Mission work.

In 1897, Pettigrew could convert twenty boys to Christianity. Slowly and gradually the number of people embracing Christianity increased. Pettigrew felt the need to shift his Mission centre to Kangpokpi with the help of Dr. Grozier in 1919. After shifting his mission centre, the spreading of gospel was proliferated. Soon after, the first Kuki Baptist Church was established at Tujung Vaichong village in 1926.

In the year 1908, Welsh Mission started missionary work in Northeast India. Robert Wattkin along with his wife sailed from London on October 4, 1908 and stationed at Aizawl, the capital of Mizoram. There they established a medical centre which became the centre for evangelizing the people. In March 1910, he reached Senvon village in Manipur with his team at the invitation of Kamkholun Singson. On his way back to Aizawl, two Vaiphei young men, namely, Thangkhai Vaiphei and Lunpao Vaiphei confessed their faith in Christ. They became the first fruit of Wattkin's hard labour. From Aizawl, Wattkin sent three students, namely, Savawma, Vanzika and Taitea to begin permanent work at Senvon. They arrived at Senvon in May 1910 and there they established a school. Very strangely, Wattkin was dismissed by his colleague at Aizawl mission station on charges for being a disobedient worker. Since Wattkin was dissociated from the Welsh Presbyterian Mission, he founded a mission called Thado-Kuki Pioneer Mission. As a result of their work, around 70 persons become Christian.

The first Kuki Church was established in 1913 (Welsh background). In 1913, Wattkin sent pastor Dala from Aizawl to take charge of organizing the Church in Manipur. But he was ordered to leave Manipur by the Political Agent of Manipur. This action was taken at the request of Mr. Pettigrew who protested that Manipur was an American Baptist Mission field. Later it was decided to draw a boundary between the American Baptist and Welsh Presbyterian areas at Manipur Cachar road. So Wattkin shifted his mission headquarter from Senvon to Tinsung village. He also changed the name of his mission to North East India General Mission (NEIGM) from Thado-Kuki Pioneer Mission in 1924.

In 1926, a dispute broke out within the NEIGM over the use of funds. Therefore, Wattkin left NEIGM and formed Indo-Burma Pioneer Mission (IBPM). After the division of NEIGM and IBPM, the former inherited the larger proportion of mission property. It includes churches, school, office building which belongs to the Paites, the Hmars and the Thado-Kukis and headquarter at old Churachandpur. In the meantime home Board of Welsh Mission sent Reverend Dinwiddie to visit the NEIGM headquarter in Manipur. Unfortunately, he died of cholera at Champhai village in Mizoram and was buried at Aizawl Missionary Cemetery. A note inside his diary was found after his dead. It reads: "the basic need of NEIGM is Bible school." Thereafter a bible school was established at Lakhimpur and named after him as Dinwiddie Memorial Bible School. Later, the school was shifted to the Headquarter of NEIGM at Nehru Marg in Churachandpur in 1990. Before shifting to Churachandpur the NEIGM have changed to Evangelical Congregational Church of India (ECCI) in 1986. Now the ECCI is affiliated to Evangelical Fellowship of India and its constituent members are Evangelical Organization Church (EOC), Kuki Christian Church (KCA), Evangelical Synod Church (ESC), Evangelical Assembly Church (EAC) and the United Evangelical Church (UEC).

The Baites embraced Christianity only in 1944. The first Baite who became Christian was Jamsho Baite of Aiga Pural Village (a remote hilly village in Manipur north). Now, almost all the Baites are Christian. At first the Baites were associated with the Thadou-Kukis and was a constituent member of the North East Kuki Baptist Association Manipur (NEKBAM). The Baites in Manipur South District (now Churachandpur) were also associated with the Convention Church and Revival Church. Some of the Baites were also in Roman Catholic Church. There are five Baite ordained father and three nuns in the Roman Catholic Church in Manipur.

After a long association with the Thadou-Kukis in NEKBAM and other church or association, the Baite people felt the necessity of forming their own Christian church for the Ministry of God. Consequently, a meeting was held at Seimunjang village in Churachandpur

district under the tutelage of Pu Thongjathang Baite on October, 1973. The meeting discussed the imperatives to establish a separate church for the Baites and agreed on the name of the Baite church.

The meeting unanimously agreed to form Eastern Manipur Baptist Association (EMBA) and second meeting was held at Boljang Tampak village under Tengnoupal District (now Chandel District) on March 7, 1974. Finally, the setting up of the Baites' own Christian Church was declared in a meeting of the Eastern Manipur Baptist Association (EMBA) on October 16, 1974 at Chingphei Village in Ukhrul district.

In the following year, the Baite people sought affiliation of their church the EMBA to the Manipur Baptist Convention (MBC). After sometime, the Baites decided to retract affiliation of their church from Manipur Baptist Convention and instead affiliated to Evangelical Congregational Church of America. So, in the year 1986, the Baites submitted an application to Evangelical Congregational Church of America, Myartown for direct affiliation of their church. However, the application was returned to Evangelical Congregational Church of India (ECCI). On April 3, 1987, the leaders of Evangelical Congregational Church of India considered the application for the recognition or affiliation of Eastern Manipur Baptist Association. The leaders resolved that the application would be accepted if the Eastern Manipur Baptist Association fulfills the following terms and conditions: (i) Doctrine statement of Evangelical Congregational Church of India (ECCI); (ii) Local church administration to be under the leadership of the elders; (iii) Baptist conversion should be submersion as well as sprinkle; (iv) Lord's supper should be administered by ordained pastor alone; (v) marriage notice for two weeks; (vi) Ex-communication period to be at least for one or two month, and (vii) Regular and full tithes collection from members.

The leaders of the Eastern Manipur Baptist Association sat an emergency meeting on April 28, 1987 to discuss the terms and conditions given to them for recognition of their church. After a long discussion, the meeting resolved to change the name of their church the Eastern Manipur Baptist Association (EMBA) to Evangelical Church of Manipur (ECM). Thus, EMBA was changed to ECM and got an affiliation to Evangelical Congregational Church of India (ECCI) on May 1, 1989 at Grace English School, Sugnu. After a decade of association with the Evangelical Congregational Church of India, the Baite people abandoned their own denomination and merged to Presbyterian Church of India (Mizoram Synod). Again after five years of association with the Presbyterian Church of India Mizoram Synod, the Baites formed their own denomination as Eastern Manipur Presbyterian Church (EMPC). Now EMPC has its head office at B. Phaicham village in Churachandpur district of Manipur.

IV. INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY ON THE BAITES

When Christianity made its foray in the tribal areas of Northeast India in general, and Manipur in particular, most of the tribes began to abandon their old faith and embraced Christianity. The Baites too, abandoned their old primordial religion or belief and accepted Christianity. As the Baites are the people who offer sacrifices to the demons or the evil spirits both benevolent and malevolent they did not face difficulties in converting to the Christian faith because there are striking similarities in the nature of worship and ritual feasts between Christianity and indigenous practices. Every conversion to Christianity (as religion) was presumed to be setting oneself free from the oppressive hands of the evil spirits or the Satan. The Baites regarded Christianity as their own religion and are distancing from anything that has connection with their traditional religion. In the old belief system of the Baites, superstition, taboos and fear of certain place, big trees, dense forest, and other unnatural places as the abode of evil spirit are common. The coming of Christianity upturned the whole belief and the worldview. For many people death was no longer a horrible thing because the torture of the soul on its way to heaven or *Piel gal* by the *Khulsamnu* (evil Goddess) is no more there, rather the Baites can now hope for heavenly bliss and resurrection. After converting to Christianity the Baites have realized the futility of performing rituals and seeking blessings, throwing grand feasts to get into heaven and for good health.

The coming of Christianity has brought great changes in the traditional socio-cultural life of the Baites. Before converting to Christianity the *Sawm* used to play an important role – both on the events relating to life and death. With the coming of Christianity the institution of *Sawm* is gradually disappearing from the Baite life. Several organizations, mostly Christian-centered, such as Christian Youth Societies, youth clubs, the churches, and the schools are becoming the nodal of all social activities. Christianity also brought great changes in the role and the position of women in the Baites family. Traditionally women were treated as a mere economic helper as well as housewife. But today women are playing a great role in the religious, social, economic and political matters apart from engaging in domestic services and duty as housewife.

There is no more traditional feast and festivals, particularly *Chang-Aih*, *Sa-Aih*, *Chon* and *Lawm Zuneh*, though some festivals such as *Chavang Kut*, *Mim Kut*, are observed till today. But people pray to God in place of offering some sacrifices to the unknown god or some spiritual beings. Traditional *Zu* which used to be heavily consumed during such festivals have been abandoned and is replaced by tea and cake. Celebration of Christmas has replaced the traditional Baites festivals.

Traditional Baites houses made of bamboo splits with wooden posts and decorated with the skulls of the animals is slowly disappearing. According to the old customs the dead body used to be buried in the courtyard of the houses, but today dead body is buried at village cemetery or a cemetery reserved for this. Traditionally the Baites divides death into two kinds: *Thise* (unnatural death) and *Thipha* (natural death). *Thise* is buried outside the village and *Thipha* in the court yard of the houses. With the adoption of Christianity, the categorization of death into *Thise* and *Thipha* has disappeared. This distinction is no longer in use and all dead receives equal attention of the church irrespective of the nature of death.

The old tradition also predicates that a man has to marry the daughter of his maternal uncle, whether they have affection and love for each other or not. Since the coming of Christianity, this custom is no more in practice. Now almost all the marriages among the Baites are of personal choice, and love marriages are the trend. Even the selection of mate can be from other tribe or community. In the old Baite tradition if a husband dies, the unmarried younger brother of the deceased husband is bound to marry the widow. But since conversion to Christianity these old customs are discarded and traditional clan exogamy has become less rigid. It has become prestigious and fashionable for young couple to marry and be blessed in the church. The custom of killing many animals for the events and drinking of *Zu* is being replaced by only tea party. Christian marriage shows the difference: of being spiritual, economical and sociable. Marriage is solemnized by the pastor.

The Baite males traditionally keep their hair long, combed back and tied in the knot on the nap of the neck. But now, all men cut their hair in western style. As soon as men become Christian he is supposed to cut his hair. The traditional dress of Baite women consists of kilt-shaped piece of red cloth reaching from below the navel to half way down the thigh called *Nihsen*, and over the breast another sheet is worn reaching up to the knee. The hair is worn long and parted in the centre, the two parted portion are plaited across behind and brought round over the front of the forehead, where meeting ends are tied together making a very pretty coiffure. Today no women of the younger generation used *Nihsan* and have such traditional hair style. Beside there are Baite students who go out to other places for higher education. Contacts with other communities and civilization have broadened the mental horizon of many Baites. Ironically, exposure to other culture also brings forth new things: both good and bad. Adoption of western dresses and even dance are widely in practice.

V. CONCLUDING REMARK

The study finds the socio-religious and cultural changes among tribal of Manipur in general, and Baites in particular, are the handiwork of western Christian missionaries. Christianity has brought light of life among the Baites who are once in darkness by worshipping unseen spirits. It has also brought hope for resurrection and eternal life in heaven after physical death. But there are certain drawbacks of this otherwise much appreciated trend. The influence of Christianity is so great that the younger generation of the Baites have no knowledge of the rich Baite tradition – customs of marriage, sacrifices, traditional youth organization and many other practices.

The real challenge before the Baites lies in judiciously intermingling the Christian values and worldviews with the traditional practices. Every tradition has its own weaknesses and strength. Total assimilation of an external religion and worldview, as well as a total discarding of one's tradition, culture and worldviews, are both extreme forms of social transformation. To make judicious choices of social and cultural transformation is always a difficult task. This challenge lies not only before the Baites, but also among different tribes and communities of Manipur, including the majority Hindu Meiteis.

