

**SCHOOL APOSTOLATE AS MISSION STRATEGY: A  
HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE EDUCATION  
WORK OF THE SUDAN INTERIOR MISSION  
(SIM) IN TANGALE-WAJA DISTRICT**

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**Abstract**

*Sudan Interior Mission (SIM), has recorded significant evangelization success in Tangale-Waja District of Gombe Division of the then Bauchi Province as a result of its use of education as a mission strategy. This study therefore, investigated how Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) used education as a mission strategy with a view to looking at its impacts and the challenges SIM missionaries encountered while serving in Tangale-Waja District. To achieve this, the researcher adopted a historical/qualitative research method. Findings revealed that though SIM work in Tangale –Waja District faced some challenges some of which include; health and climatic challenges, language barrier and illiteracy. In spite of this, using education as a mission strategy had significant impact in the spread of Christianity and planting of churches in Tangale-Waja district and Gombe Division as a whole.*

**Keywords:** School, Apostolate, Mission, Strategy, Historical, Analysis, Education

**Introduction**

The 18th century missionary zeal emerged among the Methodist mission, Anglican, and protestants Christian Mission with the desire to institute

various missionary societies and associations to spread Christianity to other parts of the world” (Turaki 20). The reason for the emergence of the missionary zeal was as a result of the “anti-slavery movement” (Akamisoke 1), “radical philosophies and enlightenment” (Odibi 15) and “rise of industrial capitalism in Europe and United states” (Eckman 78), hence “the Baptist Mission which was formed in 1792, the London Missionary Society in 1795” (Vilhanova 250), “Church Missionary Society in 1799”. (Babalola 8). And the “Wesley Methodist Missionary 1813 all came into being with a gift to sponsor missionaries beyond their national boundaries” (Falola 152). The “church Missionary society came to Nigeria in 1841” (Crowther 114), the “Wesleyan or Methodist missionaries in September 24<sup>th</sup> 1842” (Fleck 44), the “Scottish Presbyterian in 1842, the Church of Scotland mission in 1846” (Fleck 46) and the “Roman Catholic Mission in 1868” (Omolewa 53). By 1870, “these missionary societies, agencies concentrated their activities mainly in Southern Nigeria with little efforts to go Northward” (Crampton 49).

Unlike the above mentioned missionary societies, the Sudan Interior Mission hence forth SIM was established and came to Nigeria in 1893 with the aim of spreading the gospel to the interior part of Northern Nigeria which had little or no contact with the Christian faith because it was deserted by other missionary societies. To achieve their aim, SIM began to spread Christian faith through the use of western education. In 1917, SIM came to Tangale –Waja District in Gombe Division of the then Bauchi Province. This study therefore seeks to look at how SIM used education as a mission strategy in Tangale Waja District of Gombe Division, the challenges encountered and its impacts.

### **The Coming of Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) to Tangale-Waja District**

SIM was considered to be the first mission body to work among the various groups of Tangale- Waja District. Andrew P. Stirrett acknowledged that SIM came to know about the Tangale-Waja District through a letter from the secretary of the British administration for Northern Nigeria with

headquarters at Kaduna appealing to them to consider starting mission work among the non- Moslem groups in Borno and Bauchi provinces. Dr. Stirrett report pointed out that:

*Last call we received a letter from the secretary of the Northern Province in which another district official proposes that the Tangale tribe now be opened to a representative of the mission to come up and see the tribe with a view to selecting a suitable site for opening work. This tribe numbers 70,000 to 90,000 and is yet in total darkness (18).*

It was in the year 1917 that SIM came to Tangale-Waja and the first mission stations were Kaltungo in 1917, Tula in 1924, Waja in 1925, Billiri in 1928, and Dadiya in 1930” (Maiture 193). The British control of the area by then reduced the risk of entering the area. It was Rowland Bingham, the only one that survived among the three pioneer missionaries with Dr. A.P. Stirrett and Norman W.D. Davis who surveyed the Tangale-Waja area and discovered that the people of the area needed to be evangelised because they people were unreached by any religion other than their own traditional beliefs” (193). In order to address this immediate need, Bingham had to return to Canada to share the need with some students of McMaster University. It was during this period that Mr. John Hall, an Alumnus of the University, with Rev Norman W.D. Davis who had graduated two years ahead of John Hall, was moved by the need and therefore gave themselves to bring the gospel to the Tangale-Waja people. Maiture also pointed out that, on 19<sup>th</sup> January 1917, John Stephen Hall and Gordon Charles Beacham arrived Kaltungo as pioneer missionaries to start work among the Tangale –Waja people (19).

Maiture further pointed out that, two factors militated against the commencement of the mission station; the first factor was the period coincided with the First World War (1914-1918) which made the recruitment of manpower very difficult. Even in a situation where some people volunteered, the journey by sea was not safe as war submarines

were an impediment all over the routes. Secondly, the period falls within the plagues of Influenza diseases that struck almost the whole of West Africa killing many people. Tangale –Waja was not spared in the epidemic” (20). Even in the midst of these challenges the mission to Tangale-Waja was a success.

### **Education as a Mission Strategy by the SIM**

When SIM came to Tangale–Waja District, the place was characterized by challenges of illiteracy as most people could not read and write. On the other hand, the people has not experienced the light of the gospel of Christ. Traditional religious practices, ignorance, illiteracy, poverty, sickness and inter-tribal conflicts/wars were the other major challenges confronting the area. As a result the missionaries had to roll out a plan in order to reach the people through the introduction of western education. The education factor was aimed at breaking down particular aspects of the traditional society namely the traditional pattern of thoughts and some traditional ways of living. Education accompanied the gospel all the way from Europe, North America, to Africa, down to Nigeria and Tangale-Waja. The main aims of missionary education were first and foremost:

*to teach the natives how to read and write in their language so that they could read the Bible in their own language and at later stage to train them for evangelistic work, and to produce teachers for primary and Bible schools. Other reasons for the teaching of western education include the production of auxiliary medical personnel and some low-level manpower for colonial administration and eventually church ministers (Gideon 101).*

This can be considered as the broad objective of missionary education policy as far as African converts at least at the initial stage were concerned. As believers responded to the great commission, western education was one of the main mission strategies used by SIM to spread the gospel. In matter of faith and practice, the early SIM missionaries believed strongly

in the work of charity and social improvement of the people through education. In addition, central to the SIM beliefs were the emphasis on the preaching of the gospel, missionary itineration and evangelism. Few years after the coming of the missionaries, learning flourished especially among communities that received them. It has been recalled that: “The primary objective of the early Christian missionaries was to convert the "hearten "or benighted African to Christianity via education, knowledge of the Bible, the ability to communicate both orally and in written were considered essential for a good Christian” (Maiture 36).

The early missionaries also realized the importance of training, preferably through the media of English and the local language as well as establishing structures to serve the purpose.



**Plate 1.0** First Church Structure which also served as School at Kalorgu (Kaltungo) in 1917. This Picture was sent to the Researcher by Tim Geysbeek SIM Archive USA.

### **SIM in Kalorgu Kaltungo**

Kalorgu is located in the present Kaltungo district and was the first starting point of the SIM missionaries in Tangale-Waja in 1917. The structure

shown in plate. 1.0 above was the first church and a school. During worship service people gathered together for prayer, worship and Bible studies after which they went for evangelism. This was mostly done in the evening. While in the morning and afternoon, the missionaries engaged the local children/adults in western education through literacy classes. The primary objective of this was “to introduce the converts to the elements of reading and writing; and teaching them on how to read the Bible for both teaching and preaching” (Turaki 276). The literacy class contributed to the growth of Christianity among the converts of SIM in Tangale-Waja District specifically other areas of Gombe Division they ministered to. The major literacy policy of the SIM was the transmission of literacy to the illiterates. To properly achieve this, the mission trained the “mission boys” quite early in the literacy programme on how to propagate literacy in the surrounding villages and districts.



**Plate 1.2** Literacy Class at Kalorgu Kaltungo in 1923 Set A. This Picture was sent to the Researcher by Tim Geysbeek SIM Archive USA

The literacy class was started by Edith Hall the first wife of John Hall, who died on 4<sup>th</sup> March, 1925. This was the beginning of western education for the people of Tangale- Waja District. It was this place that served as a nursery for all the educational programme of the SIM in Gombe. These locally trained converts later became missionaries, teachers, and

community health workers in their various communities. As a result of this literacy class, some of the children were able to read and write and later further their education, with many of them serving as SIM teachers outside their provinces.



**Plate 1.3** Literacy Class at Kalorgu (Kaltungo) 1923 with Children Learning how to read and write. including the Children of John Hall, the Missionary. This Picture was sent to the Research by Tim Geysbeek SIM Archive USA.



**Plate 1.4** Photo of set B of Tangale who enrolled at the Kaltungo School in 1923. This Photo was Sent to the Researcher by Tim Geysbeek SIM Archive USA.

*Kaltungo School - March, 1923.*

1 - Yelma	16 - Shum	32 - Langanjeh
2 - Mundokai	17 - Ledan	33 - Lashengneh
3 - Bilei	18 - Bega	34 - Langaning
4 - Fulani	19 - Kwak	35 - Manjak
5 - Shara	20 - Sawzaw	36 - Modbondong
6 - Lalongdeh	21 - Kariya	37 - Lamolya
7 - Ngaldam	22 - Kutum	38 - Margaret Hall
8 - Tomam	23 - Buryu	39 - Agnes Hall
9 - Shaijan	24 - Lakidan	
10 - Lashingei	25 - Langombe	
11 - Dandakalak	26 - Kwamjim	
12 - Kodosh	27 - Waleh	
13 - Dandaura	28 - Nabit	
14 - Palu	29 - Karga	
15 - Lagurgum	30 - Lerap	
	31 - Doldok	

Names of the Pupils enrolled at the Kaltungo Literary Class School in 1923 set A and B. This list was sent to the Researcher by Tim Geysbeek SIM Archive USA.



## **The Billiri Teachers Training School 1938**

This was the first secondary institution in Tangale-Waja established by the SIM. Maiture gave the reason for the establishment of the school to be the result for the need to have a Teachers Training College at Billiri which the missionaries stated that; “For some time there had been felt the need for more effective trained natives to carry on the work of teaching” (13). To address this need, the school was opened in May with twenty (20) students. These students “were selected from various places where SIM had a station or had established a Church” (Rice 20). According to him, these men speaking different tongues represented six tribes {sic} and about one hundred thousand people. The breakdown is as follows:

Tangale	Ten (10) Students
Kaltungo	Four (4) Students
Waja	Two (2) Students
Tula	One (1) Student
Zambuk	Two (2) Students
Dadiya	One (1) Student

She concluded that “these students were selected based on their Christian characters rather than for their outstanding ability” (22). All these places are located in what is today known as Tangale -Waja area except Zambuk. The curriculum was designed to address different learning needs. “The curriculum covered Arithmetic, Writing, Composition, History, Geography, Nature Study, Religious Knowledge, Hygiene etc. While these subjects were treated as practical: - blacksmithing, carpentry, weaving and farming” (Cain 7-8). The duration of the training of the course was four years which was meant to cover the work of standard four. During the last year of the course, the students were taught the theory and practice of teaching. This equipped them for teaching and preaching after they might have completed their course.

Also, “Another sets of twenty-three (23) students were selected were referred to as practicing school where these future teachers had their practicing teaching” (Crawford 16). This school brought out the hidden potentials in the students, these potentials were discovered and developed.

Many of the people trained in this school became voluntary teachers to the non-literate, they were only teaching them how to read and write without bringing in religious issues until later when they had established good rapport with them. A letter written on the 7<sup>th</sup> March, 1949 by deputy director education of the Northern provinces revealed that the “Teachers Training Center Billiri” was receiving the sum of 100 pounds sterling from the Colonial office of the Northern Province as a support to build up the school. The report shows that the students were taking lessons in “English and Hausa which included Arithmetic, Composition, Essay, School Method, World Geography, Physical and Health Education, Bible, and Reading” (8). Similarly, the school also enjoyed a quarterly financial grant from the SIM to facilitate the activities in the school and for the structural building of the school. Apart from the training obtained by the teachers in the school, a regular teachers’ re-training was being done to those that have graduated from the school and were working with SIM in other schools to update them on more teaching techniques.

### **Establishment of the First SIM Primary School at Ture in 1943**

In continuation with the SIM desire to reach out to more people with the gospel through western education, Mallam Danhausa on his graduation from Teachers Training Center Billiri was deployed by the SIM missionaries to Ture to open the first primary school in the area which he successfully established in 1943 and the Rest House built for the missionaries was converted into a school. When Mallam Haruna Kurya graduated from the Teachers Training Center in Billiri, he was posted to Ture in Kaltungo where he worked with Mallam Danhausa. According to R.B. Oliver in the Sudan Witness field news issued by Sudan Interior Mission, the first set of students at the first primary school at Ture in Kaltungo were; “Silas Mamman, Epeso Lang, Musa Dogo Yola, Alfayo Kallu, Epeso Ngale, Firiskila Yola, Bala Pawu, Daniel Yerima, Solomo Lapura” (13). The essence of this primary school was to catch them young. To achieve this, more teachers were deployed to the primary school at Ture after graduation at Teachers Training School Billiri.

## **School of the Blind Billiri**

Traditionally, the visually challenged are described as visually impaired. It is said that that “while 20% of the visually challenged are born blind, 60% became visually challenged due to diseases like intra-corneal tumor, glaucoma, retinal detachment and hydrocephalus. According to Gabriel J.B et al, the rest become visually impaired as a result of malnutrition or wrong medical treatment, measles, accidents and the like (159). The school of the blind in Billiri was built by SIM to cater for the needs of the blind people in the Kaltungo mission area. Its main purpose was to teach the blind how to read and write and to be able to communicate the gospel to others.

## **Challenges Encountered by SIM Missionaries in Tangale Waja**

### **Health and Climatic Challenges**

One of the major challenges encountered by SIM was the ill health of the SIM missionaries. It was also a well-known fact that African climate was not conducive to the SIM missionaries. Beside this, malaria had made Africa a white man’s grave before the introduction of quinine in the 19<sup>th</sup> century which drastically reduced the white men mortality. As a result of these challenges, the wife of John Hall and his daughter who happens to be the pioneer missionary of Kaltungo had health challenges and died at Kaltungo and were buried there with their graves still existing within the premises of Evangelical Church Winning All (ECWA) Kalorgu Kaltungo.

### **Language Barrier and Illiteracy**

All the SIM missionaries from the initial stage of their ministry and services could not speak and communicate with the natives’ language. To begin their work, they had to rely on interpreters. Since they did not know how to speak the native languages, they were left at the mercy of the interpreters until they were able to learn the native languages. According to B.H. Kato, “language barrier and illiteracy were one of the challenges” that affected the SIM missionary work. He maintained that “the missionaries grappled with the problem of language or mode of communication”.

Though the missionaries employed the services of the interpreters, before they could learn the native language, Kato went further to say that “interpreters were inadequate to meet the need of ever expanding Christian mission. Moreover, “speaking through an interpreter is a defective means of communicating one’s thought to one audiences” (112). Moreover, it took the SIM missionaries much time to be able to communicate with the native people in their local language.

## **Impact of SIM Education Strategy in Tangale-Waja District**

### **Provision of Social Infrastructure**

The first impact of the SIM activities in Tangale- Waja is the provision of social infrastructures in which Bala Audu pointed out that “the various schools established in Billiri, Kaltungo and other places in Gombe were very impactful and the buildings of these schools were used by the natives even after the SIM left”.

### **Provision of Job Opportunities**

SIM missionaries through education as a mission strategy provided employment in Tangale-Waja District. They employed interpreters, teachers, preachers, stewards, cooks, carpenters among others. Maiture opined that “virtually all the teachers that graduated from Billiri teachers’ schools became teachers in SIM schools or missionaries in mission fields in Northern Nigeria” (56). He went further to say that, the first set of teachers that graduated from teachers training center Billiri went straight to open schools and minister through teaching. These groups of teachers were able to nurture schools from the scratch and Tangale Waja became a center of learning. Some of these graduates were able to go far to other mission stations. For instance, Malam Sabuda Magem opened SIM school in Karu (FCT Abuja) Gwari Land. Thus, the following people that graduated from Teachers Training Center Billiri also founded the following schools.

1. Danjuma Seth - SIM Primary School Tal, 1942
2. Tawada Kapau/Aiki Atuman - SIM Primary School Billiri, 1942

3. Amlai Poswal - SIM Primary Todi 1942.
4. Passampare Sala'ansom - SIM Primary School Tanglang, 1942
5. Danjuma Seth - SIM Primary School Banganje, 1942
6. Maibege Oksakei - SIM Primary School Lapan, 1942
7. Kolong Nde - SIM Primary School Kalorgu, 1942
8. Sabuda Magem - SIM Primary School Karu (Abuja), 1942
9. Poloma Yarda - SIM Primary School Gelengu, 1942
10. Gidado Sabe - SIM Primary School Nyuwar, 1942
11. Danhausa Daring - Founder SIM Primary School Ture, 1942

The Second Set of Students that were employed and deployed to establish more schools included Manzo Yene Tal was deployed to establish Shela Primary School, Sabo Tangale, Kulgu Primary School, Sukar Banganje, Yaya Seget Tambe Kumo Primary School, Dangombe Bare, Haruna Kurya, Kidada Sadata Pokwangli Primary School, Bukar Bolme and Kaldu Laushugno from Shongom later became the first native School Manager from 1955 – 1956. Sam Bello in an interview further pointed out that others people were employed as cooks, house keepers, gardeners for the SIM missionaries”. Capill also pointed out that Vera, “the wife of Jack Nicholson, trained Chabuwi, the wife of the first SIM covert in Gelengu who she called a faithful helper and Amsa who were employed by the SIM as midwives to work in the SIM Clinic” (83). For Bala Audu in an interview he stated that some were employed as security men in the schools, clinics and the homes of the SIM missionaries” while others were employed as pastors and indigenous missionaries by the SIM missionaries.

### **Spread of Christianity/Planting of Churches in Tangale-Waja District**

Generally, the education strategy used by SIM in Tangale-Waja District marked a great water way in these areas. Traditional religion, syncretism, idolatry and other customary activities were at their peak in Tangale-Waja District before the coming of SIM. Through the education strategy of the SIM churches were planted in many areas with many people coming to the knowledge of Christ. SIM made Gombe division in particular a source of

the spread of the gospel to places like Kano, Zaria, Bwari and many more. She did this by training the natives to carry on the work of evangelism to other places. Maiture in an interview pointed out that, “the graduates from the teachers College Billiri later became missionaries in many parts of Northern Nigeria”. Beside this, the missionary education program inculcated spiritual and moral upbringing to the people of the area as well as instituting a new class of elites among the graduates from these schools.

Similarly, advance schools were established with a view to preparing indigenous leadership within Africa churches. The opening of the Teachers’ College Billiri in 1938 led to the establishment of many schools in Gombe and other parts of Northern Nigeria. Many educated civil servants and professionals had their humble beginning from SIM educational programs and institutions. In spite of these achievements, the SIM did not establish tertiary instructions like Colleges of Education or Universities. This was due to “the early colonial policy on education which did not encourage advance and intensive education as well as colonial administration’s suspicion of the missionary education, which she viewed as subversive to her policies (Graham 230).

## **Conclusion**

The study focused on education as a mission strategy used by SIM in Tangale-Waja District in order to reach out to the people in the spread of Christianity. It has demonstrated that the establishment of schools by SIM was impactful in Tangale-Waja District in this endeavour. The use of education had some benefits to the people of Tangale-Waja and has served as a scheme to advance Christian faith in the area in the long run. Though the activities of SIM were confronted with many challenges, the scheme recorded tremendous successes in the Tangale –Waja District and many parts of Northern Nigeria.

