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Imperatives of Games Theory

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Intra-Elite Conflict and Problems of Governance in Nigeria: Imperatives of Games Theory in African Politics

By I. S Ladan-Baki & C. Enwere

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Abstract- In modern African politics, terrorism and failed state syndrome have became prevalent and a challenge to democratic values and virtues of good governance, posing great threat and stress to the survival of domestic political systems. This increasing political stress is a product of competition and struggle for power and supremacy among players in the executive and legislative organs of government, which has reduced the parliament to a rubber stamp of power seekers as well as the use of electoral violence as instruments of regime change. Therefore, this study seeks to examine the root cause of political struggle and problems of good governance in Africa by analyzing the variables of intra-elite crisis in the parliament and the quest for establishment of spheres of influence by players in the executive arm.

Keywords: intra-elite conflict, legislature, executive, crisis of governance.

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Intra-Elite Conflict and Problems of Governance in Nigeria: Imperatives of Games Theory in African Politics

I. S Ladan-Baki [α] & C. Enwere [σ]

Abstract- In modern African politics, terrorism and failed state syndrome have became prevalent and a challenge to democratic values and virtues of good governance, posing great threat and stress to the survival of domestic political systems. This increasing political stress is a product of competition and struggle for power and supremacy among players in the executive and legislative organs of government, which has reduced the parliament to a rubber stamp of power seekers as well as the use of electoral violence as instruments of regime change. Therefore, this study seeks to examine the root cause of political struggle and problems of good governance in Africa by analyzing the variables of intra-elite crisis in the parliament and the quest for establishment of spheres of influence by players in the executive arm. The rivalry between both elites has created tremendous problems of governance and the desires of incumbent presidents to elongate their tenure by using the legislature to amend the constitution to suit their third term bid as was seen in Burundi. The games theory is used as a tool of analysis to describe the roles of elites in the intra-power struggle for the control of the parliament which has made modern legislatures in Africa a new theater for proxy wars of domestic power seekers resulting in the collapse of parliamentary values and the ascendency of executive authoritarianism. This has made legislature in Africa weak and unstable culminating in the democratization of disempowerment of the citizens from the benefits of good governance, promoting poverty, political exclusion, apathy and frustration. Therefore, we conclude that intra-elite struggle for power has provided the political mechanism for reshaping and influencing the legislative processes and powers of the parliament to satisfy the self interest of power seekers.

Keywords: intra-elite conflict, legislature, executive, crisis of governance.

I. Introduction

The political behavior of Nigerian elites draws its core values from the legacies of the colonial state whose political culture was embedded in traditions of political totalitarianism. At the time of independence, Nigerian elites were less interested in the development values of modern democracy but more focused on promoting the paraphernalia of liberal democracy such as written constitution, independence of the legislature, multi-parties, separation of power and rule of law (Sorenson 1993:50-64). This misapplication of democratic values stimulated conflict of interests and struggle for power, prestige and supremacy among Nigerian parliamentary elites.

The parliament, therefore, became a theater of conflict for proxy interests of power seekers which culminated in the collapse of parliamentary democracy as seen in the 1962 crisis in Western Nigeria. The crisis was tacitly ignited by multi-sum struggle for power and prestige between the party leaders and the parliament as was seen at the 1961 conference of Action Group. This conflict of interests widened to unprecedented proportion resulting in hot fighting within the legislative chambers and many legislators were injured and the mace which is the symbol of parliamentary authority was broken. The ascendency of violent conflict over parliamentary values prompted the prime minister to sought parliamentary approval to declare a state of emergency in the federation, which eventually led to the collapse of parliamentary democracy and its replacement with military dictatorship. This crisis formed the structural foundation upon which the politics of parliamentary values, behavior and practice was built.

However, the second phase of parliamentary politics was kick-started by the demise of the Cold War in 1989 and this served as a turning point for power seekers in the parliament. The collapse of single party regimes throughout Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union influenced Nigerian pro-democracy activists and sparked a new wave of democratic transition and legislative transformation in Nigeria.The authoritarian military leaders could no longer court the superpowers in exchange for protectionagainst political opposition. The containment policy has ceased to exist and a new Russian regime was preoccupied with domestic economic restructuring while the United States downplayed anti-communist political-military relationships in favor of promoting trade, economic investment and multi-party democracy (Peter, 2004:8-10). The reintroduction of multi-party politics encouraged the emergence of new competition for the control of legislative sub-structure of Nigerian politics.

Therefore, the post Cold War democratization process in Nigeria was covertly driven by intra elite competition for control over legislative machinery. The competition process was fraught with incompatible

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interests that have turned out to make the legislature weak and unstable. The competing nature of elite struggle for power is what Claude Ake described as the 'democratization of disempowerment' : a process whereby multiparty parliamentary elections in Nigeria allow for the rotation of self-interested political elites of different parties, while the majority of the population remains disempowered from the legislative processes and benefits. This process tends to represent the interests of political elites in their struggle for power as revealed in the inauguration of the National Assembly on June 9, 2015, which constitute the primary scope of this paper.

The inauguration of the 8th National Assembly was characterized by intra elite conflict and struggle for power. This was as a result of the inability of the ruling All Progressive Congress party (APC) to adopt the zoning option, where strategic leadership positions were allocated to all the geopolitical zones to reduce the negative strife or quest for hegemony. But rather the party leadership resorted to hand-picking of legislative officers, which turned the National Assembly into a battlefield for proxy wars between the Yoruba elites and the Hausa/Funali elites for the control of the power structure of the parliament. Such covert conflict between the two ethnic power blocs provided the framework for the emergence of new players in the elite power game. The players are the Unity Forum Group, Like Mind Group, Peoples Democratic Party and the All Progressive Congress party.

The intensity of the struggle for power among the players eventually led to possible coalition among the players primarily to shape the outcomes of power struggle to their advantage. The 'Like Minds' group headed by Senator BukolaSaraki formed a political coalition with PDP (the opposition party) while the 'Unity Forum' supporters of Senator LawanAkume draws its support from the ruling APC party. Such reconfiguration of power posture brought about intense conflict among the APC political elites.

Therefore, in analyzing the dynamics of power politics and patterns of structural conflict in developing coutries especially in the Nigeria Senate, we will adopt a descriptive approach and content-analysis of primary and secondary data extracted from documents accessed during a research fieldwork in Abuja, Nigeria. The sources include books, journal articles, monographs, occasional papers, bulletin, magazines, newspaper, newsletters and yearbooks. It is against this background that the paper will focus on the power struggle among Nigeria political elites using the games theory as a tool of analysis.

II. Evolution of Nigeria Parliament and Intra Elite Conflict

The modern day Nigeria has been the site of numerous empires, kingdoms and nation-states for millennia. Nigeria's legislative development history can be divided into four epochs: the pre-colonial, the colonial,post independence and post Cold Warepochs. The pre-colonial legislature was a creation of customs and culture, the colonial legislature was enacted through an order-in-council of the British monarch while the post-independent and post Cold War legislatures are products of an Act of Parliament and of a military decree respectively.

Contrary to Western conception that democracy and legislative institutions in Africa is a creation or an extension of European political culture and values, available historical evidence shows that legislature and separation of power was an integral part of African political system and values. The Oyo Empire that existed in present day Nigeria operated a political system that had all the essential attributes of separation of power and legislative culture (Peter 2004:30-31). The legislative organ of government in Oyo Empire was known as the Royal Council (Oyo Mesi) which enjoyed numerous formal political powers: the selection of the Alafin'ssuccesso (king) from a list provided by the royal clan in case of death or incapacitation; control over the process for choosing the Bashorun (the supreme military leader) and most important, the power to impeach the Alafin should he violate the norms and customs of the empire.

The existence of balance of power between the executive and the legislature in the Oyo Empire limited the unalloyed drive for power sruggle. The legislature serves as an important source of countervailing power similar to the United States model of checks and balances between the executive and legislative branch of government. Such institutional culture prevented intra elite conflict to dorminate legislative process and procedures in precolonial Nigeria.

Therefore, the modern day intra elite conflict and parliamentary crisis has its root in the Bristish colonial rule in Nigeria whose motive was aimed at the democratization of alienation which enssured the alienation of Nigerian elites from the legislative process while promoting the domination of British elites. Such politics of interest marked the history of parliamentary development in Nigeria during the colonial era. The history of Nigeria parliament began in 1914 with the Frederick Lugard Constitution.

The constitution not only led to the amalgamation of the protectorate of Souther Nigeria with the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria but also created a Legislative Council of the colony. The Council was restricted to making laws for the colony of Lagos alone, whilst the Governor General made laws for the

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rest of the country. Because of the incompataibility of interests between the British colonial elites and the emerging Nigerian elites, brought about structural agitations that led to the collapse of the legislature.

However, the 1914 legislature was replaced in 1922 with a new legislative council based on elective principle by the introduction of Clifford Constitution. The constitution established a 46 member Legislative Coucil that was given law making responsibilities for the Lagos Colony and the southern provinces. The elective principle enabled Lagos and Calabar to elect their representatives to the legislative council. Again, the Clifford legislature was limited by the ascedency of conflict of interests, aspirations and goals between the British and Nigerian elites over who dictates the power flow of the legislature.

In 1946, Arthur Richard tried to restructure the composition and powers of the legislature with the introduction of a new constitution. Influenced by the new waves of nationalism in Africa after the second World War, Nigerian political elites began to organize themselves into political associations that culminated in the formation of the National Council for Nigeria and Cameroons. The essence was to mobilize the indigenous elites to introduce the virtues of self-determination and the quest for political independence in the legislative organ. The 1946 legislature provided the framework for the introduction of unofficial majority both in House of Assembly and the legislative council for indigenous Nigerian elites.

Similarly, the Macpherson legislature of 1951 brought about a major advancement on the old legislative order by introducing Nigerian elected majorities in the central legislature and in the regional legislature endowed with independent legislative power in many areas of state activity. The collapse of 1946 and 1951legislatures was the inability of the colonial political elites to manage inherent tensions and conflicts caused by lack of insightful national leadership for the management of incompatiable interests which resulted in the eruption of violent conflicts between the southerners and northerners in Kano as well as massive loss of lives and property.

Consequently, the 1954 legislature established by Lyttleton Constitution gave autonomy to regional legialatures in the areas of residual powers. This was made possible by the introduction of unicameral legislature for the federal government and each of the three regional governments. The Lyttleton Constitution provided the transitional mechanism for the independence of the legislature with a democratically elected membership. Dsepite these democratic innovations, the colonial legistrature destroyed the structural values of separation power between the excutive and legislature inherent in pre-colonial Nigerian political system and replaced it with a legislature characterized by incompataible interests and intra elite conflict. Such structural conflict became the pillars on which the post independent Nigerian parliament was built.

The structural changes of the constitutional conferences of 1950s cumulated in the granting of Nigeria the status of political independence as a sovereign state and the establishement of a new legislature based on Westminister model of parliamentary democracy, which recognized the British monarch as the Head of State with powers to appoint a resdent agent (Governor-General) to exercise executive powers on her behalf while the Prime Minister elected by the federal parliament acted as the Head of the federal executive council. In addition, the constitution provided for a bicameral legislative framework at the federal (Senate and House of Representatives) and at the regional levels, the House of Assembly and the House of Chiefs with the legislative powers delineated into three categories or lists: exclusive, concurrent and residual lists.

Howeverever, despite these legislative innovations, the parliament was characterized by structural conflicts and tacit power struggle between the Nigeria political elites and the British power seekers. The Nigerian elites argued that the Governor-General should be a representative of the people rather than an agent of the the British Queen; since such structural arrangement had made Nigeria a dominion territory, which contradicted the very nature and principles of parliamentary sovereignty. Such functional arrangement denied Nigeria elites an effective independence in the exercise of legislative powers. This led to crisis in delineation of the functional roles of post independence parliament. Such fundamental derogation and other observed functional crisis in the running of 1960 parliament led to the enactment of the 1963 Constitution and the reformation of parliamentary procedures and values.

The 1963 parliamentary reforms addressed the structural dependence of Nigeria legislative elites on the imperal elites and dictations. Though the 1963 parliament retained the British model of parliamentary democracy.But the reforms insured that the Governor-General was elected directly by members of the federal legislature and not appointed by British monarch.

Thus, the holistic exercise of legislative powers by Nigerian elites created new horizons for inter elite power struggle between the legislature and the executive and intra legislative conflicts between the ruling party and the opposition which resulted into crisis and tensions in the political system as well as the declaration of state of emergency in some parts of Nigeria. Hence Nigeria became a theatre of intra elite crisis and the resultant chaos prompted the military to set aside the parliament by a violent coupd'etat. The coup led to a counter coup headed by Gowon and the masarcre of the Igbo people by the Northerners. These

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secession of Biafra, the civil war and the collapse of the political system.

Therefore, the intra elite crisis in the 1963 parliament created multiplier effects of violence and stress in the political system that introduced military coup and violence as an instrument of political change.This vice of political violence was assimilated into the political culture of Nigeria as a rational method of regime change. As were seen in 1976, 1983, 1985 and 1993 military coups and change of governments by General Mutala Mohammed, Muhammed Buhari, Ibrahim Babagida and Sani Abacha respectively. Hence, the military regimes discarded the legislature because of its perceived observation that the existence of the parliament provides the catalyst for violent conflicts and intra elite fightings.

Therefore, the reintroduction of parliamentary politics by the military became a tool for political experiments to test its validity and relevance. This prompted General Olusegun Obasanjo military regime to establish the 1979 legislature through the enactment of 1979 Constitution. The Constitution abandoned the Westminister model and opted for the American presidential system of government and called the parliament, the National Assembly and not Congress. It provided for yet another bicameral legislature comprising of 450 member House of Representatives and a 95 member Senate both jointly referred as the National Assembly. Again the parliament became a centre of elite power struggle and confrontation between the opposition and the ruling party. Thus, the legislature once again became the first target of military adventurists, as it was dissolved by General Muhammed Buhari military regime, based on the premise that the existence of the parliament will provide the mechanism for power struggle between the legislative elites and the military elites which may bring about policy crisis and supremacy race.

Hence, the parliament once again became a specimen for political experimentation. In 1989, General Ibrahim Babagida experimented possibility of mixing parliamentary politics with military administration by creating yet another bicameral legislature. But the fusion of parliamentary democracy with military totalitarianism led to the polarization of the legislature and the ascedency of conflict of interests over parliamentary values. Thus, the parliament was badly polarized after the annulment of June 12 presidential election , between those in support of General Babagida's self-succession agenda and those against it. These serial vicous circle of parliamentary crisis and the collapse of military-parliamentary fusion created the political events that made General Abacha to dissolve the parliament. Nigeria was again deprived of a parliament for six years from 1993 to 1999. Hence, the prolonged presence of the military in Nigerian politics created a mechanism for executive supremacy and a culture of legislative peripheralisation and subordination to the executive organ of government (Adewale, 2013:135-144)

But the Cold War's end in 1989 served as a fourth turning point in the history of parliamentary politics in Nigeria. The collapse of single-party regimes throught Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union powerfully influenced Nigerian pro-democracy activists and sparked a new wave of democratic transistions that led to the reestablishment of the legislature in 1999. The 1999 Constitution again provides for a bicameral legislature. Chapter 5 of the 1999 Constitution stipulates that the federal legislature should be made up of two houses: the House of Representatives with 360 members and the Senate comprising of 109 members.

Yet the greatest challenged that faced the 1999 parliament was the onerous task of redefining its status and assertiveness from executive domination and subordination. This created inter elite conflict between the executive and the legislature that resulted in parliamentary instability and contant removal of Senate presidents. But in 2015 with the emergency of APC as the ruling party, the legislature was again confronted with yet another obstacles that threatens its independence. Thus the legislature is involved in intense struggle with the party elites over the appointment of key officials in the parliament. Just like the executive under PDP from 1999-2014, the APC party elites tacitly desire to subordinate the legislature to party controi and supremacy, hence the beginning of another elite crisis in the National Assembly.

III. Parliamentary Crisis Under Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) from 1999-2014

The parliamentary crisis under PDP was a game of strategy between the political elites in the executive and emerging elites in the legislature over the politics of legislative independence and executive supremacy. The executive headed by a former army general from 1999 2007 in his quest to consolidate the military perception of legislative subordination and exclusion as an appendix of the executive, created large scale intra senate conflict that cannot be compared to any in the history of Nigerian parliament. The struggle over the independence of the legislature that started during the the colonial era through the long years of military rule became so intense and confrontational under PDP administration. The executive see the legislature as a pawn in the game of politics that shall be used according to the whims and caprices of the political elites in the executive arm.

In order to subordinate the legislature to executive control and manipulation, the politics of impeachment was covertly introduced which created more conflicts than collaboration in the National Assembly. Jide Ajani (Vanguard 29 May, 2003)

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observed that impeachment or removal from office of Senate presidents was one aspect of 1999 Constitution that was given accommodation by the political elites with unbridled rascality. The reasons for impeachment ranged from nepotism, autocracy, embezzlement of public funds, lack of probity and favouritism. These reasons provided the guise to stimulate conflicts to make the legislature subservient to executive hegemony. Therefore, the crisis of impeachmen and forced resignations of Senate Presidents between 1999 and 2007 will be categorized under the following epochs:

IV. June-November 1999 Epoch

This period was characterized by power struggle between the legislature and the executive as well as intra-legislative conflict among power seekers. This was demonstrated in the emergence of Evan Enwerem as the Senate President, when the political elites in the executive mobilized senators from the opposition party particularly All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) and Alliance for Democracy (AD)to defeat some PDP elites that were out to truncate the executive's will of Enwerem's candidacy. This led to executive-legislative rivalry and Enwerem's inclination to tacitly promote legislative independence, which was interpreted by the executive as uncharismatic, lackluster and without direction. To the executive it was time to invoke the constitutional provisions of Article 1, section 2 and 3 of the 1999 Constitution as a legitimate instrument of state policy to impeach the Senate president and and denigrate its quest for supremacy.

To achieve this aim, the executive went into alliance with conflict players in both House of Representatives and Senate to achieve a pre-determined outcome of subordination of National Assembly in the power game (Nkem, 2001: 11). For this reason, the House of Representatives commenced a boycott of all joint sessions insisting not to return until the Senate president was removed. On the other hand, the conflict entrepreneurs in the Senate moved a motion for the impeachment of the Senate president on three grounds (Felix, 1999:2):

1. That the executive arm of government has developed undemocratic and dictatorial tendencies due to the subversion of the legislature which is not independent, lacks confidence, drive and enterprise.
2. That the progress and existence of the country's nascent democratic dispensation is endangered by events which eroded the moral authority of the senate.
3. That there is need to determine the position of the senate president because the senate lacks the moral authority and capacity to stand up to the executive arm of government, defend and promote the interest of the legislature in Nigeria.

Based on the above reasons, a vote of no confidence was passed on the senate president and on Novermber 18, 1999 he was removed through an overwhelming vote of 92 to 2. His tenure only lasted for six months. During this era, nothing meaningful was achieved but rather the legislature was embedded in crisis while the executive strives in its hegemonic influence and control of the parliament.

V. November 1999- August 2000 Epoch

With demise of Enwerem as the senate president, ChubaOkadigbo was elected president and his tenure witnessed a revivalism of legislative independence and an attempt to contain executive dormination of parliamentary activities. He cultured the values of parliamentary dignity, intergrity and the requisite capacity needed for securing separation of power between the parliament and the executive. Under Okadigbo's leadership, more than forty bills were presented to the Senate within the space of nine months (Celestine, 2002:9).

Despite these achievements, intra PDP elite rivalry dominated senateproceedings and the senate was caught up into two conflicting worlds: the sustenance of legislative independence and the perceived alienation PDP elites by the charismatic hegemony of Senate president style of leadership. Thus, the executive arm of government exploited the division among key players in the senate to tacitly undermine parliamentary politics of supremacy to its advantage by creating more conflict players. The entrance of conflict entrepreneurs into the strategic power game between the executive and the legislature led to the creation of more power blocs in the senate which facilitated proliferation of incompatiable interests, positions, fears and needs. This followed allegations of public disdain arising from the inability of the senate to pass the 2000 Appropriation Bill, leadership arrogance, contract scam and financial wrongdoings.

However, in his desperation to prove his innocence, intergrity and containment of executive influence a panel was ste up headed by Idris Kuta to investigate the allegations. On the basis of the investigation, the panel indicted the senate president and recommended for his removal from office. On August 10, 2000, the senate adopted the recommendations of the panel under intense pressure and lobbing from the executive elites and consequently the senate president was impeached.

During this period, the senate president and his alliesspent more time staving off attempts of impeachment than on legislative duties and operations. Hence, the legislature under this era suffered another major setback from attaining the much desired

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operational independence that would have given it a great voice in the development of democratic values in Nigeria. So, the legislature submerged deeper into executive manipulation, subordination, alienation and disempowerment.

VI. Anyim Pius Anyim Era

With the removal of Okadigbo, Senator Anyim emerged as a consensus candidate between the Senate and the Executive, indicating the influence of the executive in shaping political events in Nigerian parliament (Makinde, 2001:10-15). Despite this tacit agreement between the exexcutive and the senate, yet the senate was highly polarized and weighed down by factions and personality cult struggle reflecting the traditional outcome of executive-legislature supremacy rivalry. Anyim understood the inherent variables of this inter-elite conflict, since he was one of the key conflict actors in this game of prestige.

For this reason, Anyim moved with caution and tried to toe the middle course of carring both the legislative actors and executive actors along so as to create a new framework of interactive collaboration that will ensure the smooth operations of tenets of separation of powers (Mthisen, 2001:50). To achieve this covert objective, the senate president procured political favours from the executive in order to balance power, interests and fears. This was reflected in the Electoral Act Constitutional reforms of 2001, in which he tried not only to allow the wishes of the parliament to prevail but also accommodate the interests of the executive.

Thus, such tacit collaboration with the executive political elites ired some of political elites in the legislature that arosed feelings of apathy among senators particularly in attending plenary sessions. The senate hardly form a quorum and the few senators who arrived in the chamber would wait for hours before a quorum of 35 senators is formed.This politics of alienation created the cataclysmic forces for the reemgergence of executive-legislative conflict.

However, the most defining variable of the new inter-elite conflict was the attempt to impeach President Olusegun Obasanjo, one of the key actor in the legislative-executive game of strategy. The House passed a motion on the State of the Nation and gave the President a two-week ultimatum to either resign from office or face impeachment proceedings. The President was accused of non-implementation of 2001 Appropriation Act as passed by the senate. The impeachment option was the first time the parliament confronted the political elites in the executive in the history of executive-legislative power game.

The executive felt threatened and adopted its own strategy of survival. This involves the 'legislaturization of the conflict' by recruiting conflict entrepreneurs in the legislature headed by Arthur Nzeribe to create conflicts of interests in the legislature using monetary lobbing, accusations of financial scam and impeachment threats as weapons of mass destruction of the power capability of the parliament. Nzeribe kicked off a controversy alleging that N300 million had been shared among senators to get them drop the impeachment proceedings against the president. He claimed that he coordinated the sharing of the money and alleged that the senate president collected N60 million. This strategy of financial scam was used by conflict players in the past to secure the impeachment of senate presidents and it had now become one of the survival strategies of the executive to undermine the independence of the parliament.

Therefore, both the legislature and the executive became intergled in the new waves of hegemonic conflicts over who will controls the political order and rules of the power game in Nigeria. This is what Ken Booth (2007) described as 'Survival Plus' which permits the ability of actors to pursue cherished political and social interests free from threats and predetermined choices. In the pursuit of the survival plus, the senate adopted a new strategy to contain the influence of the executive in using senators as tools for creating latent threats to destabilize the parliament. In implementing the strategy, the senate identified the allies of the executive in the senate and suspended its key player, Arthur Nzeribe on the basis of finanacial misappropriation. His suspension rattled down the hegemonic influence of the executive and provided the basis for negative peace, through which the senate president completed his tenure without quick incursions into legislative activities by political elites of the executive arm of government.

VII. Contemporary Parliamentary Crisis Under all Progressive Congress (APC)

Historically, in 2013, the four strongest opposition parties namely: ACN, CPC, ANPP and a faction of APGA come together to form APC in order to systematically build a formidable party to contest the 2015 election. The new party described itself as a leftist-progressive party and has diverse geographical spread, covering five out of six geopolitical zones. So, APC's zones of influence included North East, North Central, North West, South West and some parts of South East. This reflected its geopolitical power before the 2015 presidential election.

This geopolitical influence played out itself in 2015 election where it got 25% of total votes cast in two-third of 36 states and with a majority seat in the Senate with 62 seats out of 109; in the lower House of Representatives, it has 225 out of 360 seats while at state level it secured 20 states out of 36 states in Nigeria. This shows that APC spheres of electoral

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influence cuts across the major political divides of the country.

The APC coalition created a very strong political bloc with a common political agenda for the purpose of contesting and wining the presidential election. Nigeria political history is replete with failed political party alliances and mergers but APC's successful merger is the first time that strong political parties in Nigeria are shedding their identity and merging into one party strong enough to win a presidential election.

Despite these electoral victories at the executive and legislative levels, the greatest challenge lies in the constitution of the parliament. In his inaugural address, the president, Muhhamed Buhari affirmed that the executive would not interfere in internal politics of the parliament. This confirms the maturity of the president and demonstrates the spirirt of democracy and separation of power. The president's posture and indifference to politics of executive-legislative confrontation created a vaccum among power seekers. Since there is no vaccum in power game, new power seekers and players emerged from within the ruling party to play the politics of hegemony over the parliament in order to determine who gets what, when and how.

VIII. New Players in Executive-Legislature Power Game for Strategic Hegemony

Since the politics of every political system is determined by the interests and fears of power seekers, the perceived indifference of the political elites in the executive arm resulted in a ctatclysmic rise of new power seekers willing to overtake the executive to dominate the legislature and policy direction of the country.These power seekers drew their driving force from Section 50 of the Constitution which explicitly explains the process of electing the leaders of the National Assembly. It states that the exercise must be carried out inside the two chambers among the members without outside interference. Therefore, it is generally belived by Nigerian political elites that whosoever controls the internal election of principal officers of the legislature, controls the parliament and what it does. In this direction, the following conflict players emerged to determine the outcome of June 9, election and inuguartion of the leadership of the 8th National Assemply.