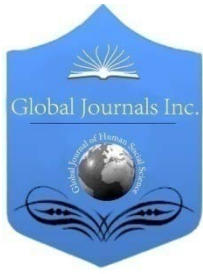
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Federalism as a Panacea for Cultural Diversity in Nigeria

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Keywords: federalism, coordinate relationship, represent -ativeness, national government, independence, federation.

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Federalism as a Panacea for Cultural Diversity in Nigeria

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Abstract- A great deal of comments have been made on the controversies surrounding federalism as an effective system of government that an evaluation of the basic theory of the concept is necessary in order to appreciate its appeal as a system of government, despite these controversies. This study, therefore, attempted to assess the contemporary relevance of federal solution in Nigeria. Secondary sources of data were employed for this research. The study revealed that federal system is not a panacea for the disease of cultural diversity, but in many situations it may be necessary as the only way of combining, through representative institutions, the benefits of both unity and diversity. It was therefore recommended that federal solution is still relevant in Nigeria but the arrangement should be made more equitable.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Wheare conceptualizes federalism as a system of government where the general and the regional governments of a country are independent each of the other within its sphere, not subordinate to one another, but coordinate to each other. He goes further to explain that federalism involves the division of powers among levels of government, the existence of a written constitution showing the division, and the coordinate supremacy of the levels of government with regard to their respective functions (Anyebe, 1995). The constitution therefore, provides for a polycentric political system where there are many centres of decision making; each centre being formally independent of the other and bearing responsibility for the basic social services.

However, Friedrich sees federalism as a process rather than a design. It is the process of federalizing as well as the particular pattern or design which the inter-group relations exhibit at a particular time... (Friedrich, 1968).

Livingstone's reformation is basically similar to Wheare's and the process formulations, although he emphasized sociological factors or federal qualities of the society. Reacting against what he considers to be Wheare's juridical approach to the problems of federal government, Livingstone (1956) observes that:

The essence of federalism lies not in the institutional or constitutional structure but in the society itself. Federal government is a device by which the federal qualities of the society are articulated and protected.

Vile and Birch agree with Wheare that some degree of coordinacy and independence is crucial if federalism is not to become a sham.

The process and sociological reformations of federalism are however, problematic. The very notion of a federalizing process is unhelpful if, as Friedrich claims, it is taken to mean that there is degree of federalism in virtually all political systems. Also, Livingston's claims that federalism is a function not of constitutions but of societies is, if broadly interpreted, vacuous because the same is true of every form of government. Even the sociological variables take on meaning and significance within the legal framework provided by a federal constitution. One apparent inference that can be deduced from the various definitions of federalism given above is the lack of a universally acceptable definition of the concept. It appears that the definition of federalism in any particular study is determined by the approach which the student wishes to make to his materials. For purposes of this study therefore, the classical definition of federalism by Wheare is adopted.

This theory is founded on the idea that the existing structure of societal conflict, consensus and resources can be organized into (at least) 'two communities' to which citizens belong- the regional and the national. One of the communities is all-inclusive and the other composed of several mutually exclusive communities. To achieve "unity in diversity" and intrusion of either of the "two communities", each is provided with a government which is assumed to be distinct, independent or autonomous in matters of resources, claims or control of institutions. The defining properties of the theory are that both governmental levels have separate yet coordinate legal status, a self-contained machinery of administration, and a balanced delimitation of activities without overlap. Any amendments of these aspects require the cooperation and the approval of the governments of the "two communities".

It suffices at this stage to ask one pertinent question. Can federalism as viewed in terms of coordinate relationship, be a panacea for cultural diversity?

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II. RESEARCH METHOD

Some basic historical documents were relied upon for purposes of data collection for this study- Federal Government of Nigeria: Federal Constitution of Nigeria, 1954, 1960, 1979 and 1999 with some relevant books and journals.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

The dominant scholarly view-point tends to equate federalism with democracy. 'True federalism' says Wheare, can exist only where there is democracy; the absence of democracy is ipso facto the absence of 'federalism' even if we can observe the constitution and operation of a political system as being federal. A federal system demands forms of government which have the characteristics usually (associated) with democracy or free government. Dictatorship.... and its denial of free election is incompatible with the working of the federal principle (Wheare, 1946:47). Arguing in the same vein after an excellent study of the varied processes of constitutional change in Canada, USA, Australia and Switzerland, Livingstone declared:

Federal government presupposes a desire and an ability to secure the component units against encroachment by the central government. If the latter is an authoritarian dictatorship it is difficult to see how the safeguards of the federal structure can be worth much; the states would continue, perhaps to exercise their functions, but only on the sufferance of the central government... and at the mercy of the dictator (Livingstone, 1956).

For Duchacek, democracy and federalism are always found together; federalism is the territorial dimension of democracy; competition between parties is a condition for federalism (Duchacek, 1970).

According to scholars of this intellectual persuasion, where the institutional and procedural indices of democracy-free elections and a party system with its guarantee of responsible opposition and constitutional checks and balances do not exist as in the case of military regime, there can be no true federalism.

However, Laski, under the psychology of the economic depression of the 1930s, drew attention to the issue which he made the title of an article, "The obsolescence of federalism". For him, epoch of federalism was over. Federalism in its traditional form, with its compartmenting of functions, legalism, rigidity and conservatism was, he suggested unable to keep pace with the tempo of economic and political life that giant capitalism had evolved. Federalism was, he argued based on an outmoded economic philosophy, and was a handicap in an era when positive government action was required. Decentralized unitary government, he concluded, was much more appropriate to the new conditions of the twentieth century (Laski, 1939:201). Sir Ivor Jennings, a noted British constitutionalist (who was

to be an advisor in the 1940s and 1950s in the creation of several federations within the commonwealth) once wrote that nobody would have a federal constitution if he could possibly avoid it (Watts, 2000).

This skepticism was further generated in the 1950s by the unorthodox constitution of the Indian Federation which, in the light of Indian socio-economic and communal problems, strongly articulated the primacy of the central government, thus creating doubts among some students of Indian federalism whether India is a federation (Oyovbaire, 1985:19-22). Carnell ridiculed the classical federalist precepts by saying that federalism is a particular procedural machinery of western liberalism (Anyebe, 1995).

Professor Oyovbaire appeared so persuaded by the arguments put forth by Laski, Carnell and others of their intellectual lineage that he felt, the classical federalist precepts had been profoundly remoulded following what he termed, the collapse and obsolescence of (the classical scholars) *laissez faire* foundation in the first four decades of this century. The learned professor concluded with his circumstantial bias that:

....(The classical federalist) precepts and their assumptions are unrealistic in the case of post-colonial, ethnically heterogeneous and rapidly developing societies for which an assertive and dominant role by the (central) government is both desirable and necessary for structural transformation of the economy.....He foreclosed the argument that there can be a federalism with authoritarianism (Oyovbaire, 1985:201).

Actually, considerable debate has taken place in literature as to whether or not the classical federalist precepts can be readily applied to the Third World Countries of today, both in terms of their realism and their relevance. As Myint argued some years ago, there is great danger in throwing out the baby with the bath-water (Myint, 1965:477-491). What is needed is really an extension and an adaptation of those federalist precepts to take into account the broader sociological factors that make up federalism in the classical sense. It is therefore necessary for those students who are interested in designing conceptual framework for federalism in the Third World Countries to turn back to re-examine the works of the classicists.

Anyebe (1995) rejected the viewpoint of Oyovbaire and others of his intellectual persuasion because military rule is generally acknowledged the antithesis of democracy. It has no theory or principle and this makes it, at best a government of expediency. The coordinate relationship between national government and the unit governments which is the core of federalism is in conflict with authoritarianism and military rule and consequently, should present problems to development planning. During military rule the constituent units (states) are simply treated as glorified

local governments or prefectures possessing wide-ranging administrative discretion but no executive bite. According to one official of the cabinet office during Gowon regime, the source of all powers in Nigeria is the Head of the Federal Military Government....the military governors are his mere representatives in the states (Anyebe, 1995:29). Since military rule lacks the institutional indices of democracy like free election and a party system with its guarantee of a responsible opposition and constitutional checks and balances, it is basically incompatible with true federalism. Consequently, because the Nigerian system lacked the institutional indices of democracy between January 1966 and September 1979 as well as between 1984 and 1998, it had no true federal system. Similarly, because it exhibited these in the period before 1966 and between 1999 and 2014, it had a federal system. This is conceptually valid.

Even the unitary (military rule) solution to problems arising from socio-physical diversity (which threaten corporate existence of nations) as proffered by Oyovbaire has not proved successful as shown in many Third World Countries (like the Sudan, Ethiopia, Angola, Somalia, et cetera) with political and economic instability. Although federalism cannot lay claim to having solutions to all problems that cultural diversity and the various forces exert on the inter-governmental relations, however, being dynamic, it has a mechanism for fine tuning to meet the exigencies of the time.

In summary, the salient elements of the classical theory of federalism are the separate yet coordinate legal status of the governmental levels, the self-contained machinery of administration, and the balanced delimitation of activities without overlap. These formal elements are used in this study because of their realism and relevance to the Nigerian situation.

A great deal of comments have been made on the controversies surrounding federalism as an effective system of government that an evaluation of the basic theory of the concept is necessary in order to appreciate its appeal as a system of government, despite these controversies. It is a fact that in a unitary or centralized system of government the society may remain in equilibrium but the units are subordinated to the central government. If factors, other than mere socio-physical diversity, demand autonomy of the unit areas, then the subordination of those areas will set up pathological tensions which may disrupt the society. The members of a confederation or league can severally or collectively render it ineffective since there is no reliable sanction of authority behind the action of confederation or league and the relationship among the parts is not stable.

In a federal system the general and regional governments of a country are independent each of the other within its sphere, not subordinate one to another but coordinate with each other. The organization ensures freedom of the parts and independence of the

central government within limits. The regional governments must affect the policy-making activity of the central government. Federalism, therefore, is a means of establishing national order without sacrificing the freedom of the component parts. It guarantees the particular while protecting the universal. According to Gross, in so far as federalism enables the unit governments to affect national policy-making activity and guarantees freedom within limits to them, it is a technique of representation. In so far as it ensures the component unit self-help, self-development and initiative, it is a philosophy of opportunity. Federalism, for these reasons is a process of democratization in which the implicitness of the unifying principles within the parts (a characteristic of a federation) subsumes the parts within the whole (Awa, 1955: 5).

It is apparent that the coordinate relationship between the national government and the unit governments is the core of federalism. The component units of federalism are thus enabled to have a limited independent existence with freedom to develop their material and human resources. This might partly explain why federalism had received a wide acceptance in the former British Empire and the Commonwealth since the end of the Second World War. Indeed only eight years later, Beloff was able to assert that the federal idea was enjoying a widespread popularity such as it had never known before (Beloff, 1953: 116). One reason of this popularity was the pronounced post-war prosperity of the long-established federations such as the United States, Switzerland, Canada and Australia (Watts, 2000). Before 1945, the general attitude seemed to be one of contempt for federal arrangement. According to Watts (2000:4):

Federation was seen by many, especially in Europe, as incomplete national government, as a transitional mode of political organization, as a not really desirable but necessary concession in exceptional cases to accommodate political divisiveness, and as a product of human prejudices or false consciousness preventing the realization of unity through such compelling ideologies as radical individualism, classless solidarity, or the general will.