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**Lists of informants**

S/No	Names	Place of interview	Date of Interview	Age	Occupation
1	Sam Bello	Billiri Gombe	21/8/2019	71	Retired Clergy
2	Charles Sabe	Kaltungo Gombe	25/8/2019	66	Lecturer
3	S.A Rakum	Kaltungo Gombe	31/08/2019	65	Lecturer
4	Reuben Maiture	ABU Zaria	02/10/2019	60	lecturer
5	Adamu Buba	Gombe	23/8/2020	72	Retired Civil Servant
6	Bala Audu	Gombe	22/8/2019	69	Retired Clergy

## ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION POLICY IN NIGERIA: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

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### **Abstract**

*This paper examined the implementation of environmental protection policy in Nigeria. It was observed that Nigerian cities and rural areas are environmentally distressed owing to disregard for environmental protection laws. Implementing environmental protection policy in Nigeria is affected by numbers of challenges such as limitation of the legal framework, institutional bottlenecks and corruption, inadequate funding, inadequate Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), ignorance, reported cases of toxic waste dumping on Nigeria soil. The motives that therefore provoked the rationale of this paper is to assess the problems affecting environmental enforcement/protection policy in Nigeria with the hope of making certain recommendations that can promote effective enforcement of environmental protection policy in Nigeria. This paper is qualitative in nature. Also, secondary data such as scholarly articles (journals), text book, official documents and statistical bulletin have been extremely helpful. Major findings revealed that Nigeria's degraded environment is as a result of failure to implement appropriate policies, ineffective institutional arrangements for environmental management, poor funding and low level of environmental awareness among others factors. In addition, the paper recommended the appointment of knowledgeable and faithful people that can independently operate without political interference to overhaul the enforcement of environmental protection. Also, government need to step up its awareness campaign to inform the people, multinational companies and industrialists need to protect the*

*environment and be aware of the legal consequences if they fail to fully observe the laws.*

**Keywords:** Environment, Policy, Pollution, Policy implementation, Performance.

## **General Introduction**

Progress towards bringing about a cleaner environment has relied on a philosophy of pollution control. This has involved sometimes costly measures and controversial political decisions. As a result, developing countries, poor communities and financially constrained enterprises have often argued that the environment is an expensive luxury that diverts resources from more productive uses. This perspective is giving way to a new paradigm stating that neglecting the environment can impose high economic and even financial costs, while many environmental benefits can in fact be achieved at low cost (World Bank, 1998). However, most developing countries have long established laws and formal governmental structures to address their serious environmental problems, but few have been successful in alleviating those problems (Bell, 2002).

One of the most challenging problems the world is facing today is unsustainable use of the resources of our environment. The preponderant effect of this has been the sustained loss of environmental resources, unpredictable and often harmful weather/climatic condition due to climate change (Ogwola, Idoko Robert (2019). Nigeria has a total land area of 923,773 consisting of abundant and diverse renewable and non-renewable resources. These consist of mineral, physical and biological energy resources. Its mineral wealth should enable it to establish a firm industrial base for rapid economic development. What she lacks is adequate planning, planning implementation and monitoring in order to facilitate the desired developmental goals as enlisted in the nation's development plans. This failure remains a major challenge which all tiers of government are faced with. Each has embarked on a various initiative and programs in recent years in order to abate their identified environmental challenges'.

The paper attempts to examine the problem of implementing the laws that guide environmental challenges in Nigeria.

### **Environmental Protection Policy: Colonial Background**

From the onset of British Rule in the 1900s, Nigeria's environmental protection effort had been through the colonial bye-laws. The colonial economic development policies and plans contained little or no stringent rules to conserve the natural resources or to limit pollution. The major laws on water pollution included Criminal Code of 1958 with section 246 aimed at controlling burial in houses and the Public Health Act of 1958 which was also aimed at controlling the spread of diseases, slaughtering of animals and disposal of night soil and refuse. The fines and penalties were liberal and the laws were quite often poorly enforced.

Since the 1960s, Nigeria has been participating with other African nations in environment-focused meetings concerning important environmental issues, including the protection of the marine and coastal environment, the conservation of natural resources, and the management of trans-boundary hazardous wastes within Africa. While this environment focused meetings have produced admirable goals, in practice they have done little to actually address environmental problems. In spite of these regional efforts, Nigeria and many other African nations' still experience serious and diverse environmental problems, which one scholar describes as "staggering." Ultimately, an environmental crisis that occurred in southern Nigeria in the 1980s compelled Nigeria to start viewing environmental matters more seriously and begin to enact environmental regulations.

A study of the trajectory of Nigeria's environmental legislations reveals a growth pattern that this Article classifies into four distinct stages. The first stage is the Colonial Period (1900–1956). This stage is known for its dearth of environmental legislation, except for brief provisions in public health legislation and in torts and nuisance law. The second stage is the Petroleum Focused Environmental Legislation Period (1957–early 1970s). This stage followed the discovery of crude oil, the commercialization of that discovery, and sector-specific legislation that reflected a national

preoccupation. The third stage is the Rudimentary and Perfunctory Legislation Period (1970s– pre-1987 crisis). The final stage is the Contemporary Period (post-1987– present). This stage has seen the start of serious legislations and is characterized by increased environmental awareness and sophistication. The regulatory scheme is by no means perfect, and much work has yet to be done, but it is a step in the right direction.

### **Environmental Protection Policy in Post-Colonial Nigeria**

Although environmental legislation commenced after the discovery of petroleum, public awareness of the areas of the environment that required development remained limited. Neither the general public nor the government understood technical issues like effluent limitations, pollution abatement, and the overall modalities for the sustainable development of Nigeria's environmental resources. Most laws that were not petroleum related had only a minor bearing on the environment. In other words, they were accidental or incidental environmental legislations. These fragmented enactments provided, at best, rudimentary environmental regulations. Notable amongst these was the Factories Act. The 1987 Factories Act (which is still a valid law) was made primarily to provide for the registration of factories, and for the safety of workers exposed to occupational hazards. Its provisions cover: cleanliness, overcrowding, ventilation, lighting, drainage of floors, and sanitary conveniences. Other provisions relate to staff welfare, first aid, and the supply of drinking water. Penalties are also provided in case of breach of these provisions.

Despite the overall flimsy environmental regulations at this time, a few important environmental laws were established during this period. These laws include: the 1978 Land Use Act; the 1979 Energy Commission of Nigeria Act; the 1985 Endangered Species (Control of International Trade and Traffic) Act; the Sea Fisheries Act (later repealed by Sea Fisheries Decree 1992); and the 1986 River Basins Development Authorities Act. Despite this paltry profile of environmental enactments, Nigeria participated in both regional and international conferences aimed at

improving environmental governance. These meetings aired and analysed critical issues of multi-national dimensions, and proposed definitive steps for member countries to follow. In 1972, Nigeria began to participate in conferences organized by the United Nations, starting with the United Nations Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment. Following this Conference, Nigeria created a federal ministry charged solely with responsibility for the environment and related issues.

### **Statement of the Problem**

The environment provides all life support systems in the air, on water and on land as well as the materials for fulfilling all her developmental aspirations. However, the Nigerian environment today presents a grim litany of woes. Bankole (2006). Environmental problems manifest in diverse forms as a result of physical, human and biological factors. Ecological disasters, environmental degradation such as sheet and gully erosion common in Eastern Nigeria, flooding in Lagos and the issue of drought, deforestation in the Northern States and the pollution of land, air, and water common in the industrialized West to East axis. These among others are the physical problems that beset environmental planners as well as policy makers in Nigeria.

Man in an attempt to carry out his daily activities have also tampered with the natural environment in terms of pollution of land, water and air, His activities have largely been bereft of the consciousness for environmental sustainability. What is observable in our societies is a negative intrusion in the natural environment which is often replicated in poor aesthetic quality and a threat to human health, human activities and agricultural practices. Government has therefore enacted various environmental laws to guide, as well as protect the environment. The challenge before her is the wherewithal to effectively implement these policies in order to achieve desired goals.

## **Methodology**

All empirical (social) research conforms to a standard logic. Also, empirical research uses this logic irrespective of the kind of study and independence of the methodology employed. In order to achieve the purpose of this research, the author, adopts meta-analytical study, which relied on secondary data via a review of periodic publications, journals and related secondary materials. It is also a qualitative study that is based on conceptual analysis. Therefore, the philosophy, chosen is Decision-making theory as its tools of analysis.

## **Conceptual and Theoretical Frame Work**

In Nigeria, there has been a great deal of concern among researchers, informed opinion leaders and contemporary policy makers on the effectiveness of the plethora of environmental laws. These concerns are due to the fact that several communities in the different states of the federation have been bedeviled by myriad of environmental problems. A recent report on the state of global air for 2016 published by the health effects institute (HEI) indicates that air quality in Nigeria and at least 10 other countries is among the deadliest anywhere on earth. Nigeria currently has the highest burden of fatalities from air pollution in Africa and 4th highest in the world with 150 deaths per 100,000 people attributable to pollution (Vanguard, September 1, 2018).

The need for a proactive environmental policy to address the scourging effects of environmental degradation, climate change and its attendant consequences on Africans socio-economic activities has been contemplated for over three decades by various national and international stakeholders (both governmental and non-governmental stakeholders). In response to the threat that climate change posed to the environment and humanity globally, the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) and the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) in 1988 instituted the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). In April, 2007 the IPCC in its fourth assessment report concluded that the developing world, particularly the poorest countries (sub-Saharan Africa inclusive) can expect

major consequences from global warming, including larger and more severe heat waves, hurricanes, floods from heavy rains, prolong droughts, losses of valuable species, and crops and fishing losses (IPCC, 2007; Todaro & Smith, 2009). Evidently, in years 2012 and 2017 in Nigeria, one of the sub-Saharan African countries had been ravaged by excessive floods resulting from excessive rain falls in flood-prone zones of the country (Ogwola, Idoko Robert (2019).

However, just as the cases and incidences of environmental pollution are increasing so also has governmental actions taken to deal with various problems are on the increase. Successive governments in Nigeria have enacted several laws to ensure a clean and healthy environment. Notably, the Federal Environmental Protection Agency Act, Cap 131, LFN (1990), provides for the protection and development of the environment in general as well as environmental technology respectively and to establish such environmental criteria, guidelines, specifications or standards for the protection of Nigerian air, interstate water as may be necessary to protect the health and welfare of the population from environmental degradation and to establish procedures for industrial activities in order to minimize damage to the environment from such activities.

The Petroleum Act Cap 350, LFN (1990) provides for the Prevention of pollution of water courses and the atmosphere. It empowers the Minister in charge of Petroleum Resources, to make regulations for such prevention. Under the law licensee or lessee is expected to adopt all practical precautions including the provision for up to date equipment to prevent the pollution of inland waters, rivers, water courses of territorial waters of Nigeria or the high seas by oil, mud or other fluids or substances which might contaminate the waters, banks or shore line or which Lead City might cause harm or destruction to fresh water or marine life, and where such a pollution has occurred, to take prompt and adequate steps to control it, and if possible end the effects of the pollution.

Similarly, the Oil in Navigable Waters Act Cap 337, LFN (1990); gives the Minister in charge of the ministry of environment the express powers to



make appropriate regulations requiring Nigerian ships to be fitted with equipment that will prevent or reduce the discharge of oil and mixtures containing oil into the sea. For Nigerians, the question that calls for an answer is: how effective has the applications of these laws been in addressing the environmental challenges that have continued to bedevil the nation? The increase in cases of environmental pollution has resulted in the need to look at how environmental protection laws in Nigeria are implemented. Policy implementation is an important component of the policy making process (Dye (2011).

Policy implementation entails the efforts to put a policy into effect. It involves the day-to day activities of the programs, laws, rules, or orders (public policies) that have emerged from the adoption stage of the policy process. Once adopted, policies begin to manifest into programs and institutional frame works that can attract the necessary appropriation for their implementation. The implementation stage of the policy process is quite important because without application, the policy has no effect. Besides, the effect of a policy may be greatly changed during the implementation stage. Government programs can be implemented in two general ways. The relevant government institution or ministry by itself or any of its agencies can carry out the delivery of service necessary to put the law into effect, or the bureaucracy may oversee a private contractor that is hired to provide the service (Rahm, (2004).

The Black's Law Dictionary defined environment *inter alia* as; "The totality of physical, economic, cultural, aesthetic and social circumstances and factors which surround and affect the desirability and value of property and which also affect the quality of people's lives. The surrounding conditions influences or forces which influence or modify." In the context of this study environment refers to the physical/biological surrounding and the socio-economic milieu characterizing it. In the context of this study environmental policy refers to government strategic plan or course of action chosen to combat the challenges posed by environmental conditions to man and other life supporting species or biodiversity (Ogwola, Idoko Robert (2019).

According to Ogwola, Idoko Robert (2019), the stability of the environment and biodiversity are critical for human survival and sustainability. Our environment is home to all life-supporting species. Therefore, its survival is synonymous to human survival. Conversely, harm to the environment is equally harm to human and other life species. Since human survival is dependent on the survival of the environment and the biodiversity, it is thus apparent to state that environmental conservation is not only necessary but indispensable and critical to the existence of human and other life species. Corroborating this view, Wonah (2017) argues thus: It should be noted that the achievement of individual potential through the state is a function of the carrying capacity of the earth (environment). The environment provides the required resources necessary for the actualization of individual potential. As man applies his labour power on nature in order to derive value for his survival, resources are not only depleted, but there is also concomitant distortion of the ecosystem and destruction of the biodiversity. The implication is that with excessive and indiscriminate exploitation of natural resources, available natural resources may go into extinction and the environment, in what may be considered as reprisal attack, and becomes hostile to man.

As cited in Festus Imuetinyan et al (2019), the first real legislation on environmental issue in Nigeria was the Federal Environmental Protection Act, Cap 13, LFN 1990. The law was actually first enacted in 1988, in panic, uncoordinated and a fire brigade response to the dumping of harmful waste in Koko, Delta State. Nigeria is also a signatory to several international conventions and agreements for the control and protection of the environment globally. Such conventions and agreements include but not limited to: International Convention for The Prevention of The Pollution Of The Sea by Oil, Convention of The High Sea, Convention on The Continental Shelf, International Convention on Civil Liability for Oil Population Damage, International Convention on The Establishment of An International Funds for Oil Pollution Damage, Convention on The Prevention of Marine Pollution by Dumping Waste And Other Matters, Vienna convention on the protection of the ozone layer, Agreement on the

River Niger Commission and the Navigation and Transport on the River Niger.

Environmental policy in Nigeria derives its strength from the fundamental obligation for the protection of the environment as stated in section 20 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 which provides that, the State shall protect and improve the environment and safeguard the water, air and land, forest and wild life of Nigeria (Ogwola, Idoko Robert (2019). He still opined that Nigeria is a party to several international treaties and conventions governing environmental issues. It is on the combined thrust of these instruments that the National Policy on the Environment rests.

### **Problems and Challenges of the Implementation of Environmental Policy in Nigeria**

Environmental problems arise whenever there are changes in the total quality and quantity of any environmental factor which directly or indirectly affects the health and well-being of man adversely. Many environmental problems confronting Nigeria are those typical to developing countries. As cited in Sunday A. Fagbemi et al (2017), the causes and effects of implementation of environmental policy problems intertwined and these are discussed below.

**Urbanization:** Urbanization is an on-going process all over the globe. People moving from rural to urban areas are the primary cause of urbanization and history indicates that this movement of people is very hard to influence. Urbanization is the outcome of social, economic and political developments that lead to urban concentration and growth of large cities. Urbanization is caused by high population growth rate and rural-urban migration. Migration is the main reason for rapid growth of megacities. Migration has been going on over centuries and it is a normal phenomenon. Migration can take different forms and dimensions; it may consist of movement from rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-urban and urban-rural. All these are very important in the consideration of urbanization.

The problems associated with urbanization is acute and exemplified by factors such as inadequate housing and infrastructure, legal dualism in land administration and control, lack of proper monitoring of physical development activities in urban areas, absence of updated master plans, uncoordinated spatial; urban growth, decay of inner cities; land speculation and rapidly growing urban population. The problems also manifested in inefficient waste management system, emission from automobiles, industrial plants and power generating sets; gas flaring, bush and refuse burning, solid and liquid minerals extraction activities and agro chemicals are associated with urbanization. In addition to the above, several problems such as absence of efficient storm water, discharge system, ocean surge due to rise in sea, indiscriminate destruction of vegetation for fuel and constructions material are imminent in urban cities. For instance, land pollution through indiscriminate disposal of solid wastes provides breeding grounds for infectious disease vectors, while air pollution results in acid rains which destroy building and infrastructures. This also result in inadequate storm drains, dumping of refuses in drainage lines and construction of houses close to and even on the natural water channels. The effects of urbanization on the environment are quite significant. These effects among others include rapid deterioration of physical environment and provide breeding ground for prostitutes, criminal and social miscreants, depletion of green areas and open spaces resulting in the loss of biodiversity. Environmental conditions in cities have gradually deteriorated due to the rapid growth of the cities and the attendance inability of social services and infrastructures to keep pace with the rate of growth.

**Overpopulation:** Nigeria's population has grown dramatically since the 1952/53 population census conducted in the country. Population is a major factor in all environmental related issues and challenges. For instance, overpopulation causes stress on the environment. These problems include natural resources degradation, erosion, desertification and deforestation. As the growth of mankind continues unabated, the increase in the pollution and indiscriminate cutting of the trees for timber and fire wood will dis-balance the entire ecosystem. The main concern for the unchecked

population is that as human population continues to rise, it may greatly affect the environmental equilibrium and deplete both the natural and social resources of the land.

The relationship between environment and population is complex. Since the environment is the core of man's existence on the planet earth, anything that affects it must invariably affect the quality of his life. The effect of population growth on the environment therefore is proportional to the number of the people living in it as each individual inhabitant of the environment pollutes the environment in one way or another. Due to population size, we consume resources such as land, food, water, soil and services from earth ecosystems; over consumption uses up or severely deplete supplies of non-renewable resources, such as fossil fuels and deplete renewable resources such as fisheries and forest if we use them up faster than they can replenish themselves. The glaring picture of unchecked human population growth is a recipe for doom of the planet earth and its inhabitants. Population growth has continued to take its toll on the environment and other natural resources in the planet earth; hence, the fear now is that due to the population growth, the carrying capacity of the environment will not be able to sustain the trend.

In the Nigerian National Policy on Population for Development, it is observed that the present high rate of population growth is already contributing substantially to the degradation of the ecology of the country. This is evident in land fragmentation, over-farming and over- grazing resulting into soil erosion and desertification. Similarly, overcrowding has led to the spread of shanty towns and urban blight; all of which would worsen if the present population growth continues.

**Desertification:** Desert is barren land, waterless and treeless and often sand covered soil as Sahara desert which spread across Africa continent. Desertification is the encroachment of the desert on land that was once fertile. Apart from human factor such as indiscriminate cutting of trees for timber and fire wood, other major causes of desertification is attributable to natural hazards such as drought and sand deposits by winds.

Desertification is more prominent in the Northern part of Nigeria. Given a typical example of desertification in the Northern part of Nigeria, Fasihu (40) posits that between 50% and 75% of Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Kano, Sokoto, Zamfara and Yobe States are under threats of desertification. The ten States constituting the core Northern part of Nigeria, according to the learned author, with a population of about 27 million people, account for about 38% of the country's total land areas. In these areas, population pressures, resulting from over-grazing, over exploitation for fuel wood and marginal land and aggravated drought due to global warming has accelerated the rate of desertification. The effect of desertification on the environment and its inhabitants is dangerous, such effects always lead to famine, diseases, and destruction of crops, live stocks and man himself. Desertification can be controlled through irrigation, terrace ploughing and planting of trees and grasses. However, this required committed efforts.