IX. APC Political Party

The decision makers in APC are mainly from the southwest dominated by the Yoruba ethnic group with Ahmed Tinubu as their leader.The party chairman and secretary are members of his political association. Having controlled the party structures and the the president's unwillingnesss to get involved in parliamentary politics, the Tinubu group using the party as a tool moved to control the parliament and its internal election process. The essence is to control the policy direction of the parliament and indirectly the agenda setting for the executive since the vice president, a Yoruba is a member of this new crop of power seekers.

The interests of power seekers in the ruling party is in sharp contrast with the policy goals of political elites in the executive whose primary aspiration is to accommodate the independence of the legislature and avoid or minimize the historical legislature-executive acrimony and power struggle. This conflict of interest between the executive and the party created two conflicting political ideas within the elites of the ruling party: the party in its assertion believes in the supremacy of the party over the parliament while the executive insists on separation of power. Hence new horizons of conflict came into being leading to power race over the control of the legislature.

X. PDP Political Party

Having lost the 2015 elections and it political hegemony after 16 years in power, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) eventually became an opposition party and a power seeker in the race to control parliamentary politics. Using its numerical strength of 45 senators as against APC's 54 senators the PDP players moves to determine who controls the power mechanism of the parliament. Its interest is to remain relevant in parliamentary politics with the hope of winning majority seats in 2019 election. The PDP ultilizedthe crack within the ruling party elites to make itself a key actor in the game of hegemony in the legislature.

XI. Unity Forum

The Unity Forum is a shadow power seeker within the parliament, that draws its political strength from the APC party elites and is headed by Senator Lawan and George Akume. Both Lawan and Akume were selected to contest the position of sentate president and deputy Senate president respectively. They were drawn from the political bloc of Northwest and Northeast geopolitical zone while Gbajabiamila was positioned to head the House of Representatives as Speaker, selected from the southwest geopolitical zone. The essence of this triparte alliance was to streghten the power capability of the group in the parliament which will be used as tacit instrument to influence the policy thrust and intent of the executive organ of government. This group draws its political strength from the shadow political elites of the southwest geopolitical zone, so as to prevent the northern elites from controlling the executive power as well as the legislative power.

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XII. Like Mind

The Like Mind political lobby group is also a shadow power seeker in the parliament that draws its political strength from the North and seeking to dorminate the politics of the parliament. This group is headed by Senator BukolaSaraki. In its strategic quest for power, the group covertly entered into an alliance with the opposition party (PDP), whose memebership were former PDP political gladiators, that defected to APC primarily to win election.In order to consolidate its power relation with the PDP, the group zoned the position of Deputy Senate president to PDP, Senate president to Northcentral while the position of the speaker of House of Representatives was zoned to Northcentral. The interest of this group is to create a triangular power bloc between Northcentral and PDP's power zones of Southsouth and Southeast geopolitical zones so as to control the power politics of the parliament and shape the interests of the opposition, which will be used as a proxy to influence executive policies.

However, the above identified players in the power game of Nigerian parliament, can be classified into two major categories: Primary Player and Shadow Player. The primary player are visible players in the power game who are commonly known and this consists the Like Mind Group and the Unity Forum. On the other hand, the shadow players are indirect or invisible players who are not commonly known and this include the opposition party (PDP) and the ruling party (APC). Their involvement in the power game in 2015 parliament is indirect and by proxy. These shadows stimulate conflict into the game process, thereby complicating the outcome of the power game, because it is difficult to identify their roles. So, in their quest to expand their spheres of influence and hegemonic control of the parliament, both the shadow and primary players became engrossed in power reconfiguration and alliance formation (Zagare and Kilgour, 2000). To this end, the 'Like Mind' considered a coalition with the opposition party while the 'Unity Forum' maintained its traditional alliance with the ruling party.

XIII. Outcomes: Central Tenets and Mixed Motives

The decisions that players make eventually lead to an outcome (Nasar, 1998). In the parliamentary power game in Nigeria, the empirical content associated with its outcome vary as the intensity of the game increases. The outcome come either in form of conflict or comprise created through the interactive decision making strategies of the players as follows:

XIV. Intra Party Mock Primary Election

The introduction of mock primaries into the power struggle between Unity Forum and Like Mind group was intiated by the shadow player (APC) in order to influence the outcome of intra parliamentary election for the selection of senate president and speaker of the House of Representatives. The player that occupies the position of senate president and speaker will not only become the guiding force behind the development of legislation but will also determines who gets what, how and when in the allocation of parliamentary resources and values. Aside, the senate president and speaker have the power to set the political agenda for the country and also have the power of recognition to determine which legislator will speak from the floor.

In their quest to control the parliament, the Unity Forum and its ally the ruling party designed the structure of the mock election and adopted it as the party's position based on the assertion that the party is supreme and its interest is superior to that of individual members. This assertion stems from the inability of the ruling party (APC) to settle on a single candidate in its caucuses in the Senate and the House of Representatives (Editorial, 2015:19). Hence, the mock election was designed as conflict tool to intimidate the Like Mind group, so as to shape the outcome of the power struggle in favour of the ruling party elites, through the use of open ballot system.

So, through the instrumentality of open ballot system the shadow actors in the APC ruling party hope to use it as a strategy to prevent supporters of the Like Mind group from voting for fear of repraisal sanctions from the party governing elites. Hence, the leadership of the party settled for Femi Gbajabiamila and Mohammed Monguno as the party's sole candidates for the mock election for the speaker and deputy speaker of House of Representatives. To this effect, 182 out of 209 APC lawmakers was present at the mock election. During the voting process, 154 members voted for Gbajabiamila of Unity Forum while only 4 members voted for Dogara of Like Mind Group (Nwosu, 2015:6). But 24 members refrain from voting by working out of the voting centre while 27 members did not attain the mock election.Thus,the outcome of the mock election was a zero-sum outcome in the the interests of the Unity Forum and Like Mind Group are diametrically opposed. The outcome favours the Unity Forum while the interest of the Like Mind Group was circumvented. Hence, a strategy of walk-out was used by the Like Mind bloc as a tool to manuevre the outcome so as to gain comparative advantage in the game process. Therefore, they argue that the open ballot system was a negation of the party's constitution.

However, the insistence on the use of open ballot by the party was interpreted by the Saraki's Like

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Mind group as a strategy to coerce the senators-elect to toe the line in elecftingthe party's preffered actors. Therefore, the Like Mind actorsopted out of mock election insisting on open secret ballot system in agreement with the party's constitution. Under the quise of promoting internal democratic principles in the party, the Saraki's political bloc rejected the result of the mock election and entered into strategic alliance with PDP senators on how to influence the substantive election of the senate to its comparative advantage. While the Unity Group insists that the mock election serve as a catalyst to synchronize the divergent interests of the APC senators elect to speak with one voice during the intra-senate election, to ensure the hegemony of party interests over individual motives. Such clash of perception and incompatibility of interest created a new form symmetric conflict in APC and the politicization of the mock election processes and results. Hence, the symmetric conflict turns into a battle of hegemony between the independence of the legislature and the party's internal democratic values.

XV. National Assembly Leadership Election

Under the quise of mock election and internal party democracy, the governing elities in the executive opted not to elect but to systematicaly select or appoint party loyalists as Senate President and speaker of the House of Representatives repectively, primarily as a tool to influence and redirect the law making thrust of the parliament to executive control and manipulation. Such strategic manipulation was resisted by the House of Representatives with the election of Aminu Tambuwal as speaker contrary to the dictates of the executive. It was a holistic ressistence by the National Assembly to assert its independence from the executive arm of government by holding on to the provisions of 1999 Constitution which states that 'the senate shall elect its principal officers from among themselves'. This informs the desirability of the 'Like Mind Group' to go for election and reject the result of the mock election.

Therefore, at the senate election, Saraki of APC-Like Mind Group won the presidential election by 57 votes and was pronounced elected as Senate President. Ike Ekweremadu of PDP and a proxy member of the Like Mind Group won 54 votes to Nduma of APC's Unity Forum 20 votes to be elected as Deputy Senate President. In the House of Representatives, YakubuDogara of Like Mind Group polled 182 votes to beat Femi Gbajabiamina of Unity Forum who secured 174 votes to become the Speaker of the lower House.For the position of Deputy Speaker, Suleiman Yusuf of Like-Mind Group defeated Mohammed Mongunu of Unity Forum by 203 votes to 153 votes (Obafemi, 2015:9).

The outcome of this election shows the strategic victory of Like-Mind Group over Unity Forum. This tend to assert the independence of the parliament and the declining influence of executive control in internal parliamentary politics. This was re-echoed by the Senate President elect in his acceptance speech. He insisted that the mock election was a flagrant mockery of democracy and the intra parliamentary election reveals the victory of the independence of the legislature from both the executive arm of government and of the party.This implies that the victory of Tambuwal in the 7th Assembly and the subsequent victories of Saraki and Dogara in the 8th Assembly depicts the incremental struggle by legislators to assert their supremacy and independence as well as freedom from executive control.

XVI. Conclusion

Having given a detailed evaluation of parliamentary politics and the quest to institutionize the values and virtues of good governance in Africa, African political actors through their innate struggle for power insidiously undermine the true tenets of democratic governance as seen in Nigeria political process. The research reveals that the European powers through the mechanism of colonialism institutionalized intra-elite power struggle between the executive and the parliament, which has become a spectre that is hurting the embers of good governance in modern Nigeria state. This was demonstrated in Nigeria from 1999 to 2007, when the Nigerian parliament witnessed tremendious political stability as its leadership became a pawn in the the hands of the executive, who changed them at will. The battle for supremacy between the elites in the executive and the legislature has divided the Nigeria political system along tribal and religious lines, thereby constituting a log in the wheels of democratic practice and values. Therefore, we conclude that the quest by the elites in the executive arm of government to influence and control parliamentary process and procedures is a function of political stability and underdevelopment in Africa.

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Trans-Border Crime and Nigeria Security: A Study of Seme Border (1999-2017)

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Abstract- This article examines the causes and effect of trans-border crime on Nigeria's security. The increase in the rise in smuggling, arms trafficking, drugs trafficking, human trafficking, and money laundry among others in Nigeria has given rise to various discussion between scholars.The paper employed the use of primary and secondary sources of data gathering. It engages the rational choice theory to explain the behavior of individuals in relation to crime. More so, the results shows thatthe problem with border crimes has been the high level of corruption in the country especially amid security agents. Porosity of the border is another issue that has aided in crumbling the security in the country. These problems needs to be resolved to prevent the continuous insurgency especially the Boko Haram and reemergence of ethnic rivalry and regional conflicts which could lead to loss of lives and properties. The work concludes that, necessary measures like improve welfare of security agents, improved technologies and reorientation of the agents among others needs to be taken to improve border security.

Keywords: *trans-border, security, crime, nigeria, smuggling, trafficking.*

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Trans-Border Crime and Nigeria Security: A Study of Seme Border (1999-2017)

Olagbemi Mobolaji α & Joshua Alabi σ

Abstract- This article examines the causes and effect of trans-border crime on Nigeria's security. The increase in the rise in smuggling, arms trafficking, drugs trafficking, human trafficking, and money laundry among others in Nigeria has given rise to various discussion between scholars.The paper employed the use of primary and secondary sources of data gathering. It engages the rational choice theory to explain the behavior of individuals in relation to crime. More so, the results shows thatthe problem with border crimes has been the high level of corruption in the country especially amid security agents. Porosity of the border is another issue that has aided in crumbling the security in the country. These problems needs to be resolved to prevent the continuous insurgency especially the Boko Haram and reemergence of ethnic rivalry and regional conflicts which could lead to loss of lives and properties. The work concludes that, necessary measures like improve welfare of security agents, improved technologies and reorientation of the agents among others needs to be taken to improve border security.

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I. Introduction

The end of the Cold War saw the emergence of a new phenomenon in the international community – featuring among the list of such evolving issues is the phenomenon of trans-border crime with its dimensions and threat to global peace and security. The dimensions and momentum of trans-border crimes have increased with the emergence of globalization(Simon, 2011).Today, states have realised they cannot exist in isolation and are now increasingly interdependent. This current global trend of interdependence between and among states has encouraged the opening of borders among them. Countries with varying degrees of development in socio-economic, political and cultural spheres are merged together in one form of regional arrangement or the other and this has further helped in facilitating the activities of transnational criminal activities(Opanike, 2015).

Crime in contemporary society has been a phenomena destroying the continuous growth in relation between countries. The 9/11 attack on world Trade Center in America has pin-pointed an era of change in security. Criminals usually plan their attacks months or years prior to the planned time to attack, and this makes it's difficult to find the parent region of the attacks. Crimes that are usually perpetuated in a particular region usually have linkage with another country outside. In regards to the case study of this work, crimes that occur in Benin usually have linkage with individuals in Nigeria to be effective. Vehicles for example that are usually stolen in Nigeria, often have dealers ready to sell any vehicle in Benin Republic. This makes it difficult to trace and retrieve thereby leading to increase in crime rate. Trans-border crime rate is rising in modern time especially with porous borders and unpatriotic activities of security agencies and this has been a major problem to security condition of countries in relation to other countries. The seriousness of the problem lies in the complexity of these organizations and their activities, their global penetration and the threat they pose to democracy and legitimate economic development — these organizations clearly undermine the concept of the nation state(Shelly, 1995). Organized crimes tend to destroy the political, economic and social relation among countries. In practice, African states face at least three challenges when tackling transnational crime. The first is how to deal with crimes that emanate from outside their various jurisdictions. The second concerns investigating crime with a transnational element and the third involving tracing and then recovering the proceeds of crime that have been moved out of the country where the crime occurred (Hatchard, 2006).

There have been numerous crimes associated with trans-border crime. Trans-border-crime includes the narcotics trade and money laundering, and their connections to illegal migration and people trafficking(Styan., 2007). Others are women and child trafficking, smuggling (small and light weapons, food items, vehicles among others). The proliferation of arms in West Africa is assisted by plentiful supplies from current and past conflict zones, corrupt law enforcement and military personnel selling their weapons, and growing domestic artisan production from Senegal, Guinea, Ghana and Nigeria, which passes down established trade route (Vines, 2005). Cyber-crime (419 scam) which Former Secretary of State of the United

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States, Colin Powell, has referred to Nigeria as "a nation of scammers(Glickman., 2005)is another example of trans-border crime. Prostitution and child trafficking is also a major issue linked in current international agreements.

The porosity of African borders had been one major issue affecting the development of the continent, West Africa in particular. There is no effective policy to curtail the rate at which people migrate and transact trade without being duly checked at the borders. Various scholars have researched on the safety at the borders and likewise the rate at which crimes are perpetrated but adequate attention is not given to the security personnel across the border areas. The Seme Border is demarcated without any clear cut policy to back it up and the security personnel safe guarding the area are not efficient. The security personnel- Customs, Immigration, FRSC, Army, Navy are been designated to various out post on both sides of the borders but their activities needs to be questioned. Furthermore, the challenges of cross-border crime on the security of Nigeria are not adequately researched upon especially with the current trend in the international community-terrorism. Every country is prone to terrorist attack and Nigeria has been affected highly with the Boko Haram sect in the Northern part of the country. The porosity of the borders around Niger and Cameroon gave way for the influx of external migrants to perpetrate attacks on foreign lands.

The study therefore set out to assess the concept of trans-border crime and also discuss the various factors leading to the crimes. It also interrogates the effect of the crimes on Nigeria's security and the possible solution to curb the crimes. This study employed the use of Primary and secondary sources of data collection in the gathering of data. The primary sources of data was collected through in-depth interview (IDI) from key informant knowledgeable on the research area and these are officers of Nigeria Immigration Service, Nigeria Police Force, National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), and Nigeria Immigration Service. Other people interviewed includes experts in the academic field, who added quality to the research.However, secondary sources data was collected from textbooks, journals, newspapers, seminar papers, monographs, internet materials and documentary sources and reports.

II. Overview of Transnational Organized Crimes

Available literatures show that no country of the world is spared from trans-border crimes as it is been witnessed globally but the effect differs. Under the Organized Crime Convention, transnational organized crime (TOC) is any serious transnational offence undertaken by three or more people with the aim of material gain(UNODC, 2010).US department of Justice (2008) posits that, "international organized crime refers to those self-perpetuating associations of individuals who operate internationally for the purpose of obtaining power, influence, monetary and/or commercial gains, wholly or in part by illegal means, while protecting their activities through a pattern of corruption and/or violence". The United Nations Convention on Transnational Organized Crime seeks to provide a unified definition that is likely to serve as the benchmark for identifying transnational criminal organizations when it posits that:

Organized criminal group" shall mean a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences established in accordance with this Convention, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit. "Serious crime" shall mean conduct constituting an offence punishable by a maximum deprivation of liberty of at least four years or a more serious penalty. "Structured group" shall mean a group that is not randomly formed for the immediate commission of an offence and that does not need to have formally defined roles for its members, continuity of its membership or a developed structure.... An offence is transnational in nature if. (a) It is committed in more than one state; (b) It is committed in one state but a substantial part of its preparation, planning, direction or control takes place in another state; (c) It is committed in one state but involves an organized criminal group that engages in criminal activities in more than one state; or (d) It is committed in one state but has substantial effects in another state(Shelley, L., Picarelli, J., Corpora, C. , 2003).

Transnational organised criminals refers to those self-perpetuating associations of individuals who operate for the purpose of obtaining power, influence, monetary and/or commercial gains, wholly or in part by illegal means, while protecting their activities through a pattern of corruption and/or violence, or while protecting their illegal activities through a transnational organizational structure and the exploitation of *transnational* commerce or communication mechanisms and there is no single structure under which transnational organized criminals operate. They vary from hierarchies to clans, networks, and cells, and may evolve to other structures (National Security Strategy, 2011). Transnational organized crime is a complex security threat that demands a multi-layered approach and response. Organized crime groups rarely have strong ties to the state outside of the use of corruption to protect themselves and examples range from Nigerian fraud rings to Albanian people smugglers to Indonesian pirate groups (Picarelli, 2010).

There have been various series of argument among scholars as to the similarities and differences

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that exist between international crime and transnational crimes. Both concepts have been seen to mean the same but as argued by Albanese(2012), "unlike traditional crimes that occur within a single country, transnational crimes are distinguished by their multinational nature and cross border impact". Furthermore, it was pointed out that, international often arises as a result political just cause or religious motives. The crimes are often committed to disorganize standing protocols and not often profit gain based.

Louise Shelly in her work, border issues: transnational crime and terrorism explains that, countries are not always capable to fully protect their borders. The problems of insufficient financial resources, inadequate training, low pay and corruption, mean that effective border security is a reality only in very few regions of the world. Even the affluent states of Australia and Japan, whose island status isolates them from some problems of cross-border crime and terrorism, are not immune from them. The work further expresses how lengthy borders are difficult to guard thereby exposing the borders. And to this effect for example, Chinese nationals are smuggled into the United States through unregulated territory of Indian reserves on the US–Canada border, and Latin Americans enter the United States through a national park on the southern US border that has a limited border guard presence. The same crossing points can be used by both transnational criminals and terrorists (Louise, n.d).

In Ezeanyika (2012) work, *Towards Understanding Africa's International Criminal Organizations as an Emerging Industry in a Globalizing World*, various crimes perpetrated across the borders in West Africa are discussed. To them, child trafficking, drugs and fraud are major crimes perpetrated across the borders. The work further gave a break down as to the history to the emergence of border crime in West Africa and Nigeria when it posits that;

Organized crime in West Africa in its contemporary form is generally perceived to have emerged in the 1970s, contemporaneous with the oil boom of that decade, the delinking of the dollar from gold, high inflation, and the rapid spread of debt in the developing world. However, various antecedents could no doubt be traced back for decades earlier, such as in the ancient traditions of long-distance commerce that are characteristic of the region, or indeed in the activities of European criminal gangs who pioneered inter-continental crime from bases in West Africa in colonial times (Ezeanyika. S., & Ubah. C. , 2012:3)

This was the event that occurred during this period and Nigeria's booming economy had been a magnet for immigrants from other parts of the region, most notably Ghanaians. The downturn in the oil economy caused many such migrants to move on in search of new opportunities. In 1983, Nigeria officially expelled millions of Ghanaian migrants in a bid to rid itself of officially unwanted guests. Most returned to Ghana, but a fair proportion of these promptly migrated once again to wherever they believed they might find work opportunitiesThis work indicates that the general corruption of the civilian government of 1979-1983; the introduction of a structural adjustment program in 1986, resulting in greater poverty and unemployment and a consequent increase in emigration; the rapid and ill-prepared liberalization of the financial sector, including the establishment of poorly regulated finance houses and banks, providing new opportunities for money laundering and fraud; and illegal foreign exchange transactions.

Picarelli (2010) further expresses that, criminal groups have adopted a networked form of organization that is less hierarchical and better positioned to operate across political borders. To him, the trade in illicit drugs is most frequently cited as the largest sector of the illicit political economy. His work further noted that, UN's 2006 survey of the global drug trade noted that there were 200 million users of illicit drugs on an annual basis and these drugs are cannabis and synthetic drugs(Picarelli, 2010)The trade is been lined between production region (Nigeria, Colombia, South Africa) to the US, Mexico, Canada and finally a brisk trade in cannabis resin (hashish) originates in Pakistan and Lebanon and supplied to the Middle East and South Asia.

Abia and Ekong work on *International Police (Interpol) and Crime Control in the West African Sub-Region* also established a framework for the different types of (Abia, 2013)crimes being perpetuated across the borders. These they noted include smuggling, drug trafficking, counterfeiting, automobile theft, human trafficking, arms trafficking, money laundering, advanced free fraud, cross border robbery and recently, financial and hype-tech cyber-crime The international arena is not been neglected in this discuss of trans-border crime. The international community created the INTERPOL (International Criminal Police Organization) to combat border crimes as there is no world police (Abia, 2013). Interpol is equally necessary in that the arrest of cross border criminals in their country of refuge is usually followed with a request for either deportation or extradition through a collaborative mechanism handled by the Bureau for Deportation and Extradition (BDE). In 2006, in Nigeria, some Nigerian drug dealers were deported from Thailand to serve their prison terms in the country similarly, in 2011, James Ibori, a two term Governor of Delta State of Nigeria was also extradited to Britain where he was charged with money laundering.

Cross Border Crimes in West African Sub-Region: Implications for Nigeria's National Security and External Relations by Dr. Okeke Vincent Onyekwelu Sunday, Dr. Oji & Richard Okechukwu lays emphasis on the distribution and movement of SALW (Small and Light

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Weapons) across both countries' borders. Research show that these light weapons are easily hidden from the law enforcing agencies and smuggled easily without been detected. To the authors for example, out of the 640 million small arms circulating globally, it is estimated that 100 million are found in Africa about 30 million in sub-Saharan Africa and 8 million in West Africa, alone. The proliferation and use of SALW in ethno-religious clashes and armed robbery have killed more than 10,000 Nigerians, an average of 1000 people per year since 1999 (Onyekwelu, 2014)This showed the negative effect the porosity of the border is inflicting on the relationship that exists between both countries.

AkinyemiOmolara in his work, *Globalization and Nigeria Border Security: Issues and Challenges* presents globalization as one of the reasons for trans-border crime. To him, it has become easy for transitional crimes to be conducted such as the moving of money, people and goods across the world because of advancement in telecommunications, transportation and technology in general. The world has turned into a 'global village' with its own peculiarities as well as problems (Akinyemi, 2013). Globalization has allowed criminals to move across the borders unhindered and even continue with illicit business with impunity as this affects the socio-economic development and security of lives and property(Adeolu, L.G., & Fayomi, O, 2012 ;Akinyemi, 2013). The author had a different position as to the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of People, Goods and Services which was established by the ECOWAS Member States in 1979. He postulated that;

This protocol allows the movement of criminals to move across the border and also engage in cross border activities under the pretext of this protocol, posing a serious threat to the internal security of lives and property in the country, as the infractions at the border calls for enforcement of reforms of the border control system" (Akinyemi, 2013:5)

Constanze Blum Cross-Border flows betweenNigeria and Benin: What Are the Challenges for (Human) Security work discussed how the geographical location of both countries aids trans-border crimes. It was seen that, the Berlin Conference demarcation of African divided both countries along linguistic line. It was noted that, the cultural homogeneity of the border zone is crucial for the extraordinary cross-border dynamics. When the border was fixed in 1889, it divided up the Shabe Yoruba of which the majority became part of French Dahomey whilst some of the eastern Shabe villages joined British Nigeria. This separation, which forced many Yoruba into a nation with the DahomeanFon, a former enemy, was the source for resentment. The current borders, a colonial remnant, separated a homogeneous socio-cultural group(Blum, 2014).

To the author, transnational organized crimes were not prominent until recent times. This development has occurred parallel to an increased commitment towards free movement of persons and goods in the ECOWAS region that is designedto stimulate growth and stability in the region. With the support of this work as to the negative effect ECOWAS protocol on free movement, it would be seen that there is a need to readjust the protocol in order to reduce the various crimes across borders.

a) Seme Border

The Seme border is a historical costal town in Badagry between Nigeria and Republic du Benin and the border is as old as the country itself. It is a settlement in Nigeria and very close to Cotonou and Nigeria shares about 1,000km with Benin Republic. The border area between Nigeria and Benin is actually Seme/Krake border area as against believes that Seme was a Benin territory. The Kraka is also a coastal town in Benin and often safe guarded by the Customs, police and phytosanitary. Seme area comprises of NCS, ANCLA, NQS, NAFDAC, NIS, NDLEA, SSS, SON, NPF, and PHS among others (CEDEAO ECOWAS 2014). The Seme border area has been seen as "an important channel for better regional integration within ECOWAS" (Uchenna, 2016). The area is predominantly inhabited by the *Aworis, Ijaw* and *Eguns* and farming, fishing is their occupation.

b) Security

(Lahav, 2013) posits that, "security in its various form as assumed different meaning across culture and time. According to Mbachu (2012), nations allocate huge sum of money to security because security is of great importance. He further divides security into external security and internal security. To him, the Nigerian Armed Forces are charged with the responsibility to protect against external aggression. Furthermore, he pointed out various threat to both internal security and external security of which he pinpointed trans-border banditry. It has to do with bandits from neighboring countries like Niger, Chad, Benin and Cameroon. The porosity of the border areas enables the bandits to have free access into the country. He also laid emphasis on smuggling of small arms and dangerous weapons into the country (Mbachu, 2012).