The popularity of the federal idea after 1945 emanated even more, however, from the conditions accompanying the break-up of colonial empires at that time. The units of colonial government were often merely the product of historical accident, of the scramble for empire, or of administrative convenience. As a result, the colonial political boundaries rarely coincided with the distribution of the racial, linguistic, ethnic or religious communities, or with the locus of economic, geographic, and historical interests. In these circumstances, the creators of the new states approaching independence found themselves faced with simultaneous conflicting demands for territorial integration and balkanization. They had to reconcile the

need, on the one hand, for relatively large economic and political units in order to facilitate rapid economic development and sustain genuine political independence, with the desire, on the other hand, to retain the authority of the smaller political units associated with traditional allegiances representing racial, linguistic, ethnic and religious communities. In such situations, where the forces for integration and separation were at odds with each other, political leaders of nationalist independence movements and colonial administrators alike found in the “federal solution”, according to Watts (2000), a popular formula, providing a common ground for centralizers and provincialists.

The result was a proliferation of federal experiments in the colonial or formerly colonial areas in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. These included India (1950), Pakistan (1956), Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1953), the West Indies ((1958), Indochina (1945-7), French West Africa (A.O.F.) and its successor the Mali Federation (1959), French Equatorial Africa (A.E.F), Indonesia (1945-9) and Nigeria (1954). In addition, a functional federation, the East Africa High Commission (1947), was devised to administer common services in that region. During the same period, in South America where the federal structure of the United States had often been imitated, at least in form, ostensibly federal constitutions were adopted in Brazil (1946), Venezuela (1947), and the Argentina (1949).

Europe which was used as a war theatre during World War II, has shown the devastation that ultra-nationalism could cause, the federal idea gained salience, and progress in that direction and begun with the creation of the European Communities. At the same time with Europe, West Germany in 1949 adopted for itself a federal constitution.

Therefore, the first decade and half after 1945 proved to be a favourable period for federal system of government. In both developed and developing countries the “federal solution” was seen as a way of reconciling the two powerful and often strongly opposed motives: the desire on the one hand for larger political units required to build an effective and dynamic modern state, and the search on the other hand, for identity through smaller self-governing political units. However, it must be mentioned here that federalism cannot lay claim to having solutions to all the problems that cultural diversity and the various forces exert on the inter-governmental relations.

Beginning from the 1960s, however, it became increasingly clear that federal solution was not the panacea that many had imagined it to be. Most of the post-war federal experiments experienced difficulties, and a number were abandoned or temporarily suspended. Examples were the continued internal tensions and the frequency of resort to emergency rule in India; the secession of Bangladesh from Pakistan; the

separation of Singapore from Malaysia; the Nigerian civil war, subsequent prevalence of military regimes and security problems in the country; the early dissolutions of the federation of the West Indies and the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland; the disintegration of the federal efforts in the former French colonial areas of Indochina, West Africa and Equatorial Africa; and the eventual demise even of the East African Common Services Organization (Watts, 2000).

These experiences indicated that even with the best of motives, there were limits to the appropriateness of federal solutions (Franck, 1966 & Hicks, 1978). Furthermore, the experience of Latin America where many of the constitutions were federal in form but in practice operated in an essentially unitary manner added further to the skepticism about the utility of federalism as a practical approach in countries lacking a long tradition of respect for constitutional law. In Europe, the slowness of progress towards integration, at least until the mid-1980s, also seemed to make the idea of an eventual federal Europe more remote.

Even in the classical federations of the United States, Switzerland, Canada and Australia, renewed internal tensions and the loss of economic momentum during this period reduced their attractiveness as shining examples for others to follow. In the United States, the centralization of power through federal preemption of state and local governments through unfunded and underfunded mandates had created an apparent trend towards what has been widely described as ‘coercive federalism’ (Zimmerman, 1993: 1-13). Furthermore, the abdication of the Supreme Court of its role as an umpire within the federal system, exemplified by the *Garcia* case in 1985, raised questions about the judicial protection of federalism within the American system (Gracia, 1985).

While Switzerland has remained relatively stable, the long drawn crisis over the Jura problem prior to its resolution, the need to shift from defensive to affective federalism, and the problems of defining Switzerland’s future relationship with the European community raised new questions about the Swiss federation. In Canada the Quiet Revolution in Quebec in the 1960s and the ensuing four rounds of contentious mega-constitutional politics, 1963-71, 1976-82, 1987-90 and 1991-92, have produced three decades of internal tension (Russel, 1993). Aboriginal land claims, the crisis in fiscal arrangements and defining the relative roles of the federal and provincial governments under the free-trade agreements with the United States and later Mexico created additional stresses. Australia experienced in 1975 a constitutional crisis which raised questions about the fundamental compatibility of federal institutions and responsible cabinet government, but several efforts at constitutional review since then have in the end, come to naught. The result was a revival in some quarters within Australia of debate about the value

of federalism (Patience & Scott, 1983). Through most of the period Germany remained relatively prosperous, but increasing attention has been drawn to the problems of revenue sharing and of the 'joint decision trap' entailed by its unique form of administratively interlocked federation (Scharpf, 1988). More recently, the reunification of Germany, possible *Lander* boundary adjustments, defining the relationship of the *Bund* and the *Lander* to the European Community and relations with Eastern Europe have become a focus of attention.

At the end of this period, the disintegration of the former authoritarian centralized federations, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, showed the limitations of such federal facades and led in some of those areas to a reluctance to adopt new federal arrangements because of the past association in their experience of federal structures with centralization and authoritarianism (Watts, 2000).

Nevertheless, despite all these developments, there seems in the 1990s to have been a reactivation of interest in federalism (Watts, 1996). Political leaders, leading intellectuals and even some journalists increasingly refer to federalism as a liberating and positive form of organization. Belgium, Spain, South Africa, and perhaps Italy appear to be emerging towards new federal forms, and in a number of other countries some consideration has been given to the efficacy of incorporating some federal features, although not necessarily all the characteristics, of a full-fledged federation. Furthermore, despite some uncertainties, the European Community seems to have regained some of its lost momentum in the evolution to a wider European Union with some federal characteristics (Watts, 2000).

a) *Rise of Federalism in Nigeria*

One school of thought of the evolution of Nigerian federalism emphasizes the influence of historical and geographical factors. Nigeria being a large and culturally variegated country could not have been governed for long from the centre. However, it must be pointed out that while the factors of history and geography largely determined the constitutional evolution of Nigeria, these factors did not determine the shape and form of the federation that the British helped to create in Nigeria.

The other school of thought was shared by the nationalists who generally believed that the British encouraged the particularistic tendencies of the different ethnic groups by giving each region a large measure of political autonomy. In this way the British might continue to meddle in the internal affairs of their former dependency to their own economic and political advantage after they would have granted the dependency her independence. This school also believed that the departing colonial power made sure that there were enough structural imperfections left behind to bedevil inter-ethnic relations after

independence. This feeling must have led Awolowo to describe the British-imposed federal structure as an abominable, disruptive and divisive British heritage (Awa, 1955: 87-88).

b) *Amalgamation of Nigeria*

Until 1900, the landmass known today as Nigeria existed as a number of independent and sometimes hostile native states with linguistic and cultural differences. This situation must have made the then Governor of Nigeria, Sir Hugh Clifford (1920-31) to describe Nigeria as a collection of independent native states separated from one another....by great distances, by differences of history and traditions and by ethnological, racial, tribal, political, social and religious barriers (Lugard, 1922: 8).

The building of Nigeria as a multi-national state began with the creation in accordance with the Seborne Committee Report of 1899 of the Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1900, along with the Colony of Lagos. The administration of the three Nigerian groups continued until 1906 when the Colony of Lagos and the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, which had existed separately, were merged to become the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. Even then the Northern Administration and the Southern Administration were separate and distinct and each was directly responsible to the colonial office.

By 1910, there were pleas for a better organization of the country for administrative purposes. Morel, one of the most articulate advocates of better organization, railed against the division of the country into north and south. He argued that the division was attended by a duality in administration and inevitable and unprofitable rivalries. He maintained that the division was based on arbitrary boundaries and that the situation generally was incongruous and absurd. Nigeria, in his opinion, is a single geographical unit and the tendency to regard the north and the south as separate units had retarded the development of a general principle of government for the country.

Morel emphasized that the Northern Protectorate had been rendered poor by this division. The North was cut off from the seaboard by the South. Customs duties levied on trade with the North accrued to the South that owned the seaboard. The North was financially poor and depended on the South and the British treasury (Awa, 1955). Besides, the two protectorates had two railway systems which differed in gauge and which competed with each other in carrying the produce of the inland areas of the country. He contended that amalgamation would bring the following advantages:

a) Better financial management directed towards meeting present and future needs of the whole country,

- b) Better administration in the upper echelon especially at the level of the chief executive.
- c) More reasonable division of the country into provinces, along geographical and ethnic boundaries, and comprehensive public works programme.

The arguments adduced by Morel in favour of amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates were generally recognized to be cogent when the two groups of Nigerians were finally placed under one man, Sir Fredrick Lugard in 1912 with the aim of uniting them into a single country. Lugard made his recommendations in 1913 and maintained that amalgamation was not merely a political or geographical expression but rather it should serve to even up progress in the various parts of Nigeria. The two protectorates were amalgamated into one country by the British in 1914 for reasons ranging from resolving the absurd differences in the railway policies being followed by the administration of each section of the country to removing artificial barriers between the South and the North.

Morel however, maintained that the highest human attainments are not necessarily reached on parallel lines... that humanity cannot be legislated for as though sections of it were modeled on the same pattern (Awa, 1955: 96). He pleaded that Northern Nigeria should be developed differently along her indigenous ways. The British therefore should not be allowed to destroy the cloth industry of the North nor should the missionary be allowed to invade and destroy the Moslem faith.

In this Dual Mandate, Lord Lugard set forth a philosophy of education for the country. In the south, the missionary organisations established village schools and teacher training institutions, primarily with a view to training the people in the principles of the Christian religion. English was the medium of instruction and the subject matter taught in these schools was almost wholly a British orientation, with emphasis on the history of the British Empire or of Elizabethan England- the history of Nigeria was not taught.

Events in the North were proceeding along different lines. Education in the North was in the hands of the government except in a few places. Instruction in the schools was in Hausa and Arabic mainly, and the subject matter was adapted to the cultural environment of the Moslem.

This educational policy of the country helped to develop a dichotomy in the intellectual and psychological orientation between the North and the South. This in effect, produced two "Nigerias" with intellectual and cultural development along different lines and thus imperiled harmonious growth of the country.

c) *Richards' Constitution of 1946*

Regional governments began with the Richards' constitution (later Lord Milverton) of 1946 which divided Nigeria into three regions (Northern, Western and Eastern Regions) and established consultative bodies at the level of the three regions.

Northern Region contained about four-fifths of the land area of the country and roughly half the population. The largest ethnic groups in the North were the Hausa-Fulani who were Moslems. Aside from the Hausa-Fulani, other important ethnic groups were the Kanuri, Tiv, Nupe, Ibibio, Igala, Idoma etc.

The Western and Eastern Regions contained 12% and 8% respectively of the territory. In the west there were no large groups other than the Yoruba. The important ethnic groups in the East were the Ibo, Efik and Ijaws. The philosophy of the constitution as noted by the white paper was that the problem of Nigeria was to create a political system which was itself a present advance and which contained the possibility of further orderly advance. The white paper noted further that sociologically, the peoples of Nigeria fall into three broad divisions which may in turn be related to physical and climatic differences in the north, west and east which affected early tribal movements within these areas (Awa, 1955). The problem, it continued, was to create a system of government within which the diverse elements might progress at varying speeds, amicably and smoothly towards a more closely integrated economic, social and political unit without sacrificing the principles and ideals inherent in their divergent ways of life. The broad objectives of the new constitution, therefore was to plan and carry out the development of Nigeria to responsible government along practical lines. More specifically the objectives were to promote unity in the country, to make adequate provision within the unity for the country's diverse elements and to secure greater participation of Nigerians in government activity.