**Land Degradation:** The intensification of the use of fragile and marginal ecosystems has led to progressive degradation and continued desertification and deforestation of marginal agricultural lands even in the years of normal rainfall. One major factor contributing to land degradation is inappropriate agricultural practices, the destruction of watersheds and the opening up of river banks and other critical areas have led to silting of river beds and loss of water courses. A typical example of this is the uncontrolled use of agro-chemicals resulting into problem of chemical pestilence in the soil in humid areas and soil crust formation in arid climates, which have contributed to salinization and destruction of vast agricultural lands.

Nigeria is known for her large deposit of petroleum oil. Hence, petroleum oil prospecting with its attendant pollution problems such as spills, oil well blow-out, oil blast discharge, improper disposal of drilling mud has created problems like; the loss of the aesthetic values of natural beaches due to unsightly oil slicks, damage of marine wildlife, and modification of the ecosystem through species elimination and the decay in biota (fauna and flora) succession and decrease in fishery resources among others. The problem of exposure to radiation, creation of artificial ponds associated

with bad mining practices and non-reclamation of mining wastes lands as provided for in the Mineral Act of 1958 are common in the mine fields of Jos (Plateau), Enugu and other locations within the country. Furthermore, excessive pressures on available resources, infrastructure and space due to rural-urban migration and the resultant problems of urban decay and squatter settlements are evident in places like Lagos, Port-Harcourt, Umuahia, Kano, Kaduna, Maiduguri and of recent Abuja and its satellite towns

**Pollution:** Environmental pollution is another major environmental challenge in Nigeria. Pollution is the introduction by man directly or indirectly of substances or energy into the environment resulting in such deleterious effects as harm to living resources, hazard to human health, hindrances to marine activities including fishing, impairment of quality of seawater and reductions in amenities (43). From this definition, man's activities on the planet earth are the major causes of environmental pollution. Environmental pollution can be categorized into three groups; these are air or atmospheric pollution, aquatic or water pollution and land or surface area pollution. With regard to air pollution, the World Health Organization defines air pollution as „limited to situation in which the outer ambient atmosphere contains materials in concentration which are harmful to man and his environment.<sup>45</sup> Air is a mixture of basically two complementary gases: Nitrogen and Oxygen. Air pollution is the upsetting of the natural arrangement of different gases in the air. It involves the emission of harmful substances into the atmosphere, which will cause danger to any living things.<sup>46</sup> while describing the impact of air pollution on the environment, Akanbi (47) said that air pollution is the most difficult and sensitive. This is because, air is invisible, intangible and fleeting, hence, it may be soiled, abused, degraded and contaminated with dangerous pollutants until it reaches hazardous, even deadly level before it is noticed.

The growth and development of industries and urbanization has contributed greatly to air pollution in Nigeria. Available data showed that Nigeria has about 5,000 registered industrial facilities and some 10,000

small scale industries operating illegally within the residential premises (48). Stack fumes from these industries emit nauseating gases and particulates with grave respiratory and cardiac ailment consequences. Their physical spread often includes sunlight for hours in several parts of Lagos, Kano, Enugu, and Port-Harcourt. Air inversion with its accompanying foggy dispersion and visibility reduction to less than 20 metres has almost become a permanent feature of the Oko-Baba, mid-section of part of the Third Mainland Bridge in Lagos where Saw milers burn away sawdust and other wood sawing. Similar phenomenon is experienced at the toll gate end of Ile-Ife/Ibadan expressway, Osun State where thick and cloudy smoke from the furnace of the Ife Iron Company pollutes the air and emits nauseating odour. Another such Iron Company with the same catastrophic effect is visible at Ikirun also in Osun State. The consequences of air pollution can result in suffocation, irritation of the eye, lungs and skin problem. It can also cause reduce visibility and irritate the respiratory system.

Aquatic or water pollution is the discharge of unwanted biological, chemical and physical material into water bodies from man's environment. The pollutants are usually chemical, physical and biological substances that affect the natural condition of water. The incidence is responsible for the wide spread of water contamination in most Nigerian cities. For example, in places like Kano, Kaduna and Lagos, colored, hot and heavy metal-laden effluents especially from the textile, tannery and paint industries are discharged directly into open drain and water channels, constituting direct dangers to water users and biota downstream.

Land or surface pollution is the occurrence of unwanted material or waste on land. According to Lawrence Atsegbuaet al, (2010), land pollution means the degradation of land by man through harmful activities like dumping of harmful waste material such as chemical input that are dangerous to vegetation and agricultural products. Thus, in major Nigerian cities such as Ibadan, Lagos, Kano, Enugu, Aba, Port-Harcourt, Kaduna, Owerri and Warri, municipal solid waste heaps dot several parts of these cities blocking motor roads, alleys and pavements. These unsightly dump



sites are characterized by various non-biodegradable household petrochemical products such as polythene bags, plastic containers, Styrofoam packages and tyres. Furthermore, crankcases of oil discharged by mechanical workshops or mechanic villages dots Nigeria urban cities.

The problem of environmental pollution is not limited to urban areas. It is evidently clear that the rural areas in Nigeria have had its share of pollution in varying degrees. Obajimi (1998) has rightly observed that several rural towns that had in the past enjoy fresh and dry air are currently experiencing air pollution problem. A good example of this is Wasinmi Village along Ile-Ife-Ibadan expressway, where a giant Asphalt and Quarry Plant is located very close to the community. Stone dust from this Plant has adverse effect on the inhabitants of the community apart from the damage it has done to the aesthetic value of this sleeping community.

### **Certain policies geared towards the Control and Protection of Environment in Nigeria**

<b>Policy/Year of Commencement</b>	<b>Aims</b>	<b>Legal Framework</b>
Oil in Navigable Waters Act, Cap 337, LFN 1990. Enacted for the first time in 1968.	Designed to deal with the prevention of oil pollution in Nigeria, implement the terms of the International Convention for the prevention of pollution of The Sea by oil, make provisions for such prevention in the navigable waters of Nigeria.	Section 1 prohibits the discharge of oil, fuel oil, lubricating oil, a mixture containing oil and heavy diesel oil into the sea areas from any vessel or from any place on land or from any apparatus used in transferring oil or to any vessel. Sea areas include all sea areas within 50 miles from land and outside the waters of Nigeria, the Minister is given express powers to make appropriate regulations requiring Nigerian ships to be fitted with equipment that will prevent or reduce the discharge of oil and mixtures containing oil into the sea. S.1 of the Territorial Waters Act (Cap. 4228) LFN 1990 also empowers the Surveyors to carry out tests for the purpose of ascertaining whether such fittings comply with the regulations.

<p>Petroleum Act (Cap 350, LFN 1990).</p>	<p>Prevention of pollution of Water courses and the atmosphere.</p>	<p>S. 9(1)(b)(iii) empowers the Minister in charge of Petroleum Resources, power to make regulations for such prevention. The Minister subsequently made the Petroleum (Drilling and Production) Regulations by which licensee or lessee is expected to adopt all practical precautions including the provision for up to date equipment to prevent the pollution of inland waters, rivers, water courses of territorial waters of Nigeria or the high seas by oil, mud or other fluids or substances which might contaminate the waters, banks or shore line or which might cause harm or destruction to fresh water or marine life, and where such a pollution has occurred, to take prompt and adequate steps to control it, and if possible end the effects of the pollution.</p>
<p>Oil Terminal Dues Act (Cap 339, LFN 1990)</p>	<p>To prevent the discharge of oil into any part of the sea from a pipeline, vessel or as a result of any operation for the evacuation of oil, except at an oil terminal.</p>	<p>When any of such discharge is done, the owner of the pipeline or vessel or the person in charge of the operation shall be guilty of an offence under S.3 of the oil in Navigable Act.</p>
<p>Federal Environmental Protection Agency Act, Cap 131, LFN 1990.</p>	<p>Protection and dev. of the environment in general and environmental Technology and to establish such environmental criteria, guidelines, specifications or standards for the protection of Nigeria's air,</p>	<p>S.20 of the Act prohibits the discharge in such harmful quantities of any hazardous substance into the air, or upon land or water or Nigeria or adjoining shorelines except as permitted or authorized by any law in force in Nigeria. However, the Act does not place a blanket prohibition on the discharge of substance. The mere discharge of oil upon water does not create liability under the Act unless it is shown that the quantity so discharged is of harmful quantity. Its duties are now</p>

	<p>interstate water as may be necessary to protect the health and welfare of the population from environmental degradation and to establish procedures for industrial activities in order to minimize damage to the environment from such activities.</p>	<p>being administered directly by the Federal Ministry of Environment.</p>
<p>Harmful Waste (Special Criminal Provision Act, Cap. 165, LFN 1990</p>	<p>Prohibition of all activities relating to purchase, sale, transit, transportation, deposit and storage of harmful wastes.</p>	<p>Under the Act, it is an offence to carry deposit or dump harmful waste on any land in Nigeria or in Nigerian territorial waters, contiguous zone or exclusive economic zone without lawful authority or to transport, import, sell or buy harmful waste. Wastes include injurious, poisonous, toxic or noxious substances if the waste is of such quality as to subject any person to the risk of death, fatal injury or incurable impairment of physical or mental health. The Act was a reaction to the 1988 dumping of toxic waste at Koko Town in Delta State in Nigeria and also to curb the increasing rate of trans boundary movement of hazardous wastes.</p>
<p>Sea Fisheries Act, It was promulgated first as Decree No. 71 of 1992</p>	<p>Protection of water resources, sea fisheries and sea water quality.</p>	<p>It prohibits navigation in any motor fishing boat within the territorial waters of Nigeria without license. It also prohibits the catching or destruction of any fish within the territorial waters of Nigeria by the use of any noxious or poisonous matter or by use of any explosive substance.</p>

<p>Criminal Code, Cap 771 LFN 1990</p>	<p>Prohibits the corruption or fouling the water, any spring, stream, well, tank, reservoir or place so as to render it less fit for the Purpose of which it is ordinarily used.</p>	<p>S.234(e) makes it an offence for any person to deliberately divert or obstruct the course of any navigable water so as to diminish its convenience for purposes of navigation</p>
<p>Associated Gas Re-Injection Act, Cap 26, LFN 1990</p>	<p>Control of environmental pollution in Nigeria, especially to curb the incidence of natural gas flaring which have serious environmental consequences</p>	<p>It compels every company producing oil and gas in Nigeria to submit preliminary programmes of gas reinjection. Under the Act, gas flaring was to have ceased by January 1, 1994 yet it has continued unabated even as at 2018, twenty four years after.</p>

**Source:** Ikhide (2007) Environmental protection law in Nigeria.

This paper adopts Decision-making theory as its tools of analysis. This choice is anchored on its amenability to the central issues involved; inconsistent government policies as against the reality of the environmental situation in Nigeria. Also, the lack of political will, which is symptomatic of systems devoid of real developmental strides, by those who were put toward these same rhetorics (Dokpesi, 2013; Oyefara, 2013; Imhonopi and Urim, 2010).

Decision-Making theory represents one of the most widely shared theories in the social sciences with variations in virtually all of the disciplines particularly, Psychology, Economics and Public Administration; associated largely with scholars such as Herbert Simon, C. I. Bernand and Richard Snyder among other prominent public policy scholars. It is concerned with

decision making as a process of how individuals behave under risk and uncertainty, evaluating alternatives and the selection of any particular options in relation to ranked preferences (Nneji, M. (2013). Built into Decision-Making theory are models of how decision making occurs in various organizations and establishments. Some of these models are the Rational-bound model, which emphasizes rationality, the Organizational procedure view, the Incremental and the political view models (Turpin & Marais (2014).

The political view model is of particular interest to our discourse. The political view model believes that despite national considerations in decision making, it is basically a personalized bargaining process whereby the agenda of the participants rather than rational considerations come into play. That, self-interests rather than what is good for the organization is usually the central theme of actors involved in decision making. The centrality of self-interests in the decision making process actually have its impact on smooth enforcement of environmental enforcement policies in Nigeria. It is within this scenario that Nigerian government policies including pronouncement on environmental sustainability would be examined and their impact evaluated.

## **Results**

Many reasons have been advanced for the lack of an effective environmental enforcement programme. One of the reasons often cited is the overarching corruption of public officials charged with enforcing these laws. Corruption is a major problem in Nigeria and has pervaded almost all sectors of the economy. Even considering whom enforcement agents have to deal with (oil companies), it becomes even easier to see how these officials can be easily co-opted and bribed. Also the diversion of ecological funds to other uses possibly of lesser significance has also been seen as a big problem to environmental enforcement in the country. There is also the issue of inadequate personnel (Ibaba 2010, Adelagan, 2006) cited in Zephaniah Osuyi Edo (2012)

The Constitution, despite its references to fundamental rights and protection of the citizenry, is almost silent on issues related to environmental rights. However, Acts intended to protect the environment tended to be inconsistent and with no reference to fundamental rights of individuals, as it fails to guarantee the right to security of tenure and the right to a healthy environment. Thus, organizations and individuals who pollute the environment are hardly punished. At best, they are penalized with liberal charges, which have little or no effect on the organizations society or the individuals. The corollary of this has been an unlimited pollution activities and degradation of environmental quality in Nigeria.

The multiplicity of legislations from the Federal, State and Local Government level with no clear-cut regulatory framework has made implementation of environmental planning laws rather ineffective. Thus, environmental laws and regulations in Nigeria have largely been kept in breach than in observance. Even institutions created by law to monitor the industry's compliance with environmental standards have failed woefully to enforce the rules. At the state and local government level for example, several departments are charged with the responsibility of environmental protection including the health inspectors, Town Planners, Estate Surveyors et cetera. There is no clear-cut definition of the function of each unit and thus there is overlapping of functions among the various units making implementation of environmental laws cumbersome and unsuccessful.

The wide spread corruption in another dimensions which has eaten deep into the fabric of the nation have untold impact on the implementation of environmental laws both at the Federal, State and Local Government levels. Environmental officers are often more concerned with visiting areas that would appear more financially lucrative to them. Violators of environmental planning laws are often left unpunished with little gratification to enforcement officers. The result of this has been continuous reduction and degradation in environmental quality in Nigeria. However, the kick against indiscipline initiative of Lagos where specified streets are allotted to environmental officers is a welcome initiative that

will ensure an adequate coverage of the area landscape. The environmental impact assessment law requires all major development projects to undertake environmental impact assessments; but these are not enforced. In situations where the assessments have been done, they are not always thorough and in some cases officers have been lured into bribes so as to accept substandard structures.

The gross inadequacy of funding is another major problem facing the implementation of the various environmental laws. For example, whereas huge sums of money were actually earmarked by various State Governments for the execution of environmental projects, only very small amounts are actually released to the implementing agencies for actual operations. This compound the problems of the implementing agencies. Another major factor that has constituted a clog in the wheel of progress in the implementation of environmental planning laws in Nigeria borders on ignorance and low level of awareness among the majority of the Nigerian population. Although ignorance of the law is not an acceptable reason for violating environmental planning laws, it is obvious there is a low level of awareness of environmental planning laws among the literate and non-literate segments of the Nigeria population.

In addition, the federal government seems reluctant in imposing stringent penalties on activities that caused serious environmental damage in the country, as the case of gas flaring has shown, (considering the several shifting of zero-tolerance stance on gas flaring). The Nigerian leadership is even ready to subject the economic livelihood and health of its citizens over the continued flaring of gas. Though gas flaring has been declared illegal in Nigeria since 1984, and various courts of jurisdiction has ruled against its practice, it continued unabated. Today the country is ranked second after Russia with the highest percentage of gas flared globally. Therefore, to understand why the Nigerian government seem reluctant to enforce its environmental laws to the later, it becomes necessary to look at the nature of its economy because as our analysis will show it is the nature of the Nigerian economy which has tilted it towards the production of a single commodity that has had the greatest impact in weakening the

political will of Nigerian independent leaders and has effectively made it rely on rent from oil companies for its survival.

Government have responded to these environmental problems in Nigeria through the creation of the Federal Environmental Protection Agency (FEPA) which was merged with the Ministry of Environment in 2000, and more recently the creation of the National Environmental Standards and Regulations Enforcement Agency (NESREA) which by its creation effectively repealed the Nigeria flagship laws on the environment i.e. FEPA, there have been little impacts, if any of this agencies' activities on the lives of the people directly affected by the negative externalities of oil production especially in the Niger Delta. According to World Health Organisation report cited in Festus Imuetinyan et al (2019) Onitsha, Kaduna, Aba and Umuahia were among four of the 20 African cities with the worst air quality in the world. Motor vehicles in urban areas have multiplied inordinately resulting in rapidly expanding use of liquid fuels by motor vehicles and the introduction of wastes into the atmosphere.

Gas flaring, worn out generators and vehicles with poorly-tuned engines are belching out smoke of noxious emissions, making the air as toxic on the streets as it is unhealthy in the kitchen at home where kerosene stove burns sooty flames almost around the clock. There is acute smog problem resulting from air pollution in several Nigerian cities particularly in Lagos, Delta and Rivers States (Festus Imuetinyan et al (2019)). Air pollution tends to reduce the resistance of the lungs, thus creating a predisposition for acute pulmonary diseases and accelerating the course of tuberculosis. There were 150 deaths per age standardized deaths per 100,000 people attributable to air pollution in Nigeria in 2016 (the latest year of available data), compared to high industrialized countries like china, 117 deaths per 100,000 people; Russia, 62 deaths per 100,000 people; Germany. 22 deaths per 100,000 people; United Kingdom, 21 deaths per 100,000 people; the United States, 21 deaths per 100,000 people; Japan 13 deaths per 100,000 people and Canada, 12 deaths per 100,000 people Vanguard, (September 1, 2018). There is also the international dimension to the problem of environmental protection in Nigeria.



There are reported cases of toxic waste dumping on Nigeria soil. In June, 1988 about 4,000 tons of toxic waste from Italy was dump in Koko in Delta State. The waste which was imported by an Italian business man Gianfranco Raffaelli, was stored on the property of a Nigerian citizen Sunday Nana who was paid \$100 per month as rental for the storage of 8000 drums of hazardous waste. Only after an Italian ship and several Italian citizens were seized by the Nigerian authority did the Italian government agree to remove the waste and returned it to Italy. A substantial number of 150 Nigerians employed in the clean-up exercise were hospitalized with several chemical burns, nausea, vomiting blood and coma. Nigeria spent an estimated \$1 million on the clean-up (Mpanya M (1992).

Nigeria now has laws that have banned waste imports and provides for penalties against importers of hazardous materials. Pan-African organizations, such as the AU and ECOWAS, have issued international conventions and agreements (with stringent fines and penalties) against the importation of toxic waste into Africa. Several laws including the recently enacted Act by the National Assembly for the regulation and control of gas flaring in Nigeria, Niger Delta Regional Development Master Plan, Niger Delta Environmental Survey (NDES), Environmental Impact Assessment carried out in various parts of Nigeria, international conventions and agreements and other measures that have been put in place for addressing environmental challenges, appeared not to have yielded much results due to implementation problems.

Looking at the nature of the Nigerian economy as the point of departure, the greatest threat to an effective environmental culture in Nigeria with special focus on oil companies and the negative impact of their activities on the environment is the overwhelming dependence of the government on oil rent as the primary source of revenue. This has hampered greatly the political will of the government to enforce its environmental standard on the oil companies. These factors, as highlighted above could alone or in combination act as serious impediments to enforcing environmental regulations.

## **The Way Forward**

Environmental awareness campaigns are yet to attain the highest level of publicity in most of states in Nigeria. Therefore, there is serious need to make the campaign an all-inclusive process. All stakeholders must be involved in the campaign for and protection of the environment. There is need to streamline the Federal, State and Local Government functions with respect to implementation of environmental planning laws so as to avoid overlapping of functions and ensure compatibility of their various environmental planning programs. In addition, the endemic corruption among enforcement officers should be checked and through methods such as direct bank payments/mandatory sanitation rates by the citizenry. And corrupt enforcement officers should be appropriately sanctioned in terms of being sacked as to serve as future deterrent to others. Environmental planning should have long range problem prevention perspectives as well as shorter-range policy and programs planning goals (Abdullahi, (1988). There should be greater emphasis of environmental impact analysis for all projects as it will help to provide relevant data needed for robust decision-making.