III. Theoretical Framework

a) Failed state theory

The concept of failed state lies on the inability of a state to coordinate its affairs well. (Rotberg, n.d). In his work, *Failed States, Collapsed States, Weak States: Causes and Indicators,* he expresses that, nation-state fail because they are convulsed by internal violence and can no longer deliver positive political goods to the citizenry. Sovereign states are expected to perform certain minimal functions for the security and wellbeing of their citizens as well as the smooth working of the international system. The implication is that the state has

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been amputated in controlling the affairs of its citizens. Failed states are those whose power grids have experienced frequent, sustained, and massive breakdown, such that the state authorities are no longer able to project real power on a consistent basis(Gros, 2011). This theory is best suitable to the woes that African countries are facing in the contemporary period. The states have been neglecting its social responsibility and only gunning towards embezzling of public funds whereby the gap between the ruling class and the ruled classes continue to grow wider. The resources are not evenly spread resulting into the struggle of the available resources. The proletariat therefore results into practicing illegal activities in order to continue to maintain their status. This results in the various crimes which thereafter spread to neighboring countries. The concept of failed state connects to rational choices made by individuals in order to survive in the country.

b) Rational Choice Theory

The Rational Choice Theory best suit the research as against the failed state theory. "Rational choice theory assumes that an actor chooses an alternative that he/she believes brings about a social outcome that optimizes his/her preference under subjectively conceived constraints" (Sato, 2013). According to (Marsh, 2011),

The basic premise of this theory is related to the rewards that potential offenders seeks from their crime. This is done by certain decision-making processes that are unique to the individual (e.g. skill) and to the dynamics of the actual situation (e.g. time available). The theory clearly holds that certain crimes are selected by offenders and committed for specific reasons (p. 87).

The subject for the theorist argument is that, "at the core of criminal behavior are concepts of choice and decision-making" (Marsh, 2011:142). Various options are always available to humans in a given situation and it's often left to the individual to make his/her choice. An actor chooses an alternative that he/she believes brings about a social outcome that maximizes his/her utility (payoff) under subjectively conceived constraints(Sato, 2013). According to the theorist, five critical elements are included in choice making of an individual: constraints, alternatives, social outcomes, utility and belief. All this elements are key to the choices made by an individual in the society. In relation to crime, criminals often have the choice to either engage in criminal activities and also not to engage in the crime. An important element of rational choice theory is the idea that people will weigh the possible pleasure from committing the crime against the possible pain from punishment, and act accordingly. This is known as *hedonistic calculus*(Boyd, 2017). Rational choice theory therefore implies that criminals act in a logical, premeditated way, and make rational choices about whether to commit crimes or not. Rational choice theorists also recognize that "the *threat* of punishment or the *promise* of a reward may motivate people just as much as the punishment or reward itself" (Scott, 2000).

IV. Trans-Border Crime in Nigeria

According to findings, one of the respondent noted that, Nigeria has been the new hub for all forms of trans-border crimes ranging from women and child trafficking, internet fraud (419), smuggling among others. This activities tend to affect the security measures already been put in place by the various security agencies. The porous border for instance has been an easy route for criminals to easily ply their trade with less difficulties. Some factors like political instability, economic woes among others encourages individuals to swallow certain quantities of drugs like Cocaine. The quest for survival led many into smuggling various goods from Benin Du Republic, they avoid paying custom duties thereby reducing revenue generation by the government

Most of the respondent revealed that, corruption has been at the forefront of the issues leading to increased crime in the country whereby resources are not evenly distributed. Transparency International in 2017 ranked Nigeria low among the corrupt countries in the world and for the fourth consecutive year, Nigeria ranked 136 out of 176 countries of the world(Transparency International, 2017). Nigeria's involvement in the establishment of ECOWAS in 1975 has been a major development in integrating West African countries together. Various protocol has been instituted and all countries have ratified the protocol but the ECOWAS protocol on free movement of Persons and the Right of Residence and Establishment has caused wide spread condemnation. The protocol allows easy movement of people from one place to another without difficulties but through this, people easily carry with them weapons, drugs, and on getting to their destinations, cause havoc. Findings further shows that, during the oil boom in Nigeria in the 70s when there was huge migration of people especially the Ghanaians who were in search of improved standard of living, criminal activities were perpetrated. The oil boom experience did not last long before the country was rocked with economic difficulties and "In early 1983 and in mid-1985, the Nigerian Government revoked, respectively, Articles 4 and 27 of the ECOWAS Protocol, and expelled between 0.9 and 1.3 million illegal aliens, mostly Ghanaians"(Adepoju., n.d). On numerous occasions, Nigerians have been caught in the net of security agencies across the world as offenders of crimes like smuggling of cocaine, Heroin, arms among others are been prosecuted. Others were deported for trial in the home country and all these vices are not good for the country's image.

The concept of trans-border has been divided into various segments. These crimes are smuggling,

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prostitution, and proliferation of small and light weapons, drugs, piracy, and child trafficking, advanced fee Fraud (419) among others.

a) Smuggling

Most of the security agents interviewed stated that, Nigerian land borders are prone to crime of different shades. They spark the themes of frontier of lawlessness, insurgence, illegal trade and rebellion against government policies (Newspaper, 2016). How surprising with the various security operatives around the border area with around 19 check point mounted by the Nigerian Customs, Immigration, NDLEA and the Police, the rate of border crime has not reduced. The concept smuggling have been a major issue facing security operatives across the border areas in Nigeria and West Africa as a whole. West Africa is under attack from international criminal networks that are using the sub-region as a key global hub for the distribution, wholesale, and increasing production of illicit drugs (Brown, 2013). The porosity of the border area tend to make it difficult of the security operatives to control the movement of people and goods. As in the case study of this work, the Seme Border area was used it was discovered that, not until 2015, there have not been any development at the border post to prevent smuggling of goods and humans. It of recent that the federal government started putting various building in place to reduce smuggling by criminals. The land borders are not well manned and it was discovered that, illegal routes are connecting Benin with Nigeria which the government are not aware of. Smuggling take various form and ranges from smuggling of food items to cars, weapons among others. The border area has been closed on different occasions by the Nigerian government to curb the activities of smuggling at the border area.

b) Drug Trafficking

The introduction of drugs trafficking in West Africa is has been traced to Nigeria. Being the most populous black nation with high population, criminal who are not Nigerians often disguise as one. The first arrest was made in 1983 and during Gen. Buhari regime, he introduced death penalty for drug traffickers (UNODC, 2015;Stephen, 2016). This caused panic among the couriers leading to the push towards Ghana. The border area between Nigeria and Benin served as the alternative route for the traffickers into Ghana before it is later airlifted to the destination. This event led to the establishment of NDLEA to combat illicit drugs but in recent times, the agency has been tarnished as a result of various corrupt practices and sabotaging by its officials. In recent times, it has been reported that the activities of Nigerian 'drug pushers' have extended beyond Europe to include some African countries. In Chad and Equatorial Guinea, arrests were made of some Nigerians alleged to be dealing in drugs (Adetula, 2015).

The implication thereof is that, some of these drug traffickers often employ other people to carry out their activities thereby making it difficult for security agencies to detect their movement. These mule or couriers often move undetected and they can be children, pregnant women, clerics, important personality in the society among others. The drug courier are also on several occasion not aware of being in possession of the drugs. They are often told to deliver a parcel to somebody on the other side of the country. Others are made to swear oaths making it difficult to divulge information when caught(UNODC, 2015). In an environment where there is high poverty rate, illiteracy, poor governance, corruption, ethnic violence among others, drug trafficking and drug addiction is growing every day. Illicit drugs is common among the youth of the 21st century who are often between the age bracket 18-40years old.

c) Advanced Fee Fraud (419)/Money Laundering

Owing its popularity to the worsening economic crisis that reached the beginning of a climax in the 1980s, '419' takes its name from Nigeria's criminal code on fraud. It is difficult to ascribe a specific stereotype mode of operation to the dozens of small groups and independent operators involved in the 'business' that has expanded into internet scam, as their activities do not only take a variety of guises ranging from "seemingly legitimate business solicitations" to "illicit proposition for collusion in money-laundering." (Garuba, 2010). Criminals often take advantage of the advanced internet and telephone/fax facilities as a cheaper means of communication to rob targeted and unsuspecting victims of their assets and resources(Addo, 2006). It will be argued that the increased level of globalization is aiding increase in internet fraud. At a tender age of 9/10years, children are introduced to internet facilities to improve their interaction and do tasks easily but the adverse effect is that, through the internet, they are often exposed to the urge to perpetrate criminal activities.

Advanced fee fraud in Nigeria often begins with an unsolicited letter from an official in Nigeria seeking the recipient's cooperation in transferring huge amount of money out of the sender's country(Durkin, 2009). These senders often lay emphasis on his inability to get those funds directly to his account unless it been transferred outside the country. The emails contains details of the deceased which is their best fraud term. There often arises problems and the receiver is often encouraged to pay certain fee like insurance fee, delivery fee, levy, bribe to mention a few. When these money are thereafter paid by the victim, more request are been made and it's the same for their victims.

Based on findings, individuals have been caught with stack of money in their vehicles and are

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always ready to bribe their way outside the country. one of the respondent stated that, the money are usually stacked alongside clothes and other valuables making it undetected by as a result of intelligence often given ahead, majority of the offenders are been apprehended. Money laundering is the practice of engaging in "financial transactions to conceal the identity, source, or destination of illegally gained money. It could also be defined as the process of taking any action with property of any form which is either wholly or in part the proceeds of a crime that will disguise the fact that that property is the proceeds of a crime or obscure the beneficial ownership of said property"(Ering, 2011). It has become a prominent practice by Nigerian elites who often syphon the countries resources and funds into their oversea accounts. For example, a Nigerian governor, DiepreyeAlamieyeseigha was charged in November 2005 in the United Kingdom for laundering £1.8million found in cash and bank (Addo, 2006).

V. Factors That aids Trans-Border Crime

a) Poverty

Findings revealed that, the living condition of people in the country is not conducive as there is no equilibrium the revenue sharing leading to an increase in poverty rate. The rich are getting richer and the poor are always at the receiving end. Nigeria poverty rate is very high that even the minimum wage rate of civil servants is not enough for them to cater for their families. The implication therefore is that, people often engage themselves in various activities in order to meet ends means. An interview with a respondent shows that;

I have to smuggle rice with my car on daily bases in order to augment my financial responsibilities with daily lifestyle. I therefore often make use of my office as a police officer to smuggle rice undetected in the trunk of my car and this has been providing additional money to meet daily means(Adeniji, 2017)

This is the experience of a civil servant who still earns monthly salary which is different from the common man who has no job. The aftermath of this is that, they often engage themselves in various activities just to earn money.

b) Porosity of the borders

While Nigeria's border problem is related to colonial history, its porosity has been exacerbated by the failure of succeeding governments to properly administer these borders. As Onuoha noted, "the high level of insecurity on African borders is largely due to the way they are administered and managed, and less to do with how colonialists drew them"(Onuoha., 2013). Despite this spirit of enterprising and promising neighborliness, the borders linking the two countries are the most problematic because of the activities of internationally reputed criminals engaging in smuggling and trafficking of virtually everything from human trafficking, ammunition, arms, and drugs manufactured goods, agricultural produce, prostitution, and child labour to religious fanaticism, terrorist attacks and insurgency (Adeolu, L.G., & Fayomi, O., 2012)The demarcation of the border between Seme and Krake is through the use of ropes. The ropes are tied to drums filled with sand and after interrogation by the security agents, the rope is been lifted and vehicles can pass. This is just for vehicles and the security for humans crossing is unbearable. Individuals moves freely from one part of the country into the other without been asked questions or been checked and it's through this movements that crimes are been perpetrated.

Respondent reveled that, Drugs for instance are concealable and easy to transport from one place to another as against human trafficking or arms smuggling. The border area in this context expands across the 1,000km dividing both countries up to the sea. The designated border is the Seme and Idiroko area but there are about 100 illegal border areas that these criminals uses in perpetrating their crimes.

c) Corruption

Majority of the correspondent were of the view that, corruption has been behind the brain of underdevelopment in Nigeria and Africa as a whole. It has spread all around and every parasternal are under its influence. Corruption is an endemic problem that affects the prosperity and well-being of nations and a major contributor to poverty(Carr., 2007). Corruption in Nigeria has started in 1970s during the oil boom whereby Nigeria's problem is no money but how to spend the money. Individuals started amazing wealth to themselves and using dubious means thereby causing economic chaos. Resources are not evenly distributed again and in order for the citizens to survive, they tend to engage themselves in illegal trades.

Corruption in Nigeria has eaten deep into the blood system of citizens from the top officials to the ordinary citizen. Recently, top government officials have been arrested and prominent among them is National Security Adviser, SamboDasuki who have been accused of diverting revenue meant for arms purchase in combating the Boko Haram terrorist attack in the Northern part of the country and as well former Comptroller General of Customs. Furthermore Furthermore, high level elected officials and security personnel were found to be involved in a range of cocaine and heroin trafficking seizures in the late 2000s, indicating that both formal and traditional governance and security systems of many West African countries are at risk from international drug trafficking cartels (Aning., K. & Pokoo., J, 2014). Findings shows that, the security agencies for instance have the highest share of corrupt personnel in the country. For instance, one of the respondent noted that, there is a hierarchy in money

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sharing formula. The revenue gotten from the road blocks in Seme border area are been taken to the command which is transferred to Lagos command and from there to the headquarters in Abuja. This event is common across all the security agencies.

d) Institutional framework

The ECOWAS Protocol on free movement of persons, goods and services was established by ECOWAS to allow free passage of member states into one another territory without any difficulties or obstruction. It gives room for establishment of companies and citizens can live peacefully without any problem. The essence of the protocol is to improve the relationship that exist between West African countries in terms of trade, commerce, politics, and social events among others. Findings revealed that, the protocol has adverse effect apart from creating a free room for movement.

Criminals have availed themselves of this initiative to perpetrate their nefarious activities. These have a lot of implication for the security of the sub-region. There is no security of lives and properties, weapons are readily available as a result of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (Opanike, 2015:45)

More so, the protocol has created a space for criminals to exploit and has been a major challenge to the effectiveness of the protocol.

VI. Effect of Trans-Border Crime

a) Threat to lives and property

Border crimes has been one of the issue affecting the security of the country. The various crimes have posed serious challenge to lives and properties. Findings revels that, lives are been lost on regular bases especially in communities surrounding the border area when there is any gun fight between the security agencies and the criminals. Numerous times, there have been community clashes leading to the death of security agents and also smugglers in these area. This often escalate into expanded conflict as findings shows that, there have been faceoff between security agents and the communities who always try to protect their people. The security agents needs to conduct their work diligently but the communities always prove as a stumbling block and it's a danger to the security of lives and properties.

b) Increased crime

Findings reveled that, increased in smuggling of weapons one of causes of conflict in the country. There is enough weapon to be shared around and people therefore tend to make use of it for their personal gain. Criminal activities tend to increase daily as a result of border crimes according to a respondent. There have been cases of criminals from neighboring country terrorizing citizens in Nigeria and because of the porosity of the border area, it's easier for the criminals to escape. Research shows that, members of the communities especially in Seme often lead those criminals along illegal routes that are unknown to the security agencies. Not all routes are been guarded thereby enabling the continuous flow of criminals. For instance the recent ban on land importation on vehicle has adverse effect on those practicing the trade. They tend to have no form of income and would thereafter engage themselves in illegal activities like armed robbery. Robbery attacks have always been foiled by the Police Force in Seme on various occasion but most of them often run into Benin where they can easily mix without been detected.

c) Economic woes

One of the respondent stated that, smuggling for instance have adverse effect on the economy of the country. For instance, 90% of the revenue meant to be collated by Nigeria Customs is been lost through smuggling. The remaining 10% is not evenly declared to the government as a result of the corrupt nature of the agencies involved. Furthermore, with the increase in cybercrime and money laundry, the economic situation of the country is been affected. Resources that should be used for development of the country is been transferred to other places. Findings shows that, bags loaded with money are usually smuggled across the Seme borders on daily base. These revenue which are meant for development but are turned to personal use thereby leading economic woes. With the high rate of corruption in the country, revenue are not shared equally thereby and leaders are not helping as they are the dominant traffickers of money across the borders. A prominent NDLEA officer resigned after Buhari led government introduced declaration of asset of government officials because of his malpractices because he was known to have surplus revenue at his disposal which is not meant to be so. The resign was to prevent his arrest and loss of his money. This shows that, corruption level in the country and increased trafficking of money leads to economic crisis.

d) Increase in substandard products that are risky to human health

Findings shows that, the increase in substandard health products have adverse effect on the citizens. Drugs for instance that are not meant for consumption or have expired are been smuggled into the country and distributed to unsusceptible buyers. These drugs are dangerous to human health and when not properly in its normal condition, it leads to loss of lives or causes advanced health complications in the body system. The era of Akuyilli, the Head of NDLEA saw the reduction of the flow of expired drugs but notwithstanding, the drugs still usually finds its way into the market.

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The use of hard drugs by youth especially affects their psychological state of mind. They tend to behave in an abnormal way making them not useful to the society. This increases the rate of people in the psychiatric hospital which is not good for the human manpower in the country.

VII. Conclusion

In the light of the forgoing, it will be noted that trans-border crime is one issue that can lead to turbulence in the international community if not tackled. The increased activities of smugglers across the border area coupled with arms trafficking is a challenge to security in Nigeria. The current insurgence in North East Nigeria and other regional crisis will be curtailed if the flow of arms is reduced. Since it's easy to carry about, every citizen are capable of possessing the weapon illegally and this translates to national insecurity. The current government approach to curb border crime by reconstructing the entry and exit border post is a good development but the issue will be the maintenance of the facilities in place. The issue of corruption which has eaten deep into the blood stream of security agents for instance has been a major problem confronting reduction of border crimes. If there is no sensitization of the security force and improved welfare, border crime will continue to soar and further breakdown the security system of the state.

VIII. Recommendations

This research have been able to highlight various causes and effects of trans-border crime. In the cause of the research, numerous solutions have been pointed out which will help improve the various security challenges across the Seme border area.

a) Increased manpower

Findings shows that, lack of enough manpower has been one of the factor affecting the security agencies from combating crime. For instance, the total number of agents under NDLEA in Seme Command is around 40 whereas the Customs have over 400 agents. Enough manpower to a correspondent will enable the security agencies carry out their duties effectively. For instance, a respondent noted that, drug trafficking has taken a new turn as traffickers tend to make use of the water ways to transport drugs and the security agency is not in possession of marine agents who can help apprehend the criminals.

b) Sanitization and enlightenment of the border security Agencies

Training and re-training should be conducted monthly by the various security agencies. These training and workshops should be held occasionally to enable the agencies sharpen up their ideas. Majority of the officers are not well trained and often get into positions through illegal means and for them to be prepared to combat crime, training needs to be conducted.one of the respondent was of the opinion that, there should be a sanitization of the border. The corrupt nature at the border area often make people want to work at either Customs or Immigration. Therefore, there should be a sensitization at the border for all agencies. Another respondent noted that, there should be adequate checks and balances on the staffs at the border area. These will enable the agency to act effectively and reduce corruption as people of integrity should be brought into the system.

c) Technological improvement

The introduction of modern technology should be the priority of the government in combating crimes across the border area. Due to the vast area of borders, developed countries often engage in the use of improved technology like cameras, robots, scanners among others. Sniffing dogs are trained especially by drug related agencies to easily help detect illegal materials. A central data base and watch house should be instituted whereby the cameras are been installed in hidden selected places. The communities if aware might destroy it but it should be strategically place. New machine that can scan vehicles and humans should be introduced and it will make the job of the security agent easier and reduces crime.

d) Improve welfares

Finding revealed that, the welfare situation of security agents are not been taken care of very well. One of the respondent noted that, they are not well taken care and there is no equality among the security agencies. For instance, finding shows that the Customs and Immigration have in their possession more patrol vehicle as against the police and very poor with NDLEA. The NDLEA have in their possession just one patrol vehicle in their command. This will definitely tend to reduce their efficiency as their no is even small. Staffs are not well paid leading to most of them turning into illegal means of livelihood. When there is a well structure welfare package for the agencies, this will increase their efficiency and will reduce corruption. Annual promotion should be introduced as findings shows that, most of the agents are not evenly promoted and those promoted usually pay certain amount of money before their promotion is been done.

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The Role of Civics and Ethical Education in Shaping Attitudes of Students: The Case of Jimma College Teachers Education

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Abstract- Civics education services as a tool to increase knowledge and participation of students in their community. The role of civics in production of effective citizens is high practically seen to improve in many countries, especially, the civilized world. But its understanding and implementation decreases as someone moves towards developing countries. Today, it is observed and easy to hear comments of individuals on inefficiency of civics education to achieve the desired goals in Ethiopia. Moreover, the concern of schools in teaching and practice of civics education is not as hot issue as the years 1990's i.e. the time when the current government sized power.

Keywords: *role, civics, ethical, education, .attitude, shaping.*

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The Role of Civics and Ethical Education in Shaping Attitudes of Students: The Case of Jimma College Teachers Education

Fetene Bulcha Dibaba

Abstract- Civics education services as a tool to increase knowledge and participation of students in their community. The role of civics in production of effective citizens is high practically seen to improve in many countries, especially, the civilized world. But its understanding and implementation decreases as someone moves towards developing countries. Today, it is observed and easy to hear comments of individuals on inefficiency of civics education to achieve the desired goals in Ethiopia. Moreover, the concern of schools in teaching and practice of civics education is not as hot issue as the years 1990's i.e. the time when the current government sized power. The aim of the study is to investigate to what extent civics training is being conducted in JCTE and stay reliable to shape children at primary schools. The students' knowledge on civics and ethical values was assessed and internalized only some of them practiced while trainees stay in the Jimma College of teachers' education. Although, few students and teachers responded negatively to the questionnaires and interview but majority of them confirmed the progress achieved in civics teaching. The result found confirms the vital role civics can play in teaching and curriculum revision. Respondents have indicated that the following possible solutions to causes of lower level of civic knowledge and practices. The need for continues training on civic and ethical education for student-teachers as far as maximum behavioral change achieved. The other method to be employed should be formation of civics club in colleges, so as to promote students participation. Finally, college instructors should arrange varied methods and resources to update their training styles.

keywords: role, civics, ethical, education, .attitude, shaping.

Chapter One

I. Introduction

a) Background of the Study

Education is increasingly acknowledged as means for combating diverse societal problems. It is also widely attributed as preeminent in fostering attitudes, knowledge and skills of citizens (Birhanu, 2012, cited in, Gosa et al. (2014). The education system has a societal responsibility to produce good and responsible citizens, who understand, respect the constitution, democratic values and human rights; develop attitudes for research and community services; develop a sense of citizenship to participate in and contribute to the development of the community and the country (BHRT, 2001).

Educating good citizens is one of the most important concerns of the majority of education systems in many countries around the world. For example, as in the report of International Association for the Evaluation of Education Achievement (IEA) concerning the study of citizenship education has come, all the contemporary societies facing with this concern and deep engagement that how does youth and adolescents should prepare themselves for citizenship and civil life and learn the way of participation in social issue (Tobias, 1997 cited in Karimi, 2004, p. 17).

Civic education was first implemented in the educational system of the United States of America at the beginning of the 20th century. It was character oriented toward producing a "model" citizens properly indoctrinated with religious and spiritual thinking and it was also referred to as citizenship education (Malone 1968: 110, cited in Branka Vasiljevi 2009).

Interest in Civic education grew in the second half of the 20th century, characterized by a growing interest in the place of man in our society and became seen as an essential purpose of education (Branson 2003).Ethiopia is one of the few Sub-Saharan African countries with long tradition of schooling. Some historical sources trace the beginning of formal indigenous education at least as of the 6th century AD (Solomon, 2008; Teshome, 1979). However, until the first decade of the 20th century, it was traditional in approach and religious in nature.

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However in Ethiopia, as elsewhere in the world, in 1990s the citizenship education with the name of civic and ethical education has given much attention. This was due to the major socio- political developments that took place in the country (MoE, 2007; Girma, 2006; Akalewold, 2005). In 1994 the Education and Training Policy (ETP) of the country was promulgated by giving much attention for citizenship education (Solomon, 2008; TGE, 1994).

According to (USAID 2002, 7),civic education refers to basic information relating to the national political context, as well as some familiarity with and commitment to basic principles implied by these institutions and rules. In the context of a so called democratic transition, this would include exposure to democratic rights and practices, the rule of law, –a specific set of values thought to be essential to democratic citizenship‖ and some encouragement to participate in political life in some way.

This is to be done through building measurable knowledge of the procedures and institutions, and by –fostering a spirit of critical inquiry, encouraging studies to accept beliefs about the importance of citizen participation, building a sense of shared responsibility and teamwork, and encouraging initiative‖ (USAID 2002, 19).

The new subject of civic and ethics education focused on strengthening students' thinking skills, setting the foundation for free and responsible actions for their individual development and to benefit society (SEP, 2005)

The climate for teaching and learning civics is of tremendous significant. Recent studies found that most effective civic education is provided when sessions are frequent, methods are participatory and teachers are knowledgeable and inspiring (USAID 2002, 12-13).

Currently, civic and ethical education is one of the topical issues in the education system of Ethiopia. It is a statutory subject to be taught in all educational institutions of the country. In this regard, the government had introduced a curriculum policy for civic and ethical education (MoE, 2007).

Though civics education education has been increasingly recognized as one of the mechanisms for preparing good citizens who could play important roles in addressing the various problems of their societies, the desire for good citizenship seems an agenda not yet addressed (Mulugeta et al., 2011; MoE, 2007; Akalewold, 2005). Some local studies conducted on civic and ethical education uncovered that the subject has been at a process of implementation without addressing major variables of curriculum implementation.

The FDRE government of Ethiopia has given emphasis to civics and ethical education which aimed at making it stand with the purpose of creating citizens that value equality, liberty, justice and democracy that enable to reflect high ethical standard and set this statement in the education and training policy of the country(MOE, 200 cited in Ashenafi Sh. 2014).