The nationalists of every political complexion kicked against the Richards constitution because it was imposed from above without any consultation whatever. For example, Awolowo railed at British short-sightedness in foisting a unitary government on Nigeria, in spite of the diverse cultures of the peoples. He argued that the decentralization provided by the Richard's constitution could not sufficiently accommodate these differences. He maintained that: the Yoruba in particular, have suffered feelings of frustration for years. Under a system which aims at getting all the peoples in the country to the goal of autonomy at the same hour and minute, the Yorubas have been compelled to mark time on their higher level while the other sections hasten to catch up with them... (Awolowo, 1947: 49)

d) *Emergence of Regional Political Parties*

The period following Richards's constitution was dominated by factionalisation of nationalism and regionalism of politics. The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) formed in 1944 and led by Azikiwe ceased to enjoy country-wide support because of the rise to political power of Awolowo and Ahmadu. The membership of NCNC was not open to individuals but to professional associations, trade unions and tribal or organisations and so the party was built on a shaky foundation. In fact, the Action Group (AG) which developed from a tribal union, called Egbe Omo Oduduwa (founded in 1948) and led by Awolowo successfully checked the influence of Azikiwe in the West whom the Yorubas had begun to regard as an intruder in the affairs of their region. Awolowo became the unchallenged master of the Western Region. Consequently, Azikiwe fell back on the Eastern Region, the original source of power. The local patriotism that paved way for Awolowo's success in the Western Region, however, operated against him in the other regions. When the southern leaders had time to refer to Northern Nigeria, it was to point out of contemptuously that it was the seat of reaction and conservatism. The Northern People's Congress (NPC) which developed from the JamiyyarMutanenArewa (founded in Kano in 1949) and led by Ahmadu was a kind of protest party. As the name implies its out-look was limited, in fact regional, and its root was ethnic affinity. Given the secure position NPC had in the North, it was under no compulsion to become a National party (Anyebe, 1995). Ahmadu was left a virtual proconsul of Northern Region. The Richards Constitution provided him with legal right of holding the North together, while the arrogance of the southern leaders gave him the impetus to seize and use this right.

With the emergence of these regional parties the question of what type of federalism to adopt, became the subject of negotiation between these parties. Nigerian unity was still not on secure ground and whenever a party felt sufficiently aggrieved over issues, the natural thing for it to do was to threaten to secede from the country. Secessionist threat was issued by the Northern delegates to the Central Legislature when they were booed and rough handled in Lagos, following their modification to Enahoro's motion of 1953 that the House should demand independence for Nigeria in 1956. Ahmadu wanted the motion to be amended to read in part, self-government as soon as practicable (Tamuno, 1972: 218). The British government was still trying to put an end to all these fissiparous tendencies when Awolowo, in 1953 openly threatened that the Western Region would secede unless Lagos was given back to the West (Anyebe, 1995). This open threat was openly rebuffed by the then secretary for the Colonies, Oliver Lyttelton (later Lord Chandos), who told Awolowo that the British

government would use force to bring any region that rebelled against the Nigerian government back into the union (Tamuno, 1972). From this time onwards, latent forces of disunity remained, but did not become active until after independence.

Nationalism and party politics were rooted basically in tribal social organisations and both were splintered into regional pattern set by Richards' Constitution. The regional parties derived their importance not from their programmes but from their association with functional social structures.

Indeed, this constitution was a significant turning point in the evolution of federalism in Nigeria.

IV. DISCUSSION

In the House of Commons, the Colonial Secretary, Oliver Littleton, announced that the Nigerian constitution would have to be redrawn in order to provide for greater regional autonomy and he invited representatives of the regions to London to decide how best to do this. In effect, he had unilaterally decided to advance the type of constitution that was to be evolved, limiting the Nigerian Leaders to a discussion of method. The Nigerian leaders balked at the invitation, maintaining that the problem of self-government should be included in the agenda. Sir John Macpherson, the then Governor of Nigeria, modified the position by explaining that there would be a full exchange of views and that if a sufficient consensus among the delegates were reached during the exchanges, nothing would prevent their conclusion from being recorded for use as the basis for settlement of constitutional difficulties. The following were ultimately accepted as the terms of reference of the Conference.

- i. The defects in the present constitution (that is Richards' Constitution)
- ii. The change required to remedy these defects
- iii. What steps should be taken to put these changes into effect; and
- iv. The question of self-government in 1956

The colonial secretary however, made it clear that the inclusion of the item in respect of self-government should not be construed as a committal on the part of Her Majesty's government to the propositions. Apparently, the Nigerian Leaders were satisfied with these conditions and they accepted the invitation (Anyebe, 1995).

Each region was required to send six delegates while one delegate representing the Cameroons was required. One major and one important minor party from each region was to share the number in the proportion of five to one in the Northern and Western Region and four to two in the Eastern Region. Each regional delegation could be accompanied by advisers. The major parties were led by Azikiwe, Awolowo, and Ahmadu. In all, nineteen delegates and forty advisers



comprised the Nigerian delegation. Many of these people were not particularly well-informed on the problem of Federal constitutionalism and they had to confront a United Kingdom delegation that consisted of the colonial office bureaucracy and a coterie of other political and legal advisers. Then Governor of Nigeria was in attendance. The conference was started in London on July 30, 1953.

During the London Conference in 1953, discussion centered on the structure of the federal government. The Northern People's Congress and the National Independent Party (a splinter party from NCNC) had reached an understanding beforehand and agreed to ask for a federal government with a strong centre:

At the plenary sessions, the Northern People's Congress and the National Independence Party, put forward those progressive proposals previously agreed upon by them. To the utter surprise of everyone, it was Awolowo and Azikiwe who vehemently opposed them... In vain was it argued that in the present circumstances of Nigeria with its multiplicity and diversity of cultural and ethnic grouping, it was necessary to have a strong and independent central government whose authority and prestige could give confidence and guarantee security to minority groups within the federation and at the same time command international respect (The Nigerian Daily Times, August 26, 1953).

The two parties argued further that increased regional power would mean virtual division of Nigeria into three different countries. In the meantime NPC abandoned the view that it had developed in concert with the National Independent Party probably under the influence of NCNC and AG. The delegates, however discussed an reached agreements on a number of things including the division of functions between the national government and the regions.

The boundaries of the units of the federation were not discussed. The utter silence on the problem of the territorial units was perhaps, indicative of the fact that none of the three men (Azikiwe, Awolowo and Ahmadu) was in position to seriously make a dent on the stronghold of the others at the time of the London Conference. The situation in the country and in their ranks was in stable equilibrium. Any shift of the main sources from which they drew their powers, might result in equilibrium of the forces at a different level and in the process one or two or all of them might suffer reverses. For example, if the Middle Belt provinces were added to the Western Region, then Awolowo would gain at the expense of Ahmadu, and would to that extent of the gain, tower higher than Azikiwe. If the main ethnic groups were used as the territorial units of the federation there would be the danger that such a situation would lead to the emergence of new and more leaders since Nigerian nationalism had tended to develop along ethnic patterns. In such circumstances, the source of power of these titans of Nigerian politics would be

splintered to their possible disadvantage. In view of this power configuration in Nigeria, the three men did not advocate any change in the boundaries of the regional units of the federation (Awa, 1955).

Nigeria was at last designated a federation (after Lyttelton's Constitution) in 1954, comprising the Northern, Western and Eastern Regions and the Federal Territory of Lagos. The boundaries of the regions remained the same except that Lagos was excluded from the western Region.

All the political leaders who had strong bases in the regions fought hard for maximum powers for the regions which weakened the centre. Instead of regionalism ensuring and preserving national unity, it became its bane. There was diffusion instead of fusion of the three units. The units of the federation were too powerful and Nigerian Federation poised on a precarious territorial basis. The political scene was dominated by Nigerians who took over the British created North-South struggle for separate development and paradoxically for the control of the centre. This period witnessed intense political competition not only among the major ethnic groups but also between them and the minorities who had begun to manifest resentment against the lack of development in their areas (Tamuno, 1972).

The only point on which Nigerian political leaders spoke with one voice was the granting by the British, of political independence and even then they did not agree on the timing. The desire to win independence (which had been scheduled for 1960) was so strong that Nigerians accepted the imperfections of their federal constitution instead of waiting for another two years (in case new states were created). It was only in 1963 that Mid-Western region was carved out of the then Western. Even then the structural imperfections remained because the Northern Region which contained about four-fifths of the land area and about 50% of the country's population was left intact.

These imperfections, among other factors, made Nigeria go through the painful experience of a civil war between 1967 and 1970 when the Eastern Region attempted to secede from the Federation. At the instance of the demand for self-determination by this Region, the country was for political expediency, split into 12 states in 1967 by the Federal Military Government.

On four other occasions more states were created by decrees to make up the present 36 states. This seeming irrationality was among other reasons aimed at establishing the Nigerian federation since one condition for establishing a stable federation is to ensure that no single units is so big in terms of populations and land areas to insist on dominating the deliberations of the central legislature. The various educational and economic establishments were built along regional patterns. The coming of states out of these regions did

not in any way disturb the continued existence of some of these institutions. The governors of the share-holding states were holding regular meeting which could not but have political undertones for the advancements of the cause of the region in the scheme of things within the Federation. Appointments and admission into these institutions were virtually restricted to the indigenes of the share-holding states. There was no doubt in the minds of those with nationalist aspirations that these institutions were suffocating and stultifying the growth of federation in Nigeria (Aiglmoukhude, *New Nigerian*, January 21, 1993). They turned out to be political instruments pointing attention in the direction of region and hindering the building of a true Nigerian nation. The decision of the Federal Military government in 1991 to disband all these associations and institutions which were based on regional patterns was therefore a right step in the right direction. Such institutions should not be allowed to exist again since their existence constitutes a hindrance to the harmonious growth of Nigeria Federation.

It is worth mentioning here that the issue of reforming the Nigeria federation has eventually received some attention as a result of the fall-out from the annulment of the June 12 presidential election in 1993 and 2011 general election. Thus, sentiments such as marginalization from power and national affairs began to be voiced by Nigerians. The National Constitutional Conference of 1994/95 and the National Conference of 2014 became the battle grounds where Nigerians fought over such demands as the modification of the federal arrangement, power sharing including rotational presidency and the division of the country into zones, devolution of power from the centre to the states, the sharing of major offices among various zones, and the allocation of resources based on derivation.

The forces that have exerted a unifying influence on the Nigerians scene were the need for independence, transportation system and geography. The negative forces were the differences in culture, separate development, British influence and bad Nigerian leadership. The rivalry among the Nigerians leaders and between them and the British substantially determined the peculiarities of the federal government. Regional nationalism rather than Nigerian nationalism formed the basis of Nigerian Federalism.

The exclusive list of the Nigerian Federal Government includes foreign affairs, defense, external borrowing, customs and excise, controls of exchange rate, shipping, railways, post and telecommunications system, trunk roads, aviation, currency, coinage and legal tender, mines and mineral, weights and measures, census, and federal public relations. The residual list for regions consists of primary education, public health et cetera. Higher education, industrial development and public order, labour conditions and relations, water, power et cetera are on concurrent list that is, both

federal and regional legislative bodies could make laws regarding these matters (though in the event of inconsistency, federal law was to prevail).