Furthermore, the funding of environmental management programs at the moment is grossly inadequate. This could be attributed to the multi-dimensional nature of environmental problems. Although, government at all levels has made some frantic efforts in providing resources for environmental management projects, there is still a wide gap between the appropriated resources and the environmental problems on ground. Also government should ensure that resources released for environmental management programs are judiciously utilized for the purpose for which it was released. The greening policy must be fully implemented in all the states in Nigeria. One of the most menacing environmental problems in Nigeria is the poor hygiene culture among the populace. Hygiene must be taken seriously. Open defecation and litters must be banned. Ranching of domestic animals should be promoted against free grazing which usually lead to environmental degradation and communal conflicts.

More so, Environmental laws and enforcement agencies have been created to tackle the issue of environmental degradation, little have been achieved so far as the issue of gas flaring proves. In fact, as this paper shows, the problem is not so much that environmental enforcement has failed as that it was never really on the agenda in the first place. The lackadaisical attitude expressed by the government over the years towards the enforcement of its environmental laws is largely dependent on her reliance on oil proceeds as the major source of revenue. So long as the diversification of the Nigerian economy is not rigorously pursued, environmental enforcement in Nigeria Niger Delta Region will continue to experience serious setbacks. Aside being signatories to all UN conventions on environmental issues, African leaders must domesticate and fund international policies on environmental sustainability. The need therefore, is pertinent for the government to initiate policies aimed at diversifying the economy. This is because the diversification of the economy will broaden the economic base of the state and effectively reduce reliance on the oil sector. More importantly it will further enhance the enforcement capacity of the government towards these oil giants.

Finally, There should be a periodic environmental audits to ensure that there is compliance with environmentally sound practices by way of objective evaluation of how well environmental organization, its management, relevant equipment and related logistics are faring in their various tasks. Perhaps, by so doing, environmental enactments could be meaningful and effective and not merely existing mostly in theory. Major strategy for the attainment of the Nigerian National Policy on the Environment is human population. However, various efforts made by government to curb population growth and urbanization problems have yielded little or no result. The impacts of population growth and urbanization are evident in the use of the nation natural resource. Hence, to achieve sustainable development there is need for a change of attitude among the populace in order to mitigate the adverse effects of environmental challenges confronting the contemporary human society.

## **Conclusion**

This paper attempts to analyze why the various environmental protection laws are not effectively implemented to achieve the goal of a clean and healthy environment in Nigeria. Various issues in the implementation of environmental protection laws in Nigeria were identified and discussed. Achieving the goal of a clean and healthy environment in Nigeria through the instrumentality of good policy is the focus of the paper. The paper concludes that Nigeria's degraded environment is a result of failure to implement appropriate policies, of ineffective institutional arrangements for environmental management, poor funding and the low level of environmental awareness among others factors. In rural areas, poor communities pay the price of this failure, in terms of insecure access to land, low agricultural output, low incomes, and poor health. Addressing the situation requires a holistic approach from the Federal, State and Local government level, which takes into consideration the political, economic, and social dimensions of livelihoods in the formulation of policies.

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## ENDANGERED SPECIES: WILDLIFE IN THE COLONIAL HISTORY OF GOMBE DIVISION IN BAUCHI PROVINCE, 1902-1960

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### **Abstract**

*Wild animals, just like humans, have a fascinating history which has not been properly studied and documented, except for the efforts made by zoologists, ecologists and geographers. Wild animals have occupied an important place in history from the pre-colonial period, but it was during the colonial that conscious efforts were made to accord them the right position, at least, in official administrative circles. The history of British colonial adventure in different parts of the world shows that the colonial state introduced policies aimed at protecting and preserving wild animals through stopping indiscriminate hunting and poaching of wildlife and the creation of "game reserves", among others. But the colonial state cannot be exonerated from blame for facilitating the process of wildlife decimation in the colonised areas of the world, Nigeria inclusive. This paper examines the history of wild animals in what come to be known as Gombe Division in Bauchi Province, with colonial legislations enacted to protect and preserve "the game of sanctuary" but unfortunately a number of colonial activities led to reckless killing of the wild animals, thereby making them endangered species. Being a historical study, the paper examines the place of game animals in the pre-colonial society vis-a-vis the colonial society, and assesses the impact of colonial activities on the wildlife ecology in Gombe Division, Bauchi Province, using colonial records found in the archives, oral data generated through interviews, and other auxiliary sources.*



## Introduction

Nigerian historians have written a lot on British colonial history, with much emphasis on social, political, economic, and ideological dimensions of the colonial administration in Nigeria. The impact of the colonial rule on the physical environment within which colonialism operated has not been given much attention. Where effort has been made, it is limited to the negative effect of colonial tin and coal mining activities, the felling of trees for agriculture, infrastructure and urban development which drastically changed the ecological landscape, the impact of colonial rule on the wildlife ecology is rarely discussed, at least, in any reasonable depth and from a historical perspective. This paper attempts a historical study of the relationship between human and wild animal inhabitants of Gombe from the pre-colonial to the colonial period. This paper's main focus is the colonial period but a step will consciously be taken back into the precolonial era to see the importance of wild animals in the precolonial society. It is by so doing that one would appreciate the interest on the history of wildlife in the economy and society of Gombe. This study becomes necessary in view of the fact that even those whose field of research has direct bearing on the wildlife have not given the much needed attention to the subject in their recent studies on the biodiversity and physical landscape of Gombe completely neglected the wild animals as if they are not part of the ecosystem of Gombe.<sup>1</sup> The environmental impact of human modification of the ecological landscape and "de-reservation" on wildlife in the area is ignored.

In course of history, wildlife being an undomesticated or untamed animal species that lives and grows wild and finds its food, water, shelter and other needs on its own whether in or near urban areas or in the countryside, have value to humans. The wild animals provided food, clothing and decorative

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<sup>1</sup>. Wannah, B. Bello & Maiyomi, I. "Physical Landscape of Gombe State". *Gombe: People, Environment, and Development*. Nonimod J. Ventures, Jimeta-Yola, 2019, pp. 59-72; Mbaya, A. Lazarus & Hashidu, Sa'ad. "Biodiversity Status of Forest Reserves in Gombe State". *Gombe: People, Environment, and Development*. Nonimod J. Ventures, Jimeta-Yola, 2019, pp. 104-128.

materials for use by the people. Their byproducts have also been used for medicinal and cultural purposes, including providing weaponry for human use. They have also been used for sports, recreational and educational purposes. They have killed and have been killed. Thus, they have been feared and admired at the same time depending on what side of the divide one views them. It is for their relevance as “natural asset” that the colonial state and its officials developed, as with other aspects of the tropical ecological landscape, high interest on wildlife management in Nigeria and other parts of the colonized world. For this, this paper attempts a critical review of the colonial wildlife conservation policy in Gombe Division, Bauchi Province in Northern Region of Nigeria. Before then, it is imperative to have a historic look at the geographic and demographic settings of the area.

### **Geographic and Demographic Settings of the Area**

In geographical terms, the area lies between latitudes 9°5' and 11°6'N and longitudes 10°5' and 11°8'E; with a total land area of 20,265 square kilometers.<sup>2</sup> Gombe Division was one of the three colonial administrative divisions in Bauchi Province, with Bauchi and Katagum being the other two. The topography of the area is characterized by gently undulating plains and valleys with mainly isolated stony hills of sedimentary type except for the elongated Bima Hill and Ribadu Range in northern and central parts of the area; and a mixture of a few dispersed basement complexes and rolling peaky volcanic rocks concentrated in the southern part of the area otherwise known as the Tangale Waja area.<sup>3</sup>

With climatic conditions typical of the Nigerian Savannah Zone, the vegetation of the area was a combination of grassland, low bush and

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<sup>2</sup>. Gall, F. Beckless, “Gazetteers of Bauchi Province”. *Gazetteers of Northern Provinces Vol. I: The Hausa Emirates: Bauchi, Sokoto, Zaria and Kano*. Edited by Kirk-Greene, H.M. Anthony. Frank Cass, London 1972, p. 6

<sup>3</sup>. Falconer, J. Douglas. *The Geology and Geography of Northern Nigeria*. Macmillan, London 1911. Excerpts from the book can be found in NAK, SNP 10/ 445 p/1914: Central Province, History of Gombe Emirate by T.F. Carlyle.

scrubland alternated here and there with relatively thick forests along rivers, streams, lakes and ponds, on flatland and hilly areas beyond human habitation. The luxuriant tropical growth of the woodland in parts of Gombe was arguably an extension of the thick vegetation of southwestern Fika Emirate of Borno, “with its woodland and a unique vegetation that is the extension of what used to be referred to as the great forest of Borno. What today makes up the Yankari Games Reserve, far off to the south-west of the Emirate, may also have been an extension or part of this great forest... Its woodlands, dense in the river valleys of the Ngeji, Gongola and Komagudu-Gana”.<sup>4</sup>

The Gongola River being the major body of water that drained the area; a network of small rivers, streams, and lakes emptied their waters into the Gongola which supported human and animal populations. The relief of the area comprised of rich fertile stiff soil in the eastern and southern part; rich loamy soil in the northeastern part; and loose sandy soil in the northern part, a common soil type in the Sahel Belt of Northern Nigeria. The rich floral resources of the area manifested in the growth of edible fruit bearing trees and non-edible ones across the vast landscape. Among the edible fruit-bearing trees found in abundance were *Dorawa* (Locust bean/*Parkia biylobosa*), *Kadanya* (Shea butter/*Vitellaria paradoxa*), *Kanya* (*Diospros mespileformis*), *Kuka* (Baobab/ *Adosonia digitata*), *Aduwa* (Desert date/*Balanites aegyptiaca*), *Tsamiya* (Tamarind/ *Tamarindus indica*), *Dinya* (Black plum/*Vitex doniana*), *Magarya* (*Ziziphus jujuba*), *Giginya* (*Boswellia aethiopum*), *Taura* (*Detarium senegalense*), *Kurna* (*Ziziphus spina-christi*), *Goruba* (*Hyphaene thebaica*), and *Kokiya* (*Strychnos spinosa*). The non-edibles ones included *Madachi* (Mahogany/*Khaya senegalensis*), *Gawo* (*Acacia albida*), *Gabaruwa* (*Acacia Hilotica*), *Taramniya* (*Combretum verticillatum*), *Chediya* (*Ficus thonningii*), *Katsari*

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<sup>4</sup>. Ciroma, A. Liman. *Testing the Grit of the Public Service: An Autobiography*. Safari Books Ltd., Ibadan, 2018, pp. 2-4

(*Albizzia chevalieri*) and *Kirya (Prospis Africana)*.<sup>5</sup> Growing side by side, these trees provided both humans and animals with food and cover, among other things needed to survive.

In demographic terms, several ethnic groups inhabited the area, among the most notable being Bolewa, Tera, Jera, Jukun, Tangale, Waja, Lunguda, Tula, Cham, Dadiya, Kamo, Awak, Kushi, Pero, Fulani, Kanuri and Hausa who interrelated at different levels.<sup>6</sup> These people, individually or in group, interacted in political, cultural, social, economic, militaristic and diplomatic terms.<sup>7</sup> This allowed for not only the exchange of goods and services, but also intermarriages and the absorbing of emigrants such as herders (Fulani), hunters, traders and fishermen (Kanuri and Hausa), among others into the area in the precolonial period.

### **Wildlife in Pre-Colonial Gombe Area**

There were several big and small wildlife species in precolonial Gombe area based on information generated from colonial records.<sup>8</sup> From documentary evidence, the wild animals available in the area included: *Giwa* (Elephant), *Ragumin jeji* (Giraffe), *Kura* (Hyena), *Bauna* (Buffalo), *Gada* (Crested Duiker), *Barewa* (Red-fronted Gazelle), *Gwanki* (Roan Antelope), *Mazo* (Bush Buck), *Mariga* (Cob), *Aladen jeji* (Wart Hog), *Karkanda* (Rhino), *Dorinar ruwa* (Hippopotamus), *Gwanbaza* (Water Buck), *Kanki* (Hartebeest) *Goggon Biri* (Baboon), *Bakin Rimi* (Tantalus) and *Ran Biri* (Patas Monkey). Wild birds found in the area included *Jimina* (Ostrich),

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<sup>5</sup>. NAK, SNP 10/71p/1913: Central Province, Gombe Emirate, Ako District, Waja-Sub District Assessment Report by T.F. Carlyle; NAK, SNP 5401/1910: Waja-Tangale Patrol Part 1 by T.F. Carlyle; NAK, Bauprof 162: Gombe Division NA Forest Reserves

<sup>6</sup>. NAK, SNP 5401/1910: Waja-Tangale Patrol Part 1 by T.F. Carlyle; NAK, SNP 10/ 445 p/1914: Central Province, History of Gombe Emirate by T.F. Carlyle.

<sup>7</sup>. Ya'u, I. Usman. "War and Diplomacy in Gombe Emirate in the Nineteenth Century". *Aspects of African Diplomatic History Since 1800*. Edited by Barkindo, M. Bawuro. Command Publishers, Abuja, 2015, pp. 224-240

<sup>8</sup>. NAK, SNP 5401/1910: Waja-Tangale Patrol Part 1 by T.F. Carlyle; NAK, SNP 10/71p/1913: Central Province, Gombe Emirate, Ako District, Waja-Sub District Assessment Report by T.F. Carlyle; Gall, F. Beckless. "Gazetteers of Bauchi Province" p. 29

*Shaho* (West African red-legged Sparrow Hawk), *Mikiya* (African Fish Eagle), *Shirwa* (Kite), *Gauraka* (Crowned Crane), *Duji* (Owl), *Aku* (Parrot), *Burkulli* (Sand Grouse), *Makwarwa* (Partridge), *Fakara* (Francolin), *Zabuwar jeji* (Wild fowl), *Ungulu* (Vulture), *Belbela* (Egret), *Hankaka* (Pied Crow), *Hasbiya* (Dove), *Kurciya* (Senegal blue-winged Laughing Dove) and *Kanari* (Canary). There were several ground-crawling species like *Kunkuru* (Tortoise), *Beguwa* (Porcupine), *Bodari* (Zorilla), *Damo* (Iguana-Lizard), and *Kuregi* (Squirrels) in the area.

The physiographic setting of the area provided a good habitat for these wild animals who coexisted side by side with humans for a long time. In the course of human struggle for survival and development, individual or group of people ventured into the wilderness to capture/hunt wildlife, sometimes becoming successful while sometimes not being successful as the unlucky ones were either injured, captured or even killed by ferocious wild animals. The courage and ability to get into the bush, hunt or confront and kill wild animals provided the basis for traditional sports for the people's practical needs.<sup>9</sup> The quest for food, cultural/religious beliefs and practices made people to capture, hunt and kill wildlife and use valuable items obtained from them. It is therefore not surprising that hunting was one of the major occupations of the earliest settlers and various ethnic groups in precolonial Gombe, who hunted wild animals on land and water as Abba, Awwal and Abba rightly observed that:

Hunting was an activity undertaken in the dry season in the northern parts of Gombe and as all year round activity in the more mountainous southern parts. Sometimes hunters spent days in the bush hunting for animals like rhinos, tigers, lions, deers, and so on. Trained dogs were used in hunting and the hunters played important roles as traditional medical doctors,

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<sup>9</sup>. Ya'u, I. Usman. "African Cultural Practices: A Historical Reflection on Traditional Sports in Nigeria". *Issues in Nigerian Peoples and Culture*. Edited by Bako, Ahmed, Muhammad, Murtala, Isma'ila, Yusuf and Rufa'i, A. Murtala. Ahmadu Bello University Press, Zaria, p. 295

while some of them rose to occupy political offices.... The tribes close to the Benue hunted for fish and alligators, and those on the land hunted for lions, leopard, hippopotami, rhinos... Any hunter that killed leopard and wore its skin was considered a brave man. Elephants were also hunted for consumption. It was widely believed that the hunting activities of those 'southern' people made them or moulded them to be very brave, courageous and skilled in the use of arms as well as familiar with dangerous situations.<sup>10</sup>

From the above, it could be seen that the wild animals have great value to the precolonial inhabitants of Gombe area as they provided food, a good source of protein for the people. Parts of them had been used for cultural and ceremonial display and medicinal purposes. Parts of them had been used for decorations (royal paraphernalia, ornaments and jewelries) while their skins had been used for clothing, making mats and drums.<sup>11</sup> They had also been turned into shields and weapons for human use.<sup>12</sup> Ostrich egg shells, for example, were used as container for storing water. Porcupines' spikes had been used for losing and weaving women hair. Lions' skin and head had been used in royal palaces as symbol of power. Mixture of dried bones with

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<sup>10</sup>. Abba, Sani, Shehu, Awwal and Abba, Umar. *Gombe State: The History of the Land and the People*. Ahmadu Bello University Press, Zaria, 2000, pp. 17-19

<sup>11</sup>. Individual interview with Malam Umaru Bolari (he was a hunter and herbalist; aged 77); Alhaji Buba Turaki Jamnati (one of the forest guards that worked in Gombe Native Administration Forestry Department; aged 80); Malam Audu Muhammadu Cheledi (he was a farmer; aged 76); Alhaji Saleh Babba Jekadafari (one of the colonial government station garden keepers and a local builder; aged 72); Maina Jibrin Abubakar (a retired Director, Gombe State Ministry for Rural Development; aged 70); Alhaji Yahaya Hammari (a retired health worker, Gombe State Ministry of Health; aged 74); and Malam Ibrahim Babayo (a retired Agricultural Officer, Gombe State Ministry of Agriculture; aged 68). These men were interviewed in 2018 when the author was working on the finishing touches of his M.A. Dissertation.

<sup>12</sup>. Umar, M. Babayo. *The Socio-Political and Economic History of Deba C. 1800-2000*. Skillpath Development Consult, Kaduna, 2005, p. 85

wildlife parts had been used for healing ailments and curative purposes.<sup>13</sup> Certain wild animals are believed to possessed spiritual powers for which they were revered, feared or even worshipped in some cases in the area. For example, snake has a special place in the cultural history of the Tangale in Gombe area.<sup>14</sup> A python atop a hill is the symbol of the Tangale community.

On the whole, through hunting and bush fires, many precolonial wild animals were caught and killed through the use of thread traps (snares), pit traps or shot with sling shoot, bows and arrows and Dane guns. In essence, several wild animals in the area were hunted and eaten or used for different purposes by the local people as reported during the early colonial period.

### **Wildlife in Colonial Gombe Division**

The relationship between wild animals and the people took a different dimension during colonial period. Following the military conquest and pacification of the Nigerian area, the colonial state had keen interest on the wildlife populations in the area, but the colonial rule was a capitalist expansionist system designed to exploit natural and material resources of the colony for the benefit of the colonialists through an economic and cultural dependency system in which the colony was at the receiving end.<sup>15</sup> The British colonial conquest of Gombe started in 1902 when the Emir of Gombe surrendered peacefully to the colonial expeditionary force.<sup>16</sup> But the military conquest of other parts of the area was characterised by killings and the destruction of properties in different communities in the Emirate and the

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<sup>13</sup>. Ya'u, I. Usman. "Urbanisation and Ecological Change in Gombe Township and its Region". M.A. Dissertation. Gombe State University, 2018, p. 125

<sup>14</sup>. Gwani, S. Usaini. *Administrative Systems in Tangale Kingdom Before and Since Colonial Rule in Nigeria Vol. I*. University of Maiduguri Press, Maiduguri, 1999.

<sup>15</sup>. Rodney, Walter. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Panaf Publishers, Abuja, 2005, p.23

<sup>16</sup>. Ikime, Obaro. *The Fall of Nigeria: The British Conquest*. Heinemann, London 1982, p.