To achieve this objective, a curriculum for the delivery of civics and ethical education was developed and harmonized at national level. As a result, civics and ethical education has started to be taught at the primary, secondary and higher education levels. Nowadays, one of the main indicators for evaluation of educational system in a country is the measure of their success in the process of citizenship education. Governments, through education systems, try to educate school students according to the civil life of the society (ibid).

b) Statement of the Problem

Although civics, as a course, plays a significant role in community, it is not well acknowledged and considered as a tool towards stability, agreement and responsible act of trainees. However, one cannot deny that the cause for effective participation of youngsters in social and current affairs and gained success remains civic thinking and civics education offered in schools. According to (Seyoum, 1996), in Ethiopia, it is playing a great role in producing good citizens, who understand properly the problem of their country, understand the citizen obligation to make personal contribution equipped with good ethical and democratic culture. In shaping citizens to the best of this purpose, it is the obligation of any government to explain its citizens with good civic and ethical values, knowledge and skills. The attention given to civics, particularly in Jimma primary schools and higher institutions is lower, for instance, civics is being thought by teachers who graduated non-civics department. Here, the college administers and the primary school directors allocate someone among the staff regardless of their backgrounds, which, of course, reduced the quality of teaching. Civics and ethical education was also considered as the tool established to support the state propaganda by a number of people. And yet, civic education is a science which is aimed to produce responsible citizens in this country.

As far as I know there is no research conducted in civics and ethical education in Jimma College of teachers' education. There for, the research aims at evaluation of the course strengthens and weakness in teachers training and produce data on the current status. In the view of Gosa .S and Desta .T (2014), in Ethiopia on the field of civic and ethical education the research conducted was relatively very few. Though previous researchers like, Deribe.A (2010), Mulugeta.Y (2015), Gosa.S(2014) and (Ashenafi.Sh.2014) were conducted their study in relation to civic and ethical education and similar related issues. For instance, Deribe.A (2010), the role and engagement of civil society in Ethiopia's first Cycle African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) Process, Mulugeta.Y (2015), Effectiveness of Primary School Principals in Managing

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the Implementation of Civic and Ethical Education Curriculum, Birhanu. J (2012) the Role of Civics and Ethical Education in the Development of Students' behavior, and Ephrem .L (2014) assessment of instructional radio broadcast: the case of civics and ethical education broadcast to primary schools of Addis Ababa.

But neither of them focused on the role of civic and ethical education in shaping of the students attitude in teachers education. Therefore, this study tried to fill this gap.

c) Basic research questions

Depending on the specified gap, the researcher develops the following research questions that will be answered by this particular study;

1. What are the roles of civics and ethical education in cultivation of civic and ethical values of the students in the study area?
2. How does civic and ethical education support the formation of democratic outlook and strengthening democratic values of trainees of Jimma College of teachers' education?
3. What are the contributions of civics and ethical education in improving knowledge and practices of civic disposition among college students?

d) Definition of key terms

Attitude: an acquired mental state that influences choices of personal action, such as preferences, avoidance, or commitment. It is important to have an understanding of key terms used in the study. Below are important definitions. It can be also defined as a mindset or tendency to act in a particular way based on a set of beliefs (www.dictionary.com) accessed on September 13, 2016. Attitude in the researcher study refers to that behavioral development of students towards of democratic values in the college.

Ethics is:

- The philosophical study of morality in human conduct, and of the rules which ought to govern it.
- An idea or moral belief that influences the behavior and attitudes of a group of people
- It also the study of questions about what is morally right or wrong. (Kernerman English Multilingual Dictionary © 2006-2013 K Dictionaries Ltd), accessed on September 114, 2016.

Shaping: is a teaching technique by which a child is rewarded for successful approximation of a target skill.

Values: defined as– Internalized representations of society's demands for competence and morality. They may be thought of as attitudes or beliefs that an individual holds for commitments made or stances taken on particular moral issuesll (as cited in Berkowitz, 1991, p. 108) Values are attitudes or beliefs that deal with issues of right and wrong in terms of justice, fairness, and social responsibility (Berkowitz, 1991).accessed on September 13, 2016.

e) Objectives of the Study

i. *General Objective*

The overall objective of this study was to assess the role civic and ethical education in shaping the attitude of students on the bases of moral and ethical development, democratic values and improving knowledge and practices among students in Jimma college teachers' education.

ii. *Specific objectives*

Specifically, this study has the following objectives.

- To assess the roles of civics and ethical education in cultivating of civic and ethical values of the students.
- To state the role of civics and ethical education in promoting of democratic values
- To identify the main benefits of civic and ethical education.
- To identify ethical values practiced by college students.
- To investigate the perception of college students on the role civic and ethical education

f) Significance of the study

This study was discussed the roles of civics and ethical education in cultivating the moral and ethical values of the students followed by the efforts of civics and ethical education in development of democratic outlook and strengthening democratic values.

The finding of this study has the following significances:

- It will serve as policy input for Oromia Education Bureau.
- It helps the college teachers to know about values internalized by students.
- It provides information on how this course made students knowledgeable democracy.
- It lists the advantages gained due to the course instruction.
- It will also serve as spring board for others researchers who are interested to investigate the role of civic and ethical education in shaping the students attitude.

g) Delimitation of the study

To make the study more manageable, the scope of the study was delimit on Jimma College of teachers education in Jimma city which is fully engaged in teaching-learning activities. And the investigation was concentrated on the role of civic and ethical education in shaping attitude of students in teaching education. The research would have been more comprehensive if all college students had been included in the study. However, this study focused only on those students who are currently attending the last semester in the college.

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h) Limitation of the Study

As this study focuses on the investigation of the role of civic and ethical education, the study was intended to interview the college dean but the college dean at that time not presented. He was some were Holand for work. So, the researcher did not receive the necessary inputs from the college dean. Moreover, the researcher planned to interview four college guardians who are always contacting with students. Unfortunately, the researcher did not gain information from the guardians due to disagreement among them during the data collection. On the other hand, the researcher wanted to gain information from students' parents. But the students' parents were not available for the case of distant from the college.

i) Organization of the Study

The content of the study was organized into five chapters. Chapters one introduces the background of the study, statement of the problem along with, objectives of the study, significance of the study , delimitation of the study and limitation of the study . Chapter two presents with review of related literature and research findings that are related to the problems under investigation.

Chapter three and four deal with the methodology of the study and the report of the result and discussions of the findings respectively. Chapter five summarizes the work of the investigation and presents conclusions drawn from the results of the investigations. Recommendations are also provided based on the findings of the study.

Chapter Two

II. Literature Review

a) Introduction

In reviewing literature for this thesis, researcher sought to cover major trends and developments in the area I was studying. I was also aware that I could not possibly review everything that had been written on civics education. This chapter is thus deliberately a review of related literature rather than a general literature review.

b) Conceptions of civics education

Studies on citizenship indicate that citizenship is an evolving and contested concept. Most writers (Turner, 1986; Resnick, 1990; Clarke, 1994) argue that conceptions of citizenship began with the Greeks where all free men shared in the decision making and operation of common affairs. Modern conceptions of citizenship were influenced by the French Revolution which called for equality, social fraternity and national sovereignty.

The modern conception of citizenship gave rise to new understanding of the individual's relationship to each other and the state (Sears 1997). Presently citizenship is understood as the relationship between an individual and a political community in which the individual is provided with certain rights and has to fulfill certain responsibilities (Bottery, 20003).

Civics has seen continuous expansion in contemporary discussions. The word is used to refer to political situations or phenomena with features of equality and freedom with traditional terms such as democratic society, democratic political process, democratic style of governance, democratic sessions, administration and monitoring, democratic consultation and democratic rights. Moreover, it has also been applied to realms beyond political science, creating such hybrid concepts as economic democracy, social democracy, art democracy and academic democracy (ibid).

Marshall in his book Citizenship (1950) saw three groups of rights necessary to the understanding and practice of citizenship: civil rights, political rights and social rights.

Marshall stressed the importance of civil rights, –the rights necessary for individual freedom – liberty of the person, freedom of speech, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts‖. –The right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body‖ and –the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security, to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society‖ were also deemed necessary for citizenship.

From the initial conception of citizenship in the Greek city-states to the modern conception of citizenship that emerged in the 18th century, citizenship has meant the participation of those who have the rights of citizens in public assembly, in decision-making and operation of public affairs. This indicates that citizenship is both a legal and political status as well as a social role.

Furthermore the ancient world to the contemporary era there are although some commonalities to be found, namely explaining citizenship as some certain sets of common attributes. This means certain reciprocity of rights against, and duties towards the political community (Held 1995, p.66).

In a general meaning one can say that citizenship education in the western democratic welfare-states refers to the task of the school to fostering good democratic citizens. Several different concepts are however used to describe society. Nussbaum uses mainly the term –teaching world citizenship‖ when discussing what role and content the education should have in a multicultural society. Some other frequently used concepts are Citizenship education (Jackson 2003), Value education (Colnerud and Thornberg 2003)

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c) *Historical background of civics & ethical education*

The word civic' is derived from the Latin word civis' that means a citizen'. Another Latin word civitas' means city-state. Both these words may have given birth to the social science known as civics'. As an ancient history of Rome & Greece confirm, the two great states governed various affaires with the help of the rules founded by the then citizens of the time. They had their own small city-states known as _civitas'. After wards the word civics' & civitas' came to be seen in English language & the words such as citizen came in to being (Kassaye, 2001, Assegdew, 2000, Alamirew, 2005).

The history of civics and ethics is rich in approaches and assumptions, especially in the modern era. Contrary to the antique Athenian democracy, which was mainly a method of decision making by majority rule, liberal democratic thinkers like John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau linked to it in the liberation and emancipation of the individual. They were convinced that all human beings were, by nature, equal and free. If this is taken seriously, then a democracy consists of much more than the right to vote (Rousseau 2008: 54).

There are a number of definitions of citizenship education including the ones given below: citizenship education seeks to develop knowledge, skills and attitudes and values which enable students to participate as active and informed citizens in our democratic society within an international context (National Goals for Schooling, Australia, 1989).

According to the International Encyclopedia of Education, civic education is defined in the following way: Civic education is broadly concerned with development of citizenship or civic competence by conveying the unique meaning, obligation, and virtue of citizenship in a particular society or the acquisition of values, dispositions, and skills appropriate to that society. (2nd ed., Vol. 7, p. 767).

For Merone (2006), the history of civics dates back to the earliest theories of citizenship in ancient time and civics as a discipline deals with, day-to-day affairs of the state & its citizen done after the time of the renaissance. This definition of civics lays more streams on social life of citizens. In the context of social relationship, it is clear that there are many duties to be performed & correspondingly many sites to be respected. Therefore, according to the above definition it is mainly with these senses of the relation that civics is conceived.

But other different definitions reveal a number of themes, concepts and dimensions to citizenship education. They include the themes of: the preservation of a democratic society and its associated rights; the notion of participation in society; the preparation or capacity-building of young people for active and informed participation; a focus on inclusion or integration into society; a concentration on Contem -porary society; key concepts…including democracy, rights,

responsibilities, tolerance, respect, equality, diversity and community; and the dimensions of knowledge and understanding, skills, attitudes and values(Kerr, 2003, p. 8 cited in Bernadette L. 2007). Civic and citizenship education can be a policy initiated by a government, a program run in a school, a lesson taught by a teacher or an activity experienced by a student. The common element across these different ways of thinking about civic education is the focus on a special aspect of the school curriculum—the aspect that is specifically concerned with the education of young people to become citizens of the future (Kerry J. Kennedy2012).

According to Branson (1998), a good civic education enables students to enjoy their rights and freedom, makes them to respect the freedom of others, enables them consciously discharge their duty and responsibility, respect the rule of law, and try to solve the problem of the society.

As Ross, (1997) suggest an important role of civic education is to prepare citizens with capabilities for the hard work. However, a more important part of the school curriculum is to prepare students to learn and function in diverse social circumstances; learn how to reason; identify and solve problems; work in teams and collaborate with others; develop research and critical thinking skills, understand responsibility, develop leadership, learn tolerance, and how to coexistence, and respect others. Since the primary purpose of social studies and civic education is to instill in students the knowledge, skills, and values for active contribution in society.

Again Peter Levine (2012), interactive, engaging civic education has been found to boost young people's interest in news and politics for years after graduation. It can also be good for them as individuals, enhancing their motivations to succeed in school what we expect of our students in civics classes is a good measure of what kind of nation we hope to be. The question is not whether we are raising young people to vote for Barack Obama or Mitt Romney, but whether they can talk with people who disagree and form and execute good plans for addressing public problems. By that standard, we typically fall short (ibid)

d) *The Historical Development of Civics & Ethical Education*

The Greece city state of Athens is said to be the first to organize civic education. Civic education has similar development to that of democracy. Accordingly civics education is ancient Athenian time considered to be a political engagement. In ancient Greek, to be a citizen means to be politician. It involves direct and active participation in the public affairs of Greece city–

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states. Through times, this enabled to develop modern civic education (Junedi, (2005) cited in Birihanu Jibril (2012).

According to Alamrew (2005) cited in Junedi(2006) those social revolutions , which took place in, western countries like Britain (1688), America (1776) & other French revolution of(1789) contributed a lot for the growth of modern civic education ,revolutions subsequently emerged with modern democratic concepts &, therefore, paved the way for advanced civic education in Europe & the work .

Furthermore, ethical thought also began in ancient Greece. The pioneer of this idea was said to be Socrates around the 5th B.C. who carry out their old ethical thoughts purified & scholars and thinkers attempted to establish ethical code based on rationalism. And in the development of the subject matter, Greece has played indispensable role by its great philosophers.

e) Empirical review of past studies on civic and ethical education role

The Eurydice report (2005) showed many countries in Europe positioning civic and citizenship education not only in terms of what students learn in classrooms but also in terms of the opportunities students have to put that learning into practice through participation in the school and wider communities beyond school. The report's authors defined this approach to citizenship education as –an active learning by doing‖ approach that emphasizes –student participation‖ and the –idea of a democratic school.

John Dewey (1992) wrote this in the beginning of twentieth century in a time when many liberal democratic nation states still was under construction. He among several other philosophers in the classical liberal tradition like John Locke, Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill emphasized the role of civic education in the building of the society and national state.

There is also evidence in the research literature that students who are involved in civic-related activities at school tend to be more knowledgeable about civic-related matters. In their analyses of National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) data in the United States, Niemi and Junn (1998) found that participation in role-playing elections or mock trials had a positive effect on students' civic knowledge.

Branson (1998), states that the main concern of civics and ethics education is to search the value & principle of democracy & civic competence. Civic competence is the capacity to participate effectively with political & social affairs of the society whereas; civic responsibility is the commitment to fulfill the obligation of citizenship tasks.

As (Kerr, 1999) states, citizenship education is viewed as the preparation of young people for their roles and responsibilities and for the challenges and uncertainty of life through provision of relevant education. Along the same lines, Davies (2001) views the functions of citizenship education as socialization into norms and citizen duties and promotion of autonomy and critical thinking.

A USAID study in 2002 discovered that civic education role have an enormous and positive impact on learners in comprehending and practicing key aspects of democratic behaviors and attitudes. The report claims that civic education helps students to know and identify public policy and increases their political participation through exploring and studying local problems. –It also leads to more moderate, but still significant, differences in participants' knowledge about their political system and about democratic structures and institutions in general, and it also tends to contribute to a greater sense of political efficacy‖ .

MOE (2002) schools may be said to have fulfilled their central & chief mission when they only succeed to transmit to the growing generation the political, social & economic values of the society & their community, & there by produce citizens capable of playing a positive role in their community large(MOE, 2002).

The research-based "proven practices" as reported in the Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools includes the practice of "Discussion of Current Events and Controversial Issues: Schools should incorporate discussion of current local, national, and international issues and events into the classroom, particularly those that young people view as important to their lives" (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, 2012). Understanding the implications of changes in government, the implementation process for inclusion of minority and human rights, and development of policies that pre-emptively defuse potential conflicts are important discussion topics for today's students.

As (Amadeo et al., 2003; Torney-Purta et al., 2001) reported student participation in a school council or a student parliament was also a positive predictor of civic knowledge and engagement in the IEA CIVED study (Amadeo et al., 2003; Torney-Purta et al., 2001).

Asserted by MOE (2006), the new education policy will be instrumental to build democracy and to promote the development the nation. It is the strong belief of the government that the current policy is effective and efficient to boost the development of the country. In addition to changing the school curricula, civics and ethical education has been introduced as a separate school subject in all grade levels with the vision of facilitating democracy in the country.

In the words of Gold cited in Merone (2006,cited in Birhanu .J,2012), civics is the study of institution, habits, sprits, activities & sentiments which provide an individual responsibility irrespective of gender , with a moral force to play his/her duties & to enjoy a sense of belongingness with an organization.

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It is increasingly argued and accepted by scholars that the implementation of citizenship education requires the democratization of schools (Osler & Starkey, 2004; Davies et al., 1999). For these scholars, democracy cannot be learned without a democratic school setting, and as a result, all school activities should be carried out in accordance with fundamental democratic values. Sharma (2006) too indicates that the nature of schools should reflect the various principles, procedures and cultures of democracy so that students may possibly learn to live democratically

Sharma (2006 cited in Mulugeta, Y (2015) discussed also; the nature of schools should reflect the various principles, procedures and cultures of democracy so that students may possibly learn to live democratically.

The major role of civics & ethical education is to produce _good citizen'. A good citizen, as explained by Akalewold (2005), is a citizen who understands properly the problem of their country, understand the citizenry obligation to make personal contribution equipped with good ethical & democratic culture. In shaping citizens to the best of this purpose MOE (2002; 52) discloses that it is the obligation of any government to inform its citizens with good civic & ethical values. Akalewold (2000 cited in Birahanu.J 2012) states that there is no government in the world without the intention of shaping citizens according to its constitutions.

Teaching civic education is considered to be the preparing an active, accountable, and knowledgeable citizens, –to commit themselves for the fundamental values and principles of democracy‖ (Center for Civic Education, 1994, p. 1).

In addition to, rights and responsibilities, citizens also have different roles to play. Some of these roles are to participate actively in respecting the rights of others, active political engagement to enact just laws and to act to change unjust laws in a peaceful and responsible manner (Crick, 1998) and joining voluntary groups and organizations to take actions in the interest of the public good. To be able to carry out the differing roles and responsibilities of citizenship means that citizens must have the knowledge, skills and dispositions to effectively exercise their citizenship status. This calls for citizenship education.

According to the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (2002) civic role report, civic education help young people to acquire and learn the skills, knowledge, and attitudes that will prepare them to be competent and responsible citizens throughout their lives. We recognize that being a competent and responsible citizen is not easy. It can take courage, sacrifice, and passion to be civically and politically engaged. Engagement is especially difficult for disadvantaged young people, who lack resources and are often discouraged from participating. Then, in higher institutions an essential role of civic education is to provide skills, knowledge, and encouragement for all students, including those who may otherwise be excluded from civic and political life.

The main role of citizenship education is to provide political socialization and to equip young people with knowledge, skills and values to participate effectively in democratic a society (Kisby & Sloam, 2009). Likewise, Davies (2001) views the functions of citizenship education as socialization into norms and citizen duties and promotion of autonomy and critical thinking. He continues by saying that, students should learn about the contributions, democratic system building, citizen rights and obligations.

As Finkel (2003) described it CE is sometimes referred as education for democratic citizenship, as it is democratically oriented. From this perspective CE includes three essential roles.

1. Civic competence (political knowledge, civic skills, and perceptions of one's own political influence that support democratic participation).
2. Adherence democratic values and norms (tolerance, meaning the extent to which citizens are willing to extend procedural democratic liberties to individuals and groups with whom they may disagree; institutional trust, meaning the willingness to critically support basic social and political institutions; and support for democracy as a form of government preferable to other political systems).
3. It promotes democratic participation.

Important principles of democracy for global understanding include examination of the guarantees of secure existence self-determination, shared decision-making, dignity of person, and freedom from oppression. Democratic values and principles need to be explicitly taught, discussed, analyzed, applied, and evaluated in a way that engages students in using reasoning skills and knowledge of the world around them (Center for Civic Education, 2006).

According to Branson (1998) students are actively involved in creating the kind of classroom community to which they wish to belong and contribute. They are aware that a community is based on shared understandings of agreed values and principles, and collectively take responsibility for maintaining those values and principles, through their behavior as a group and towards each other. With their teacher, they co-establish classroom rights, responsibilities, roles and expectations which affirm the values of their community, and ensure that their learning environment provides opportunities for all and is free from negative peer pressure and unnecessary distractions. They collectively acknowledge and celebrate the efforts and successes of individuals and the class.

Furthermore, Nieuweinhuis (2007) citizenship education which is sometimes referred to as education

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for democracy or civic education also tends to provoke debate and controversy.

A recent study by the National Conference of State Legislatures and partners suggests that civic education results in an increased likelihood to vote and increased civic knowledge and engagement (Kurtz et al. 2003). Dawit (2006; 19) states the role of civic education in participatory democracy; the society has a common bond & mutual interest in which both collective & individual rights are fulfilled.

In (MOI, 2002) teaching civic and ethical education had a great role to produce ideal citizens i.e. to inculcate in students mind all the qualities of an ideal citizen who:- believes in equality of opportunity for all people, respects values & defends basic human rights, respects law and its various agencies, understands democratic principles, put general welfare above individual interest, exercises his right of vote freely, accept his civic responsibility and discharges them to the best of his/her capacity, realizes the necessary connection of education and democracy, assumes a personal responsibility for the wise use of natural resources, understands cultures and ways of life other than his /her own, supports all efforts to prevent war, always ready to defend his/her mother country against tyranny & aggression, cultivates qualities of character and generally personality that requires a high value in his/her character, recognizes a good citizens.

In addition to the above, Apple and Beane, (1995, 1999), the civic education experts were states that the beneficiaries of civic education should be for young people both in and out of school. In schools students should be given the opportunity not only to learn about but to experience democracy. Schools and classrooms must reflect the democratic society to be created.

School councils, school clubs, community service and other forms of student involvement that genuinely engage students in problem solving and decision is making must be structured into school life. Schools could both draw on and support the efforts of civil society organizations to provide the opportunities for young people to experience and work towards creating a democratic society (ibid).

f) The rational of civic and ethical education for teachers training

The teachers' education enables our trainees gain the necessary knowledge and skills required for primary school teachers. These knowledge and skills would be effectively applied if only teachers become ethical and civic minded. Thus, we dare to say civic education has a rational to training. According to Branson (1998), a good civic education enables students to enjoy their rights and freedom, makes them to respect the freedom of others, enables them consciously discharge their duty and responsibility, respect the rule of law, and try to solve the problem of the society.

After investigating the civic and ethical education syllabus of the college, particularly the value to be practiced, it must be arrangement of elements that should be under focus. The rational of providing civics and ethical education at all grade level in general and in higher education is particular to maintain their civic knowledge, skill and change their civic attitude and behavior. This mission of civics and ethical education is the corner stone to make citizens politically active and participative in all aspects of their social life.

The education system has a societal responsibility to produce good and responsible citizens, who understand, respect and defend the constitution, democratic values and human rights; develop attitudes for research and work and solve problems; develop a sense of citizenship to participate in and contribute to the development of the community and the country. To achieve this objective, a curriculum for the delivery of civics and ethical education was developed, appropriate textbooks were prepared for each grade and level and teachers were oriented. As a result civics and ethical education has started to be taught at the primary, secondary and tertiary level.

To promote the effectiveness of civics and ethical education, the Ministry of Education has taken different measures so far. The value of civics and ethical education are integrated in all subjects, both at primary and secondary levels, to help students acquire, understand and own the values. On the other hand, efforts have been made to build the capacity of teachers through the provision of training opportunities so that they can effectively teach civics and ethical education. Moreover, civics and ethical education clubs have been established in all schools to let students have the chance to exercise what they have learned in their respective classes and develop their skills for active participation.

g) Citizen ship knowledge: Trainees knowledge about government structures and functions has improved. Each college students, although not fully practiced, began to identify and inform others about issues, evaluate possible solutions and act to resolve problems in their community.

h) Civic skills: are manifested in strong link to actual participation of trainees. These can be explained as follows:

- The opportunity used to support ideas and principles of different practices including oppositions.
- Trainees' ability to freely express their fillings about current situations. E.g while seminars conducted.

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In the same way Traverse (1963, Beaumont 1949) civics knowledge taught and developed in schools affirms both changes in behavior and attitude, (like or dislike) of the subject and the lesson. Subsequently, student's attitude toward various subjects and to the teacher and the school is primarily very important in the learning situation.

So far, Gadner (2003) believed that when education is integrated with ethical values, the result can be impressively positive and highly related with the reality of development, a position similar to that of Shafritz, Koeppe, and Saper (1988), and Springer (2000).

Consequently, the acquisition of civic knowledge and civic skills cannot alone be helpful in practice, if the appropriate attitudes are not developed. Therefore ,civic education should help students to develop suitable behavior and attitude, personal and public characters that matter the willingness of citizens to act in public affairs(Dawit 2006: 26).

Furthermore, Eddington and Kurt Ambrose (2010).Valuing and providing opportunities for active, democratic participation in the classroom assists students in making connections between their participation and their understanding of democratic processes. It also assists with the socialization of students into an ethic of cooperation, encourages respect and gives them responsibility for their learning Generally, for civic education, to fulfill its societal mission, among others, it must include civic knowledge, civic skill, and civic virtue. Civic knowledge comprises concepts, principles, procedures, etc, based on how the society is organized and functions. Civic skills refer to the ability that citizens require to put the theory, in to action being as active member of the community.

However, civic virtue refers to the character, disposition, commitment and attitude that citizens possess which is essential to carry out their civic responsibility (MOE, 2002; 26 cited in Birhanu J. 2012).

i) Importance of civic education

Citizen Ship knowledge: Trainees knowledge about government structures and functions has improved. Each college students, although not fully practiced, the began to identify and inform others about issues, evaluate possible solutions and act to resolve problems in their community.

According to (Gary Hansen, 2002) School-based programs, therefore, weave teaching about democratic institutions, principles, and practices into a range of courses, from kindergarten programs that focus on promoting participatory teaching methods to senior high school programs that emphasize imparting specific knowledge about democratic institutions and practices to young adults.

In the similar way (Patrick, 2006), the teaching of human rights goes hand-in-hand with high quality civic education. ‖The idea of human rights is best taught within a conceptual context that enables the learner to understand how it is connected to other core concepts in the theory and practice of representative democracy, such as democratic elections, constitutional government and the rule of law, citizenship, and civil society".