V. CONCLUSION

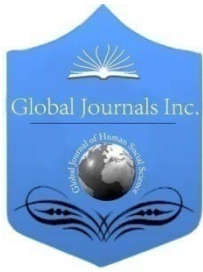
What has emerged from the discussion so far is that federalism calls for a number of previously independent states to come together to form a larger and stronger union while the federating units relinquish part of their authority for the formation of federal government and benefit from economies of scale. The units still retain autonomy in those matters that have restricted geographical and cultural impacts. On other occasions, a massive unitary state decentralizes creating units and vesting them with authority over matters whose importance and implications transcend regional boundaries. The smaller units make possible the creation of sufficient centres of deliberation and enterprise eliciting the best in men in the spheres of public service and private economic activity. This is to say that federalism seeks to stimulate thought at every point along the line, thus making political consent active and meaningful, not merely passive. The early life of the federal government is fraught with difficulties arising from the socio-national groups which the federation was formed to accommodate. With passage of time there develops a myth of the federation which may command the allegiance of most of the citizens.

Federal system is not a panacea, but in many situations they may be necessary as the only way of combining, through representative institutions, the benefits of both unity and diversity. Experience has shown that federations, both old and new, have been difficult countries to govern. But then, it is usually because they were difficult countries to govern in the first place that they have adopted federal political arrangement because federalism has a mechanism for fine-tuning to meet the exigencies of the time. The federal solution is still relevant in Nigeria. However, the arrangement should be made more equitable.

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A Statistical Case Study of using ICT in Educational Sector in Rural Context of Bangladesh

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Abstract- Nowadays information and communication technologies (ICT) in the education sector keeping very important role to modernize and updated the technology into the educational activities. There is a direct social and economic value of ICT education in rural Bangladesh. As the rural people have limited access to resources and public areas due to socio-economic situation, ICT is identified as the key to the re-invention of governments in developing countries, like Bangladesh. For the development of the rural people as well as the country, needs more awareness on ICT education. The rural people suffer from severe discrimination due to lack of information and burden of poverty. This paper made an effort to determine the present status of access to ICT education in rural sector. In this study, I have selected 119 schools (both primary and secondary level) in rural area and conducted a survey on teachers and students. On the base of the primary data, we tried to draw the present circumstances of using ICT in education system in rural Bangladesh.

Keywords: ICT, rural area, survey, education system, simple random sampling (SRS).

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I. INTRODUCTION

Basically, the concept of Information Communication Technologies ICT is arise to teach the current and rising citizens about computer, communication devices and software and how to operate, run on and built with them. Information and communication technologies (ICT) have become humdrum entities in all aspects of life (Syed Noor-Ul-Amin, 2012). Bangladesh is a developing and third world country .It is also known as the country of poverty, overpopulation and a persistent gender gap in education and literacy. Information Communication Technologies (ICT) in Education in Bangladesh is a multidisciplinary field which has inherent prospects and problems similar to any other innovation .Sufficient evidence demonstrated ICT application benefits in educating disadvantageous communities.

Anupam Kumar Bairagi, S. A. Ahsan Rajon and Tuhin Roy (2011) suggested that To compete with the competitive world, skilled manpower is an enormous foundation of a country .In Bangladesh, many educational institutions (primary, secondary, college, university) have taken steps to expand a better shapes

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in their education system by utilization of ICTs not only in urban education system but also in rural education system. The most effective way to increase student's knowledge is using more technology (internet).ICT has changed for the rural people in our country, the way to communicate, learn and access service and trade. It is offering more effective means of exchanging knowledge and advancing education. In this paper we want to demonstrate the present situation of ICT education in rural area in Bangladesh.

II. OBJECTIVE

By using ICT in education sector, Bangladesh is flourishing to compare with other developing counties in the worldwide. The concept of creating Digital Bangladesh, the government is starting implement to ICT initiatives to revolutionize the education system. There is no rigid agreement on the definition of ICT, as these technologies grow almost daily. As teachers are the builder of the students, they should have proper knowledge about using ICT in education sector (Zuochen Zhang, Dragana Martinovic, 2008).The word "Information and communication technology (ICT)" has three separate words – information, communication and technology. Information means any kind of message written, audio, visual or audio-visual through which a person gets knowledge about a new person, place, thing, situation, or environment. Communication is defined as the way of transferring such message to others which needs a media. It is worthwhile to mention that Rahman, M. A (2004), Information and communication technology (ICT) is the use of modern technology to support the capture, processing, storage and recovery and communication of information, whether in the form of numerical data, text, sound, or image.

Rural people in Bangladesh have limited access to resources and public spheres due to their socio economic situation. They experience discrimination because of lack of access to information and technology. This study made an effort to determine the present status of access to ICT in the rural education. The recent development of information communication technologies (ICT) very much facilitates the flow of information. ICTs are now widely accepted as a

significant tool to development issues in developing countries like Bangladesh. Our survey was conducted based on the following objectives:

- To understand the rural education based on ICT
- To understand the students and teachers perception on using ICT
- To identify present scenario of ICT education in rural Bangladesh
- To identify what are the potential problems on using ICT

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

The age of using ICT in education sector is not so long. In India, first computer intruded in education level before 1979. In eighties, computer began to be distributed to schools to see the consequence how computer use in education rather than simply educating about computing and then in the mid-nineties, the use of ICT's in primary schools rapidly expanded (Dr. M. M. Gandhi,2013).

Bangladesh faces the challenge of becoming a learning society and ensuring that its citizens are equipped with knowledge of ICT, skills and qualifications they will need in this century.

In last few years, many factors like social security, rural economy, health care facilities, and women empowerment, disaster and emergency response etc. are very much reshaped and influenced by ICTs in Bangladesh as identified in other developing countries (Atiqur Rahman, Mohammed Nayeem Abdullah, Amran Haroon and Rahat Bari Tooheen, 2013).

Anupam Kumar Bairagi,S. A. Ahsan Rajon and Tuhin Roy(2011), Mohammad Ali (2003) and Islam, M. S., & Islam and M. N. (2007, 2009) suggest in their paper, that the globalization of information and knowledge resources is the output of adoption and huge use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT).

So for the betterment of the education system as well as enlargement of life, adoption if ICT has became very important. ICT as a term encompasses a range of human-devised hardware, software and telecommunications technologies that facilitate communication and sharing of information across boundaries of time and place (Dunmill, M. & Arslanagic, A., 2006) and (Tajmary Mahfuz & Subhenur Latif,2013).Though the higher academic institutions of this country are pioneers in adopting and using Information and Communication Technologies but also Bangladesh is one of the overpopulated, underdeveloped countries in the world. Although the Government of Bangladesh is committed to implementing ICT in education, the process is hindered by a number of barriers like, Insufficient funds, Social and Cultural factors, Political factors, Teachers' Attitudes

and Beliefs about ICT, Lack of Knowledge and Skill, Lack of Time, etc.(Md. Shahadat Hossain Khan, Mahbub Hasan and Che Kum Clement ,2012).

Besides all these barriers, ICT revolution imposes particular challenges on education systems in Bangladesh (Ali, M., 2003). These challenges reduce to three broad areas. The first has to do with participation in the information society; the second considers how ICT impacts on access, cost effectiveness and quality of education. Miyan, M. A. (2009) suggests that, now private universities are making praiseworthy contributions in development of ICT in Bangladesh.

To overcome their basic problems, many developing countries start using ICT not in education sector but also in prime sector in their countries. Like, India has made economic management their prime agenda and use opportunities provided by the ICT to overcome the problems of rural poverty, inequality, and environmental degradation (Kiangi, G. E.and Tjipangandjara, 1996). Stack, RE and Thousand Oaks. Walsham, G (1995) and Grameenphone Annual Report (2013) have conducted their studies on empowerment and poverty reduction through Village Pay Phone (VPP) scheme which is part of ICT program of Grameen Bank, the village-based micro-finance organization respectively. So the prosper of different sectors in Bangladesh is result of using ICTs.

In modern life, the impact of using ICT draws an important sketch. Especially for the students and modern people, Tajmary Mahfuz and Subhenur Latif (2013) described devices and many support based on ICT like using 3G on mobile have became daily necessity in daily life. A.M.Priyangani Adikari (2013) and Md. Shamimul Islam and Mahmudul Hasan Fouji (2010) also suggested that the trained teacher can keep vital role to create a digital citizen .ICT is also a medium for teaching and learning (Jager, A. K., & Lokman, A. H.1999).

From economic and human development perspective, Bangladesh is one of the rising countries in the world. To create Digital Bangladesh, the government has taken some initiatives to integrate ICT in education system and one of these is to digitize the academic books both in primary and secondary levels and distribute these across the country so that the students in rural areas can download the books from the Internet at free of cost and thereby facilitate the education system. Government also provides training to the teachers and other authority of the rural school to encourage them to use ICT for both academic and administrative purposes (Arifur Rahman Khan, Reza Shahbaz Hadi and Dr. Md. Mahfuz Ashraf, 2013).

IV. SURVEY DESIGN AND CONDUCTION OF SURVEY

To achieve the objectives of this study we used primary source of information. Primary data have been taken from prepared questionnaire data that include both open ended and close ended questions.

As we want sketch the scenarios of ICT education in rural areas, our survey was conducted in the targeted areas. By using simple random sampling (SRS), the sample was selected. Our sample size consisted of 119 schools. To execute our objectives we designed two questionnaires. One designed for teachers and another for students and was provide to them. Both questionnaires were designed to fulfill our objectives in this research paper. The student's questionnaire designed in such a way that, we can obtain their real situation, problem, probabilities and opportunities of using ICT in education. In teacher's

part, we included both close and open ended questions. In terms of data analysis, used SPSS 17. In this paper, I tried to identify the core requirements, constraints of ICT education as well as overview of using ICT in education sector in rural area.

V. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

The survey was conducted on both students and teachers on a total of 119 schools at the level primary and secondary as shown in the Table 1. As seen from the survey samples, the following observations are crucial:

- To understand the rural education on ICT, the survey has conducted in four division indifferent rural areas and we have focused uses of computer in schools in different divisions. Teachers sample had to filter due to responses. Besides the sample size is 119 (One Hundred Nineteen)

Table 1 : Number of schools in different divisions

City	Number of school	% of school
Chittagong	27	23
Khulna	56	47
Rajshahi	18	15
Sylhet	18	15
Total	119	100

From the analysis of teacher's questionnaire we can see that 47% schools from Khulna division, 23% from Chittagong, and 15% from Rajshahi and Sylhet division's seen from the Table 1. In that sector we have focused what is the actual condition of ICT in rural areas in Bangladesh.

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Table 2 : Number of schools in different divisions

Using computer	Frequency	Percentage
don't uses computer	10	8.4
Uses computer	109	91.6
Total	119	100

According to the data 91.6% teachers are using computer. This derived fact clearly indicates the demand of usage of Computer by the teachers which is high. This means 8.4% teachers within the sample size of 119 are not able to access despite the demand.

- To identify the participation of students and teachers on ICT education, from table 3 and fig1, shows the about 68% teacher used internet and 32% teacher did not use internet for their work. From table 4 illustrated about 89% students replied positively for computer in educational purpose.

Table 3 : Percentage of Uses internet (teacher)

Internet use	Frequency	Percent
Don't uses Internet	38	31.93
uses internet	81	68.07
Total	119	100

Table 4 : Requirements of computer in different purposes (student)

purposes of using computer	%
play game	1.30%
watch movie	0.80%
listen music	0.80%
internet browsing	9.60%
education	85.80%
others	1.80%
Total	100.00%

- To recognize present scenario of ICT education in rural areas, questions designed on the number of computer in a school. From table 5 and fig 1 we can say that 28% schools have 2 computers, 13% schools have only 1 computer and 11% schools

have 4 computers. That means maximum number of schools has below 5 computers. Along with that, the teachers were asked about training on computer, among them 89% were untrained.