Tangale-Waja area which was merged in 1906 to create what came to be known as Gombe Division within Bauchi Province.<sup>17</sup>

Early assessment reports on Gombe captured the wildlife species available in the area. The records show that plenty wildlife of varying species, sizes and importance existed in different parts of Gombe Division, Bauchi Province. In 1910, the Assistant Resident of Bauchi Province, T.F. Carlyle reported that “south of Waja and Tangale is a wide plain averaging 15 miles in breadth and shelving gradually down from Waja to Mona, ... is full of elephants and big game.”<sup>18</sup> In 1914, the Resident of Bauchi Province, F.B. Gall reported that “the game animals in the province are elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, giraffe, buffalo, roan-antelope, waterbuck, hartebeest, red-fronted gazelle, duiker, lion and leopard. Their haunts are in the deserted stretch of bush south of the Ningi group, in south-east Bauchi, in southern Gombe, and near Nafada... The game birds are the guinea-fowl, partridge, sand-grouse, bustard, snipe, duck, goose and pigeon.”<sup>19</sup> All these wild animals were hunted by the local people, but the hunting of elephants was particularly pronounced because of the profitable trade in ivory as F.B. Gall reported in 1914 that: “Every effort was made to suppress the large destruction of elephants by the native hunters, which was found to be in process. It is probable that the ivory is smuggled southwards and purchased by the natives of the South of Nigeria for conversion into ornaments”<sup>20</sup>

### **Colonial Policy on Wildlife in Northern Nigeria**

In an effort to stop the destruction of the wild animals by the local people, the British came up with a colonial policy on wildlife protection and preservation in Northern Nigeria and for the country in general. Colonial legislations on wildlife and forests that housed them were introduced. In 1917, ordinances were enacted on Native Administration of Forests and Wildlife Protection Law, in which it was stated that: “in regard to hunting,

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<sup>17</sup>. Gall, F. Beckless. “Gazetteers of Bauchi Province” p. 8

<sup>18</sup>. NAK, SNP 5401/1910: Waja-Tangale Patrol Part 1 by T.F. Carlyle.

<sup>19</sup>. Gall, F. Beckless. “Gazetteers of Bauchi Province” p. 29

<sup>20</sup>. Gall, F. Beckless. “Gazetteers of Bauchi Province” p. 26



fishing and all other rights, it must carry out the terms of the settlement, and of the "Wild Animals Protection" and other Ordinance.... If any of Government officials are found by neglect or connivance to have infringed the terms of the settlement, or ignore the law, they will, as a rule, be tried in the Provincial (not in a Native) Court. Offences by Natives other than Native Administration officials can be tried in the Native Court"<sup>21</sup> The Colonial Wild Animals Protection Ordinance came into effect in 1917.<sup>22</sup> In the enforcement of the law, local authorities were involved. They were responsible to the District Officer (DO) in charge of a Division, who was in turn answerable to the Resident, superintending over a Province.

The protection of the wild animals from indiscriminate hunting and killing was necessary to preserve them for their incalculable economic and social value. Being a valuable natural asset their significance in terms of providing aesthetic pleasure, for instance, was expressly acknowledged and appreciated by Europeans and other on lookers. A good example of wildlife being admired by the colonial officials and European travelers was in 1933 when Margery Perham came to Gombe from Adamawa passing through the River Gongola, she was fascinated by seeing several golden-crested cranes flying around and had cause to write that down in her diary, which has now been published into a book. In the diary now a book she reported:

I crossed the Benue where its tributary, the Gongola, meets, and we traversed the fertile, moist ground of the land between the rivers... The land between the rivers was alive with splendid golden-crested-cranes; we must have passed many thousands standing in small companies or lurching across the sky with their rather ugly cramped flight.... And

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<sup>21</sup>. Lugard, D. Fredrick. *Political Memoranda: Revision of Instructions to Political Officers on Subject Chiefly Political and Administrative, 1913-1918*. Frank Cass and Co. Limited, London, 1970, p. 446

<sup>22</sup>. Lugard, D. Fredrick. *Political Memoranda* p. 446

is this is a starting point? And why do the locals not kill and devour them?<sup>23</sup>

Imagine the good impression of Perham on the “splendid” to use her words, wildlife in the area. And for her to have asked in the thirties why the wild birds had not been devoured and killed by the local people in Nigeria raises a number of issues about her mind-set and the state of law formulated to protect the wild animals in the country. It seemed the colonial wildlife protection law was not effective. For there were reported cases of wildlife being captured, caged, and exported from Northern Provinces to other places in Nigeria and beyond.<sup>24</sup> It was reported in 1932 that some young men from Bauchi and Plateau Provinces were caught involved in the capture and sell of wild birds to “Yoruba traders who find a ready market for them in Lagos. Large number of cage birds also are hawked on Railway Stations and in villages adjacent to the Railways.”<sup>25</sup>

Not only Africans were guilty, Europeans were also found wanting for reckless killing of wild animals. Wild animals roaming about close to European mining sites, trading outposts, rest camps, missionary and government stations or residential areas located in isolated areas far away from African residential areas, were hunted and killed for whatever reason. Those doing that were cautioned to “refrain from trapping, shooting and killing game animals in close proximity to the houses in which they were staying.”<sup>26</sup> Not only the trapping and killing, the capturing and exporting of wildlife from the North to the South was also frowned upon by the colonial wildlife regulation. The Wild Animals Protection Ordinance enacted since 1917 had to be reinforced with Wild Animal Preservation Ordinance in 1938:

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<sup>23</sup>. Kirk-Greene, H.M. Anthony. *Margery Perham, West African Passage: A Journey through Nigeria, Chad and the Cameroons*. Peter Owen Publishers, London, 1983, p. 161

<sup>24</sup>. NAK, Bauprof 619/ Wild Birds-Capture, Sale and Export of.

<sup>25</sup>. NAK, Bauprof 619/ Wild Birds-Capture, Sale and Export of.

<sup>26</sup>. NAK, Bauprof 1196 Vol. I: (1) Game Reserves (2) Permission to Shoot Wild Animals (3) Ivory Tusk-Proposal of.

Hence an order prohibiting the capture or attempted capture and sale of wild birds is enforced based on section 495 (c) of the Criminal Code. Section 9 of the Wild Animal Preservation Ordinance (Chapter 99) prohibits the export of protected animals and birds except under special conditions... in future permits for the export of protected birds and animals will be very sparingly granted and that they will invariably be refused in cases where the applicants is unable to establish that the birds and animals which it is desired to export have not been obtained in contravention of the Ordinance.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, some category of people under “special conditions” were permitted to hunt and kill wild animals based on the issuance of a license obtained at the cost of £1. Meanwhile, a number of forest and game reserves were created in the country to protect and preserve wild animals therein. There were several forest reserves and one games reserve in Bauchi Province. The Bauchi Games Reserve which is known today as Yankari Game Reserve was created on 28<sup>th</sup> April, 1938 as approved by Governor B.H. Bourdillon and his council.<sup>28</sup> The Games Reserve was created within a vast forest area that linked Gombe and Bauchi Divisions through Kashere, Futuk, Lame, Duguri and Jangu forests in Bauchi Province. Excerpt of the report of the Secretary Northern Provinces on the Games Reserve created read:

These Forests Reserves, covering an area of some 870 square kilometer, contain elephants and giraffe and numerous other species of game animals which in the past have been shot in considerable number by both Europeans and Africans; the area is particularly in need of protection owing to its proximity to the minefield. The Reserves are entirely uninhabited, except for a few villages, forming enclaves, and

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<sup>27</sup> . NAK, Bauprof 619/ Wild Birds-Capture, Sale and Export of. (1932-1945)

<sup>28</sup> . NAK, Bauprof 1196 Vol. I: (1) Game Reserves (2) Permission to Shoot Wild Animals (3) Ivory Tusk-Proposal of.

periphery, and are surrounded by a great deal of uninhabited bush also containing game animals.<sup>29</sup>

The forest reserves created within Gombe Division also harboured many wild animals which were, based on the colonial legislation, protected from being attacked, hunted and killed. Outside the reserves, however not much was done to protect the wildlife as the gradual expansion of human activities from the major towns and settlements to the countryside led to the encroachment of the wildlife habitats. The wild animals that escaped being killed in the densely populated areas moved to safer habitats where they could get fodder and drinking water. The areas with all-year round or perennial water body were also sought after by farmers as crops grow well in those sites, even when rainfall was in short supply.

The wildlife ecology was, therefore, destroyed as a result of ever increasing population and agricultural activities which affected their habitats in urban and semi-urban landscapes.<sup>30</sup> In essence, the colonial urban and infrastructure development coupled with unprecedented agricultural expansion led to the encroachment of the wildlife habitats by humans. As a result, farmlands created close to the wildlife habitats were sometime visited by the wild animals who even destroyed cultivated crops. From the forties when phenomenal agricultural activities were recorded, there were reported cases of “rogue” wild animals destroying farm produce. Hippopotami and baboons, for example, were particularly in the habit of wrecking considerable damage to farm products and posing serious danger to humans and livestock. In fact, baboons were reported to, among other things, killed sheep and goats that penned close to their habitats.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>. NAK, Bauprof 1196 Vol. I: (1) Game Reserves (2) Permission to Shoot Wild Animals (3) Ivory Tusk-Proposal of.

<sup>30</sup>. Ya’u, I. Usman. “Urbanisation and Ecological Change in Gombe Township and its Region”. pp. 178-185

<sup>31</sup>. NAK, Bauprof 1196 Vol. I: (1) Game Reserves (2) Permission to Shoot Wild Animals (3) Ivory Tusk-Proposal of.

The farming communities living close to the rivers and all-year round flowing streams such as Boli, Kirfi, Dewu, Malala, Wuro Tale, Lafiya, Mayo Lamido, Bage, Bajoga, Kupto, Malleri, Akko, Zambuk, Hinna, to mention only a few in Bauchi Province repeatedly complained of hippopotami and baboons' destruction of their farm produce.<sup>32</sup> Actions had to be taken to check the frequent wildlife depredation as the agricultural, veterinary and political officers reported the matter to the Resident of Bauchi Province. In a swift reaction to the nagging issue of wild animals' depredations in the farming communities in Gombe Division, on 20<sup>th</sup> January, 1947, permission for killing some "rogue" wild animals was granted under Section 22 of Chapter 99 of the Wild Animal Preservation Ordinance, and the Resident authorised the District Officer (DO) of Gombe Division and other government officials at the Gombe Government Station to shoot and kill certain number of hippopotami in the affected areas. The letter of authorisation issued by the Resident written in March 1950 partly read that: "Authority is hereby given to Huge Peter William Murray, D.O. and four other government officers to kill a total of ten hippopotami at Malala, Lafiya, Wuro Tale, and Mayo Lamido."<sup>33</sup>

The hippopotami were killed as directed, and this is a pointer to the fact that though the colonial officials were in theory advocating for the preservation of "the game of sanctuary" in Nigeria, in practice, however, they were partly responsible for the decimation of the fauna resources of the country. It was obvious therefore that the expansion of colonial agricultural activities in diferent parts of Gombe Division and indeed Bauchi Province as a whole seriously affected the wildlife ecology such that in the late fifties and sixties, Tiffen observed that in the farmed areas close to the major towns and villages, "most game has either retreated or been exterminated. Indeed, in Gombe Emirate as a whole, farmers were not by 1967 very concerned with

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<sup>32</sup>. NAK, Bauprof 1196 Vol. I: (1) Game Reserves (2) Permission to Shoot Wild Animals (3) Ivory Tusk-Proposal of.

<sup>33</sup>. NAK, Bauprof 1196 Vol. I: (1) Game Reserves (2) Permission to Shoot Wild Animals (3) Ivory Tusk-Proposal of.

animal damage.”<sup>34</sup> Even in the Wawa Zange Grazing Reserve, the wildlife that threatened the development of cattle grazing area had to be eliminated.<sup>35</sup> Thus, many wild animals were either forced to migrate, or got hunted/devoured/killed through shooting and poisoning, which endangered the wildlife

## **Conclusion**

This paper discussed the place of wildlife in the colonial economy and society of Gombe Division in Bauchi Province, Northern Region of Nigeria. It has been shown that Gombe area and Nigeria in general had a rich wildlife resources, and the local people have a long history of hunting and using the wildlife or their parts for eating, clothing, religious, cultural, medicinal, and other purposes. On arrival to the area, the British colonial officials raised serious concern over the unrestricted manner wild animals were hunted and killed by the local people and therefore reacted by coming up with policies on wildlife protection and preservation; created forest and game reserves where “the game of sanctuary” were expected to be safe from being attacked, hunted and killed. The indiscriminate hunting and poaching of wildlife as practiced by the Africans and later the Europeans was, by the colonial legislation, stopped. Only certain category of people under “special conditions” were allowed to hunt, shoot and kill wild animals after obtaining a license permit. The colonial wildlife protection and preservation policy, it has been argued was only successful to a point where it somehow clashed with the colonial agricultural development policy which emphasized large scale agricultural production for export. The expansion of the agricultural activities beyond the immediate vicinity of towns and settlements led to reckless destruction of the flora and fauna resources of Gombe. Deforestation for the sake of agriculture, infrastructure and urban

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<sup>34</sup>. Tiffen, Mary. *The Enterprising Peasant: Economic Development in Gombe, North Eastern State, Nigeria*. London, 1976, p. 11. Tiffen used the words “in the closely farmed areas of southern Gombe” (covering Gombe, Kwami, Akko and Yemaltu Districts of Gombe Emirate then).

<sup>35</sup>. Tiffen, Mary. *The Enterprising Peasant...* pp. 161-162

development endangered the wildlife. The wild animals' reactions to the humans' encroachment of their habitats in the course of agricultural expansion was met with violence as several wildlife were killed through hunting, gunning or poisoning to allow for the development of the colonial economy. Thus, the colonial induced social and economic activities, including urban development had not only endangered the wildlife but also had a negative impact on the biodiversity of Gombe Division, Bauchi Province in Northern Region of Nigeria.

## THE ROLE OF NILE BASIN INITIATIVE (NBI) IN THE NILE WATER CONUNDRUM: 1999-2015

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### **Abstract**

*Water is a vital resource for nation states and resources that have no respect for nation boundaries, as such; this makes riparian states vulnerable to conflict. Trans boundary shared bodies of water create political, social, and economic tensions or disputes concerning the distribution and use of resource management, especially, where misunderstandings or lack of agreement about allocations are more likely. This increases potential for conflict and intensifies threats to state stability and national security. This paper is a historical presentation aims at exploring the history of the roles of the Nile Basin Initiative towards water cooperation in the waters of the Nile, using qualitative method of primary and secondary sources. The paper argues that the NBI through Cooperative Framework Agreement (CFA) has provided the first and only inclusive platform for dialogue among all riparian states, amidst previous water agreements which succeeded one another without significant success on the waters of the Nile.*

### **Introduction**

The need for international agreements over water cannot be gain said because of the increasing possibility for water-induced conflict owing to scarcity and deprivation, which pose a continual threat to local, state, regional, and international stability. Individual states, armed with sovereign rights to territorial resources, use water to serve political,



economic, and social goals. It is believed that water conflict has the greatest potential to emerge when the downstream (most-vulnerable) nation is militarily stronger than the upstream (water-controlling) nation and it feels its interests are threatened, as in the case of the river Nile.

The River Nile offers tremendous opportunities for growth and development of its riparian countries. Better management of the Nile water resources could bring a vast range of benefits including among others, increased hydropower and food production, better access of water for domestic use, improved management of watersheds, reduced environmental degradation, reduced pollution and more control over damage from floods and droughts. However, this requires agreement and cooperation between all the riparian countries of Nile Basin, which has proved difficult to achieve over many decades.

For instance, the 1929 and 1959 agreements empowered Egypt to use and control the water of the Nile. While the first agreement grants Egypt veto power over any projects involving Nile water, the latter allows for full utilization of the resource, obliging Egypt to sharing only 15.5 percent of the water with Sudan. Since those treaties placed Egypt in a hydro-hegemonic position, Egypt has managed to control the use and course of water from source to mouth. As a result, the River Nile has no basin-wide agreement and governing body, as other major international rivers do. The net effect of the Nile treaties was to deny the upper Nile Basin Countries rights to use the waters of the Nile without prior approval of Egypt. The rights of Egypt and Sudan to the waters of the Nile are not impacted on by rising populations in other Nile Basin Countries. Not surprisingly, other Nile Basin Countries have objected to this state of affairs.

However, water management is highly complex and extremely political, as competing interests over water allocation and managing water scarcity require strong institutions. Various attempts have been made over the years to establish a strong institution that could govern the Nile water but failed. Perhaps, the current cooperation process in the Nile waters through the most visible track of cooperation is the Nile Basin Initiative (NBI). This

transitional cooperative mechanism established in 1999 in order to foster cooperation and sustainable development of the river Nile for the benefit of the inhabitants of those countries. The eventual adoption of the Cooperative Framework Agreement (CFA) by the Nile riparian states will result in the establishment of a permanent River Basin Commission, which will replace the transitional mechanism.

This paper is a historical presentation aims at discussing the role of the Nile Basin Initiative (NBI) towards fostering cooperation among riparian countries of the river Nile. The paper adapts the qualitative method of primary and secondary sources of data to explore the NBI's efforts through the Cooperative Framework Agreement (CFA). Given the volatility of water disputes, this paper would enlighten nations with similar situations as those of the river Nile to work out a sharing formula that would minimize water conflict.

### **A brief history of water agreements in the waters of the Nile**

Various attempts have been made over the last half century to establish a strong institution that could govern the Nile water before the establishment of the Nile Basin Initiative (NBI). For instance, 1929, 1959, Hydromet, UNDUGU, and Technical Cooperation Committee for the Promotion of the Development of the Nile (TECCONILE) were major cooperative steps which succeeded one another without significant success.

#### **i. The Agreement between Egypt and Anglo-Egyptian Sudan - 1929**

In 1925, a water commission made recommendations which led to the 1929 Anglo-Egyptian Nile Waters Agreement. This was an agreement signed between Egypt and Britain on 7th May 1929 with Britain acting on behalf of Sudan. The agreement can be summarized as follows:

First, Egypt and Sudan were to respectively receive 48 and 4 billion cubic meters of the Nile flow per year. This meant Egypt was allocated 92.3% and the Sudan 7.7% of the utilizable flow. Second, the flow of the Nile

during the dry season (January 20 to July 15) was to be reserved for Egypt. Third, Egypt was given the right to monitor the Nile flow in the upstream countries. Fourth, Egypt did not require the consent of upper riparian states to undertake Nile River-related projects. Egypt was assured veto power over any construction projects that would adversely affect her interests. This agreement was not realistic because it failed to acknowledge the use or claims to the use of Nile water by any upstream riparian. It did however lay the foundation for the next treaty, called The 1959 Nile Water Agreement that opened the door for Egypt and the Sudan to acquire rights to Nile (Mekonnen421).

## **ii. The Nile Agreement between on Full Utilization of Nile waters - 1959**

By 1959 the political dynamics in the Nile water basin were shifting. Egypt and Sudan were fully independent and Ethiopia had been freed from Italian occupation and had reabsorbed Eritrea. All other tributary countries were in the midst of throwing off the yokes of their respective colonizers and would soon become independent. This fluid context was the backdrop for the Nile Agreement between the Sudan and Egypt for Full Utilization of Nile waters. Egypt had been planning the construction of the Aswan High Dam, which was to collect the entire annual flow of the Nile water. Sudan wanted to renegotiate more favorable allocations of water. The Agreement for the Full Utilization of the Nile Waters was the most controversial bilateral agreement signed between Sudan and Egypt. The treaty was signed without inviting comment from, nor, obtaining the consensus of, other riparian countries.