Then there is no better strategy to engage the students of civic education than using discussion, debate, higher-order thinking, and active problem-solving strategies. The trends as well as the research support the need for more intentional educational goals in civic education and greater active involvement of the students. While citizens master civic skills throughout their life, early learning experiences are thought to be especially important in terms of developing support for democratic norms (ibid).

Additionally according to (www.qca.org .uk/curriculum retrieved on June10, 2016), show that the importance of civics Education for citizenship, equips young people with the knowledge, skills and understanding to play an effective role in public life. Citizenship encourages them to take an interest in topical and controversial issues and to engage in discussion and debate. Pupils learn about their rights, responsibilities, duties and freedoms and about laws, justice and democracy. They learn to take part in decision-making and different forms of action. They play an active role in the life of their schools, neighborhoods, communities and wider society as active and global citizens.

Civic skills: are manifested in strong link to actual participation of trainees. These can be explained as follows: The opportunity used to support ideas and principles of different practices including oppositions. Trainees' ability to freely express their fillings about current situations. e.g. while seminars conducted.

Fur there more the study of Morse, S. W. (1989).shows in America higher education has a rich tradition of preparing students for civic roles and responsibilities, but with increased specialization, these goals have lost their emphasis in the curriculum. This report defines responsible citizenship in a democratic society and its requisite civics skills; reviews higher education's role in civic education; identifies ways colleges and universities can help develop the skills and requirements of citizenship and public life; and presents ways that campuses can create a new environment for learning about the civic life, through teaching, governance, extracurricular activities, campus life, and community relations

It also, helps young people to develop their critical skills, consider a wide range of political, social, ethical and moral problems, and explore opinions and ideas other than their own.

They evaluate information, make informed judgments and reflect on the consequences of their

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actions now and in the future. They learn to argue and speak out on issues of concern (www.qca.org.uk/curriculumretrieved on June10, 2016)

Civic disposition: Graduates students developed personal dispositions was important in a democracy such as concern for others rights and welfare practiced through: Election procedures held at college and ability to listen and tolerate opinions of others even though it doesn't attract their own.

According to (Margaret Stimmann (1998) like civic skills, civic dispositions slowly over time and as a result of what one learns and experiences in the home, school, community, and organizations of civil society. Those experiences should be encourage understanding of democracy requires the responsible self-governance of each individual; one cannot exist without the other. Traits of private character such as moral responsibility, self-discipline, and respect for the worth and human dignity of every individual are imperative Traits of public character are no less consequential. Such traits as public spiritedness, civility, respect for the rule of law, critical mindedness, and willingness to listen, negotiate, and compromise are indispensable to democracy's success (Ibid).

j) The role of civic education in a global world

The implications of global issues for civic education are huge and it is imperative that we get this right. Education for students of the 21st century must include critical thinking skills, participatory skills, communication skills, problem-solving skills, and the imagination to embrace a world that functions on the fundamental principles of democracy, respectful of human rights (Frances L. 2013).

Important principles of democracy for global understanding include examination of the guarantees of secure existence, self-determination, shared decision-making, dignity of person, and freedom from oppression.

According to the (Center for Civic Education, 2006), democratic values and principles need to be explicitly taught, discussed, analyzed, applied, and evaluated in a way that engages students in using reasoning skills and knowledge of the world around them. To these ends, "democratic values promote a peaceable society. Democracy may achieve a harmony among disparate interests and ideas within a society through its accommodation and moderation of conflict and discord. This domestic tranquility is essential for the flourishing of individual and community well-being" Adherence to democratic values and norms (tolerance, meaning the extent to which citizens are willing to extend procedural democratic liberties to individuals and groups with whom they may disagree; institutional trust, meaning the willingness to critically support basic social and political institutions; and support for democracy as a form of government preferable to other political systems (Gutmann, 1987, p. 287).

Civic education, whenever and however undertaken, prepares people of a country, especially the young, to carry out their roles as citizens. Civic education is, therefore, is –the cultivation of the virtues, knowledge, and skills necessary for political participation‖ Student service learning the participatory part of civic education, bridging classroom activities with the community (ibid). However, service learning is no replacement for civic education. Although commonly associated with schooling civic education is not the exclusive domain of schools (ibid).

According to Margaret B (1998), Primary responsibility for the cultivation of ethical behavior and the development of private character, including moral character, lies with families, religious institutions, work settings, and the other parts of civil society. Schools, however, can and should play a major role in the overall development of the character of students. Effective civic education programs should provide students with many opportunities for the development of desirable traits of public and private character. Learning activities such as the following tend to promote character traits needed to participate effectively. For example;

- Civility, courage, self-discipline, persistence, concern for the common good, respect for others, and other traits relevant to citizenship can be promoted through cooperative learning activitiesand in class meetings, student councils, simulated public hearings, mock trials, mock elections, and student courts.
- Self-discipline, respect for others, civility, punctuality, personal responsibility, and other character traits can be fostered in school and community service learning projects, such as tutoring younger students, caring for the school environment, and participating in vote registration drives.
- Recognition of shared values and a sense of community can be encouraged through celebration of national and state holidays, and celebration of the achievements of classmates and local citizens.
- Attentiveness to public affairs can be encouraged by regular discussions of significant current events.
- Reflection on ethical considerations can occur when students are asked to evaluate, take, and defend positions on issues that involve ethical considerations, that is, issues concerning good and bad, rights and wrong.
- Civic mindedness can be increased if schools work with civic organizations, bring community leaders into the classroom to discuss issues with students, and provide opportunities for students to observe and/or participate in civic organization (Margaret Stimmann Branson1998).

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They should learn to interact effectively, as well as learn how to monitor and influence school and public policies. Governance, as used here, means more than seeking or serving in a class or school office. It means having a voice in such matters as school rules and disciplinary procedures. Governance means that each student is a citizen possessed of the rights and charged with the responsibilities that accrue to citizens in a constitutional democracy.

According to the Guardian of Democracy report, school climate also benefits from civic learning: –schools with civic learning programs are more likely to be _safe, inclusive, and respectful‘‖ (Annenberg, 2011, p. 23). School climate includes actual educational experiences that students may receive as well as school ethics and norms. Schools with a positive climate promote those values and expectations that foster a sense of cohesion in the school as a community that exists within a larger community.

Implicit in a positive school climate are positive relationships between the school and that larger community in which the school is situated, into which those norms, values, and expectations apply. Further, by engaging in active civic education curricula, students are better equipped to recognize their own stake in their school‘s success (see also Flanagan, 2013; National School Climate Council, 2007).

j) Ethics education in Ethiopia

Ethiopia as a country of great history, culture and diverse people, there are a great deal of Ethiopian distinction. Values, for instance, hospitality, respect truth fullness, obedience, moderation religion, forgiveness, firmness etc. are among the Ethiopian values (Habtamu 1994).

During the Imperial régime, the subject with the name moral education was given formally in Ethiopian schools. The purpose of that subject was to shape the character of students in line with the Orthodox Christian faith to instill obedience and sense of sub service in the younger generation so that they could remain compliant to the prevailing political, social and economic order (Girma, 2006; MOE, 2006). This nature of moral education prevailed in the country right up to the demise of the monarchy in 1974.

The government that ousted the monarchy through coup d‘état was a military dictatorship in line with the socialist political philosophy. This government soon declared Marxism- Leninism as its official ideology and education in the country was towards the inculcation of this ideology (Woube, 2005; Ayele, 2002; Seyoum, 1996). As cited in Seyoum (1996) the then ruling party, the workers party of Ethiopia (WPE) had declared the aim of education in the country as follows.

The aim of socialist education is to mold citizens who have an all-rounded personality by including the entire society with socialist ideology thus arming them with the required knowledge for socialist construction (WPE, cited in Seyoum, 1996:19). For this purpose, a sort of civics education called political education was designed and launched in the school curriculum of the country (Akalewold, 2005a; Woube, 2005).

Regardless of these efforts to teach Civic and Ethical Education as one integral part of Ethiopian school curriculum before the 1990s, many believe that the subjects taught during the reign of emperor and the Derge were not considered as civic education. In this regard, Merone has the following to say; –Both the imperial period‘s moral education & the Dergue‘s political education can‘t be taken, as civic education for both of them did not fundamentally deal with the right, freedoms & duties of Ethiopian citizens (Merone, 2006: 251 cited Birhanu .J 2012)‖.

In 2002, after few years of implementation of Civic Education in the country, the government publicized numerous national policies & strategies to the public. One those policy documents was the Ethiopian federal democratic republic capacity building strategy and program, which dealt with the status of civic education in the country. In the document, the government uncovered that the new civic education curriculum introduced throughout the country was not properly executed due to different plans. Nevertheless, it obviously showed the government‘s desire to further consolidate the teaching of the subject (MOI, 2002). Additional government policy document that aimed at clarifying the what, why & how aspects of civic education were also put in effect (MOE, 2004; MOE, 2006; MOE, 2007).

According to MOE (2007) to effective realization of producing good citizens, Civics and Ethical education is not the only school subject which is responsible in shaping the manner of students but also there are other subjects that can contribute a lot. However the government seems more confident on this subject matter as a primary tool. That is why the core place is given to the subject by Government officials and democratic institutions.

Fentahun (2007) in Aschale (2009) has also pointed that altruism, integrity, cooperation spirit seem to be declined in Ethiopian students. In the same manner Bekele (2001) in Fakade (2003) Ethiopian youths have been influenced by western media. Hence they lose their own moral value some other local studies were also conducted concerning the implementation of Civic and Ethical education in our country. They disclosed that there has been poor implementation of the subject (Girma, 2006; Dawit 2006; MOE, 2000).

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l) Trends and development of civic and ethical education in Ethiopian context

Ethiopia is one of the few Sub-Saharan African countries with long tradition of schooling. Some historical sources trace the beginning of formal indigenous education at least as of the 6th century AD (Solomon, 2008; Teshome, 1979). However, until the first decade of the 20th century, it was traditional in approach and religious in nature. As a result, many educators indicate that this traditional/religious education was not in a position to address the socio-economic and political problems of the country and to transform the life of its people (Solomon, 2008; Seyoum, 1996 cited in Mulugeta Y (2015).

According to Akalwlde the Ethiopian government, in its various policy documents, indicated its dissatisfaction with the poor state of the way civic education was conceptualized and implemented by education actors. Though the exact beginning time of civics and ethics is not traced, some forms of moral instruction were given in Amharic subject reading passages at the time of monarchy.

After the fall of monarchy, political education becomes compulsory subject in the early years of the military government (1974-1991) its commitment was to expand anti- feudal, anti-imperialist and anti- capitalist education and to provide ideology education in an organized way at all levels of education to fill the gap created as a result of termination of political education and due to the commitment of the new government to the teaching of democracy and democratic practice as new elements of the education policy Akalwelde(2005).

It seems that this general educational background that initiated transitional government of Ethiopia to formulate and introduce a new education and training policy in 1994. The policy predicts the preparation of educated and trained human power capable of actively participating in diverse economic, social and political lives of the country (TGE, 1994).

In (MOE2002a, MOE, 2004, 2002a. b. FDRE 2004) due to important political developments in the 1990s, the role of civic education was elevated with in government education discourse. The rational for the new focus on citizenship education was explained by government's dissatisfaction with was the way education policy in general and civic education in particular was perceived and implemented by actors within the school system and by the public at large. Of course (MoE 2000a), civics and ethical education course is designed to be offered as a common course and major for few trainees in the diploma program in order to produce responsible, well-informed, and competent citizens. The course encompasses the basic concepts of civic and ethical education; state and government; the values and principles of democracy; and the issues related to citizenship and patriotism. This course is designed to provide students with knowledge, skill & virtue of civics and ethics for professionals, perspectives of society, state &government in Ethiopia, ethics & civic dispositions in Ethiopia, democracy and good governance in Ethiopia and that of globalization.

It also focuses up on development of professional ethics, the socio-economic and political transformations of our country, the nature of work habit; the ethics and civics of development, public service & environment; the relationship of democracy and good governance; the actors, merits & demerits, challenges of globalization; and the place of our country in the field of globalization as well as fundamental human rights and major issues of development.

In the quest to consolidate the democratic process in the country and enlighten citizens in their right and obligations, since 2002/03 the curriculum of civic education was revised and a new Civics and Ethical Education, which is based on major social values, is adopted across the grade levels

Chapter Three

III. Research Methodology

a) Introduction

In order to analyze the role of civics and ethical education in shaping the attitude of students, this study developed a research methodology. This section provides an overview of the study's research approach which lays within the mixed methods strategies. The chapter discusses procedures and activities under taken, focusing on namely the study's research design, questionnaire design, data collection, sampling strategy, data processing and analysis and instrument development. Besides, the section deals with a discussion on the ethical issues and the study area profile.

b) Description of Study Area

The research was carried out at Jimma College of Teacher's Education, Jimma town, Oromia National Regional State, Ethiopia. Jimma College of Teacher's Education is located in jimma town which is 345km west of Addis Ababa (the capital city of Ethiopia and Oromia). Jimma College of Teacher's Education first established as teacher's training institution in 1969 and became Jimma College of Teacher's Education in 1977; and is one of the oldest higher learning institutions in Ethiopia. It is running as a collage of teacher education and 12 academic departments clustered under five educational streams. At this academic year the college has a total of 3490 students. The reason for selecting the site is that the researchers' familiarity with the area is considered as an additional advantage to conduct fieldwork in the area. The researcher know about the background information of the area, the language, the culture, and tradition of the people makes it easier to work in the college community and additionally no civic and ethical

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education study has ever been conducted on the area under the proposed title. Because of this the researcher also motivated to select the site.

c) Research Approach

Research design is the blueprint for fulfilling research objectives and answering research questions (John A.H. et al., 2007:20-84). In other words, it is a master plan specifying the methods and procedures for collecting and analyzing the needed information.

The same authors discusses three types of research design, namely exploratory (emphasizes discovery of ideas and insights), descriptive (concerned with determining the frequency with which an event occurs or relationship between variables) and explanatory (concerned with determining the cause and effect relationships).

For this particular study, the researcher employed descriptive research. As Creswell (2003, p. 153) stated that the purpose of descriptive survey is to generalize description of trends, attitudes, or opinions from a sample to a population so that inferences can be made about some characteristic, attitude, or behavior of this population.

According to Mark et al. (2009:101cited in Gemechu A, 2014) mixing qualitative and quantitative approaches gives the potential to cover each method's weaknesses with strengths from the other method. In this study, a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches of doing research was employed, which has been practiced, as recommended by Creswell (2009:203-216).

Moreover, as noted in Fowler (1986) it is also reasonable to use descriptive survey designs because of its benefits such as the economy of the design and the rapid turnaround in data collection and identifying attributes of a large population from a small group of individuals. Therefore, it is logical the researcher to apply descriptive survey method for this study.

d) Strategy of the study

The main objective of this research was to investigate the role of civic and ethical education in shaping attitude of Students' at Jimma college teachers' education. To realize this purpose, descriptive study method was implemented. Data were gathered from the 231 college of student- teachers, 6 members of student council and 27 instructors from social science and education streams. Two hand red thirty one students and twenty seven instructors were participated in filling the questionnaires respectively. Moreover, six student councils and eight social science stream teachers were conducted interviews. The participants for the interview and for the questionnaires were selected purposely based on their willingness, responsibility, and cooperation, competitiveness (maturity and assertiveness for students).

e) Target population

The target population of this particular study was 3rd year regular students of Jimma college of teachers' education. This selection is purposively done because the third year students have longer experience in college learning and have the maturity to fill the questionnaires and interviews.

f) Sample Size

The selection of one section from each stream among the existing classes was done purposely. From the total of 550 3rd year regular students only 231 students can properly represent the whole population and helps the researcher to explore the issue adequately.

g) Sampling Techniques

The selection of one section from each stream was done by random sampling technique. Because producing data for the descriptive survey should be done through giving equal opportunity to all sections.

h) Inclusion / Exclusion criteria

i. *Inclusion*

All 3rd year regular students of Jimma College of Teachers' Education from all departments.

ii. *Exclusion*

Evening, summer, first and second year regular students as well as those who refuse to give informed consent.

i) Sample size determination

Stratified random sampling was used to get information from the third regular students. This technique is preferred because it is used to assist in minimizing bias when dealing with the population. With this technique, the sampling frame can be organized into relatively heterogeneous groups (strata) before selecting elements for the sample. According to Janet (2006:94), this step increases the probability that the final sample will be representative in terms of the stratified groups. The strata's were the streams including: social science, natural science, education, and language students.

According to Catherine Dawson (2009:54), the correct sample size in a study is dependent on the nature of the population and the purpose of the study. Although there are no general rules, the sample size usually depends on the population to be sampled.

In order to determine sample size Yemane (1967) finite and large population sample size formula with 95% confidence level is employed. The formula researcher used to obtain this sample size is presented below.

Where:

n= Number of sample taken N= Population size

e = sampling error /level of precision =0.05.

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Accordingly the target population results, the following samples.

Sample

$$(n) = 550/1 + 550(0.05)^2$$

$$(n) = 550/2.375$$

$$(n) = 231.57$$

j) Data Sources

Major data sources of this study were Jimma college teacher education third year regular students. Both primary and secondary sources were employed. Major data sources of this study were students and teachers from the college.

k) Procedure for data collection

Prior to the commencement of the programme, permission to conduct the study was sought from College dean. Thereafter, the participants" consent was sought and obtained. They were equally assured of secrecy and confidentiality. Two instruments were used in the study, namely: questionnaires, structured interview and archive review.

l) Data collection instruments

In this study, multiple approaches of data collection were used both for quantitative and qualitative data collected. The data collection tools used was close ended questionnaire, semi- structured interview and observation.

Questionnaires:

Two sets of questionnaires were used. One set of questionnaires was administered to teachers and the second one was administered to students. Although 231 questionnaires had been distributed to students and 227 were returned. Out of the 27 questionnaires distributed for the social and educational teachers, all 27 were returned. This made it possible to collect more than adequate information and opinions from the respondents within a short period of time.

Interviews:

Face to face interviews were given to 10 social science steam teachers and six College student councils. The interviews were used because of their advantages over questionnaires especially to allow the researchers to probe for particular responses, clarifications and confirmations of information from the respondents.

Observation:

The archive document of the registrar office was observed by the researcher to identify the student-teachers progress in their civic performance.

m) Data analysis

Descriptive analysis was used for the demographic characteristics of the participants and to present the participants" responses on their continuous assessment practices. All the information from the questionnaires was entered into Microsoft excel databases. The Microsoft excel program was used to generate descriptive statistics, graphics, tables and charts. The interpretation of the descriptive statistics made it possible to make appropriate inferences in terms of determining the influence of continuous assessment strategies to students" performance.

The researcher was prepared the Questionnaires for students and teachers depend on the role of civic and ethical in shaping the attitude of students for college students. Close-ended and structural questions developed by the researcher and questionnaires will be distributed to the target sample of the study

n) Data Processing

The method of data processing in this study was using the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 20 was used to analyze the data obtained from primary sources. Descriptive statistics specifically; percentage, table and charts. In the data processing procedure editing, coding, classification and tabulation of the collected data was used. Data processing has two phases namely: data clean-up and data reduction. During data clean-up the collected raw data is edited to detect irregularities, errors and omissions in responses and checking that the questions are answered accurately and uniformly. The process of assigning numerical or other symbols came next which was used to reduce responses into a limited number of categories or classes. After this, the processes of classification or arranging large volume of raw data into classes or groups on the basis of common characteristics were applied. Data having the common characteristics was placed together and in this way the entered data were divided into a number of groups. Finally, tabulation and pie charts will be used to summarize the raw data and displayed in the form of tabulation for further analysis.

o) Instrument development

Basically, the instruments were developed based on the objectives of the study and research questions. The principles of questionnaires such as, use simple and clear languages, statements should not be too long and use of appropriate punctuations is also considered when developing the instrument. Based on the above principles the researcher wants to develop questionnaires in order to obtain good information from the participants.

p) Design of the Instruments

The instruments were designed in such ways that can strength the viability of the study. The questionnaires was designed both in English and Afan Oromo. The purpose of translating from English to Afaan Oromo is to utilize those who cannot clearly understand English language so that respond easily.

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q) Validity and reliability

In order to ascertain the validity of data collection instruments, expert opinion was sought from the teachers, and peers on face, content and format of the questionnaires, interviews and group organization. Consultations with the teachers, peers helped to identify errors and offered the opportunity to modify and improve the instruments. Also to determine the validity and reliability of the research instrument, a pilot study was done in one of college section that did not participate in the actual study. Following the pilot study, more errors were identified in the instruments. Drawing on the expert opinions from the teachers and peers appropriate corrections were made on the instruments. Thereafter, all instruments were administered by the researcher and collected immediately.

r) Instrument of Validity

Validity of research instruments ensure scientific usefulness of the findings arising there of (Serakan; 2003; Nachmias 1996). Validity of the instruments is critical in all forms of researches and acceptable level is largely dependent on logical reasoning, experience and professionalism of the researcher (Cooper, 2008). To uphold content validity, the researcher would discuss the contents of the questionnaires with the co-worker before going to the field. These were ensuring that vague and unclear questions would be eliminated or corrected. A piloting would be done on the third regular students of the studying area. The data obtained during pre-testing would be analyzed and the results were used to develop road map of the main research.

s) Instrument of Reliability

The reliability of a research instrument concerns the extent to which the instrument yields the same results on repeated trials. Although unreliability is always present to a certain extent, there will generally be a good deal of consistency in the results of a quality instrument gathered at different times. Training will be given for enumerators to ensure quality data is collected.

Pilot-testing of the tools will be done immediately after the training in order to make the instrument reliable. Nachmias and Nachmias (1996) notes that pilot-testing is an important step in the research process because it reveals vague questions and unclear instructions. It also captures important comments and suggestions from the respondents that enable the researcher to improve efficiency of instruments, adjust strategies and approaches to maximize response rate.

t) Ethical considerations

All the research participants included in this study were appropriately informed about the purpose of the research and their willingness and consent was secured before the commencement of distributing questionnaire. Regarding the right to privacy of the respondents, the study maintained the confidentiality of the identity of each participant. In all cases, names are kept confidential thus collective names like respondents were used.

Chapter Four

IV. Results and Discussion

a) Introduction

This study is aimed at assessing the role civics and ethical education of shaping attitude of students in teacher training institution of Jimma College. In doing so, the research would try to point out problems encountered in the implementation of the subject matter. Under this section both quantitative and qualitative data analysis techniques were employed. Descriptive data analysis techniques i.e. frequency counts and percentage were employed in order to analyze quantitative data. Besides, the qualitative data was thematically analyzed through description.

Table 4.1: Demographic Features of the Study Population

	Natural science			Social science			Education			Language		
	Sex			Sex			sex			sex		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
	130	100	230	50	70	120	46	54	100	45	55	100
Total			230			120			100			550

Source: From vice dean

Analyze the data obtained from the study population; the study employed the following tools like: observation, questionnaire and structured interviews with college instructors and graduate student-teachers.

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b) Results of Observation

The researcher observed the registrar office to identify the students' progress of civic performance. The observation of the archive documents of the registrar office shows the individual results of students at the third year is by far better than that of first and second year achievements of 2015. For instance, exam records and other activities of the college students were viewed. Classroom observation was also conducted so as to understand the extent of ethical issues during their learning. So this finding was supported Margaret study of (1998) since the aim of civic and ethical education has broader base the future trainees profile should satisfy these goals only if we able to measure impacts of the course in order to adjust our trainings resources.

The study was also able to observe the co-curricular activities of student-teachers in the college. The main purpose of co-curricular activities in the college was promote and demonstrate good citizen ship in the college. The co- curricular activities observed in the college by the researcher were: planting of trees, cleaning college environments, supporting the poor, have discussions of social and political topics in an open classroom climate, discuss current events. In addition to the above practiced activities the students also study issues about which the student cares.eg. HIV/AIDS, participate in after-school activities (e.g. kebele associations, supporting adult education program).

The observation results of co- curricular activities more or less of shows progress in the college. Especially, the activities like: planting tree, participation in clubs like civics and HIV/AIDS cleaning college environments participation indicated a remarkable progress. As (Amadeo et al., 2003; Torney-Purta et al., 2001) reported student participation in a school council or a student parliament clubs was also a positive predictor of civic knowledge and engagement in the IEA CIVED study (Amadeo et al., 2003; Torney-Purta et al., 2001).

c) Results of interview

i. *Results of Interview Obtained from Social Science Stream Teaching Staff*

As far as the question,–How do you feel about the role of civic and ethical education and efforts done to cultivate students' moral or ethical behaviorl? All research participants from social science teaching staff responded that civic and ethical education is very important course in shaping attitude of student-teachers during their stays in our campus. Study conducted by USAID(2002), Confirmed that civic education plays pivotal role on learners in comprehending and practicing key aspects of democratic behaviors and attitude.

According to John Hirst, and Chair (2005), school in which students have the opportunity to participate in decision making in an organized, structured way, such as through student representative councils, are reinforcing students' civics and citizenship knowledge, and having a positive effect on their attitudes towards civic participation in the wider community. While students might acquire civics and citizenship knowledge and understandings in the classroom, these understandings are incomplete without an avenue for practice and an opportunity to apply them in authentic situations.

On the other hand, regarding the question –What are the best possible ways to have better understanding of civic education?‖ Study participants indicated the following possible ways to have better understanding of civic education like: enhancing awareness of college student- teachers, providing periodic training on civics and ethical education mission, promoting debate on varied topics particularly; current global issues and developing check list to assess students understanding.

According to USAID (2002, 12-13) the climate for teaching and learning civics is of tremendous significant. Recent studies found that most effective civic education is provided when sessions are frequent, methods are participatory and teachers are knowledgeable and inspiring

It was also supported by the finding report of research-based "proven practices" of Guardian Democracy: The civic mission of schools includes the practice of "discussion of current events and controversial issues: schools should incorporate discussion of current local, national, and international issues and events into the classroom, particularly those that young people view as important to their lives" (Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, 2012).

For more understanding, formation of civic and ethics clubs and working in clubs and working to upgrade their skills. The other concern was observation of students' daily life and concealing about values to be practiced are: - tolerance among each other, avoiding bad behavior and considering the civic and ethical education as independent field of study that can be help full to graduate student-teachers. Like other analysts, Kerr (2003, p. 8 cited in Bernadette L. 2007) emphasize the contemporary society; key concepts…including democracy, rights, responsibilities, tolerance, respect, equality, diversity and community; and the dimensions of knowledge and understanding, skills, attitudes and values.