Table 5 : number of computers in schools

No. of computer in school	Frequency	Percent
1	15	12.6
2	33	27.7
3	5	4.2
4	13	10.9
5	3	2.5
6	2	1.7
10	4	3.4
12	2	1.7
13	3	2.5
15	3	2.5
18	6	5
20	1	0.8
25	5	4.2
42	1	0.8
45	3	2.5
50	1	0.8
Total	119	100

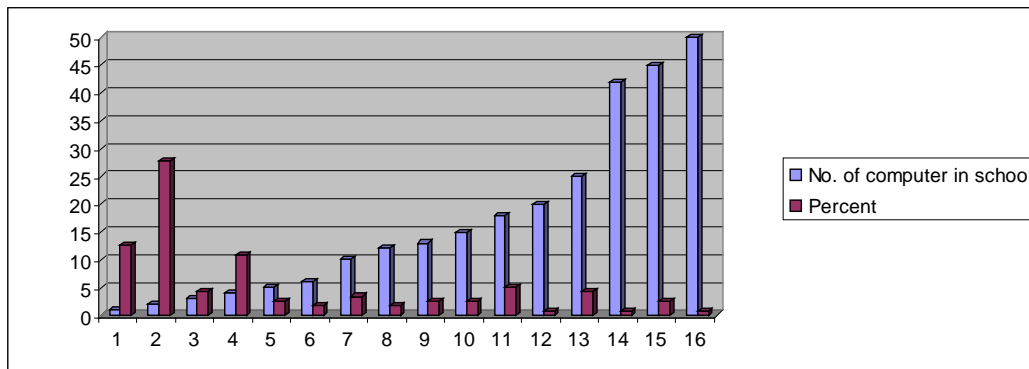


Figure 1 : Number of computers in school

- To identify the potential problems, many tentative answers given and teachers were asked to sorting them on the base of their importance. From table 6

and figure 2, it has been concluded that, about 55% teacher's answered that main constrains of using internet was high price ,the second reason was

again expensive training of computer and the third height response was unable using of computer which was 26%.

Table 6 : Responses of affordability to use Computer

Reasons	Do not know	Not relevant	Average	Very important
Too much Cost	2	7	24	55
No time at home	2	23	22	7
Can't use computer	4	12	26	26
Expensive computer training	2	12	27	27
Not related to my work	2	18	12	5
Expensive computer training	2	23	7	12

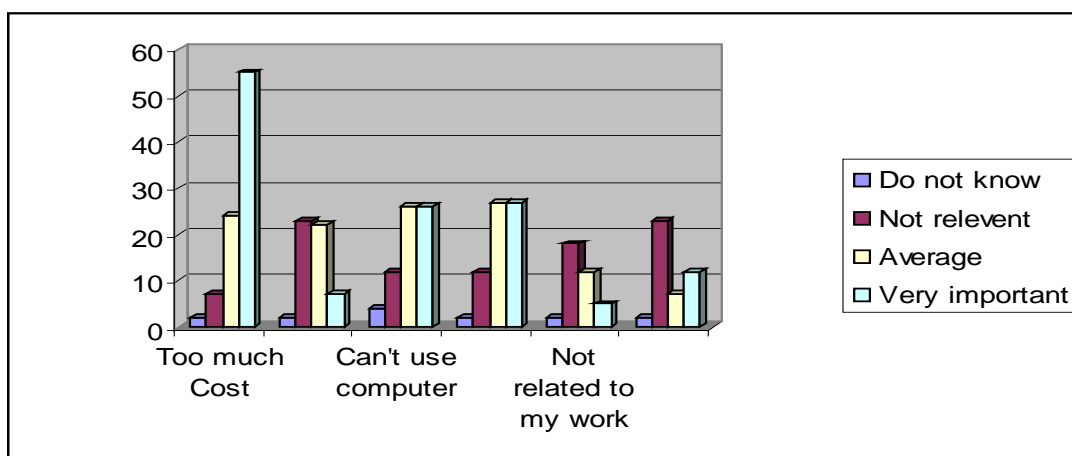


Figure 2 : Responses of affordability to use Computer

IV. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

World is changing in every moment by the blessing of technology. To enhance the technology, the exploit of ICT education is compulsory. We have to develop the root level, to expand the present scenario, by enrich ICT education in rural Bangladesh. In this context, this study reveals the present situation of ICT education in rural Bangladesh. If proper steps are taken to promote the proper use of ICT education in rural Bangladesh, we can hope to build up an authentic digital Bangladesh.

- It has been found that, the main barrier of using ICT was high cost. Internet is becoming more popular but is affordable to only a small urban section of the population. It is extremely expensive in rural areas where the need for distance education is the most.
- Enough logistic support should be taken within the academic institutions in order to allow all students to have regular access to ICT facilities.
- There is a lack of qualified teachers. There is also a shortage of ICT trained teachers.

- Educational institutions as well as the teachers should be more supportive to establish the students about ICT by highlighting ways through which it can be of great help in enhancing their academic performance.

V. SCOPE FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study is only highlights the present scenarios of ICT education in rural areas. The findings of the research has plenty scope for future analysis. A model could be creating by using correlation with in different factors.

VI. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

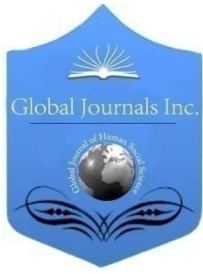
The author thankful to the respondents (teachers and students) who gave their time and effort in answering the survey questions. The study would be incomplete without their assistance.

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Strategic Options for Agricultural and Rural Development Challenges in Sub-Saharan Africa: the Case of Nigeria

By Festus Nkpoyen, Bassey, Glory Eteng & Uyang, Francis Abul

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Abstract- The paper examines the multi-dimensionality of rural agriculture and rural development in terms of productivity, income and welfare in terms of health, nutrition, education and other features of satisfactory life of rural people. It is an integral approach to agricultural production. Both processes are very important considering because more of the bulk of the population in sub-Sahara Africa especially Nigeria lives in rural areas and they experience much misery, poverty, morbidity and under-development. The paper also x-rays the requirements for agricultural and rural development such as a national philosophical base, integrated pilot demonstration, cohesive identity, participatory development, gender mainstreaming among others. Finally, the paper discussed the condition necessary for people oriented agricultural and rural development in Nigeria.

Keywords: *strategic options, agricultural/ rural develop-ment sub-sahara africa.*

GJHSS-C Classification : *FOR Code: 160899*



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:



Strategic Options for Agricultural and Rural Development Challenges in Sub-Saharan Africa: the Case of Nigeria

Festus Nkpoyen ^α, Bassey, Glory Eteng ^σ & Uyang, Francis Abul ^ρ

Abstract- The paper examines the multi-dimensionality of rural agriculture and rural development in terms of productivity, income and welfare in terms of health, nutrition, education and other features of satisfactory life of rural people. It is an integral approach to agricultural production. Both processes are very important considering because more of the bulk of the population in sub-Sahara Africa especially Nigeria lives in rural areas and they experience much misery, poverty, morbidity and under-development. The paper also x-rays the requirements for agricultural and rural development such as a national philosophical base, integrated pilot demonstration, cohesive identity, participatory development, gender mainstreaming among others. Finally, the paper discussed the condition necessary for people oriented agricultural and rural development in Nigeria.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The contemporary movement of people to urban communities in sub-Sahara Africa is proceeding at an unprecedented rate. The economic stagnation of rural communities appears to justify this migration. Nearly 2 billion people in developing societies survive on agricultural pursuits. Over 3.1 billion people live in rural areas in 2010, a quarter of them in extreme poverty (Todaro & Smith, 2011). According to Todaro and Smith, "people living in the countryside make up more than half of the population of such diverse Latin American and Asian nations as Haiti, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Myanmar, Honduras, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh, the Philippines, Thailand and China. In sub-Sahara Africa, the ratios are much higher, with rural dwellers constituting 65% of the total population".

Over two thirds of the world's poorest people are located in rural areas and engaged primarily in subsistence agriculture. Their basic concern is survival. The rural dwellers in most societies have been bypassed by the economic progress recorded by their nations. The United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization estimated that in 2009, over 1 billion people did not have enough food to meet their basic nutritional needs (Ostrom, 2010). For self sustaining development to occur, rural areas and agricultural sector must be

integral. The fundamental problems of poverty, gender inequality, rapid population growth are all traceable to the stagnating and retrogressive economic life in rural areas. Agriculture, providing 60 percent of all employment constitutes the backbone of most African economies. It is still the largest contributor to GDP; the biggest source of foreign exchange, still accounting for about 40 percent of the country's hard currency earnings; and the main generator of savings and tax revenues. The agricultural sector is the dominant provider of industrial raw materials with about two-thirds of manufacturing value-added in most African countries being based on agricultural materials. Agriculture thus remains cardinal for economic growth in sub-Sahara Africa (Alabi, 2008).

Development economists agree that far from playing a passive, supporting role in the process of economic development, the agricultural sector in particular and the rural economy in general must play an indispensable part in any overall strategy of economic progress in sub-Saharan Africa. In this region, the population was predicted to grow from 770 million in 2005 to 1.5 billion in 2050. Despite rapid migration from countryside to cities and the growth in urban population, the absolute number of rural people is also rising, thus making rural development a necessity (Anderson, 2001). According to United Nations Economic commission for Africa (1974) rural development is "a process by which a set of technical, social, cultural and institutional measures are implemented with and for the inhabitants of rural areas with the aim of improving their socio economic conditions in order to achieve harmony and balance both on the regional and national levels". It means a radical "transformation of the rural areas, alleviation of rural poverty and enhancement of the quality of rural life, productivity and income" (Mabogunje, 1990). To a large extent, therefore, agriculture and rural development have come to be regarded by many economists as the sine qua non of national development in sub-Saharan Africa generally and Nigeria in particular. Rural development is an integrated approach to food production as well as physical, social and institutional infrastructural provisions with an ultimate goal of bringing about both quantitative and qualitative changes which result in improved living standard of the rural population. It

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therefore, infers that agricultural production (development) is a component of rural development as more than two-third of Nigeria's citizens are farmers. They live in an estimated 97,000 rural communities. Their lives are characterized by misery, poverty, morbidity and underdevelopment (Ekpo & Olaniyi, 1995).

II. STATE OF AGRICULTURE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

According to Idachaba (1985) "the response of the first independent civilian government to the challenges of national development in general and rural development in particular, as articulated in the First National Development Plan 1962 – 68 was to a large extent a carry over of the colonial notions". In that Plan, rural development was equated with increased output of agriculture and other related primary produce. As a strategy to achieve this goal, the Southern Regional Governments carried out farm settlements strategy patterned after the Israel Kibbutzim, with a focus on young school leavers. Northern Region retained colonial strategy of extension services. However, both strategies could not transform Nigeria's rural economy. The end of the civil war provided opportunity for implementation of rural development programme responsive to rural needs. However, the Second National Development Plan (1970 – 74) did not depart from previous one with regards to rural development. Rural development was still conceived in the context of agricultural expansion (Adalemo & Baba, 1993).

Rural Development Policy was subsumed under the Third Development Plan, 1975 – 1980. The objective of rural development was to increase rural agricultural productivity and income, diversify rural economy and enhance quality of rural life. The policy still pursued agriculture and rural development simultaneously. Interestingly, human welfare parameters were specifically built into the rural development process. It drew attention to the need to mitigate rural-urban disparities in living standards (Matthew-Daniels, 2000). World Bank (2011) reported that "the percentage of rural population in Nigeria has gone down from 53.3 percent in 2000 to 49.7 percent in 2010 due to migration and urbanization". The rural areas, where agriculture is the mainstay of all people support 70-80 percent of total population including the extreme poor and undernourished. Improvement in agriculture can increase rural incomes and purchasing power.