According to the Oregon State University Case Study, *Trans-boundary Dispute Resolution, the Nile Waters Agreement*, The agreement contained several main points as follows: The average annual Nile flow was settled and agreed to be about 84 billion cubic meters as measured at Aswan High Dam, in Egypt. The entire average annual flow of the Nile was to be shared between the Sudan and Egypt, each receiving 18.5 and 55.5 billion cubic meters, respectively. The annual water loss due to evaporation and other

factors was estimated at 10 billion cubic meters and was deducted equally from each country's water share. Sudan would construct projects that would enhance the Nile's flow by preventing evaporation losses in the Sudd swamps of the White Nile. If claims were to come from the remaining riparian countries over the Nile water resource, Sudan and Egypt would together resolve them. If they accepted another's claim to water, that allocated amount would be deducted equally from the Sudan's and Egypt's allocations. Egypt was granted the right to construct the Aswan High Dam while Sudan was given permission to construct the Rosaries Dam on the Blue Nile and to develop other irrigation and hydroelectric power generation projects as long as its overall Nile share was not exceeded. A Permanent Joint Technical Commission was to be established to insure technical cooperation between the two countries. It is clear that Egypt and Sudan wrote and ratified this agreement before the other countries had time to organize their own opposition. The exclusive nature of this treaty is in large part responsible for the unfavorable climate for future riparian cooperation in the basin.

### **iii. The Hydromet Survey Project (1967-1993)**

Hydromet, the first basin-wide organization, was established in 1967 and consists of all the riparian states of the Nile except for Ethiopia and DRC. It was initiated by the Great Lakes states immediately after they achieved independence in the 1960s. The organization was intended mainly to analyze the hydrometeorological survey of the catchments of Lakes Victoria, Kyoga, Albert and Mobutu Sese Seku, with an aim to reducing flood disasters due to high rainfall in the area (Tafesse 104). In 1961, the Egyptians were invited to join the Hydromet project in 1967, along with Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, the Sudan, UNDP and WMO, Egypt signed the Hydromet. The latter two organizations were called to the negotiation table by the Great Lakes States Coordinating Committee to provide both financial and logistical arrangements (Carroll 292). Whereas UNDP's special fund provided financial assistance up to US\$1.8 million for the

implementation of the project, the WMO was responsible for executing the planned activities of the hydromet project.

**iv. The UNDUGU (1983-1993)**

Egypt initiated a project called ‘UNDUGU’ (Brotherhood) which ran from 1983-1993, alongside the Hydromet project. The aim was to form a Nile Basin 20 Economic Community and thus protect Egypt’s permanent interest in the Nile Basin. Egypt, Sudan, Uganda, Zaïre, and DRC formed the organization, which was established in Khartoum, Sudan, in 1983 (Merrill 80). Mekonnen calls the project the “first initiative for basin-wide cooperation” (426). While Burundi and Rwanda joined the group later, Kenya, Tanzania and Ethiopia opted to distance themselves, taking on only an observer status that they might attend the UNDUGU meetings. One of the main objectives of the UNDUGU grouping was to create mutual benefit in areas of infrastructure, environment, culture and trade. Unfortunately, the organization was disbanded without achieving its intended objectives.

**v. TECCONILE (1993-1999)**

In December 1992, the Council of Ministers of Water Affairs of Egypt, Sudan, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, and DRC formed TECCONILE. Ethiopia remained an aloof observer, and Burundi, Eritrea, and Kenya, marginal contributors to the Nile waters, preferred to join Ethiopia as observers rather than signatories (Collins, 2003). TECCONILE was the direct successor of the Hydromet project after its closure in 1992. When TECCONILE came into operation in January 1993, with its Secretariat in Uganda, it used the former hydromet’s secretariat office at Entebbe. The Council of Ministers of Water affairs had a technical committee in place to act as a steering committee that was responsible to carry out the project under the TECCONILE. The initial project of TECCONILE was dealing with the environment and water quality of the Nile River; but later “an equitable entitlement of the Nile waters to the co-basin states had been included as an objective when the TECCONILE functionaries drafted and

submitted to the CIDA- assisted NRBAP in May, 1995 (Tafesse106). The Action Plan (NRBAP) consisted of 22 technical assistance and capacity building projects, with estimated cost of US\$ 100 million for its implementation. CIDA, UNDP, FOA, and the World Bank showed willingness to assist in the coordination of the project, in keeping with the objectives of their own agencies. The Nile 2002 Conference series was one of the greatest achievements of the TECCONILE action project. A series of conferences (1993-2002) were held in an attempt to bring about basin-based cooperation. The conferences were held annually, with each of the basin countries taking a turn to host. The attendants included Ministers of Water Affairs and technical experts from all the riparian states, so as to provide a forum for scientific discussion and informal dialogues to encourage the exchange of data and to promote cooperation for Nile Basin development (Swain 692). Unlike its predecessors (Hydromet, UNDUGU and other local arrangements), TECCONILE was successful in bringing the Nile Basin states together in an organized dialogue but eventually failed to bring a lasting solution to the issues of water sharing among riparian states in the Nile basin.

### **A Discussion on the Relevance of Pre-Nile Basin Initiative (NBI) Water Treaties: Conflict vs Cooperation**

The positions of other riparian states in the River Nile basin, according to Salem A. Ali, have historically swung between the two poles of Egypt and Ethiopia (2010:10). Sudan, the only other North African state in the Nile Basin, did not always side with Egypt, just as the equatorial lake riparian countries did not always side with Ethiopia. For instance, immediately after its independence, Sudan refused to abide by the 1929 agreement and used diplomatic confrontation, for example, she called for a renegotiation of the 1959 agreement (Salem11). Social researchers (Waterbury 80) and (Dinar 5) have argued that should Sudan demand additional allocations of water, it would not only challenge the status quo but truly rattle Egypt's historical consumption. It has been argued that the Sudanese demand for more water might create stronger alliances between Sudan and the upper

riparian states, particularly with Ethiopia, as the two states share an objective- the demand for more water.

Taking into consideration pre-NBI water treaties, the basin countries can be said to have had a low intensity scale of conflict, and a high intensity scale of cooperation. It is possible to say, for example, that close to the signing of the 1929 and 1959 agreements conflict was high, but cooperation between the Sudan and Egypt was after the signing of the 1959 agreement, the intensity of conflict was lowered and cooperation was increased. Yet, peaceful co-existence was not consistent, and cooperation and conflict levels fluctuated.

All pre-NBI water treaties attempt had experienced both conflict and cooperative behaviors during negotiations. However, a certain positive spirit of cooperation remained in the region, for example, TECCONILE, in particular had provided a forum discussion and sharing of information among riparian states, and had built confidence within its member states. Similarly, during the era of hydromet, cooperation levels could be said to have been high, for instance, many hydrometeorological survey projects were carried out, winning a common consensus among the member states. But the Egyptian proposal in the 1970s sowed seeds of suspicion and mistrust, mainly between the down riparian states and the great lakes region.

It is the manner in which water and water resources are managed, treated and governed that determines the nature and intensity of interactions. Whenever unilateralism and power play greater role in controlling the water resources the intensity of conflict increases and cooperation decreases (1929, 1959). Conversely, whenever common benefits (hydrometeorological survey, investment) take a lead, the intensity of conflicts decrease and cooperation increases. Considering the River Nile as only an object of conflict disregards the fact that the River Nile is also an object of cooperation, uniting the riparian countries even during times of high tension.

One can thus conclude that the pre-NBI cooperative attempts were catalysts for the creation of the NBI. However, these cooperative attempts had suffered from many shortcomings, both in planning and implementing, which had compromised their success. Suspicion and mistrust were chronic problems which eventually dissolved successive frameworks.

### **The role of Nile Basin Initiative (NBI) in the Nile Water Conundrum**

The Nile Basin Initiative (NBI), supported by the World Bank, was launched in 1999. Its secretariat office is located in Entebbe, Uganda, and it is a regional partnership within which all ten Nile basin countries, including Egypt, united to pursue long-term development and management of the Nile water. NBI is the result of a series of meetings (1993-2002) of the Council of Ministers during the TECCONILE period. This was a great achievement for the Nile riparian states, since for the first time in history, all Nile Basin countries have expressed to pursue this under a transitional arrangement-NBI-until a permanent legal framework is in place (Karyabwite 40). An interview with Ms Achiro reveals that within the umbrella of the NBI, the Nile riparian states found an opportunity to communicate and to develop their own regional development projects. She further added that the riparian countries collectively identified their multipurpose development projects, such as the generation and export of hydropower, and large/small-scale irrigation schemes. It is basically a synergy that heralds the commencement of basin wide cooperative efforts and a shift from unilateralism to multilateralism in the development of the Nile Water resource.

Furthermore, the Nile Basin Initiative and its ambitious goals of establishing regional cooperation and mutually beneficial relationships among all Nile Basin riparian states, thus functions as a broad program of international importance seeking to balance the interests of riparian states (An interview with Nyarao). It is aimed at finding cooperative solutions to a potentially conflictual situation as the Nile Basin region through the Cooperative Framework Agreement (CFA).



## **The Cooperative Framework Agreement (CFA)**

Cooperative Framework Agreement (CFA) also known as the Entebbe Agreement is a framework agreement aimed at governing the relations of Nile basin countries. It is established to strengthen and promote cooperation, integrated management, sustainable development, harmonious utilization, conservation and protection of the river. It also provides for the establishment of a permanent Nile River Basin Commission through which member countries will act together to manage and develop the resources of the Nile (CFA, 2010). It is composed of fifteen general principles and thirty-nine articles providing the rights and obligations of riparian states. It is introduced by the upper riparian states as an international legal instrument.

In 2003 Nile Basin states established the CFA negotiation committee to recommend a comprehensive legal agreement for reallocation of the Nile waters. The main target of such negotiations is to come up with an agreement or convention to establish a Nile River Basin Commission. This situation led to the negotiations of the Nile CFA forward. The draft CFA was submitted to the Nile-COM which met in Entebbe, Uganda, in June 2007. Despite extensive discussions, agreement could not be reached on the question of 'water security' introduced by Article 14 of the draft (Mekonnen 427). The text of Article 14 adopted by the Nile-CoM reads:

Having due regard for the provision of Articles 4 and 5, Nile Basin states recognize the vital importance of water security to each of them. The States also recognize that cooperative management and development of the waters of the Nile River System will facilitate achievement of water security and other benefits. Nile Basin states therefore agree, in a spirit of cooperation:

- (a) to work together to ensure that all States achieve and sustain water security;
- (b) not to

significantly affect the water security of any other Nile Basin state.

The CFA was opened for signature in Uganda as from the 14th of May 2010 until the 13th of May 2011. Around February, 2011, six of the ten riparian states signed the final version of the CFA. Ethiopia, Tanzania, Rwanda and Uganda signed on the same day. In the meantime, Kenya became the fifth country when its minister of waters signed the CFA on May 19, 2010 (Swain 693). After Burundi signed the CFA in February 2011, the agreement has achieved the necessary majority in order to be ratified and implemented in the region.

There are some indications that this stalemate could be a blessing rather than a curse in opening up a new chapter in the upstream-downstream dialogue and bring about a breakthrough. Egypt is now engaged in diplomatic efforts with the upstream riparian states (Salem 13). Its signing is a milestone in the hydro-political history of the Nile Basin and marked the beginning of the end of the status quo (Nicol and Cascao327). For Egypt it means the loss of its historic dominance over the Nile's utilization as well as the veto rights with regard to Nile issues going back to the 1929 agreement. In order for Sudan to develop, they also need to use more water than was allocated in the 1959 agreement for hydropower and irrigation systems (Salem 14).

The CFA prevents countries from using the flow of the Nile in ways which would harm downstream states, a principle which aligns with other trans-boundary river treaties. But importantly, the new treaty removes Egypt's absolute veto power over upstream projects. The conclusion of the negotiations over the CFA is hoped to lead to the establishment of a permanent Nile River Basin Commission. In addition to echoing the principles of international water law, the CFA allows the NBI to be transformed into a permanent Nile River Basin Commission (NRBC) that would have legal status so that it can enter into agreements and oversee the implementation of the CFA (An interview with Nyarao). Before the NBI, Egypt effectively controlled the development of the Basin's water

resources by threat of intimidation, blocking financial approval via its influence with the World Bank and African Development Bank, and asserting the existing agreements that grant Egypt with the lion's share of Nile Water. However, these agreements have been rejected by the upstream countries.

In affirmation of the importance of the Nile Basin to the economic and social well-being of their peoples, almost all the riparian countries set up committees to help prepare for a constitutive document of cooperative agreement, to be based on the principles of equitable and reasonable use of water and sustainable development on the international conventions and experiences of trans-boundary Rivers. The basin countries accepted the Cooperative Framework Agreement (CFA) to govern their relations with regard to the Nile River Basin to promote integrated management, sustainable development and harmonious utilization of the water resources of the basin, as well as conservation and protection for the benefits of present and future generations. These have also played a significant role in Nile basin cooperation in general and regional energy integration in particular.

### **The challenges of the Nile Basin Initiative (NBI)**

Despite the fact that NBI has made remarkable achievements, the initiative is facing some challenges. Among the challenges affecting the NBI's efficiency are Legal foundations, Bringing Egypt back to the NBI, Sustaining the Gains, Ownership and Resources, Sustaining the gains, and Incomplete Ratification of the CFA amongst Basin States.

#### **i. Legal foundations**

Historically, one of the main obstacles from regional cooperation in the Nile Basin has been the existence of historical legal agreement over the water, specifically the 1929 agreement signed between Egypt and Great Britain (as colonial power in the basin), and the 1959 agreement between Egypt and Sudan (Tvedt 15). It should be noted that these agreements were

partial in scope, they didn't include all the Nile riparian; granted specific volumetric allocations to Egypt and Sudan alone; are binding for signatories but are also not legally recognized by other riparian's; have historically been the major stumbling block in the hydro-political relation between the two downstream riparian's and the upstream neighboring states and; still carry an enormous influence over the ongoing cooperation process. In fact, this has been one of the major failures of the past cooperative attempts in the basin. It revolves around the fact that sensitive issue of the previous agreements has not been approached. The downstream countries claim that multilateral cooperation is possible without having to address the past water agreements and what they consider their "historic and acquired rights". Upstream countries consider that no cooperation is possible without a revision of past agreement and endorsement of a new multilateral agreement.

If the NBI is to transit into a permanent River Basin Commission, it will require foundation on a Treaty. This was the parallel track, the Negotiation Track, pursued for years along with the Cooperation Track under the NBI which culminated in the conclusion of the negotiation when the CFA was signed by six upstream countries (An interview with Alarabawy). Completing the ratification of the CFA will enable its transformation into a treaty enabling the establishment of the Nile River Basin Commission.

## **ii. Bringing Egypt back to Ratify the CFA**

Looking ahead, Egypt's re-entry into NBI is an essential prerequisite for future cooperation and development of the river. As a sisterly Nile country, the most downstream and the most vulnerable to fluctuations in the river, Egypt has a huge stake in all developments taking place across the length of the river. Understandably, this is an issue at the heart of the country's social, economic and water security and is recognized as such by all members of the NBI. It is in the interest of all Nile Basin countries, and the international community, to help resolve the impasse and encourage Egypt to return to the fold. Key challenges of Nile development cannot be addressed unless there is a collective will and capacity to do so. Egypt

needs the Nile and the Nile needs Egypt just as much, says Nyarao (Interview with Nyarao). Politics is the art of the possible and the hydro politics of the Nile is no different. Provided there is goodwill, creativity in searching for common ground and a sustained effort, breakthroughs are possible. An expressed desire to resolve the issue is a key starting point.

Cascao maintained that continuing unilateralism is not an option given risks that climate change pose for all Nile countries, and given the finiteness and fragility of whole basin resources including precious ecosystems (interview with Cascao). Allowing an impasse that jeopardizes collective action and cooperation to persist means that problems and challenges will continue to emerge and reproduce them. There is a real danger that gains made to date through cooperation could be reversed.

### **iii. Ownership and Resources**

Member States have been increasingly assumed responsibility for the NBI in terms of providing increasing cash and in-kind contributions to cover annual core costs. But not all have shown the requisite due diligence in this respect (An interview with Abdulkarim). This needs to be remedied urgently and Member States need to continue allocating from national budgets, or otherwise seek additional funding sources in order to implement jointly-identified and prepared cooperative water resources projects. There is also a need to embark on the next round of cooperative water resources management and development projects and toward this end, the international community - especially development partners - need to be engaged on a continuing basis and maintain critical financial and technical support (An interview with Abdulkarim). Cultivating links to new development partners is also a priority and in order to build a stronger “family of partners” the NBI must continue to demonstrate its professionalization and capacity to implement actions at all levels.

#### **iv. Incomplete Ratification of the CFA amongst Basin States**

Another conflict of interest among the upstream and downstream basin states is over article 14(b) of the CFA, concerning the possible amendment of the colonial agreements. The NBI was established to facilitate the move from unilateral to multilateral Nile resource management through the CFA, however the CFA is yet to be ratified by most NBI members. While the upstream states agree that the CFA should replace the colonial agreements and provide a new legal framework to ensure equitable and efficient water management, the downstream states maintain that the CFA should recognize the legitimacy of the 1929 and 1959 agreements. The disagreement over article 14(b) has affected the NBI's activities. Due to the deadlock of the CFA, two basin states refused to pay their annual fees to the NBI in 2010, and have refused to participate in certain activities initiated by the NBI. Therefore, the major constraint of the NBI namely is this absence of a legal framework.

#### **Conclusion**

The Nile Basin Initiative (NBI) has provided the first and only inclusive platform for dialogue among all riparian states. Given the earlier history of non-cooperation characteristic of the Nile basin, creating an enabling environment was made a priority. This included building trans-boundary institution and raising awareness; building inter-riparian confidence and mutuality; and paving the way for cooperative development such as water resources investment and planning and management of the shared Nile water resources. Forum created and facilitated by NBI have brought together decision and policy makers, technicians, engineers, academicians and other experts from across the basin.

As a result, nobody in the basin any longer questions whether cooperation on the Nile is necessary, desirable or doable. Rather, the conversation has shifted focus on how to promote and expedite it. As a result, today, in contrast to the past, Nile riparian's share data, own a jointly developed state-of-the-art decision support system and work together in the planning

of water resources development projects with trans-boundary significance. This has resulted in joint identification and preparation of over \$1billion of investment projects in the power, agriculture, water supply, and watershed management and fishery sectors. Therefore, NBI provides the necessary enabling policy framework for trans-boundary cooperation.

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## THE MANIPULATION OF ETHNICITY AND RELIGION IN PRECIPITATING ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA

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### **Abstract**

*Since 1999 to date, elections in Nigeria have been characterized by high scale of irregularities ranging from riggings, money politics and the use of ethno-religious divide in order to influence the mandate of the electorates. Electoral violence is one of the strategies employed by Nigerian politicians during electioneering campaigns to win elections by all means. Some politicians who may be strong and powerful many often do sponsor unemployed youths and illiterates members of their constituencies to outsmart their political opponents with a view to manipulating election results to their own advantage. It is against this backdrop that this paper examines the manipulation of ethnicity and religion in precipitating electoral violence in Nigeria. The paper hopes to investigate ineffective transfer of power, rigging, politics of money, do or die politics, ineffective law enforcement and poverty, lack of trust in the tribunal and media reports as some of the factors precipitating electoral violence in Nigeria. The paper argues that until these challenges are address electoral violence would continue to exist and incompetent politicians may likely take the mantle of leadership across the country. The paper adopted thematic approach using oral sources, written records and other auxiliary sources.*

**Keywords:** Ethnicity, Religion, Election, Electoral Violence.

## **Introduction**

Ideally, the electoral process should contribute towards democratic consolidation in any given state. Through elections, the electorates are provided with opportunity to vote for the candidates and parties that will represent their divergent interests. However, in many African countries such as Nigeria, the electoral process has brought about unwarranted political instability. In 1999 when the ban on political parties was lifted, a strong party emerged in Nigeria; the People's Democratic Party (PDP). The party was set out to stir the affairs of the Nigerian State. From this period onward the politics of Nigeria took religious and ethnic dimension. Each political figure appeals to their faithful or tribes to vote for them in elections. The 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011 elections saw the use of this new method by politicians and parties to win political offices. The attendant consequence of this was the spread of violence in electoral contests in Nigeria.