Regarding the question on the major ethical problems of student-teachers, research respondents discussed that students yet do not focus on discharging their responsibilities instead claiming their rights most of the time. And yet cheating exams, coping assignments, lack of showing respect to their teachers, and lack of commitment in their learning activities are some of the major problems showed on students. As a member of this society, student-teachers were observed

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by instructors to have the following problems in improving their social skills like, lack of willingness to learn study hard, lack of vision of their future life, lack of commitment to achieve better knowledge, lack of rational thinking and being able to be ethical.

Unrespecting the rules and regulations of the college and associate practices such as, cheating exams, coping assignments, indiscipline causes and some attitudes problems, in ability to show respect to their teachers and lack of commitment in their learning activities and study.

Over all the social science stream instructors have positively believes have the contribution of the course in training primary school teachers. In spite of the progress achieved, there are still approaches needed to upgrade the effects of civic and ethical training either to be included in curriculum or offered to students as supplementary materials. The researcher considers, achieving these goals (like periodical training workshops, facilitating debate and panel discussions on current issues requires addition efforts the teaching staff and support of management.

The ethical problems of our trainees are many and may take longer time to avoid it forever. This is because problems like cheating and coping were bad practices developed since their high school classes. Never the less, the college, as a higher education institute should continue the teaching of these bad acts of students as quick as possible.

ii. *Results of Interview Obtained from Members of Students' Council*

All most research respondents have underlined that, the civic and ethical knowledge and practice of college students were significantly shown progress. The contribution of the course is really better as it is the only subject to deal with teaching of democratic and ethical values.

As the students' council interview result indicated the civics and ethical knowledge and practice of college students were significantly shown progress the same findings of Apple and Be1ane (1995, 1999) that shows civic education benefitted young people both in and out of school. As in schools students should be given the opportunity not only to learn about but to experience democracy. Schools and classrooms must reflect the democratic society to be created. Different concepts of democratic citizenship are translated into learning via the knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes that are promoted and practiced in schools and classrooms.

As far as ethical problems are concerned research participants outlined that most students recognize their rights and never worry about their responsibility. Some did not even able to respect the college's rules and regulations as they commit acts like cheating exams answers; plagiarizing assignments…..etc. Few students were accused because of lack of punctuality on their lessons. A significant number of students unable to practice values of civics and ethical education because they consider that, the purpose of the course only serve the current government. Some student-teachers lack awareness about benefits of the course due to which they own lower recognition. Birhanu Jibril (2012) finding result shows students to over protect their rights without respecting the common goods of the society and neglecting their responsibilities.

This was supported by Freida M'Cormack (2011), the instructors' most commonly used tools in the civic education to facilitate the participation students: seminars; training the trainers; peer- to-peer learning; workshops; focus Group discussions; role-plays; radio and television; information technologies (blogs, internet forums); and other informal teaching and information sharing methods.

Student councils should be far more than the social planners of the school; they should instead stimulate and engage large numbers of students in school and community service activities and provide a forum for student voice on questions that impact the students.

d) Results of questionnaires

i. *Result of Questionnaire Obtained from College Teaching Staff on Moral and Civics values of student-teachers*

Among the sampled 27 college instructors, on the question, do student-teachers respect rule and regulations of teachers college?‖ Accordingly, 3(11.1%) of them considered that student- teachers are not respecting the rules and regulations of the college and 22(81.5%) of college instructors responded that student-teachers of the college have practiced obeying the rules and regulations of the college. This implies that the majority of the teaching staff confirmed rules and regulations of the college are respected. Therefore, it is possible to infer that civics and ethical education values improved students' behavior.

Regarding attitudinal change of students is concerned, study participants responded accordingly, 8(29.2%) of them considered that there is no attitude change during their stay in the college, in contrast 6(22.2%) instructors also accept there is attitude change of students during the past three years and 11(40.7%) of majority college instructors did not mention anything positive about student attitude change. Therefore, 8(29.6%) of instructors said positive words about the change in attitude of students. Although the percentage is below expectation someone cannot deny the slow of attitudinal change towards improvement.

Regarding the result obtained from the instructor on attitudinal change of students was

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contradicting with the finding result of BHRT (2001) civics and ethical education play great role in attitude change of the students in Ethiopia and many other countries like the United states of America, China, African and middle east countries, and it also serve as a way of cultivating good citizens. Kerr (1999) states that, civic prepares young people for their roles and responsibilities and for the challenges and uncertainty of life through provision of relevant education.

Regarding patriotic feelings of students,12(44.4%) of college teachers considered that students have good feeling of their country, 8(29.6%) of the teachers considered that students lack of good feeling about their country and then 7(25.9%) of college instructors were in undecided position to say good or bad about their students love of country.

Although 12(44.4%) of instructors observed their trainees have good feeling of motherland, a lot of work is expected from civic education to work on this matter. The current data shows that students have developed patriotism. Whatever the life situation and lower consideration given to teachers, love of mother land remains the issue should not be eroded.

According to Jamieson, K. H. (2013), Americans have expected schools to prepare future citizens, nurturing in children loyalty and common values and forging from them a strong national character.‖ Among the implications of these arguments is the notion that the classroom is both the training ground for democracy and the incubator of its leaders.

A classroom environment that supports the open discussion of political and social issues has been demonstrated to enhance the positive effects of civic education (Campbell 2005; Niemi and Junn 1998; Torney-Purta 2002). Through deliberative interactions with their peers and teachers, students are able to gather knowledge about the political process, engage in careful reasoning about policy issues, and practice skills in debate and argumentation (Hess and Posselt 2002).

Regarding students‘ democratic outlook of the student-teachers is concerned, 11(40.7%) college instructors answered that the democratic outlook of college students was not changed or improved and 9(33.3%) college teaching staff accepts that student-teachers have improved their democratic outlook.

Regarding the trainees vision, 14(51.8%) of college instructors considered that student-teachers have ethical problems to lead better life in the future. 7(26.9%) of the teaching staff believes that graduating students have ethical values to lead their future life. But most of respondents 14 (51.8%), feel that managing future life our trainees still remains unethical. Therefore, graduating students require further advice so as to able they act independently at their work place.

The result of the researcher supported by the study of Avery (2003) on the inadequate preparation of students who live in the rapidly changing and increasingly independent world. Students need more exposure to topics such as: international affairs, globalization and economic and political systems around the world. At least an awareness of the world in which these young people will live requires them to have an understanding of nation-states, international law, and human rights.

On the question, students‘ ability to fight against vice 11(40.7%) of college instructors replied that few student-teachers are not in a position to avoid a Vice character but 6(22.2%) of the teaching staff accepted that student- teachers have the ability to avoid vice character. This shows that, the trainees‘ ability to fight against vice character in the college progress was not interested. So, still need effort student-teachers who are not in a position to avoid a vice character.

College instructors considers that 7(25.9%) of the graduate students do not accept their weakness and 13(48.1%) of the teaching staff believe that graduate students can accept their weakness. Majority of the respondents confirmed that graduate students have the behavior of accepting their own weakness which is a good quality of a person to improve themselves.

In nutshell the whole, college instructors justified in their responses that six out of nine values were well practiced and students‘ knowledge have improved. Student-teachers respecting rule and regulations of teachers college, attitude change, manner less and carless college students, student-teachers good feeling about their country, graduate students , democratic out look of the student-teachers and knowledge of students about their.

The remaining three change in democratic outlook, students‘ knowledge to manage their future life independently and ability to avoid bad character were the areas require attention of civic education department. This finding result on moral and civics values of student-teachers relatively similar to the findings of Meira (2011) taking civics courses boosts civic knowledge. Studying of civics can strongly enhance knowledge of that topic when the curriculum and teaching conform to best practices. Some programs have positive effects not only on the children who participate, but also on their parents, who demonstrate increased discussion and media use at home when their students have higher civic knowledge.

Furthermore the idea of Patrick (2006) on the teaching of human rights goes hand-in-hand with high quality civic education was somewhat support the results of the finding. ‖The idea of human rights is best taught within a conceptual context that enables the learner to understand how it is connected to other core concepts in the theory and practice of representative democracy, such as democratic elections, constitutional government and the rule of law, citizenship, and civil society"

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According to Seyoum, (1996) civics and ethical education has a great role in attitude change of the students in Ethiopia and many other countries like the United states of America , China , African and middle east countries, and it also serve as a way of cultivating good citizens(Ibid). In Ethiopia, it is playing a great role in producing good citizens, who understand properly the problem of their country, understand the citizenry obligation to make personal contribution equipped with good ethical and democratic culture. In shaping citizens to the best of this purpose, it is the obligation of any government to acquaint his citizens with good civic and ethical values, knowledge and skills

However, college teachers rated that students democratic outlook is not improved it is valueless and also denies their lawful participation in college day to day activities. On the other side, the researcher could not reject the effort required to inculcate democratic values in minds of future graduates. The observation done by instructors on the knowledge of students of managing their future life was not also satisfactory.

But here the college teachers rated that students democratic outlook is not improved it is valueless and also denies their lawful participation in college day to day activities was contradicting with the studies of McDevitt et al. (2003) shows that engaging students in classroom civics discussion and having students encourage others to vote were the most effective at promoting involvement in politics.

Classroom political discussions also appeared to correlate with increased civic knowledge. In turn, civic knowledge encourages civic action. Young people, who know more about government are more likely to vote, discuss politics, contact the government, and take part in other civic activities than their less knowledgeable counterparts. This holds even when the researchers controlled for income and race, showing that as powerful as socioeconomic factors are, civic learning can increase the knowledge of all students. While citizens master civic skills throughout their life, early learning experiences are thought to be especially important in terms of developing support for democratic norms.

ii. *Results of Questionnaire Obtained from Students on moral and ethical values*

Table 4.2: Results of Questionnaire Obtained from Students on moral and ethical values

No	Positive Items	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	The importance of justice for all	231	100
2	A good teacher should be equipped with high ethical and moral values	229	99.1
3	Active participation in election	227	98.4
4	Tolerance to lying and opportunist person	226	97.8%
5	Having love of teaching profession	226	97.8%
6	Respecting rules and regulations	225	97.3%
7	Ability to accept weakness and become open	222	96.1%
8	Equality of all men before law	221	95.6%
9	Change in moral development	220	95.4%

Source: students' respondents, 2016

The above table indicates that the overall assessment of moral and ethical development of college students shows that out of 21 ethical and moral values listed the performance of student- teachers were good in practicing 17 of them . The result obtained from students on moral and ethical values that listed the performance of student-teachers were good in practicing of seventeen of them was related to the idea of Akalewold (2005) which deals civics and ethical education values cultivates student's character positively by teaching about morality and also enable them to discharges their responsibilities to the best of their capability.

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Furthermore, MOI(2002) study teaching of civic and ethical education values had a great role to produce ideal citizens i.e. to inculcate in students mind all the qualities of an moral and ethical citizen who:- believes in equality of opportunity for all people, respects values & defends basic human rights, respects law and its various agencies, understands democratic principles, put general welfare above individual interest, exercises his right of vote freely, accept his civic responsibility and discharges them to the best of his/her capacity, realizes the necessary connection of education and democracy, assumes a personal responsibility for the wise use of natural resources and understands cultures and ways of life other than his /her own, supports all efforts to prevent war, but is always ready to defend his/her mother country against tyranny & aggression cultivates qualities of character & personality that requires a high value in his/her character, recognizes taxes as payment & pays them promptly, is responsible family member & assures his /her full responsibility for maintaining civic standards of his/her neighborhoods and community.

But from 21 ethical and moral values listed above four of them were not practiced like: lack of ability to lead oneself life independently, no reaction to few manner less and hop less students and no reaction to shame full, care less and low grade scoring students. The research supposes the reasons for poor implementations of remaining four values as follows.

The graduate student-teachers fear of ability to lead their life independently might association with current life condition and may not be removed simply with teaching efforts. Many more students remained independent to few manners less and hope less in their education because motivating these groups of people is fire some and requires plan full approach of instructors. In order to, change the attitude low scoring students the assessment techniques of instructors must be power full and able to correct manner less and care less students. The significant numbers of students feel that they don't have still identified what they can do in their life. Preparing the future life is the duty of the college and the data gained from this research would help up to design a new approach in changing such attitudes. Finally, the students were able to identify several positive and few negative values practiced in college.

iii. *Contributions of Civics and Ethical Education in JTCE*

Table 4.3.3: Contributions of Civics and Ethical Education in JTCE

No	Items	frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Freedom of religion	222	96.1%
2	Secular education	207	89.6%
3	Practice democratic election	181	78.3%
4	Having legal representative	175	75.8%
5	Equality of girls	134	58.1%
6	Transfer of power through democratic election	103	44.6%
7	Freedom of expression and the right to assembly	96	41.4%
8	Equal opportunity of peoples and culture	70	30.3%

Source: own survey, 2016

From the above table, table 4.2 it is possible to understand that civic and ethical education contribution among the college student-teachers. Regarding to measure the contribution of civics and ethical education in JCTE on the issues of freedom of religion 96.1% of respondents confirmed that every student has freedom to go to his/her own choice of religion place and 89.6% of the student-teachers also confirm that there is no intervention of religion in education sector.

The result which is given by respondents supported by the finding of Democracy in brief report (2006), which deals all citizens, should be free to follow their conscience in matters of religious faith. Freedom of religion includes the right to worship alone or with others, in public or private, or not to worship at all, and teaching without fear of persecution from government or other groups in society. All people have the right to worship or assemble in connection with a religion or

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belief, and to establish and maintain places for these purposes.

Like other fundamental human rights, religious freedom is not created or granted by the state, but all democratic states should protect it. Although many democracies may choose to recognize an official separation of church and state, the values of government and religion are not in fundamental conflict. Governments that protect religious freedom for all their citizens are more likely to protect other rights necessary for religious free- Rights and Responsibilities Democracy as hope(ibid).

In terms of the practice of democratic election and an association to represent or claim their demands to the administration 78.3% of them believed that every college student had the opportunity to practice democratic election and 75.8% of the respondents consider that college students have an association to represent or claim their demands to the administration. Center for Civic Education (2006) describes further democratic values include the expectation to be treated fairly, to have a voice in decisions of governance, to work with others to achieve common purposes, freedom of expression, respectful treatment, political equality, and freedom from fear. Democratic principles might include freedom of speech, distributive justice, due process, free and open elections, the freedom to assemble, freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and viable channels of input to governing bodies. International agreements on war crimes, suppression of slavery, genocide, human rights, rights of women, and rights of the child set the standards for democracy in the world today(ibid) .58.1% of student-teachers consider that girls have used their opportunity to participate in social activities 44.6 of the respondents suggested that the way power transfers from one to the other students council is not through democratic elections and. On the other hand, 41.4% below half of the respondents responded college students have freedom of expression and right to assembly in the college campus to discuss up on their own issues.

Additionally, 30.3% of the respondents considered that student-teachers have no knowledge about equal opportunity of peoples to their cultures.

Based on the respondent; response the contribution of civics and ethical education in JCTE results indicated on some values were a great improvements. But in rare case, on few civics values it need efforts to come up with well performance. These values like: equal opportunity of peoples to their cultures, transfer of power through democratic election, and freedom of expression and the right to assembl

Therefore, from these results, it is not difficult to generalize that benefits or contribution of civic and ethical education values in JCTE that could enhance student attitude and participation in the teaching learning process of civic and ethical education.

Summary of Benefits Gained from Teaching and Learning Civics and Ethical Education

1. Freedom of religion	96.1%
2. Secular education	89.6%
3. Practice democratic election	78.3%
4. Having legal representative	75.8%
5. Equality of girls	58.1%
6. Transfer of power through democratic election	44.6%
7. Freedom of expression and the right to assembly	41.4%
8. Equal opportunity of peoples and culture	30.3%

Source: Ranked own data, 2016

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In the same vein, respondents were requested to rate the extent to which the student had reflected democratic values of civic and ethical education in their day-to-day activities. Their response is summarized in the following figure.

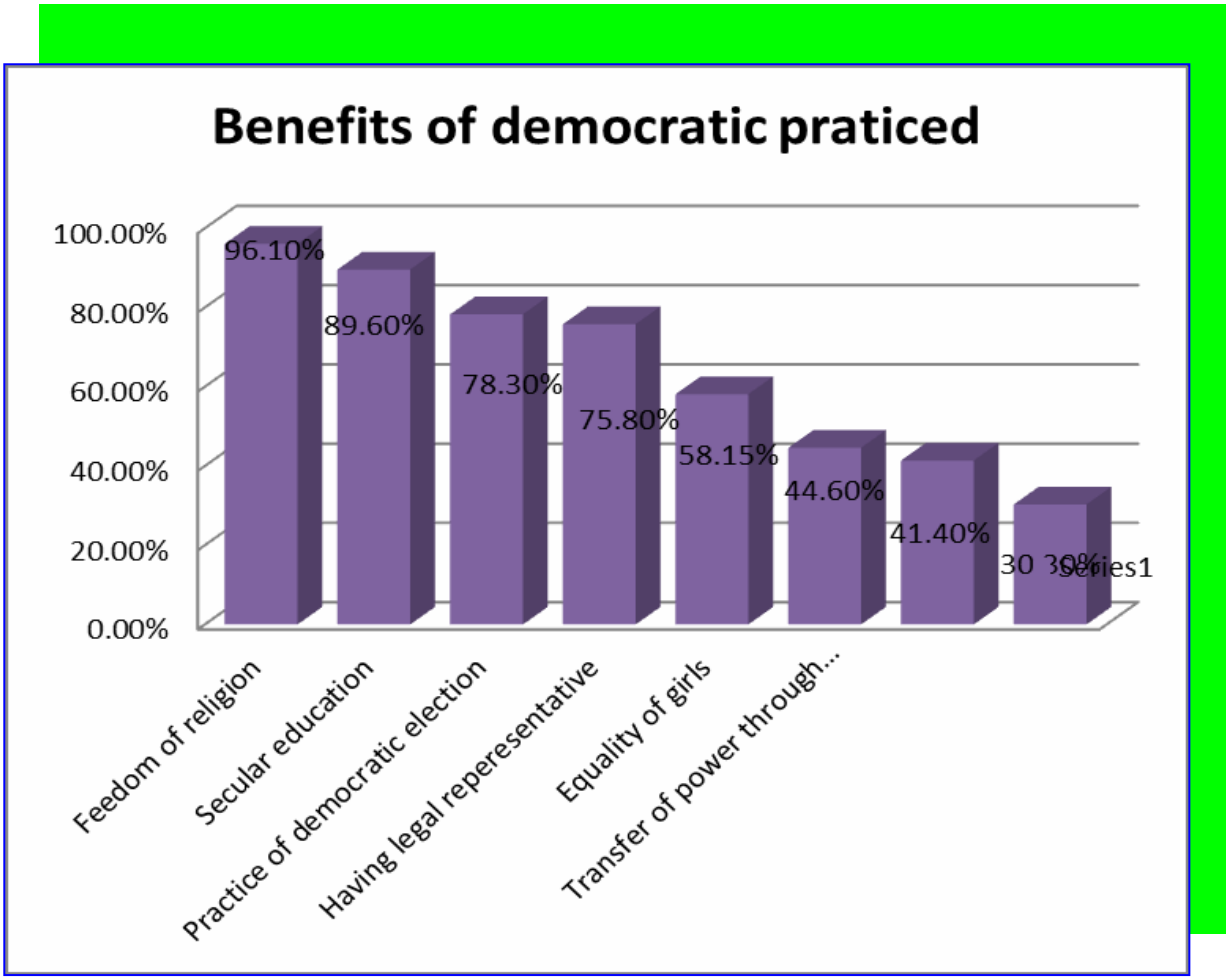

Figure1: students responses on benefits gained from teaching and learning civics and ethical education

iv. *Perception of Democratic Values of College students*

Table 4.3.4: Perception of Democratic Values of College students

No	Items	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Respecting and defending the right of others	231	99.56
2	Importance of cooperation	226	97.8

Source: own survey, 2016

As depicted in 4.3, the overwhelming majority of student-teachers (89%) rated that the overall status of democratic values practiced or implemented in teachers college was high. Especially, the democratic values well practiced by the college students were; respecting and defending the right of others , cooperation, accountability to people, resolving disputes through discussion and tolerance to others culture.

Therefore, from these data it is possible to conclude that democratic values practices grass rooted in college. This finding is consistent with the finding of David Brown (2010), valuing and providing opportunities for active, democratic participation in the classroom assists students in making connections between their participation and their understanding of democratic processes. It also assists with the socialization of

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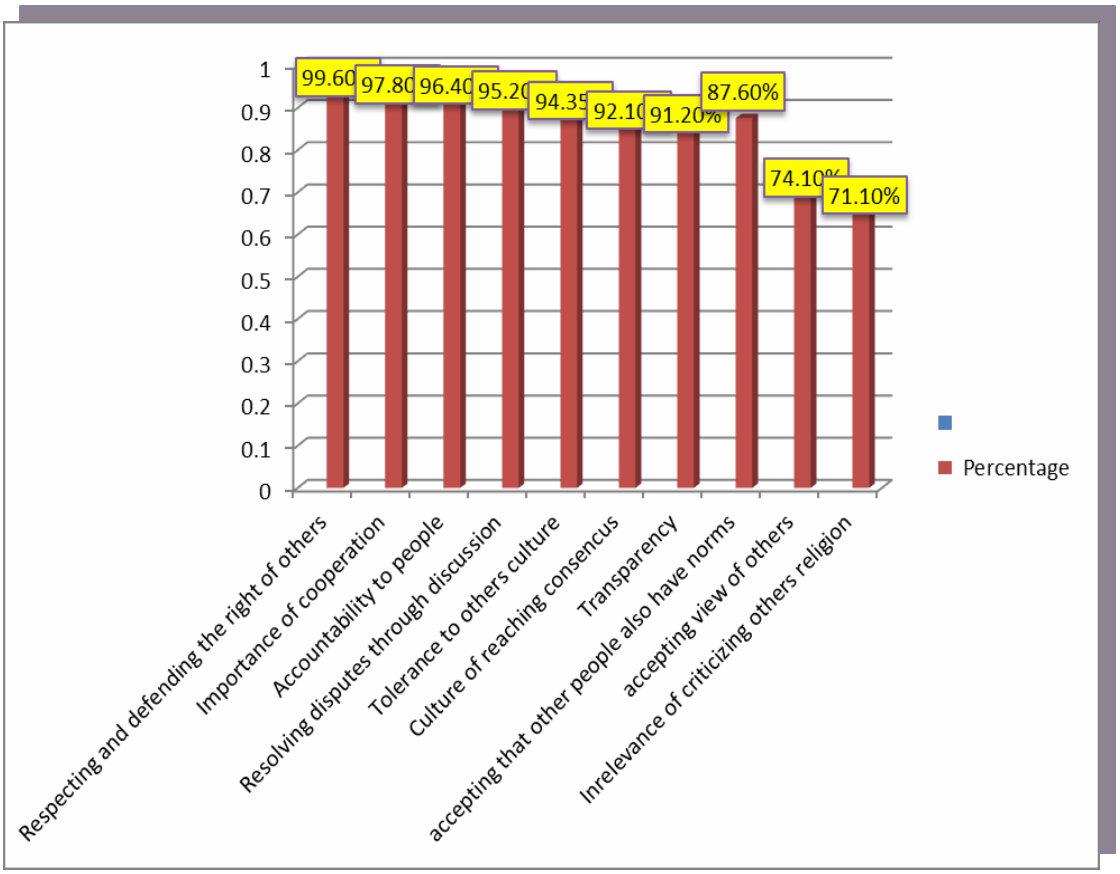
students into an ethic of cooperation, encourages respect and gives them responsibility for their learning.

In similar way the findings of Tigran .T and Marcie .T (2008) on civic education should not only help students to enhance their civic knowledge, but also develop civic skills and promote the fundamental principles and values of democracy. The students' attitude was explored towards the civics course as what percentage the civics course represents knowledge, skills and abilities, or values.

Findings of Ross (1997)also indicate that democratic values were practiced in school curriculum was prepared students to learn and function in diverse social circumstances; learn how to reason; identify and solve problems; work in teams and collaborate with others1; develop research and critical thinking skills, understand responsibility , develop leadership, learn tolerance, and how to coexistence, and respect others . Since the primary purpose of social studies and civic education is to instill in students the knowledge, skills, and values for active contribution in society.

The significant number students feel that they don't have still identified what they can do in their life. Preparing the future life is the duty of the college and the data gained from this research would help up to design a new approach in changing such attitudes. Finally, the students were able to identify several positive and few negative values practiced in college.

On the other hand, according to Dawit (2006), in participatory democracy, it is believed that society has a common bond & mutual interest in which both collective & individual rights are fulfilled. It involves the creation of obligatory demands, social sense of interdependent & recognition of political responsibility.



Source: Ranked own data, 2016

Figure 2 data obtained from students through questionnaires on democratic values which practiced in the college. As illustrated in Figure 2 the majority of respondents' student-teachers (89%) rated that the overall status of democratic values practiced or implemented in teachers college were high. This figure clearly shows the democratic values which practiced in the college with the ranking order. These data were consistent with the quantitative data obtained through questionnaires'.

Chapter Five

V. Summary

This section deals with the presentation and interpretation of the data collected from Jimma College of Teacher Education on the role of civic and ethical education in shaping of students attitude.

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As any educational institution, the college civic instructors have to assess the role that civics is now playing in teacher training. With their age maturity and level of learning student-teachers knowledge of civics is improving, since the course is given for all as a common course and some major in civics. But the broader and deeper civic and ethical education will be helpful for graduate students. This is because the primary school teachers are the first people to introduce civics for children. Cultivation of good citizen begins there. The understanding and performing's our responsibilities at the college level would improve quality of our training.

The impact of civic and ethical education on students-teachers of the college is great because, regardless of restrictions in local society, there is wider opportunity for each individual to discuss, ask and get relevant answers in classrooms. The public discussions conducted at main hall ended up in preserving the rights and advantages of the majority. Thus, one can say that the civic education enabled college graduates on becoming civic minded.