In the 1970s, development was re-conceptualised. Attention was substantially paid on man and welfare parameters as balanced diet, good water supply, access to health care facilities, adequate educational facilities, shelter etc as the essence of rural development. Strategies and programmes were embarked upon by government. Integrated Rural

Development (IRD) started in mid-seventies at Funtua and Gusau, later renamed Agricultural Development Project (ADP) (Ihejimaizu, 2002). The proliferation of ADPs in the 70s and early eighties as the main channels for the distribution of basic infrastructure attested to its success of this strategy.

In 1976 River Basin Development Authorities (RBDAs) were established. The country was divided into eleven regions. The regions initiated regional development through better management of land and water resources; to produce more food and thus more income and better standards of living (Ogbuagu, 1995). Large scale irrigation schemes were set up in different parts of the country during the 1970s. Other measures targeted at rural development at this time included Operation Feed the Nation, the Local Government Reforms, the Green Revolution and programmes of rural electrification (Adalemo & Baba, 1993). The Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI) was established to spearhead the coordination and implementation of rural development programme. One of its mandates was "promotion of enhanced agriculture production through provision of required infrastructure and facilities for agriculture produce. Through an integrated approach to rural development, DFRRI was expected to raise the standard of living of the rural population on a sustainable basis. The Better Life for rural Women Programme (BLP) focused on the development of women as a catalyst for sustainable development in Nigeria's rural areas.

The establishment of Peoples Bank fostered the growth of cooperative societies. The Bank was established based on the Asian model to provide banking services to rural areas. In 1994, Petroleum Trust Fund was created as a domestic intervention and development agency with the mandate to intervene and support government in the provision of essential infrastructure, facilities and health services such as health care, education and transportation. The PTF focused on the implementation of projects and programmes that are rural based to enhance the wellbeing of the populace. The Family Economic Advancement Programme was meant to stimulate activity in rural areas by addressing factors that impede economic growth and development. The Poverty Alleviation Programme (PAP) set up latter changed to National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) as a strategy to implement its rural development programme. It focused on agriculture, roads, environment, health care delivery, education etc (Nkpoyen, 2012).

National Special Programme for Food Security (NSPFS), a collaboration between FAO and the Government of Nigeria was based on food sovereignty, "a concept that national human rights institution recognizes as right of every citizen of a country to food" (Nigeria Government, 2007). The Second National Fadama Development Project (NFDP-II) is also a

collaborative programme with the World Bank and rural development that is based on the capabilities of the rural populace. The project was expected to increase the capacity of beneficiaries to manage economic activities, develop rural infrastructure etc (IFPRI, 2008).

Nigeria signed the Millennium Development Goals in 2000 and developed the National Economic and Development Strategies (NEEDS) in 2002, a replica of the MDGs. NEEDS' objectives were expressed in agencies like Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme which provides loan for the farmers, Nigeria Agricultural Insurance Corporation, Small and Medium Scale Enterprises Development Agency of Nigeria (SMEDAN) (Nigeria Govt., 2007). Community Based Agriculture and Rural Development Programme (CBARDP), a collaboration between Federal Government of Nigeria and International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) was established in 2003. The programme was meant to improve the livelihood and living conditions of rural communities with emphasis on women and other vulnerable groups living in the area. The goal was pursued through the components of awareness and capacity building and community development (Nigeria Govt., 2007).

Fadesere (2011) commented that despite the vast achievement from agricultural and rural development programmes in the last three decades on food security 6 percent of the population which is about 9.8 million people is still undernourished and poverty level is about 54.7 percent with majority of them in the rural sector. Nigeria economy is preponderantly rural based. However, "the nexus between the development of the rural sector and the economy as a whole was not sufficiently tied. Rural development was not given the priority and attention, it deserves (Anam, 2014). Successive administrations pledged to improve the lot of Nigeria's rural population, not much was done to ensure that the development of the rural sector was central to, national development efforts. In 2008, Nigeria devoted 4.6% of its federal budget to agriculture. This was, however, below the 10% objective set in the Maputo Commitment signed in 2003 (Grandval & Duiller, 2011).

The 2008 National Food Security Programme (NFSP) was designed to attain food security by ensuring that all Nigerians have access to good quality food while making Nigeria a major exporter of food stuffs. The programme designated priority crops (cassava, rice, millet, wheat) for achieving food security. The strategic frameworks in NEEDS II and the 7-point Agenda have been translated into short-to-medium-term programmes. Obasanjo's government launched Presidential Initiatives in 1999 for seven agricultural products (cassava, rice, vegetable oil, suar, livestock, cultivated trees and dry grains). The aim was to boost agricultural exports by taking advantage of preferential agreements in the

framework of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and Economic Partnership Agreements.

Institutional arrangements have been adopted for realizing sector objectives in view of the fact that agricultural and rural development are sine qua non for generating economic growth. These include: the relocation of the Department of Cooperatives of the Ministry of Labour and its merger with the Agricultural Cooperatives Division of the Ministry of Agriculture; the transfer of the Department of Rural Development from the Ministry of Water Resources to the Ministry of Agricultural Land Development Authority (NALDA) and, the merging of its functions with the Rural Development Department; scrapping of the Federal Agricultural Coordinating Unit (FACU) and the agricultural Projects Monitoring and Evaluation Unit (APMEU) and the setting up of Projects Coordinating Unit (PCU) and streamlining of institutions for agricultural credit delivery with the emergence of the Nigerian Agricultural Cooperative and Rural Development Bank (NACRDB) from the erstwhile Nigerian Agricultural and Cooperative Bank (NACB) and the Peoples Bank. New institutions are also evolving to enable the Nigerian agricultural sector respond to the imperatives of the emerging global economic order (Anam, 2014).

Support for agricultural inputs has been a central element of Nigerian agricultural policy since the 1950s. This support consists primarily of public subsidies so that farmers can more easily acquire inputs (fertilizer, improved seeds). The pan-African action framework for agricultural development policy and strategy is provided by the Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) adopted in 2002. This programme aims to attain average annual growth of agricultural productivity of at least 6 percent and sets a target for public investment in agriculture equal to at least 10 percent of national budgets. ECOWAS adopted a regional agricultural policy for West Africa in 2005. The plan called for drawing up National Agricultural Investment Programmes (NAIPs) in each country.

Although these programmes testified to the priority attention agricultural and rural development have received in Nigeria, experience demonstrates that rather than transform and modernize rural communities, the various programmes have, contrary to their objectives continued to impoverish and underdevelop rural communities. The programmes have failed to translate the dividends of Nigeria's economic reforms into measurable benefits for ordinary citizens. Nigeria has many singular features. The country is no exception when it comes to agricultural policy in the region, caught between enormous potential, immense ambitions and still insufficient concrete results. The policies were for a long time opportunistic and not coordinated among each other (Grandval & Douillet, 2011).

III. REQUIREMENTS FOR AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

The major objective of agricultural and rural development in developing nations is the progressive improvement in rural levels of living achieved primarily through increases in small-farm incomes, output and productivity along with genuine food security, and enhanced standard of living. The basic essential conditions to this achievement are:

1. *National philosophical base.* The rural development strategy should have a philosophical ideological and holistic foundation. The practice of sitting in offices to propound slogans and manifestos for people below was responsible for the failure of some rural development projects such as Farm Settlement Scheme, Operation Feed the Nation, Green Revolution etc. There should be internal motivating and compelling force or commitment for the rural sector and determination to work for their upliftment. Philosophical super structure makes rural development go beyond mere declaration of intentions.
2. *Integrated pilot demonstration.* Before 1976, there was no national rural development programme in Nigeria. Segmented or unco-ordinated rural development existed where it was assumed that new programmes in one community will have ripple effects on other communities and institutions. Oyaide (1988) commented that the first Department of Rural Development at Federal level was established in 1976 to mobilize people, initiate local projects with local leadership, promote agriculture, rural development and community projects. By 1978, the government was unsure of how to approach rural development. As such, the term "rural development" was added to the Federal Ministry of Agriculture, and later replaced with Water Resources. All these occurred because rural development was not accorded an integral place in the overall development strategy.
3. *Cohesive identity.* People must not regard the social and cultural aspects of development as subordinate to the economic development. Innovation must guarantee the cohesiveness of the group and respect their history. The imposition of imported schemes should be discouraged because they are at variance with the cultural and sociological life of the people.
4. *Participatory development.* The involvement of the people in development activities taking place in their communities is likely to result in better decisions. Participation enables development programmes to be erected on the strength, traditional beliefs and values of communities (their social organizations, indigenous skills, aspiration, local leadership and energy potentials) thereby practically equipping villages with the capability to handle their own affairs on step by step basis. The top bottom approach to rural development employed by government functionaries does not whip up enthusiasm among the people. This approach evokes unwilling response as the people are regarded as being incapable of standing on their feet. Rural communities should be allowed to identify their problems and goals; and analyze their own needs. The core project leadership should come from within so as to sustain the development project.
5. *Strengthened local economies.* Rural development projects should not be treated as charity or welfare packages. People should be interested in the costing, evaluating and ensuring that targets are met. The danger here is that production is emphasized in rural development policy while marketing outlets are neglected. Defective local economies affect implementation of rural development programme.
6. *Improving small-scale agriculture.* Technology and innovation, new agricultural and innovations in farm practices are preconditions for sustained improvements in levels of output and productivity. Improved seeds, advanced techniques of irrigation and crop rotation, increased use of fertilizers, pesticides and herbicides and new development in veterinary medicine and animal nutrition represent major scientific advances in modern agriculture. These measures are technologically scale-neutral (Todaro & Smith, 2011).
7. *Adapting to new opportunities and new constraints.* As a route out of poverty and toward genuine rural development enhanced cereal productivity (the classic green revolution characteristic) represents only a small part of the agricultural opportunities. The growing urban population require higher value-added activities, particularly horticulture (fruits, vegetables and cut flowers) and aquaculture.
The looming environmental problems driven by global warming and climate change is expected to most negatively affect sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. In Nigeria, smaller and poorer farmers are likely to be affected severely especially those in the northern region because of their lower access to irrigation, other inputs and generally lesser capacity to adapt.
8. *Gender mainstreaming.* Women shoulder the primary responsibility for food security in Africa, yet development agencies have devoted minimal resources to researching the impact of their agricultural policies and new techniques on the wellbeing of Africa's women farmers. Now is the time to push for a paradigm shift: the urgent need for a gendered approach to agricultural and rural

development policies in Nigeria. Women are an integral part of the African farming structure. The dominant agricultural policies developed for sub-Saharan Africa, with the disproportionate involvement and influence of external experts have ignored this gender dimension at a very real cost to its agriculture and gender equity. Mainstreaming a gender perspective in agricultural and rural development policies and programmes is essential. This is because the role that women play and their position in meeting the challenges of agricultural production and development are dominant and prominent. The socio-cultural and economic factors militating against women participation in agricultural production must be surmounted.