The use of ethnic and religious politics in Nigeria attracted intensive debate and arguments amongst scholars across the country. Abbas highlighted that one of these scholars was Late Bala Usman who argued that being Nigeria a secular state, politicians must shun away from politics of ethnicity and religion with a view to achieving political scores. Abbas further argues that part of the challenges of democracy in Nigeria lies with the attitude of some politicians who may pay homage to religious and ethnic leaders either directly or indirectly pleading that they should call on people to elect leaders who would protect their religion<sup>1</sup>.

It is against this backdrop that this chapter will examine the manipulation of ethnicity and religion in precipitating electoral violence in Nigeria. To achieve this, the paper is divided into six sections. The first section is the introduction; the second focuses on the conceptual clarification; the third section deals with the precipitating factors of electoral violence; the fourth

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<sup>1</sup> I. M. Abbas, (2010), "Election violence in Nigeria and the problem of democratic politics", Seminar Paper presented at the Department of Political Science, ABU Zaria on February 26.

section dwells on the impact of electoral violence in Nigeria. The fifth highlights the way forward; while the sixth forms the conclusion.

## **Conceptual Clarification**

### **Ethnicity**

This is the employment or mobilization of ethnic identity and difference to gain advantage in situation of competition, conflicts or cooperation. However, an ethnic group presupposes a group whose members share common identity and affinity based on common language and culture or common origin and territorial homeland. However, identity can be expressed in terms of race, ethnicity, gender, culture, class or religion. This identity conflicts is believed to have been responsible for world's notorious violence accounting for death of millions people. Ethnicity also signifies the consciousness that notifies or remind you of who you are, or where you belong within the context of society and social relations. So, the utilization of ethnicity as a tool for cognition of identity and instrument of cultural distinctiveness is manipulated and has become an uncontrolled source of aggressiveness, violence, conflicts and bloodshed across the Nigerian states<sup>2</sup>.

### **Religion**

Religion has been conceptualized in a different ways by scholars based on perception and belief. Generally, Sociologists and Theologians perceived it as a beliefs, values and action based on ultimate concern. Or simply put, religion is a way, manner and system of life which are considered ordained by God, the Almighty and therefore, sacred. Garba Ashiwaju argued that religions must be separated from people's individual belief systems. He further argued that religion is "a world view, an ideology, an organization,

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<sup>2</sup>B., Yohanna," *Ethnic Minority and Conflicts in Kaduna State: A Study on the National Question*" (Ph.D., Thesis, Department of History, University of Jos, 1993), Pp. 1-49.

an attitude, a set of values, as moods and motivations, or as an ethical disposition"<sup>3</sup>.

## **Election**

Osumah and Aghemelo observes that elections form the bedrock of a genuine democratic system. They see election as a process through which the people choose their leaders and indicate their policies and programme preference and consequently invest a government with authority to rule<sup>4</sup>. Roberts and Edwards cited in Omotola view election as a method of selecting persons to fill certain public offices through choices made by the electorate; those citizens who are qualified to vote under the laws and procedures of the electoral system<sup>5</sup>. Webster's Encyclopedic Dictionary defines election as "the act or process of organizing systematic (s) election (permitting mass participation and method of choosing a person or persons by vote for a public office position in which state authority is exercised".

## **Electoral Violence**

According to Albert, electoral violence involves all forms of organized acts of threats aimed at intimidating, harming, blackmailing a political stakeholder or opponent before, during and after an election with an intention to determine, delay or influence a political process<sup>6</sup>. Ogundiya and Baba, see electoral violence as all sorts of riots, demonstrations, party clashes, political assassinations, looting, arson, thuggery, kidnapping

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<sup>3</sup>G., Ashiwaju, "Introduction: Religion and National Integration" in *Nigeria Since Independence the First 25 Years: Religion (eds) J.A Atanda and eta'l* (Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, Vol IX, 1989), 1-10.

<sup>4</sup>O., Osumah, and T., Aghemelo, (2010). Elections in Nigeria since the End of Military Rule. *AFRICANA*. Volume 4, No.2.

<sup>5</sup>E., Roberts & R., Edwards (1991) cited in Omotola (2007) J. S., Omotola, (2007). Godfathers and the 2007 Nigerian general elections. *Journal of African Elections*. 6(2), pp.134-154.

<sup>6</sup>I. O., Albert, (2007), "Reconceptualizing electoral violence in Nigeria", in I.O. Albert, D. Marco and V. Adetula (Eds). *Perspectives on the 2003 Elections in Nigeria*. Abuja: IDASA and Sterling Holding Publishers.

spontaneous or not, which occur before, during and after elections<sup>7</sup>. Fischer defines electoral violence (conflict) as any random or organized act that seeks to determine, delay, or otherwise influence an electoral process through threat, verbal intimidation, hate speech, disinformation, physical assault, forced “protection”, blackmail, destruction of property, or assassination<sup>8</sup>.

Similarly, Igbuzor, sees electoral violence as: Any act of violence perpetuated in the course of political activities including, pre, during and post-election periods, and may include any of the following acts: thuggery, use of force to disrupt political meetings or voting at polling stations, or the use of dangerous weapons to intimidate voters and other electoral process or to cause bodily harm or injury to any person connected with electoral processes<sup>9</sup>.

### **Factors Precipitating Electoral Violence**

Indeed, electoral violence has become a clog in the wheel of democratic progress as violence always manifest at all the three stages of election process; pre-election, during the election and post-election period. The followings are some of the major factors that may precipitate electoral violence in Nigeria.

The attractive nature of public office (Ugoh, 2004:178) coupled with the weak regulatory framework in the use of money in politics and investment mentality that governs party and election in Nigeria is one of the root causes of electoral violence. Claude Ake posits that those who win state power can have all the wealth they want even without working, while those who lose the struggle for state power cannot have security in the wealth they have made even by hard work. The capture of state power inevitably becomes a

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<sup>7</sup> S. I., Ogundiya, and T. K. Baba, (2005), “Election Violence and the Prospects of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria”, in Odofin & Omojuwa (eds) ops cit.

<sup>8</sup> J., Fischer, (2002). Electoral conflict and violence IFES. Washington, D.C.

<sup>9</sup> O., Igbuzor, (2010). Electoral violence in Nigeria. Asaba, Action Aid Nigeria.

matter of life and death. That is one reason why our politics is so intense, anarchic and violent<sup>10</sup>.

Ineffective law enforcement is another core contributory factor that precipitates electoral violence in Nigeria. Elaigwu posits that non enforcement of laws and non-adherence to same in the electoral process promotes violence during elections. He believes that political actors, players, party supporters and political thugs violate the laws that governs the rule of politicking with impunity due to inability of the government and other law enforcement bodies to compel obedience. He further maintains that when the administrators of the political process is unwilling to enforce the rules, a lot of opportunities are created for violence and if the law does not prevail, it is tantamount to the absence of rules governing the conduct of elections<sup>11</sup>. Therefore, the weak legal framework in Nigeria forms the fulcrum upon which the culture of violence is built and sustained resulting in violence, arson and assassination. As observed also, Elaigwu argues that when the rule of law is weak, the judicial system becomes ineffective and there are ineffective penalties that make the probability of punishment of offenders low, thus creating a fragile and corrupt system.

According to Usman, poverty pervasiveness is another factor that hastens the occurrence of electoral violence in Nigeria. To Abiola and Olaopa, the scourge of poverty in Nigeria is an incontrovertible fact which results in hunger, ignorance, malnutrition, diseases, unemployment as well as general level of human hopelessness. The massive poverty that engulfs the body

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<sup>10</sup> C., Ake, (1964). "The Political Question" in O. Oyediran (ed), *Governance and Development in Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Professor B.J. Dudley*. Ibadan: Oyediran Consult International.

<sup>11</sup>J. I., Elaigwu, (2006), "Causes, Manifestation and Consequences of Electoral Violence in Nigeria". Being the text of the presentation at the National Conference on 'Strategies for Curbing Election Related Violence in Nigeria'. Organised by Mambiyya House, Bayero University Kano, July 25-27, at Abuja, Nigeria.

polity is a great asset to the politicians. The alarming rate of unemployment gives youth away as willing tools for the perpetration of violence with little financial inducement<sup>12</sup>. In the words of Danjibo and Oladeji, the high spate of deprivation and human hopelessness of the Nigerian youths force them to take part in electoral violence. The endemic poverty easily plays the gullible youths into the hands of unscrupulous politicians, who manipulate them by dangling irresistible baits for the youths to undertake electoral violence<sup>13</sup>. More often than not political violence is paid for, used as a tool by prominent Nigerians to bolster their political and financial positions.

Balogun believes that Rigging is a precipitating factor that easily makes the entire process violent. He maintains that experiences of the past conduct of elections reveals that subverting the electoral process through massive organized fraud do engender violent upheaval, before, during and after elections. The use of political thugs by politician to maneuver electoral process in perceived unflavored area does cause violence if resisted by the opposition or the citizenry. Also, when an unpopular candidate is declared the winner of election, violence always greeted such announcement. The Western Regional election of 1965-1966 that was characterized by wanton destruction of lives and properties is a reference. Also, violence greeted the announcement of 2007 gubernatorial elections in some states of the federation as a result of perceived rigging resulting into arson and loss of lives and properties<sup>14</sup>. Curfew was imposed in part of Edo, Osun, Ondo, Kogi and Kano states to calm the violence

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<sup>12</sup> A. G., Abiola, & O. R. Olaopa, (2008) "Economic Development and Democratic Sustenance" in E O Ojo (ed.), *Challenges of Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria*. John Archers.

<sup>13</sup> N. D., Danjibo, & A. Oladeji (2007), "Vote Buying in Nigeria: An Assessment of the 2007 General Elections", *Journal of Africa Elections Special Issue: Nigeria's 2007 General Elections*. Volume 6, Number 2, October.

<sup>14</sup> T. A., Balogun, (2003) Nigeria: Electoral Violence and National Security .Retrieved November 15, 2009 from <http://www.file:///d:/electoralviolenceandnationalsecurity.htm>



It is also worthy to note, that lack of trust in the electoral tribunal is also a factor. Candidates and their supporters do resort to violence instead of embarking on an endless venture as the impartiality of the Judges at the tribunal are in doubt. Where elections are not struck out on technical ground, they are protracted for a long period and justice is not guaranteed<sup>15</sup>.

The media indulgence in campaign of calumny, mudslinging and defamation or slanderous attack on other political actors cannot but be mentioned as a causative instrument for electoral violence. Usman asserts that the media spread of sensational political and motivated opinions engender violence by succumbing to the influence of selfish politicians to use their outfit as propaganda launch pad<sup>16</sup>.

### **Impact of Electoral Violence**

As observed above, since 1999 to date, electoral violence in Nigeria were precipitated mostly as a result of selfishness or greediness by some politicians to win elections through negative ways such as rigging, use of money, ethnicity, religion and so on. However, their attitude accelerated the politics of ethnicity and religion in most of the Nigerian states especially in 2011 as a result of the race for the presidential slot between the northern and southern part of Nigeria. The race was more severe and posed a serious threat for the nation's wellbeing. The pro and anti-zoning and rotation of public offices debate before the 2011 elections polarized and divided the country into ethno-religious groups. The Northerners believed that with the death of President Umaru Musa Yar'adua, a northerner should be elected to complete the second term of Yar'Adua's administration and that President Goodluck

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<sup>15</sup> J. I., Elaigwu, (2006), "Causes, Manifestation and Consequences of Electoral Violence in Nigeria". Being the text of the presentation at the National Conference on 'Strategies for Curbing Election Related Violence in Nigeria'. Organised by Mambiyya House, Bayero University Kano, July 25-27, at Abuja, Nigeria.

<sup>16</sup> O., Osman, (2009), "Elections in Nigeria since the End of Military Rule", *AFRICANA*. Volume 4, No.2.

Jonathan should not be allowed to contest for the presidency<sup>17</sup>. This led to the division of the country on ethnic or religious basis.

The 2011 Presidential elections sparked off violent reactions and general dissatisfaction with the results declared by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). The violence was predominantly in the Northern part of the country in States such like Kaduna, Kano, Bauchi, Zamfara and Katsina. The expectation of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) supporters was that the Presidential election results throughout the country was going to be in favour of their Presidential candidate in the person of Major General Muhammadu Buhari (rtd). Initially, the supporters of the CPC were jubilating as the results of Kaduna State were being announced. However, as the results of other States were being announced the joy of the CPC supporters turned to bitterness as they monitored the National Live broadcast of the results of the Presidential Election in other States and it dawned on them that CPC was losing. As such they poured into all the nooks and crannies of states like Kano, Bauchi, Kaduna and Zaria and engaged in the destruction of properties spontaneously<sup>18</sup>.

It was observed that the violence in most parts of Northern States was more of political in nature at its onset because attacks were made on PDP chieftains and properties belonging to them were destroyed by CPC supporters and miscreants. For instance, properties including houses, vehicles and other household items belonging to many PDP leaders, former Commissioners, Local Government Chairmen, prominent financiers/sponsors and other supporters of PDP were destroyed. Along the

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<sup>17</sup> Whitepaper Report on the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Presidential Election Disturbances in Kaduna State, April, 2011.

<sup>18</sup> R., Adele Bamgbose, "*Electoral Violence and Nigeria's 2011 General Elections*" in *Int'l Review of Social Sciences and Humanities*, Vol14, No1, 2012, 1-15. [www.irssh.com](http://www.irssh.com)

way the violence turned religious as Mosques and Churches were destroyed, vandalized and burnt down<sup>19</sup>.

The Violence affected the political landscape of Nigeria in a number of negative ways. For instance, in Kaduna, the violence that rocked the State after the election broke out simply because of the declaration of Goodluck Jonathan and Patrick Yakowa as President and Governor respectively. The opposition parties especially CPC rejected the result hence the eruption of the violence. Following the outbreak of the violence it was clear that the politics of the state was divided along ethno-religious lines<sup>20</sup>.

The incessant clash between the PDP and CPC members has dragged the Nigerian states into a political set back because it has diverted the attention of the state Governors from good governance by way of equal representation in appointment into political offices of their States. This activity has equally obstructed political activities in some states of northern Nigeria especially Kaduna metropolis because it has divided politicians particularly the followers along ethno-religious lines instead of joining hand in the development of the State<sup>21</sup>.

The 2011 election violence undermined the ego of the individuals that became victims of the circumstances and also led to the establishment of Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps for 1,100 widows and 2000 orphans mainly children in Kaduna state. Other people in the state that were living in towns and had relatives and friends in the military barracks ran to them to seek refuge. Places like Dalet Barracks, NDA Barracks, Air Force Base, Kotoko Barracks, Police Barracks and so on, witnessed a large influx of people from towns seeking for refuge. Mosques, Churches, and Schools in the Barracks became the home of these refugees. The authorities in the barracks in collaboration with the State Government assisted in the provision

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<sup>19</sup> R., Adele Bamgbose, “Electoral Violence and Nigeria’s 2011 General Elections” in *Int’l Review of Social Sciences and Humanities*, Vol14, No1, 2012, 1-15. [www.irssh.com](http://www.irssh.com).

<sup>20</sup> *Nigeria: Post-Election Violence Killed 800. Human Right Watch, 16<sup>th</sup> May, 2011.*

<sup>21</sup> *Nigeria: Post-Election Violence Killed 800. Human Right Watch, 16<sup>th</sup> May, 2011.*

of meals for the people. Some soldiers in the barracks took the advantage of the female displaced persons<sup>22</sup>.

The violence also created a situation of ethnic and religious solidarity among the different ethnic groups in Kaduna state and other affected areas of the Nigerian States. Cultural intercourse or inter-group relations was hindered because diverse ethnic groups were calling on their people to identify with their various groups through meetings, parties and so on. The violence therefore, disrupted cohesion, religious tolerance and the unity of diverse ethnic groups in Nigeria<sup>23</sup>. The Governors of northern states especially Kaduna under Sir Patrick Ibrahim Yakowa remarked that the administration was disturbed by the situation when people could no longer reside wherever they wish for fear of being singled out for attack in time of crisis. The settlement pattern of people along ethnic lines has been undermining socio-cultural interaction<sup>24</sup>.

### **Historical Evidence of Electoral Violence in Nigeria**

Before the return of democratic rule in 1999, electoral violence in Nigeria is traceable to the first republic especially between 1964/65. The dominant political parties during these periods were the Action Group (AG), the Northern People's Congress (NPC) and the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC). They were mostly ethnic based parties because AG was essentially dominated by the Yoruba people, NCNC was regarded as Ibo party, while NPC was mostly dominated by the Hausa community. Consequently, politicians were found either directly or indirectly involved in unethical politics against their political opponents. The attitude of politicians in the first republic motivated the military to seized power from

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<sup>22</sup> *State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA) Summary Report for the year ending 2015-2017*

<sup>23</sup> *State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA) Summary Report for the year ending 2015-2017*

<sup>24</sup> *Kaduna state of Nigeria, White Paper on the Report of Peace and Reconciliation Committee, 2016. 7-9. Also see Focus Group Discussion on Inter-Religious Dialogue, 25/2/2017.*

the democratically elected government through a bloody coup that led to the end of first republic in Nigeria<sup>25</sup>.

After the announcement of the 1983 general elections, electoral violence broke out in some states of Nigeria based on allegations emanated in some quota of the country that the elections were massively rigged. In Oyo and Ondo states for example, the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) that controlled two states were in 1983 elections declared for the ruling National Party of Nigeria (NPN) which led to the outbreak of violence. However, the scandalous 1983 elections did not only cause general apathy among Nigerians but it also led to another military coup that led to the removal of President Aliyu Shehu Shagari as the executive president on December 31, 1983<sup>26</sup>.

Another historical evidence of electoral violence in Nigeria was after the June 12, 1993 election organized by the then Military President, General Ibrahim Babangida. The election was supposed to put an end to the eventful regime of General Ibrahim Babangida and usher in a democratically elected government. Consequently, two political parties were created namely, Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republican Convention (NRC). After the June 12, Presidential election, many Nigerians believed that MKO Abiola would win. The hopes of many Nigerians were dashed when the military government annulled the presidential election. Shortly afterwards, nationwide protests, industrial strike action and civil disobedience engulfed the country.

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<sup>25</sup> S. Ashiru, 'The Role of the Military and other Security Agencies in Conflicts Management in Kaduna State 1987-2005', (Unpublished M.A Thesis), NDA Kaduna 2005, pp. 7-9.

<sup>26</sup> S. Ashiru, 'The Role of the Military and other Security Agencies in Conflicts Management in Kaduna State 1987-2005', (Unpublished M.A Thesis), NDA Kaduna 2005, pp. 7-9.

In the Fourth Republic, elections were held in 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 respectively. These elections have been deeply enmeshed in series of violence before, during and after the elections. The 1999 elections had minimal record of violence largely because the military supervised the electoral process that birthed the fourth republic. The 2003 elections were characterized by manipulation, rigging, thuggery and the assassination of perceived political opponents.

Prior to the 2007 elections, the outgoing President Obasanjo asserted that the election was going to be a “do-or-die” for the ruling PDP. Sani, argued that there were massive irregularities in the 2007 elections and it was characterized by inflation of voting figures, declaration of results where elections were never held or not conclusive, intimidation of voters as well as manipulation of the security services. Results of elections conducted in some were totally different from those announced in Abuja contrary to the provisions of the 2006 Electoral Act<sup>27</sup>.