Civic and ethical education course was designed to help students to become effective citizen that can benefit the society. For that, all principles and values were included in college curriculum to produce quality teachers, who shoulder all responsibilities and duties in college.

In addition to the above points the study on the role of civic and ethical education in preparation of teachers at Jimma teachers college helped to advance the followings: The core values of civics and ethics enumerated and addressed to students and instructors after which rating was done. The results gained prove that respondents have knowledge in these area and opportunity for practice it. The processed data confirms that most of the values are well practiced due to which it is possible to consider definitely there is achievements A recent Chicago study implies public college students found that having good –the role of civic education learning‖ increase adolescents' commitment to civic engagement such as a learning about problems in society, learning about current events, studying issues about which one cares, experiencing an open climate for classroom discussions of social and political topics, hearing from civic role models, learning about ways to improve the community, and working on service learning projects‖ (Kahne & Sporte 2008).

On the other hand, in few of the listed values better results didn't found. Therefore, this provides information to the civic and ethical department instructors, where to focus, what efforts should be done so as to further support the effective teaching. It is hoped, that commenting and rating the strength and weakness of civic and ethical education by respondents, openly and objectively would be considered as positive out puts of the study.

According to Birhanu.J (2014) the civic knowledge of college students has gradually improved due to group works, classrooms presentation and individual activity in defining concepts and debate, developing speech on basis of their understanding. Though not measured, obviously, the culture of students' decision making on the right way was observed

The significant number students feel that they don't have still identified what they can do in their life. Preparing the future life is the duty of the college and the data gained from this research would help up to design a new approach in changing such attitudes. Finally, the students were able to identify several positive and few negative values practiced in college.

VI. Conclusion

From the foregoing discussions, it could be concluded that the measurements of democratic values practiced in college by graduate students' shows that the major achievement and short comings encounter the teacher training. Trainees are found properly discharging many of their responsibilities in the implementation process of civic and ethical education values.

In case of Jimma College of teachers' education, the course is offered to all student-teachers as common course and few take it as a major course. In addition to that varied civic activities take place in association with club activities, celebrations and elections. These have contributed a lot to wider practice of civic and ethical values in their stay for three years. Moreover, it is also assumed that, civic and ethical education is warmly welcomed by youngsters as it encourages them to be involved in all social and practical life of the society. Based on these facts the survey was conducted to measure the major achievement gained and short comings encounter the teacher training.

The researcher findings result on the civics and ethical values which practiced in the college is similar to some findings of other researchers. Gonzalo Jover (2006), which deals about civic and ethical education values is increasingly necessary in a global world in which it is not enough to possess knowledge: the world is continuously changing and developing, and people need to acquire skills and attitudes or capacities. For this reason, new perspectives and ways of putting moral and civic education into practice have arisen.

According to Gosa and Desta(2014), civics and ethical education prepares students for responsible citizenship and effective participation. It also makes them to involve in activities that promote and demonstrate good citizenship, community service, and personal responsibility.

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The role of civic and ethical education was investigated and results achieved shows:

- College students know most values and tried to evaluate themselves
- In view of college instructors the knowledge and practices of students was described.
- In the whole, there is brooder understood of values created and of course few elements require farther attention and preparation of constructors.

In the same way Gary Hansen (2000) civics education hold the potential for changing key behaviors and attitudes in a direction that ultimately strengthens democracy. Program participants are more active in politics, are politically active at the local level, and know more about the basic features of their political system than non-participants. Civic education has less of an impact on changing values, but even core values, such as political tolerance and respect for the rule of law, changed under some conditions.

VII. Recommendations

In order to enhance the role of civic and ethical education in shaping students attitude, it is necessary to ensure that moral and ethical values among the college students. This can be accomplished through trainings and working on the promotion of society norms and values. According to Seyoum(1996)in Ethiopia, it is playing a great role in producing good citizens, who understand properly the problem of their country, understand the citizenry obligation to make personal contribution equipped with good ethical and democratic culture. In shaping citizens to the best of this purpose, it is the obligation of any government to acquaint his citizens with good civic and ethical values, knowledge and skills.

Respondents have also indicated that the following possible solutions to causes of lower level of civic knowledge and practices. The need for continues training on civic and ethical education for student-teachers as far as maximum behavioral change achieved. The other method to be employed should be formation of civics club in colleges, so as to promote students participation.

Finally, college instructors should arrange varied methods and resources to update their training styles. According to Levinson, Meira(2011) the most common form of student participation in school governance, student councils and clubs are laboratories for practical experiences in civics and the principles of democracy. This means encourage student participation in school governance that giving students more opportunities to participate in the management of their own classrooms and schools builds their civic skills and attitudes. To sum up, further research on this issue has to be conducted by concerned bodies to clearly point out the reason for the some failures of CEE to promote the behavior of student in understanding of their rights and responsibility and for the development of all rounded personality.

According to (Apple and Beane, 1995, 1999) in schools students should be given the opportunity not only to learn about but to experience democracy. Schools and classrooms must reflect the democratic society to be created. School councils, school clubs, community service and other forms of student involvement that genuinely engage students in problem solving and decision makes must be structured into school life. Schools could both draw on and support the efforts of civil society organizations to provide the opportunities for young people to experience and work towards creating a democratic society.

In schools students should be given the opportunity not only to learn about but to experience democracy. Schools and classrooms must reflect the democratic society to be created (Apple and Beane, 1995, 1999). School councils, school clubs, community service and other forms of student involvement that genuinely engage students in problem solving and decision makes must be structured into school life. Schools could both draw on and support the efforts of civil society organizations to provide the opportunities for young people to experience and work towards creating a democratic society.

The college instructors need to admit their weakness and be committed to help students develop ethical behavior. Fur there more all should be responsible for preventing those factors that affect students' moral behavior; especially the prevalence of cheating exam, using drugs and videos needs the intervention of the government. Generally, promoting students attitudinal/behavior change can be realized when the entire college communities are concerned and committed to work for ethical and attitudinal values. Especially, the instructors are primarily responsible in shaping the attitudes of the students. To sum up, the task of fostering citizenship values is not an issue to be left only for a group of teachers. That is, all teachers of the college including non-civic and ethical education teachers and support staff should play an important part in the process of implementing the subject (MoE, 2007; Taneja, 1990). Supporting this idea, Taneja (1990) has the following to say:

The responsibility of such citizenship education devolves upon every subject and every teacher on the staff. The teachers of language, mathematics, science, art, music, etc, have the supreme responsibility of inculcating among the trainees the values, ideals and skills of good citizenship (Taneja, 1990, p. 231).The college community should respect the rules and regulations of the school firmly. Teachers have to be models for their students by modeling the good behavior and enforcing the rules of the college.

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Lists of Acronyms

CE Civics Education

ETP Education and Training Policy

FDRE Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

IEA International Association for the Evaluation of Education Achievement JCT E Jimma College of Teachers Education

MOE Ministry of Education

NAEP National Assessment of Educational Progress

SPSS Statistical Package for Social Science

TGE Transitional Government of Ethiopia

UNESCO United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organization WPE Workers Party of Ethiopia

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Appendex-I

Interview questions to members of student council

Interview questions to members of student council on college students ethical and moral development while they stay in the college.

1. Please tell me the extent of moral development of college students?
2. Please tell me how far the ethical practices of college students improve?
3. Being the member of students‘ council, from your personal observation, what are the major ethical problems of students‘ teachers?
4. In your view, what are solutions to the ethical problems of youngsters?
5. How many students checked or given warning in the past years, daily due to, ethical problems?

Gaaffii Qomaa Bakka Bu'oota Barattootaaf Qophaa'e

1. Safuun kaadhimamtoota kolleejjii biratti hammam akka guddachaa jiru natti himuu dandeessa?
2. Amalli barattoota kolleejjii qabatamaan jijjiiramaa jiraachuu isaa natti himuu ni dandeessaa?
3. Amma miseensa bakka bu‘oota barattootaa kolleejjii taatee jirtutti waanta ati akka nama tokkootti rakkoo naamusa kaadhimamtootaati jettee yaadu maal maalfa‘iidha?
4. Akka kaadhimamaa bakka bu‘aa barattootaa taatee jirtutti rakkoo gama amalaan jiru furmaatta jettee kan keessu maal?
5. Turtii haga ammaatti kaadhimamtoota hangamtu Naamuusa irra dadarbuun komatamee akeekkachiisn itti kenname?

Interview Questions for Social Science Instructors

1. How do feel about the role of civic and ethical education and efforts done to cultivate students‘ moral or ethical behavior?
2. What are the possible ways to have better understanding of civic education?
3. What are the major Ethical problems of college students?
4. What are the solutions of the ethical problems students in the college?

Appendix-II

Questionnaire parts

Part- one

Questionnaire for college Students

- The purpose of this questionnaire is to obtain information with regarded to assess the moral and ethical development of college students. So, you are kindly requested to give your answers as genuinely as you can.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation

- Please put a mark with a tick ( ) what your opinion is with respect to each statement only one of the five alternatives (i.e. 5= strongly agree, 4, =agree, 3= Undecided, 2 = disagree and 1 = strongly disagree

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	Questions	Responses				
		Strongly agree(5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	Disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)
1	As compared to my high school class I have better moral conditions or ready to agree with others students in college class					
2	My behavior remains as it was in high school classes					
3	I do more right things than wrong deals today					
4	A college student should be ethically and morally matured					
5	College civic education contributes a lot of moral development of students					
6	College education contributes a lot of ethical development of students					
7	I am not worried about wrong act and behavior of a college students					
8	It is acceptable to have few manner less and hopeless students					
9	I don‘t like to see a shame full, care less and low grade scoring college students					
10	A good teachers owns higher ethical and moral standards					
11	I have got opportunity to practice rule of law in the class					
12	I respect equality of every man before the law					
13	I consider that justice should be for all					
14	I am always ready to defend to sovereignty of my country					
15	I have good practice in fighting of corruption					

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16	I can actively participate in class election of student representative					
17	It is necessary to obey rules and regulations of college					
18	Every citizen of this country should work hard					
19	A young person should know what to do and become free from emotional decision					
20	The young should be lead himself independently					
21	I can tolerate the lying and opportunist individuals					
22	Accepting weakness and developing openness are two important things for our generation					
23	Teachers must love their profession and should be effective in teaching					

Part-two

The purpose of this questionnaire is to obtain information with regarded to measure democratic values of college students. So, you are kindly requested to give your answers as genuinely as you can.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation

Please put a mark with a tick what your opinion is with respect to each statement only one of the five alternatives (i.e. 5= strongly agree, 4, =agree, 3= Undecided, 2 = disagree and 1 = strongly disagree)

PART-THREE

Questionnaires for students

The purpose of this questionnaire is to obtain information through measuring the contribution of civic and ethical educ answers as genuinely as you can.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation

Please put a mark with a tick (what your opinion is with respect to each statement only one of the five Alternatives (i.e. 5= strongly agree, 4, =agree, 3= Undecided, 2 = disagree and 1 = strongly disagree.

The following questions focus on measuring the contribution of civic and ethical education improving knowledge and practices.

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	Questions	Responses				
		Strongly agree(5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	dis agree (2)	Strongly disagree(1)
1	In the daily life of individuals and community cooperation is an important tool					
2	A college students should be able to accept the view of other people					
3	Student teachers must have a skill to develop culture of reaching consensus					
4	The culture of resolving despites peace fully is expected from student and teachers					
5	Any elected or assigned person should have accountability					
6	Leaders and top managers have to be transparent on their work					
7	I can respect the right of others and able to defend it					
8	I can tolerate others cultures of the students					
9	I can criticize others religion					
10	I believe that other people own some important norms and values					
11	I can participate in the Student network in the class					
12	I respect the dignity and freedom of every individual					

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	Questions	Responses				
		Strongly agree(5)	Agree (4)	Undecided (3)	disagree (2)	Strongly disagree (1)
1	Every one of the college student has freedom of religion and belief					
2	Every college students has participated in democratic election of the class representative					
3	Girls have equal opportunity to participate in all social life of the college community					
4	College students have no freedom of expression and right to assembly in the college to discuss their issues					
5	College students have an association that represent their demands and feelings to the administration					
6	The college students have never practiced transfer of power through democratic election					
7	College students do understand that religion cannot interfere in the sector of education					
8	The college students have no knowledge about equal opportunity peoples to promote their cultures					
9	I know that, every citizen is under the law					

Jimma college of Teachers Education Questionnaires For Respected College Instructors

General direction

Dear Respondents

Part-four

The purpose of this questionnaire is to obtain information on the contribution of civic and ethical education to improve knowledge and practices of college students. Thus, your genuine, professional opinion and timely responses are vital to determine the success of this study .Please note that the information you provide will only be used for this research purpose and all the information relieved will be kept confidential. To this end, you are kindly requested to contribute your own idea by filling in the questionnaires honestly and responsibly.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation

Please put a mark with a tick (✓) what your opinion is with respect to each statement only one of the five alternatives (i.e. 5= strongly agree, 4, =agree, 3= Undecided, 2 = disagree and 1 = strongly disagree The following questions focus on measuring the contribution of civic and ethical education improving knowledge and practices of college students. Please tick in appropriate column

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	Questions	Level of Agreement				
		5	4	3	2	1
1	Graduate college students are good at respecting rules and regulations of the college					
2	In their stay for three years, the behavior of college students significantly changes to the best.					
3	I have never seen a careless and manner less college students					
4	Our Students-teachers have good feeling of love of their country					
5	I believe graduates of this year love teaching profession and can be hardworking teachers in schools					
6	The democratic outlook and practices of college students has reached at high standards.					
7	The college graduates properly know what to do in their lives and are free fromdoing emotional decisions.					
8	Student teachers have ability to avoid bad characteristics like lying and being opportunists					
9	The graduates students luck the ability to accept weaknesses and developing openness					
10	College students have good experience in clubs and student‘s council.					

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Critical Infrastructure Decay and Development Crises in Nigeria

By Rufus, Anthony & Bufumoh, Pre-ebi
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Abstract- This paper investigates comparatively the critical nature of infrastructure to the overall development of nations. It points out that critical infrastructure decay in Nigeria is directly related to major issues of development crises in Nigeria. The methodology adopted for this paper is basically content analysis while making use of secondary data in comparative analysis. The paper tries to find answers to the issues of critical infrastructure decay i.e epileptic power supply, poor road network and transportation/ communication imbalances, failing educational structure, overall unemployment, the disconnect between public and private sectors in sustainable infrastructural development, etc in Nigeria. The paper concludes that critical infrastructure must not be treated with levity and neglect if the nation must break out the dialectical cycle of development crises.

Keywords: *role, civics, ethical, education, .attitude, shaping.*

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Critical Infrastructure Decay and Development Crises in Nigeria

Rufus, Anthony [α] & Bufumoh, Pre-ebi [σ]

Abstract- This paper investigates comparatively the critical nature of infrastructure to the overall development of nations. It points out that critical infrastructure decay in Nigeria is directly related to major issues of development crises in Nigeria. The methodology adopted for this paper is basically content analysis while making use of secondary data in comparative analysis. The paper tries to find answers to the issues of critical infrastructure decay i.e epileptic power supply, poor road network and transportation/ communication imbalances, failing educational structure, overall unemployment, the disconnect between public and private sectors in sustainable infrastructural development, etc in Nigeria. The paper concludes that critical infrastructure must not be treated with levity and neglect if the nation must break out the dialectical cycle of development crises.

Keywords: critical infrastructure, development crises, nigeria.

I. Introduction and Statement of The Problem

Infrastructure that is critical is of utmost importance to a nation. This is why such infrastructure should be taken seriously. These infrastructure ranges from road, electricity, health, national assets all targeted at the comfort of the society and overall development. Even to image a decay of such infrastructure is horrible not talk of a real decay as the case in Nigeria. One major factor that has contributed to the development crises in Nigeria is that of critical infrastructure decay. The problem has manifested in the form of high level of unemployment, poverty, frustration, desperation, criminality, relocation and migration from Nigeria to Europe, America and other parts of the world. Eke, (2011: 39) expressed this view point when he noted;

> *It is not a matter of rhetoric or polemics that basic infrastructure in Nigeria is in a semi-comatose state, and from colonial times up till the present day, the issues of infrastructural development have remained on the lips of successive administrations with no visible indication of accomplishment.*

Considering the role of critical infrastructure in a nation's development, successive governments of Nigeria from colonial to present has given little or no attention to it. This view is also captured in the words of Ihembe, (2011: 504) when he asserted that "Infrastructure as a critical form of development plays animportant role in any country or region or state. Seriously it constitutes the hub upon which socio-economic aspects of society revolve." Expectedly, improvement upon infrastructural development is a key to raise the quality and standard of living in the life of its citizens. For instance, availability of critical infrastructures like; power, quality health care system, quality educational system, water, rail transport system with good road network, good service sector, and its protection and maintenance will bring about good life to its citizens.

Therefore, this paper work tends to access and evaluate the country's critical infrastructural decay and proffer possible solutions on maintaining these infrastructures. A comparative analysis of Nigeria and other developed societies will be considered to identify the missing link and its prospects. We shall make recommendations where necessary. These are what this paper shall consider.

Infrastructure facilities are not demanded for their own sake, but for what they will help in producing. In all aspects, whether in developed or less developed societies, the capacity and capability necessary for business growth stem from the acquisition of science and technology, culture and the availability of enabling infrastructure. The enabling infrastructures are the major factors which must exist to allow private enterprises to operate and grow. Available infrastructure will make people to be creative, innovative, gainfully employed, self reliant, wealth creators and will ensure security. But it is sad to note that the entire critical infrastructure in Nigeria is in a state of comatose thereby creating developmental crisis. The failure and inability of the country to maintain and sustain her critical infrastructure such as; oil installations and pipelines, gas plant, power generation and transmission lines, clean water, public health facilities, educational facilities, railways, road networks, manufacturing industries, etc have accounted for myriads of problems like; food shortage, poverty, high level of unemployment, high level criminality, high level accidental cases on roads, desperation and

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migration from Nigeria to Europe, America and other parts of the world.

Hence, this problem if not properly tackled, will lead to a more deteriorating state of our economy.

In the light of the above, this paper work tends to raise these questions:

1. To what extent does infrastructure decay account for high level of poverty and unemployment in Nigeria?
2. Are there any way(s) the public and private sector can guaranty sustainable infrastructure development in Nigeria?
3. To what extent does epileptic power supply account for development crisis in Nigeria?

II. Literature Review

The Global Competitiveness Report 2010-2011 of the 2010 World Economic Forum values the competitiveness of 133 Economies and thus provides the most complete economic evaluation of its kind. The forum uses twelve determinants, which the report calls "Pillars" to measure competitiveness. The second pillar which this study is more concerned with is "Infrastructure". World Economic Forum (2010). The report however emphasizes that, extensive and efficient infrastructure is critical for ensuring the effective functioning of the economy, since it is an important factor determining the location of economic activity and the kind of activities or sectors that can develop in a particular economy. Well developed infrastructure reduces the effect of distance between regions, integrating the national market and connecting it at low cost to markets in other countries and regions.

Infrastructure is the basic physical and organizational structures required for the proper running of a society, that is, creating and establishing industries, buildings, health services, power supply, roads and railroads, telecommunications, etc. It is the enterprise or products, services and facilities necessary for an economy to function. Sullivan and Sheffrin, (2003). In the same vein, Olufemi, (2012) described infrastructure as generally a set of interconnected structural elements that provide framework supporting an entire structure of development.

III. Critical Infrastructure

The term critical infrastructure has been widely adopted to distinguish those infrastructure elements that, if significantly damaged or destroyed, would cause serious disruption of the dependant system or organisation. The term infrastructure typically refers to the technical structures that support a society, such as roads, water, electrical national grid, telecommunications and so forth. It can also be defined as "the physical components of interrelated systems providing commodities and services essential to enable, sustain, or enhance societal living conditions". (Fulmer, 2009.30-32)

Therefore, this term becomes very important in judging a country's level of development. Viewed functionally, infrastructure facilitates the production of goods and services, and also the distribution of finished products to end users. (markets), as well as basic social services such as schools and hospitals; an example is the creation of roads to enable transport of raw materials to a factory. American Heritage Dictionary, (2009).

From the above definitions on infrastructure, there is a common feature that has appeared in all which is; the availability of basic social and technical structures that supports and enhances sustainable development in any society. This implies that a society is measured or accessed based on the availability of these structures. Having extensively dealt on the term "Infrastructure", we shall then consider the concept; "Development".

The two basic theories of development are classified into modernisation and dependency. The modernisation theorists based their argument on Economic, Psychology and Diffusion. The economic approach of Rostow (1962: 6) identified five stages in the process of a nation's economic development. Rostow's postulation is that underdevelopment was an original position from which traditional societies has to move through (stages) to development without a recourse to social revolution.

Weber (1930: 60), McClelland (1968: 20) and Everret (1983: 31) explained development in terms of presence (or absence) of (i) some individual personalistic traits or (ii) the general psychological state characterising a society. McClelland argued that the need for achievement encourages the individual to meet challenges to take risks and to succeed in the face of difficulties. Western industrialized nations contained individuals with high level of achievement motivation, which led to high rate of national growth. Hagen (1962: 16) argued that traditional developing nations produced authoritarian personalities who lacked self-confidence, exhibited a high level of anxiety when faced with new situations and who were content to preserve the status quo.

Similarly, Edari (1976:19) utilises diffusion theory to explain the process of less privilege societies' development. Diffusion is a process by which a third world country adopts capital, technology, and social structure from western industrialised countries. He argued that the developing countries would develop to the extent that: (a) Western industrialised countries provide capital programmes. (b) They adopt modern methods of agricultural and industrial production and (c) They adopt those values, attitudes and behaviour patterns that are exhibited by western industrialised nations. A people centred approach to development

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views an individual not as a subject- 'but an actor who defines the goals, controls the resources, and directs processes affecting his/her life (Korten, 1984:21).

The term development in human society is relative and a multi-dimensional process. For radical scholars like Walter Rodney, the term is viewed first from the individual level, which implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self discipline, responsibility and material well being which is more relative to this study. The second is at; the level of social groups, it implies an increasing capacity to regulate both internal and external relations. And the mode of production level. (Rodney, 1982).

It is important to note that in every human society, there are minimum expectations which all members share. And they are: access to universal qualitative education, and equal opportunity for all members in the public domain where competition is based on merit and upheld against all odds. Access to safe drinking water, functioning health facilities, steady power, qualitative telecom-services etc. All of these are universal values that transcend cultural and political boundaries. (Aliyu, 2013).

Though, liberal scholars have argued that development can only be measured in monetary terms, at the level of economic growth, industrialization, or indices such as per capita income, (GDP) . similarly, Gopinath, (2008) highlighted that" there is a significant potential to raise the per capita standard of living of its people. However, this can happen where there is a culture of sustainable development with available infrastructure facilities. In the same connexion, Peshkin and Cohen, (1967:23) noted that "economic growth was equated with development and was generally considered as the fundamental objective of the decolonised states of Asia and Africa". Therefore, it becomes necessary for countries like Nigeria to sustain its critical infrastructure to arrest the crises of development.

IV. Theoretical Framework

The Structural Functional Analysis theory by Gabriel Almond will be adopted to explain and empirically justify this study. In his theory, Almond's mode of analysis is fundamentally concerned with the phenomenon of system maintenance and regulation. The basic theoretical proposition is that in all social systems, certain basic functions have to be performed. Almond provided a model for structural functional analysis, which identified the functional requirements of the political system and explained the contribution of these functions toward the maintenance of stability of the system. In this study, we are more concerned about how the maintenance and stability of our infrastructure can enhance sustainable development in Nigeria.

He further noted that every political system has some structures and these structures perform certain functions meant for it. These structures in this study represent critical infrastructures and their functions in society. For instance, one of the critical infrastructures emphasized in this structure is railway system. Functional railway system that connects the geopolitical zones of the country will reduce high cost of transportation of goods and commodities from one location to another. The non-functioning state of our railway system is the cause of heavy traffic lock-jams on our roads, heavy pot-holes arising from heavy duty trucks plying the roads, causing road crashes leading to death, etc, which is the case of Nigeria.

V. Critical Infrastructure and Sustainability in Nigeria

The term "Critical Infrastructure" is normally used to describe assets, facilities which are of so much importance for the functioning of the economy of a state. Such assets are identified as basic facilities, services and installations critical to the socio-economic well being of any state. The way and manner these physical assets function and upon which these services are delivered are considered critical infrastructure. Meier,1995. Infrastructure is made up of public utilities such as such as power, pipe born water supply, telecommunication, sanitation and sewage, solid waste collection and disposal, piped gas. While public works include roads, major damps, canal works for irrigation and drainage. More infrastructures are in the transport sector such as; urban and inter-urban railways, urban transports, water ways and airports, etc.

The nature of infrastructure of any country is directly connected with the quality of life. "According to recent statistics, the living conditions of most people in Africa, appears to have either not improved or only done so insignificantly. This situation arises from the misrule of our early political leaders most of whom were instrumental to the struggle for independence" (Eregha, 2007).

Hence, having considered the essential nature of our critical infrastructures, there is therefore the need for sustainable developmental efforts to reduce the harsh effect the infrastructure decay has caused the country. Sustainable development in this direction means improvement upon the needs of the people without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their demands. There is no doubt that available infrastructure will enhance creativity in the mind, innovations, gainful employment, to be self-reliant, create wealth and above all ensure reduction in crime and security issues. Dibie and Okonkwo, 2000 also share this view when they reaffirmed that Nigerians need a healthy business environment, one that will enable them to plan for the future and achieve rewards, and

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that which will encourage entrepreneurs to invest in their enterprises. Similarly, Olalokun, 1979 also assert that with improved infrastructure there will be improved industrial and economic transformation, technological development and business growth. Good infrastructure raises productivity and lowers production cost but absence of basic infrastructure brings poverty and under-development.

In line with this thought, Dauda, 2002 noted that socio-economic infrastructural facilities which include power, water, roads education, public health facilities are highly deficient in rural areas. The frustration Nigerians face arising from inefficient power supply is nothing to write home about. Nnaji, 2009 states that, the power situation in the South-East Geo-political zone is the worse in the country not minding the technological potentials they possess. Due to infrastructural decay and epileptic power supply, small and medium scale businesses have closed down, manufacturing companies are no more in existence and have relocated to other neighbouring African countries to setup their businesses.