9. *Cooperative societies.* Nigerian cooperative societies – particularly farmers’ cooperatives have not emerged as a national open movement effectively cutting across ethnic and other traditional ties. Rather they tend to be localized and parochial. The consumer cooperatives which tend to be more attractive to the elites are more open. Consumer societies are rarely found in rural areas thereby limiting the benefit of buying essential commodities at reduced rates to urban dwellers only.
10. *Optimizing local resources.* Nigeria’s penchant for foreign made goods is detrimental to authentic development as local resources are neglected. Local talents and manpower as well as other resources should not be ignored so that the chance of evolving appropriate technology is not stifled. More resources should be invested in agricultural and rural development programmes as means for guaranteeing rural families secure livelihoods and overall wellbeing especially in this decade of falling oil prices in global market. Addressing these potentials tantamount to alleviating poverty and hunger vis-à-vis all of the Millennium Development Goals, particularly MDG 1.
11. *Policy coherence.* Agricultural and rural development policies should mainstream issues of programme continuity to other sectoral policies and implementation issues at various institutional levels. Policies should not be opportunistic and uncoordinated among each other. Successes, failures and lessons learned in preceding programmes should be analyzed. Strategies should be transposed into action in the field. There should be indicators to track and evaluate policy implementation. Cross-sector policy coherence is need that is capable of linking agricultural policy with rural development policy, support for small and medium sized enterprises and management of water and natural resources. At the institutional level, roles should be clearly divided between the various administrative offices responsible for agricultural and rural development. Moreover, both policies should not be elaborated from the top down with little participation by stakeholders.
12. *Micro credit schemes.* Micro credit scheme such as community micro finance operation has a key role to play in the rural economy through provision of financial capital in stocks of cash and credit to the rural poor. Existing micro-credit delivery models for the poor should be studied with a view to designing environmentally specific ones. The Grameen Bank, initiated by Professor Muhammed Yunus of Bangladesh is considered the ‘model bank of the poor’. The Grameen innovative strength should be studied. In Thailand, village Banks exist as financial institution administered by representatives of the villages on behalf of the villages who are shareholders. African traditional responsive banking initiative system ‘modernized’ traditional institutions; the Esusu (revolving loan) and Ajo ojojumo (daily savings) should be promoted in rural areas. Umoh and Ibanga (1997) advocated the alternative micro-credit delivery model for Nigeria: The Ekpuk (family) model for alleviation of poverty in Nigeria. An inward looking initiative premised on Coleman (1958) conclusion that family nationalism exhibited in socio-politico-economic awareness can be meaningfully exploited for the attainment of the objectives of self reliance, self-sufficiency and self-help by residents of rural communities. Therefore, Nigerian government’s effort at micro-credit delivery to the poor should be indigenous and environment specific.
13. *Strengthened policy and institutional capacities.* Good governance creates an environment conducive to efficient investment of human and material resources and strengthen formulation and implementation of policies and laws that facilitate economic growth and development. In agriculture and rural development, improvements are needed to adapt to market conditions and food security priorities. Policy, regulatory and institutional shifts are required to enable all levels of farming practice to have a stable engagement with natural resources and markets. Investment in human and social capital is required.
14. *Mitigating impact of HIV/AIDS.* Sub-Saharan Africa is at the epicenter of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, where over 25 million people (70 percent of known global total) are living with HIV. Majority of victims are extremely poor rural dwellers. The effects on production and income are staggering. While production and income decline, families concurrently experience dramatic rises in health and death-related expenditures. The effect on the intergenerational transfer of knowledge, on traditional social security mechanisms and

demographic and socio economic characteristics of these societies are greater. The HIV/AIDS epidemic is creating a new poverty dynamic. It is also driven by poverty since people are induced into high risk situations and activities such as prostitution and migrant activities. Poor women are highly vulnerable. Thus the gravity of and scale of the HIV epidemic affect development interventions in all sectors – especially those in rural areas.

IV. CONDITIONS FOR SUSTAINABLE PEOPLE-ORIENTED AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL DEVELOPEMNT IN NIGERIA

a) *Land reform*

In Nigeria, agricultural and rural development with a huge potential to benefit the poor can succeed through a joint effort by the government and farmers. Land reform is a deliberate attempt to recognize and transform agrarian systems with the intention of fostering a more equal distribution of agricultural incomes and facilitating rural development. The Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) has repeatedly identified land reform as a necessary precondition for poverty-reducing agricultural and rural progress. An FAO report concluded that in many developing regions, land reform remains a prerequisite for development. Such reform is urgently needed because income inequalities and unemployment in rural areas have worsened. From an economic point of view, land redistribution not only increases rural employment and raises rural incomes but also leads to greater agricultural production and more efficient resource utilization. Todaro and Smith (2011) emphasized strongly that “if programmes of land reform can be legislated and effectively implemented by the government, the basis for improved output levels and higher standards of living for rural peasants will be established”. An egalitarian land reform alone is not sufficient to fast track agricultural and rural development in sub-Saharan Africa especially Nigeria and allow further progress against poverty. Other conditions must also be met.

b) *Appropriate policy and institutional environment*

The possibility of reaping the benefits of agricultural development can only be realized when government support systems are created in form of policies to support the necessary incentives, economic opportunities expanded, access to needed credit and inputs to enable rural farmers expand their output and raise productivity. Land reform can only drive rural and agricultural development when there are corresponding changes in rural institutions that control production (such as fertilizer distribution, micro financial institutions), in supporting government aid services (such as rural transport and feeder roads,

technical/educational extension services, storage and marketing facilities, public credit agencies) and government pricing policies with regard to inputs (such as removing factor price distortions) and outputs (ensuring market-value prices for farmers).

c) *Achieving 4 goals of integrated development*

Rural development is multi-transectoral encompassing (1) efforts to raise farm and non farm rural real incomes through (a) job creation (b) rural industrialization (c) increased provision of education (d) health care (e) nutrition (f) housing and (g) a variety of health related social and welfare services (2) a decreasing inequality in distribution of rural incomes and a lessening of urban-rural imbalances in income and economic opportunities (3) environmental sustainability – limiting extension of farm land into remaining forests and other fragile areas, promoting conservation and misuse of agro chemicals (4) the capacity of the rural economy to sustain and accelerate the pace of these improvements overtime.

Sub-Saharan Africa can only achieve true development if these four objectives are achieved. There must be a proper balance between urban and rural economic opportunities; conditions must be created for broad popular participation in national development efforts and rewards (Tadaro & Smith, 2011).

d) *Increasing food supply and reducing hunger*

Hunger remains a major peril for people with adverse consequences for health and productivity, so reinforcing poverty. The poorest and most hungry are one and the same people living on the margin of survival and highly vulnerable to any shock. There is need for an immediate impact on the livelihoods and food security of the rural poor through raising their own production. Preparedness for emergency-related food security is necessary as part of its agricultural renewal. Government should create targeted safety nets aimed at broadening access to food for persons who do not have the means of increasing their own food supplies.

Food security can be achieved through improvement of production. Nigerian government at all levels should draw upon the example set by the Special Programme for Food Security (SPFS) launched by FAO as a means of achieving household and national food security. It enables households and communities to attain higher levels of food security and better livelihoods, initially on a pilot scale but quickly followed by progressive scaling up. It represents an approach towards promoting vigorous large-scale community-based programmes.

e) *Research and technology dissemination*

In Nigeria agriculture requires a scientific and technological underpinning. The nation's agriculture is besieged with falling productivity, low spending on research and development, inefficiency of ongoing

research in researching the farmer. Need for reform towards sustainable research and funding especially at community and regional levels also, integrating technology adoption and institutional strengthening. Research findings in educational institutions should be considered as essential inputs in agricultural and rural development policies.

V. CONCLUSION

Rural development is more than agricultural development, but critical to it development is enhancing an effective agricultural base. Agriculture's role in economic development is central because most of the people in poor countries make their living from the land. Concerned with welfare of the people necessarily means helping to raise, first, the farmers productivity in growing food and cash crops and second, the prices they receive for those crops.

In relating agricultural and rural development to overall national development in sub-Sahara Africa, especially Nigeria, it is important to understand that total agricultural output and productivity per capita can only substantially increase in a manner beneficial to the average small farmer and the landless rural dweller and sufficient food surplus available to promote food security and support the urban industrial sector if agricultural challenges are addressed. Importantly, in raising agricultural productivity sufficient to improve rural life, there must be concomitant off-farm employment creation along with improvements in educational, medical and other social services. In other words, with the land reform, supportive policies and achievement of the objectives of integrated development, Nigeria and sub-Sahara Africa is capable of tripling its agricultural output, thus accelerating effective rural development. According to Baha'i International Community (1996) effective and lasting solutions to problems related to feed insecurity will be found in policies and actions that pay adequate attention to those processes of development that aim primarily toward strengthening the human fabric of communities and revitalizing their institutions.

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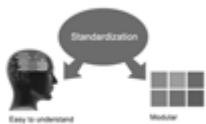
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- (c) Up to ten keywords, that precisely identifies the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
- (d) An Introduction, giving necessary background excluding subheadings; objectives must be clearly declared.
- (e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition; sources of information must be given and numerical methods must be specified by reference, unless non-standard.
- (f) Results should be presented concisely, by well-designed tables and/or figures; the same data may not be used in both; suitable statistical data should be given. All data must be obtained with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage. As reproduced design has been recognized to be important to experiments for a considerable time, the Editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned un-refereed;
- (g) Discussion should cover the implications and consequences, not just recapitulating the results; conclusions should be summarizing.
- (h) Brief Acknowledgements.
- (i) References in the proper form.

Authors should very cautiously consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate efficiently. Papers are much more likely to be accepted, if they are cautiously designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and be conventional to the approach and instructions. They will in addition, be published with much less delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.



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It is vital, that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.

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Language: The language of publication is UK English. Authors, for whom English is a second language, must have their manuscript efficiently edited by an English-speaking person before submission to make sure that, the English is of high excellence. It is preferable, that manuscripts should be professionally edited.

Standard Usage, Abbreviations, and Units: Spelling and hyphenation should be conventional to The Concise Oxford English Dictionary. Statistics and measurements should at all times be given in figures, e.g. 16 min, except for when the number begins a sentence. When the number does not refer to a unit of measurement it should be spelt in full unless, it is 160 or greater.

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Key Words

A major linchpin in research work for the writing research paper is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and Internet resources.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy and planning a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Search engines for most searches, use Boolean searching, which is somewhat different from Internet searches. The Boolean search uses "operators," words (and, or, not, and near) that enable you to expand or narrow your affords. Tips for research paper while preparing research paper are very helpful guideline of research paper.

Choice of key words is first tool of tips to write research paper. Research paper writing is an art. A few tips for deciding as strategically as possible about keyword search:



- One should start brainstorming lists of possible keywords before even begin searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, "What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in research paper?" Then consider synonyms for the important words.
- It may take the discovery of only one relevant paper to let steer in the right keyword direction because in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.
- One should avoid outdated words.

Keywords are the key that opens a door to research work sources. Keyword searching is an art in which researcher's skills are bound to improve with experience and time.

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Acknowledgements: Please make these as concise as possible.

References

References follow the Harvard scheme of referencing. References in the text should cite the authors' names followed by the time of their publication, unless there are three or more authors when simply the first author's name is quoted followed by et al. unpublished work has to only be cited where necessary, and only in the text. Copies of references in press in other journals have to be supplied with submitted typescripts. It is necessary that all citations and references be carefully checked before submission, as mistakes or omissions will cause delays.

References to information on the World Wide Web can be given, but only if the information is available without charge to readers on an official site. Wikipedia and Similar websites are not allowed where anyone can change the information. Authors will be asked to make available electronic copies of the cited information for inclusion on the Global Journals Inc. (US) homepage at the judgment of the Editorial Board.

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21. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments to your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

22. Never start in last minute: Always start at right time and give enough time to research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

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24. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if evaluator has seen it anywhere you will be in trouble.

25. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend for your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health then all your efforts will be in vain. For a quality research, study is must, and this can be done by taking proper rest and food.

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27. Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give rest to your mind by listening to soft music or by sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory.

28. Make colleagues: Always try to make colleagues. No matter how sharper or intelligent you are, if you make colleagues you can have several ideas, which will be helpful for your research.

29. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, then search its reasons, its benefits, and demerits.

30. Think and then print: When you will go to print your paper, notice that tables are not be split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

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The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Carry on to be to the point, by means of statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently. You must obviously differentiate material that would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matter should not be submitted at all except requested by the instructor.



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Approach

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- Give details all of your remarks as much as possible, focus on mechanisms.
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