After the 2011 presidential elections, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan who contested under Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and scored the highest number of votes was declared the winner by INEC as president elect. The opposition party (APC) supporters who constituted the majority of people in the north out rightly rejected the result on the ground that their candidate Malam Muhammadu Buhari should be declared the winner. Consequently, election violence broke out in most of the northern states of Nigeria which led to colossal loss of lives and property. Human Rights Watch reported that about 800 lives were lost as a result of the Post-election violence. Similarly, the Human Rights Watch claimed that more than 65,000 people were displaced after the 2011 Post-election violence. The Nigerian Red Cross

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<sup>27</sup> S. Ashiru, ‘Nigerian Army and the Management of Conflicts in Kaduna State 1987-2015’, (Unpublished PhD Thesis), NDA Kaduna 2017, pp. 105-106.

Society released a slightly lower figure indicating that the violence displaced 48,000 persons in 12 states<sup>28</sup>.

### **Ethnicity and Religion: How the two created violence in Nigeria**

In virtually all the electoral violence in Nigeria, the used of ethnicity and religion to canvas for support by politicians were more prominent than the other factors. This necessitated the need to discuss the relationship between the two and show how they created violence in Nigeria using Kaduna state as case study.

Ethnicity and religion are the major tools used by many politicians to inflict violence on the people and this factor is well pronounced in the politics of Nigeria right from inception. Kaduna State has taken ethnic and religious dimension since before independence but it was more pronounced in the year 2007 and 2011. Prior to 2011 election that brought Sir Patrick Ibrahim Yakowa into power, Yakowa had already succeeded his boss Arc Namadi Sambo as governor of Kaduna State following Namadi's appointment as the vice president of Nigeria. This development to some residence in the state particularly the Hausas saw to it as a big blow to them especially on their political carrier. They began to ask themselves how a minority from southern Kaduna could become a governor and rule over the majority. Some of them started asking questions that it was a deliberate attempt by the federal government led by the PDP to impose a southern Kaduna man on them. Some of them also accused the PDP led government that since 1999 nothing much has been done to the state particularly in the area of youth empowerment. The resentment of Governor Yakowa was not expressed immediately because he came into power by opportunity and luck. Therefore, the Hausa-Fulani and Muslims majority waited patiently for a good time to remove him from office and the best time was in the 2011 polls. This development gave many political office seekers the opportunity to use

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<sup>28</sup> S. Ashiru, 'Nigerian Army and the Management of Conflicts in Kaduna State 1987-2015', (Unpublished PhD Thesis), NDA Kaduna 2017, pp. 105-107.

ethnicity and religion in order to canvass for supporters in order to win elections into various offices especially that of the governor in the state.<sup>29</sup>

The victory of Goodluck Jonathan and Sir Patrick Yakowa (PDP) as President of Nigeria and Governor of Kaduna State respectively at the expense of General Muhammadu Buhari and Alhaji Haruna Sa'id triggered violence in Kaduna metropolis of the State. Goodluck Jonathan a Christian and from a minority ethnic group from the South-South and Sir Patrick Yakowa a Christian and a minority ethnic group from Southern Kaduna emerging victors in the Presidential and Gubernatorial elections was unbelievable for the supporters of CPC who were mostly Hausa Fulani in Kaduna North Local Government Area. This triggered violence in Kaduna resulting in loss of lives and property<sup>30</sup>.

### **Way Forward**

Part of the solutions to address the challenges of electoral violence in Nigeria include good governance, carrying people along and equity in appointment into political offices by any party that wins election irrespective of party affiliation, ethnicity and religion. Strengthening religious tolerance, inter-faith campaigns and sometimes ignoring what happens behind by politicians during electioneering campaigns would facilitate in solving some of the political problems. Even though ethno-religious violence erupted in the past, but before the outbreak of the 2011 Post-Presidential Election Violence, the diverse ethnic groups lived peacefully with one another<sup>30</sup>. In Kaduna state for example, following the adequate security measures taken by the then Governor of the state in person of Alhaji Ahmed Muhammad Makarfi the state was peaceful for quite some times. Unfortunately, this has been broken

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<sup>29</sup> S. Ashiru, 'The Role of the Military and other Security Agencies in Conflicts Management in Kaduna State 1987-2005', (Unpublished M.A Thesis), NDA Kaduna 2005, pp. 7-9.

<sup>30</sup> Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme (NSRP) Implementation Committee, "Lessons from Other Countries and their Relevance for Nigeria" (paper delivered at the Seminar of Eminent Persons and Expert Group Meeting on Complex Insurgencies in Nigeria at National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies, Kuru, 30 August, 2012).



by some greedy politicians who want to win election by all means and divided people along ethnic and religious lines<sup>31</sup>. The paper recommends that when such parties or their candidates are identified, they should be suspended for contesting into any offices either completely or for a specific years by the appropriate authorities such as INEC. This kind of disciplinary measure would serve as a deterrent to parties or their candidates who may be found using ethnicity and religion as strategies to can verse for support in order to win election.

On the other hand, government should enhance the capacity of the Nigerian youth by creating an enabling environment so as to enable them go about their lawful businesses unhindered. For instance, providing loans to a good number of them to venture into small scale business would alleviate their idleness and also keep them busy, prevent them from participating into illicit acts and promote peace amongst ethnic and religious groups across the country. Peace education must also be emphasized and mediation encouraged<sup>32</sup>. This is important especially in multi-cultural environment like Nigeria.

Lastly, the best guarantee of social stability is the existence of a government that is legitimate in the eyes of the citizenry, a government that depends for more on persuasion than on coercion, a political environment that guarantees enhanced standard of living of the people, the establishment of a just and egalitarian society and equal opportunity for all<sup>33</sup>.

## Conclusion

This paper examined manipulation of ethnicity and religion in precipitating electoral violence in Nigeria. The paper observed that factors precipitating

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<sup>31</sup> H., Hayab John, *“Telling the Truth: The Most Significant Step Towards Peace and Reconciliation in Kaduna State”*,2020.

<sup>32</sup> H., Hayab John, *“Telling the Truth: The Most Significant Step Towards Peace and Reconciliation in Kaduna State”*,2020

<sup>33</sup> H., Philip John, *“Telling the Truth: The Most Significant Step Towards Peace and Reconciliation in Kaduna State”*,2020

electoral violence are many but the most worrisome are ethnicity and religion. Other factors highlighted include poverty, bad governance, politics of money, do or die politics, ineffective transfer of power, corruption and unemployment. As also highlighted, hardly an electoral violence broke out without the loss of lives and damages to properties as it occurred during and after the 2011 post-election violence in Nigeria. The violence also disrupted academic pursuit, economic and political activities, and changes in settlement patterns, psychological and physical stress and so on. The paper concludes that until these challenges are address electoral violence would continue to exist and incompetent politicians may likely take the mantle of leadership across the country.

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**CONFLICT AND ITS IMPACT ON INTERSTATE TRADE  
RELATIONS AMONG THE JUKUN AND TIV PEOPLES  
OF TARABA AND BENUE STATES, 1960 – 2020**

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**Abstract**

*Conflict is a social problem, whose scourge has had different impact on communities and states in Nigeria. The scourge of conflict in Nigeria conjures a grim and pathetic image of horror and destruction of life and properties of the citizenry as a result of use of force and violence in the pursuit of incompatible and particular interests and goals. It is against this back ground that the paper seeks to examine conflict and its impact on interstate trade relations among the Jukun and Tiv peoples of Taraba and Benue States, 1960 – 2020. It conceptualizes the terms conflict and trade. It examines the crises and assesses its impact on interstate trade relations among the Jukun and Tiv peoples of Taraba and Benue States, 1960 – 2020 and concludes by making recommendations. To achieve this, anthropological and historical methodologies were used to generate data, while the qualitative method was used for the analysis. Supplementary secondary sources were also used. The findings corroborate the fact that the prevalent conflicts in our area of study have negative impact on*

*interstate trade relations among the Jukun and Tiv peoples of Taraba and Benue States, 1960 – 2020.*

**Keywords:** Conflict, Impact, Interstate Trade Relations, Jukun and Tiv Peoples, Taraba and Benue States

## **Introduction**

Conflict is a social problem, whose scourge has had different impact on communities and states in Nigeria. The scourge of conflict in Nigeria conjures a grim and pathetic image of horror and destruction of life and properties of the citizenry as a result of use of force and violence in the pursuit of incompatible and particular interest and goals. The impact of armed conflict in Nigeria has been catastrophic, where arms and ammunitions are used to perpetuate mass murder and genocide against unarmed civilians. No part of Nigeria has been spared the vicious scourge of conflict though their prevalence and intensity have not been the same in their occurrence across the length and breadth of the nation.

Conflict as a social phenomenon has been in existence for thousands of years in human history. The earliest record of human conflict appears in the Hebrew Scriptures, recounting stories of how Cain killed Abel his brother because he was jealous of him and was consequently cursed by God to be a fugitive. In recent years, Nigeria has been witnessing unprecedented rise as well as sophistication in conflicts and its impact despite the colossal amount of human and material resources deployed on peace and conflict management in the country. Rather than diminishing due to the several steps taken, it has become more virulent and destructive. It has continued to drain the energy and man power resources of the troubled spots if not the entire nation and has emasculated governance. It is this observed change that the researchers tried to investigate. The main objective of this study is to examine conflict and its impact on interstate trade relations among the Jukun and Tiv peoples of Taraba and Benue States, 1960 – 2020.

## Conceptual Clarifications

The conceptualization of two key concepts is necessarily germane to the progress of this work. Conflict and Trade are conspicuously the key concepts on which the analysis in this work will progress. Interestingly, every society is prone to conflict because of the diversity of interest of members of such society. The term *conflict* is derived from the Latin word '*confligere*', meaning to 'strike together' or 'fight'.<sup>1</sup> Conflict is any form of confrontation between two or more parties results from a situation where (these) two or more interdependent groups or systems of action have incompatible goals.<sup>2</sup> Conflict also means contradictions arising from differences in interests, ideas, ideologies, orientations, beliefs, perceptions and tendencies. Although, conflict is a normal, natural and inevitable phenomenon in any interactive situation of human life, contradictions exist at all levels of the society as intra-psychic/personal, interpersonal, intra-groups, inter-group, institution, intra-national and international. Conflict is not necessarily negative in itself; it is often a by-product of social change and may lead to constructive transformation.<sup>3</sup> In other words, conflicts can be constructive (positive) in the form of social conflict or destructive (negative) in the form of armed conflict.

Conflict takes on a wide variety of forms and have been classified based on the intensity or scale of violence, structural and character of parties in conflict (such as class, ethnic, groups, religious group, racial group, and so on) and manifesting a distinct spatial character (such as national, regional, inter-state or international). However, non-violent conflict has the potential to become violent if the regulatory mechanism is ineffective.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, the worst form of conflict is the armed conflict which includes mass murder and genocide against unarmed civilians.<sup>5</sup>

## Trade

The term "*trade*" refers to buying and selling of goods and services for money or money's worth. It involves transfer or exchange of goods and services for money or money's worth. The manufacturer or producer produces the goods, then moves on to the wholesaler, then to retailer and



finally to the ultimate consumer.<sup>6</sup> Trade is essential for the satisfaction of human wants, and is conducted not only for the sake of earning profit; but to provide services to the consumers. Trade is an important social activity because the society needs uninterrupted supply of goods forever increasing and ever changing but never ending human wants. Trade took birth with the beginning of human life and shall continue as long as human life exists on the earth. It enhances the standard of living of consumers. Thus, trade is a very important social activity and has been broadly classified into two types, viz., internal, home or domestic trade and external, foreign or international trade.<sup>7</sup>

Internal trade is also known as '*home trade*'. It is conducted within the political and geographical boundaries of a country. It can be at local level, regional level or national level. Hence trade carried on among traders within Nigeria, Canada, etc. is called home trade. While External trade also known as '*foreign trade*' refers to buying and selling between two or more countries. For instance, If a trader from Accra in Ghana, sells his goods to another trader from New York in the United States of America, then this is an example of foreign trade. The trade across the Sahara Desert and the Atlantic Ocean typifies this.<sup>8</sup> For the purpose of clarity; trade in the context of this paper refers to the exchange of goods and services both indigenous and exotic during the period of research between the Jukun and the Tiv peoples. Inter-state trade relations between the Jukun and the Tiv, is viewed here not as a static phenomenon, but as a dynamic act and process of change and continuity which is a reflection of the composition of a society, attitudes of traders and interactions among the communities of the Jukun and their Tiv neighbours through time and space, as well as a catalyst for economic growth and development.

### **An Overview of Jukun – Tiv Crisis 1960 – 2020**

Globally, conflicts between ethnic groups have become a common phenomenon, thereby making peaceful co-existence among nations more challenging than ever before. The world over, societies are riddled with conflicts arising from factionalization, distinctive identity and class

formations. This renders societies into perpetual struggles and competitions which often manifest in structural socio-political inequalities and eventually lead to conflicts.<sup>9</sup> Nigeria as a nation had witnessed series of ethnic-conflicts ever before independence but the menace has aggravated in the last five decades. The Jukun and Tiv have had a history of political and economic struggles; however, there has over the years been persistent conflicts between the two ethnic communities who had lived peacefully in the recent past. In many instances, the conflicts have resulted in the destruction of lives and properties and internal displacement of civilians. The conflicts affected the relationship between the two ethnic groups who have been living together cordially. There has been periodic fighting between these two groups since the late 1950s, with sporadic outbreaks in 1959, 1964, 1976, 1990-1992, 2000-2001, and again in 2019-2020.<sup>10</sup> These conflicts, which have political and economic undertones, hinged on the struggle for political appointments and control of cherished economic resources in the area such as farmlands.<sup>11</sup> The Jukun-Tiv conflicts in Nigeria revolve around the contestations over the acquisition of scarce economic resources such as land and the struggle for political relevance. They also revolve around the problem of identity and a sense of belonging especially among the minority ethnic groups in Nigeria. The minority ethnic groups feel that they have the right to possess the economic resources found in their areas and to have a greater participation in the decision making process in the country. With the creation of Benue and Taraba States in 1976 and 1991 respectively, the two ethnic groups felt that the States were created for them to exercise their political and economic influence, the former for Tiv while the latter was for the Jukun. This was the bedrock of the conflicts.<sup>12</sup>

It is equally important to note that the issue of indigene – settler relationship has been a factor in the Jukun-Tiv conflict in Wukari. The Jukun, based on historical claims, see themselves as the indigenous people, while perceiving the Tiv as settlers, based on their later arrival. This relationship tended to have occasioned a negative attitude toward each other from both groups. It is important to note that the constitution of the

Federal Republic of Nigeria gives all law abiding individuals the right to live and pursue their legitimate businesses in any part of the Country. Be that as it may, as individuals residing in a particular place decides to engage in activities that endanger the lives of other citizens residing in that place without being checked by the relevant security agencies led to citizens taking the law into their hands for the purpose of self-defense in protection of their lives and property. This further resulted into a mutual suspicion between the parties involved leading to further conflicts.<sup>13</sup>

The Jukun and Tiv conflict in Wukari has overtime exacerbated into a larger conflict between the two nations in the Benue valley. What started as a conflict between the nations within Wukari Local Government has become a conflict between two states (Taraba and Benue) leading to tensions arising from the border of solidarity for their “brothers” in diaspora. This is primarily because the two nations hold predominant majority in each of the states. This external influence and interference in the conflicts continued to pose a threat towards national unity transcending to the slow pace of development in the states. Border communities in the two states have become a snare for both residents and other Nigerians particularly when plying the federal highway connecting both states. The impact of this cannot be overemphasized as the external influence in the conflict has led to a larger effect not just between the Jukun and Tiv in Wukari or Benue and Taraba States, but the country as a whole.<sup>14</sup>

### **Impact of Jukun-Tiv Conflicts on Interstate Trade Relations, 1960 – 2020**

The Jukun-Tiv conflicts had devastating consequences on the warring factions. The warring communities seemed to be caught in a conflict trap, where the key issues had the potential of producing more conflicts in the near future. Both sides suffered untold hardships, loss of lives, and destruction of valuable properties as well as a general sense of insecurity. The conflicts were marked by the destruction of towns, villages, foodstuffs, animals and many properties belonging to both sides. In addition, ethnic groups that were not directly involved in the conflicts also

suffered in the cross fire. Generally, it was obvious that what was destroyed during these conflicts could not easily be recovered after many years.<sup>15</sup> In the wake of the latest incident, residents of most affected communities deserted their ancestral homesteads to nearby communities as refugees in different parts of the two states. Commercial activities were also brought to an abrupt halt, while transporters that ferried passengers into the affected areas or passing through them from other parts of the country had to seek alternative routes during the conflict period leading to fare hike and longer journeys.

Most often than not majority of the victims of the conflicts were farmers and traders who were the backbone of the local economy. Some of them were maimed, raped, brutally killed or kidnaped and their properties either robbed, stolen or destroyed. In the recent crisis of 2019 – 2020, the Wukari–Takum and Takum–Kastina-Ala roads were prominent for unscrupulous activities<sup>16</sup> leading to only few vehicles plying those roads with the assistance of security personnel. Apart from the deaths recorded, several were injured while houses, farmlands, markets, vehicles valued at millions of naira were razed, vandalized or destroyed. These entail a serious setback in the development of the affected areas.<sup>17</sup> The implication of this on the communities in the study area especially those along these routes was that traders from other areas shifted to well administered, well-maintained and less crises prone markets in the urban centers and neighbouring communities. This adversely affected the means of livelihood and socio-economic status of local traders whose source of commodities supply were from outside the study area. They also experienced scarcity and high cost of goods, low sales and patronage due to difficulty in accessing such goods and markets. This implies that violent conflicts negatively affect investment profile and revenue generation of an area.

In another dimension, the conflict leads to the break-up of societies socio-politically and economically. This has manifested in the abandonment of markets or places of social gatherings by a disgruntled party to the dispute and the establishment of new ones. For instance, the Abinsi market in

Guma Local Government Area (LGA) of Benue State was abandoned by the Tiv People of the area in favour of Tyough-Tyu market in Tarka LGA of Benue State as a result of the protracted conflicts between the Jukuns and the Tiv people in Abinsi.<sup>18</sup> In the same vein, the Wukari-Yam market in Wukari LGA of Taraba State was once abandoned by the Tiv People of the area in favour of Dan-Anicha market in Gassol LGA of Taraba State as a result of the protracted conflicts between the Jukuns and the Tiv people in Wukari. This has far reaching effects on the social and economic base of both Guma and Wukari LGAs in Benue and Taraba States respectively. The polarization of the study area into Jukun/Tiv ethnic divide undermined the much needed unity, peace and progress for local and inter-state trades to strive thereby retarding market and infrastructural development.

Furthermore, the conflicts also affect agriculture which is the main stay of the economy of the people, thereby affecting economic incomes because of the inability of the people to go to their farms any time it occurs due to fear of attacks. Besides, most of the farms produce are destroyed either at home where an opponent over powered the other or in the farm when the farmers could not go to their various farms.<sup>19</sup> The conflicts between Jukun/Tiv over the period saw a mass destructions of properties such that it does not allow for rapid development of the areas as development cannot be achieved in the state of instability or conflict environment. Put differently, the series of ethnic/communal conflicts heightened tensions, suspicions and marginalization among the people and in turn undermined the peaceful co-existence the people needed for trade at all levels to strive.

## **Conclusion**

People are said to engage in conflict when they feel uncertain about their wellbeing and security or their interests are always at stake. The values attached to these interests mostly define the nature and character of such conflicts as well as their attendant devastating consequences of loss of lives, destruction of valuable properties and a general sense of insecurity. The negative consequence of conflicts was its undermining progress in all ramifications in the society. Conflicts by no means are only restricted in

reality to the study area, but have become universal. This should be discouraged and avoided in all societies and to achieve this, it is imperative to foster a climate of common understanding and bring the aggrieved parties together to sue for peace. In any mediation the role of traditional/community leaders, faith-based institutions, women and youth groups and other relevant stakeholders from both ethnic groups could yield the desired result.

## Endnotes

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