In order to sustain development in Nigeria, poverty needs to be reduced drastically to its end, education should be given priority in order for theto be on the march to sustainable development. Sustainable development means to banish poverty in Nigeria. Nwosu, 2000. While making his submission on the subject, he noted that poverty is antithetical to human dignity, it is a great slur, indeed an outrage on human decency and social justice. Therefore there is an urgent need for the country's critical infrastructures to be rehabilitated to full operations to ensure sustainable development. Nigeria should feel challenged by the giant strides which nations such as the Asian Tigers; Thailand, Singapore, Hong Kong, Indonesia, China, Brazil, India, etc. The way forward is to maintain her critical infrastructures to enhance growth and development.

VI. Critical Infrastructure: A Comparative Analysis

America has good roads not because America is rich but America is rich because it has good roads – J. F. Kennedy. (Gabriel, 2014). Nigeria is the most populous black nation in Africa with huge mineral deposits and natural resources abound. But the unfortunate story is that, right from colonial days to the present the country is still battling on how these vast mineral and natural resources can be harnessed into real capital that will bring about sustainable development. Life in Nigeria is a mix of daunting challenges and boundless opportunities, yet with seeming boundless opportunities her citizens are still in poverty, unemployed, etc with no hope and sign of improvement. Accordingly, Nigeria's infrastructure is in a deplorable state and the nation's infrastructural needs are evident for all to see. Gabriel. C,(2014.) While expressing this view point stated that, the road transport is the most important element in the country's transportation sector carrying about 95% of all the nation's goods and passengers. But currently many of the roads are in disrepair because of poor maintenance and years of heavy traffic. While Nigeria is still grabbling with putting in place structures, countries such as America whose democracy is a model to Nigeria is talking about sustaining its critical infrastructures. There is a standard in the American system, the system demands periodic assessment of the country's critical infrastructures. Accordingly, the American Society of Civil Engineers (ASCE) is charged with this responsibility to report to the government in every four years the status of its infrastructures.(ASCE, 2013). Suffice to know that corruption and lack of visionary leaders have been identified as the bane of the country's infrastructure decay. Corruption does not only raise the price of infrastructure, it also reduces quality of economic returns from infrastructure investments. Therefore, it behoves on good leadership and good governance to spearhead the resuscitation of the country's infrastructure.

VII. The Missing Link

In most discussions about Nigeria at present is her strong record that it has established over the last decade. A study by McKinsey Global Institute (MGI) revealed that, Nigeria had the potential to become a major global economy over the past Fifteen years. MGI also estimated that in 2013 -2030 Nigeria could expand its economy more than 6% annually, with its GDP exceeding $1.6 Trillion going into the top global twenty economies of the world that is, if Nigerian leaders can work and ensure all inclusive growth, that thirty million people could escape poverty. The problem is, Nigeria depends too much on foreign aides and assistance which is limiting her prospects. (MGI, 2014).Due to lack of visionary leaders, there is poor attitude towards maintaining our critical infrastructures, thereby causing untold hardship amongst Nigerians. A major aspect where the country missed the mark is in the area of technological development of our educational sector. The importance of technology cannot be de-emphasized as it makes learning more interesting and many more but just a few to mention. It helps to make learning process more suitable and effective. Technological backwardness is traced to the colonial era whenthey discouraged our craftsmen and art men who where into artefact, blacksmiths and goldsmiths from constructing simple farm tools, firearms, etc. The reason the British government had to discourage our technological knowledge was basically economic reasons and not to encourage and develop us

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technologically. (Bahen,1966). The colonial administration saw Nigeria as a ready market to market their finished goods. The truth is Nigerians were engaged both in industrial and practical art before the arrival of the whites, to the extent that even cast objects such as FESTAC Mask was stolen away from Lagos. As Akaniwor, (2008) noted, the colonialists discouraged further development of Nigeria technology for reasons that it was a threat to their potential market. He further noted that "Ogogoro" was termed as illicit gin by the colonial government and that whoever produces, markets or consumes it was to be prosecuted, this was how technological advancement was discouraged and is still being discouraged.

It is no longer news that, the colonialists provided a faulty educational philosophy, this could be confirmed by the words of Lord Lugard and Rev J, C. Taylor who said;

> *The chief function of government primary and secondary schools among primitive communities is to train the more promising boys from the village schools as teachers for those schools, as clerks for the local native courts and as interpreters. (Lugard, 1921).*

Worthy of note is the fact that, that aspect of education which emphasizes skill and practical knowledge was absolutely discouraged and excluded. This mentally continued with our post-colonial elites who took over power from the colonial masters.

VIII. Nigeria After Independence

Nigeria's industrial policy after independence was import substitution whose main objectives where the following;

Establishment of steel plants that brought about Delta Steel Plant and Ajaokuta Steel Plant to produce auto-mobile parts to be assembled in the established assembly plant here in Nigeria and other capital goods.

Another point to note is government attitude;subsequent governments from 1960 have not been able to make concerted effort to improve our technological know-how. Till date, good policies are formulated, but the sad story is poor implementation of these policies and lack of political will with official corruption on the part of our leaders.

Poor equipments in our educational institutions; our universities, polytechnics, colleges that are supposed to train proficient technologists, technicians, and engineers are poorly equipped with obsolete and non-functional equipments. Interestingly, it is claimed that India is ranked third in terms of technological manpower amongst the United States of America (USA) and former United Sovereign Soviet Union (USSR). (The Nigerian Engineers, 2003). It is also reported that India has Four Million scientists and engineers, Indian universities have seven hundred and fifty thousand engineering students registered. Five elite institutions called India Institute of Technology funded and equipped to the highest standards to produce high quality university graduates in electronics, computer science and others. But with Nigeria the story is different, to the extent that our universities, polytechnics and colleges graduate engineers, technologists that have nothing to offer to the country due to poor educational equipments.

The power sector is also not left out of this same scenario in spite of our huge natural and mineral resources which if harnessed could guaranty steady power supply to the country. Nigeria is blessed with Atlantic Ocean, damps, coal, natural gas that can generate electricity and attract investors to the country is still lacking.

Another area were Nigeria is missing the link is in the area of rail transport arising from challenges such as insufficient locomotives, rolling stock, poor working capital, obsolete signalling and communication equipments, narrow gauge systems, poor finance and managerial support coupled with lack of political will and official corruption. Nigeria needs to revamp the rail transport system in order to reduce the heavy traffic jams on our roads, accidents, deaths, delays, etc, to knock down the cost of goods and persons moving from one location to another. There is therefore the need for the country to change its rail system from the narrow gauge to the standard one and ensure prompt and timely maintenance of assets.

IX. Prospects

Suberu, (2007:21) noted that Nigerians earned about US$500 billion in oil revenue since 1970 yet remains mired in poverty, unemployment, bourgeoning domestic debts and infrastructural squalor, abysmal health and educational services and attendant social frustration.

The future of Nigeria is bright if only her political leaders can be selfless and formulate good policies that will maintain and sustain her critical infrastructures. Nigeria's potentials are great due to her strategic location in Africa, her large population, her entrepreneurial spirit, etc. In order to realise this potentials, Nigeria needs to reduce poverty, leaders must pursue reforms, policies aimed at increasing productivity, raising income, ensuring adequate food supply, security and other essential services like health care and education.

The increasing pace of internet exploration in Nigeria demonstrates that the skills are there, and just needs little encouragement from home and abroad, increase private sector investments in infrastructure and intensify its fight against corruption.

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X. Conclusion

Infrastructure facilities are not demanded for their own sake, but for what they will help in producing. In all aspects, whether in developed or less developed societies, the capacity and capability necessary for business growth stem from the acquisition of science and technology, culture and the availability of enabling infrastructure. The enabling infrastructures are the major factors which must exist to allow private enterprises to operate and grow. Available infrastructure will make people to be creative, innovative, gainfully employed, self reliant, wealth creators and will ensure security. Therefore, Structural Functional Analysis theory by Gabriel Almond was implored to explain and justify that the problem of development crises in Nigeria which is mainly due to the structures and its functions in the country. This explains that for any society to function, it is largely dependent on the efficiency and effectiveness of its structures.

Nigeria's developmental crises can be surmounted if she has selfless and vision-oriented leaders who can embark on reforms and policies that will maintain and sustain her country's critical infrastructures.

The study reveals that, infrastructural decay has accounted for high level poverty, unemployment, security, epileptic power supply, etc in the country and therefore needs serious government attention to sustain her critical infrastructure. The study also revealed the importance of the public and private sectors in the sustenance of her infrastructures, and therefore should encourage all inclusive growth policies.

XI. Recommendations

- The Nigerian electorates should learn to elect selfless and visionary leaders during elections into political offices.
- Nigerians should be re-oriented her value systems.
- Provisions for critical infrastructure such as technical and vocational education,science and research, functional health care system, steady power supply, access to safe drinking water, functional rail system, good road network, functional sea and air ports, improvement of the agricultural sector and strong security network should be given priority during budget preparations.
- Monitoring of the budget implementation process so as to avoid misappropriation and corruption.
- The anti-corruption fight must be total and intensified.
- There should be proper procedure for project monitoring, implantation and maintenance mechanism.
- Experts on various fields should be hired to evaluate and report the state of the countries critical infrastructure to government as it is in America.
- The campaign on change begins with me project lunched by President Muhmmadu Buhari's government should seriously be intensified. There is need for every Nigerian citizen to re-examine her ways and do things right

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Effective Strategies for Resolution and Management of Farmers-Herdsmen Conflict in the North Central Region of Nigeria

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Abstract- Conflict between Farmers and Herdsmen in the North Central Region of Nigeria is an age long phenomenon which became severe shortly after the transfer of power from Military to Civil Rule in the country on 29th May 1999. In its current stage, the conflict has assumed religion features and thus serving as one of the major threats to Nigeria`s national security. This research examined some of the effective strategies that can be adopted in the proper resolution and management of the conflict. It was conducted with the used of both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies.

Keywords: *conflict, farmers, herdsmen, north central, Nigeria.*

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Effective Strategies for Resolution and Management of Farmers-Herdsmen Conflict in the North Central Region of Nigeria

Ibrahim Baba[α] & Chaminda Abeysinghe[σ]

Abstract- Conflict between Farmers and Herdsmen in the North Central Region of Nigeria is an age long phenomenon which became severe shortly after the transfer of power from Military to Civil Rule in the country on 29th May 1999. In its current stage, the conflict has assumed religion features and thus serving as one of the major threats to Nigeria`s national security. This research examined some of the effective strategies that can be adopted in the proper resolution and management of the conflict. It was conducted with the used of both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. Closed ended questionnaire was administered on sixty respondents systematically chosen among Farmers, Herdsmen and Local Government Officials selected from the six states located in the North Central Region of Nigeria. The questionnaire were administered by the Researchers and all were completed by them and returned back to the Researchers who analyzed data collected through this method with the used of Positive Correlation Analysis (PCA). Promotion of religious tolerance and well as the establishment of effective mechanism for conflict resolution and management in the region were found out as part of the effective strategies for resolution and management of Farmers-Herdsmen Conflict in the North Central Region of Nigeria. The Researchers recommended that forum and congress for promoting religious tolerance and harmony among Farmers and Herdsmen be established in the six states across the North Central Region of Nigeria. They also recommended that existing traditional institutions across the region should be empowered to effectively resolve and manage conflict between Farmers and Herdsmen.

Keywords: conflict, farmers, herdsmen, north central, Nigeria.

I. Introduction

Over the last year, the threat of the Boko Haram insurgency in north east Nigeria has gradually waned, yet a more deadly and far-reaching conflict has emerged. Over 100 people across three states (Benue, Kogi and Plateau) in north central region have been killed by suspected herdsmen. Attacks later became incessant and brutal. In February 2016, over 300 people died in a single attack on a community in a central state of Benue, from the herders commonly called the "Fulani Herdsmen". In the same state, hundreds of people have been killed in several attacks since then. The conflict is an old one but one that has suddenly spiralled out of control. The nomadic herdsmen have cattle but declining space to feed them on. Farmers accuse the herdsmen of using their land to graze their cattle and infringing on their rights. Herdsmen have complained of that the the land available to graze has decline, in part, blaming communities for restricting the land available to them (Akinwotu, 2016:1).

Geo-politically, Nigeria is made up of six geo-political zones with the North-Central Region having six states which include: Benue, Kogi, Kwara, Nasarawa, Niger and Plateau states. Nigeria`s Federal Capital Territory Abuja is also located in the region of the country. The region lies completely in the central portion of Nigeria. And it central location account for part of the reasons why it is often call the Middle Belt region of Nigeria. The region is a combination of two vegetation belts. Half portion of this region fall within the Sudan savannah while the remaining half within the Guinea savannah (GohChe Leong and Adeleke, 2014:112). The vegetation of the region is a wonderful blessing to the people of the area-for it bestowed on them, a fertile soil conducive for serious agricultural production. Grasses in this region which are green and fresh throughout the seasons provide one of the best foliage's for animal consumption in the whole of Nigeria and sub-Saharan region of Africa. Grassland in the Benue and Niger rivers troughs provide the best grazing site in the country and the whole of western Sudan. The agricultural potentials of the region ahead of other parts of the country is glaring and Benue in particular with food production capacity sound enough to feed the whole of West African sub-region is code named the "Food Basket of the Nigerian Nation". Nigeria`s two major rivers (Rivers Benue and Niger) flow across the region and this additional reason make the region richly endowed in water resources and fertile land suitable for crop and animal production. Niger State within the region boast of three gigantic Dams (Kainji, Shiroro and Gurara Dams) providing Hydro Electricity Power to all the six geo-political zones in Nigeria.

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Source: Google (2017)

Figure 1: Geo-political Zones of Nigeria

Farmers have their crops to protect and Herdsmen their livestock to protect. This simply implies that value of land for both crop and animal production is increasing across Nigeria.But then, Herdsmen have been present to varying degree in all the thirty-six states across the six geo-political zones of Nigeria including Abuja the nation`s Federal Capital Territory. And in all these regions, conflict between them and farmers have been reported on several and different occasions. But the occurrence of such confrontation in the north central region of the country surpassed that of the other regions of Nigeria put together. The pressure on land is increasing the movement of herdsmen from the Sahel region of the country to the vast grassland in the central area of the country. This increase in movement is often accompanied with pressure on available land in the central region of the country. The scale of deaths incurred have always created tensions on how a seemingly previously contained conflict could lead to massacres that today stands as one of the major threats to national security, peace and unity in Nigeria. Investigating alternative measures that can be adopted to avoid future re-occurrence of the conflict is the task which the Researchers intend to achieve in this research.

II. Statement of Problem

Governmental efforts towards the resolution of Farmers-Herdsmen Conflict in the North Central Region of Nigeria have not been effective till date. Every attack and clash between the two land users is often accompanied with the deployment of government security personnel's to affected community who are shortly withdrawn after the conflict subside creating avenue for launching of fresh attack more severe than initial one. All attacks witnessed in the region is also escorted with the formation of committee of men by the government to among other objectives investigate the cause, effect and give recommendations on prevention. Committee reports on the conflicts have not succeeded in directing government into adopting appropriate strategies required to resolve and manage the situation in the region effectively. Instead of reducing, the conflict

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keep increasing with time. Fresh attacks and counter attacks as well as retaliations for previous or initial attacks keep exacerbating the magnitude of the conflict. And the view that existing state measures have failed in ameliorating the situation necessitated this research so as to come up with effective strategies on how the ageing conflict between Farmers and Herdsmen in the North Central Region of Nigeria can be Resolved and managed.

III. Research Questions

This research raised and answered a number of questions basic among which include:

1. What are some of the strategies that can be used to effectively resolve and manage the conflict between Farmers and Herdsmen in the North Central Region of Nigeria?
2. What are the major steps the government need to adopt in order to effectively resolve and manage the conflict between Farmers and Herdsmen in the North Central Region of Nigeria?

IV. Research Objectives

The followings are the objectives of this research:

1. To examine some of the effective strategies for resolution and management of Farmers-Herdsmen Conflict in the North Central Region of Nigeria.
2. And to also find out major steps the government can adopt in order to effectively resolve and manage the conflict between Farmers and Herdsmen in the North Central Region of Nigeria.

V. Literature Review

Social and economic restructuring has turned the countryside into a far more complex space than it once was. In the past, the economic dominance of agriculture and other resource exploitation industries and the relative stability of rural communities meant that hegemonic discourse could represent the rural as a homogenous space and that such homogenizing representations were taken as the basis for rural policy and the organization of rural life (Woods, 2016:210). The north central region of Nigeria boast of several communities which are rural in nature and settlement patterns. And with such settlement patterns and natural vegetation which the region is blessed with, common sense will understand it that farming is the major occupation of the people of this region of Nigeria. The identification of rural communities in north central Nigeria with agriculture simply meant that agricultural interests were prioritized in rural policy by government of the six states situated in the region. It also implies that mainstream rural life in this region of Nigeria is organized around farming. Although, this simple representation of the life of the people of the north central region of Nigeria has been exploded as a result of persistent conflict over farmland, grazing sites and water points between farmers and herdsmen in several communities across the region.

Thousands of Herdsmen move south ward every year in search of pasture for their livestock. This mobility has led to a series of clashes over land that have killed more than 350 people in agrarian communities located in north central Nigeria in 2016. The conflict is exposing a growing problem that has attracted less international attention than Boko Haram and the militants threatening oil production in the Niger Delta region. Fertile land is becoming scarce across Africa`s most populous nation and conflict over this dwindling resources is likely to intensify (Reuters, 2016:1). The Farmers must plant their crops undisturbed: The Herdsmen must feed their cattle. That is the dilemma (Punch, 2016:1). Poisoned inter-communal relationship, effects of desertification, shrinking of the Lake Chad and cattle rustling threatening the lives of nomads are causes of their conflict with Farmers in several cases in communities across the north central region of Nigeria (Kawu, 2016:2). Nigerian government ineffective environmental policy itself is not helping matters in this region of the country. Herdsmen are most often identified with grazing in the grassland of the Sahel region in the country`s north east region before desertification and insecurity promoted by Boko Haram start pushing them south ward in search of available pasture for grazing their livestock. If effective environmental policy to tackle desertification which is encroaching into Nigeria`s north east region at greater velocity had been adopted and implemented, the pasture land in the north-east region would have been greatly sufficient for the Nomads to graze their livestock without pushing south ward. And this will have averted to a serious extent the problem of frequent occurrences of conflicts in the north central region where they are forced by desert encroachment to move to annual.

The North Central region has witnessed sharp spikes in violence surrounding Farmers-Herdsmen conflict and other critical junctures. The region has some of the highest levels of violence involving Farmers and Herdsmen in Nigeria. Benue, Kogi and Plateau states which are just three of the six states in north central region have experienced more Farmers-Herdsmen conflict than the all the states in the country put together (Nwgavi, 2013:1). In nearly all states in the north central region of Nigeria, Fulani herdsmen graze where they like, destroy crops, block traffic, rape women, beat up hunters, and not too infrequently, wage deadly armed attacks on villages where there is the slightest resistance to their depredations. Fulani herdsmen are becoming a dreaded group in North Central region of Nigeria-a minority that intimidates the majority: a minority that the majority is organizationally powerless to

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confront (Okeke, 2014:73). Although, beside land matter and encroachment into farms as well as destruction of farm produce which communities in north central region have often accused herdsmen of, Fulani herdsmen have also accused communities of encroaching on grazing routes and exploitation of herdsmen when demanding for compensation as a result of destruction of farm produce by cattle (Fasona et al, 2016:99).These counter accusations are signs of how prepare both parties involve in the conflict are to protect their interests and further their stand on this issue in the region. Conflict keep springing up across the region between Farmers and Herdsmen occasionally. But each of the conflicting unions always have reason to justify its stand and position-development that is making the management and settlement of the ageing conflicts difficult in the region. In every communities where they have carried out attacks in the region, Fulani herdsmen posits that they are forced by conditions to retaliate in order to make grazing successful for them ins such communities. As both parties involve in the conflict always have reason for striking, attention will then have to start shifting to the government whose responsibility it is to make all regions of the country peaceful and conducive for its citizens to live and to carry out their occupation without molestation.

The ageing nature of the conflict in the North Central region of Nigeria between Farmers and Herdsmen does not only calls for an urgent review of public land use act adopted since 1979 in the country. It requires multiple approaches for it causes and effects are also numerous than a single factor. Blench (2014:24) posits that:

> "In North Central Nigeria, traditional rulers undoubtedly play the most significant role in both managing conflict informally and arranging peace-making meetings when matters get out of hand. However, their power in the community is highly variable and in some areas, they are opposed by youth's groups, while elsewhere their power is being subverted by local government officials. Nonetheless, traditional rulers are more accountable and responsible than any other group. But they get little support from official channels, notably state governments"

Farmers-Herdsmen conflict in north central region of Nigeria which is a current bout remain a serious issue of debate among Nigeria watchers. Some have depicted the conflict as a continuation of ethno-religious struggles that predate the colonial era. However, the relative absence of such widespread bloodshed throughout much of Nigeria`s post-independence history suggests more contemporary factors are to be blame. Specifically, it appears the upsurge in Farmers-Herdsmen conflict stem from the confluence of four development: the ongoing expansion of land under cultivation, environmental degradation across Africa`s Sahel region, the decline of traditional authority figures, and the recent rise in large scale cattle rustling (Baca, 2015: 61). Ethno-religious struggle as a factor in the ongoing conflict between Farmers and Herdsmen in Nigeria`s North Central region to me does not have basis. It is a contradiction of the actual factors fabricated by political elites to give the conflict tribal and religious affiliation so as to make Fulani tribal group and Muslim hated in the central region of Nigeria. North West and North-East states dominated by Fulani and Muslim and which are in no way under any threat of religious domination by different groups and faiths have also at different times experienced series of conflict between Farmers and Herdsmen in their various communities. Farouk (2015:28) submitted that:

> "Zamfara state in the North-West region of Nigeria carved out of the historical Sokoto Fulani Caliphate like many other states in Northern Nigeria, has a history of rampant conflict between Farmers and Herdsmen. One of the recent conflict between the two groups was reported in a village settlement closer to Kauran-Namoda where Fulani herdsmen raid left a community completely destroyed, 60 people killed and more than 200 displaced"

The review above demonstrated how necessary efforts must be make towards emanating with effective strategies that are going to create avenue for resolving and managing the conflict between Farmers and Herdsmen in the North Central Region of Nigeria.

VI. Research Methodology

This research was conducted with the used of both qualitative and quantitative methodology. Secondary data were sourced through text books, journal articles, newspapers, magazines, research papers presented in conferences as well as other electronic and print materials obtained through the internet. Closed ended questionnaire was administered on 60 respondents systematically selected from the six states in the North Central Region of Nigeria. Each state is represented by 10 respondents chosen from one of its local government area. Among every 10 respondents chosen, there were 4 Farmers, 4 Herdsmen and 2 Local Government Officials. The respondents were selected from the local government areas which have recorded more and frequent conflict between Farmers and Herdsmen in their respective state. The questionnaire was administered by the Researcher in each of the six chosen areas at different time. But the questions which respondents were asked are similar in all the six locations. Data were also collected on the respondents' biography such as gender, age, marital status, religion, occupation and academic qualification. Biographic data collected were analyzed with the used of descriptive statistic. Positive Correlation Analysis (PCA) was used in

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analyzing the data collected through the administration of closed ended questionnaire. Statistical correlation was measured by coefficient correlation where numerical values ranges from Ho to -1.0 gave the indication of the strength of relationship was used. Such as:

r>o indicated positive relationship
r<o indicated negative relationship
r= +1.0 described a perfect positive correlation
r= -1.0 described a perfect negative correlation

The closer the coefficients were to +1.0 and -1.0, the greater the strength of relationship as specified below:

Value or rStrength of relationship
-1.0 to -0.5 or 1.0 to 0.5----------Strong
-0.5 to -0.3 or 0.3 to 0.5----------Moderate
-0.3 to -0.1 or 0.1 to 0.3----------Weak
-0.1 to 0.1----------Non-or very weak

The Researchers presented all the data collected in a tabular form as well as with the used of statistical instruments like graphs, histogram, pie charts, etc. All data presented and analyzed led to the emergence of results which were also discussed by the Researchers. And this in the long run led the Researchers into stating the major findings made by them in relations to Effective Strategies for Resolution and Management of Farmers-Herdsmen Conflict in the North Central Region of Nigeria.

VII. Data Presentation and Analysis

Below is the presentation of data in relations to the respondents' demographic status:

Table 1: Demographic Distribution of Respondents

Variables	Farmers		Herdsmen		LG. Officials	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Male	18	30.00	24	40.00	6	10.00
Female	6	10.00	0	0	6	10.00
D2=Age						
20-25	4	6.67	6	10.00	2	3.33
26-30	6	10.00	4	6.67	2	3.33
31-35	8	13.34	8	13.33	4	6.67
36-40	4	6.67	4	6.67	2	3.33
41-Above	2	3.33	2	3.33	2	3.33
D3=Religion						
Islam	0	0	24	40.00	4	6.67
Christianity	22	36.67	0	0	6	10.00
Traditional	2	3.33	0	0	2	3.33
D4=Educational						
Non-formal Education	6	10.00	3	5.00	0	0
Islamic/Arabic	4	6.67	18	30.00	3	5.00
Primary	10	16.66	2	3.33	1	1.67
Secondary	3	5.00	1	1.67	5	8.33
Tertiary	1	1.67	0	0	3	5.00
D5=Marital Status						
Married	17	28.34	20	33.34	6	10.00
Single	2	3.33	4	6.67	2	3.33
Divorced	2	3.33	0	0	2	3.33
Widow	3	5.00	0	0	2	3.33

Source: Field Survey (2017)

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Table 1 as given above shows that 80% of the respondents are male while 20% of them are female. Out of this number of respondents, 20% are within the ages of 20-25, 20% fall between the ages of 26-30 while 33.34% are between the ages of 31-35 and 16.67% are between 36-40 years old. Only 9.99% of them fall between the ages of 41 and above. Also, table 1 reveals that 55% of them 46.67% are Muslim i.e. Islam as popularly referred to while 46.67% are Christian and 6.67% belong to traditional religions practiced across the North Central region of Nigeria. In terms of educational qualification, 15% of them had Non-Formal Education while 41.67% of them had Islamic and Arabic Education. Also, 21.66% of them had Primary Education and 15% had Secondary Education while 6.67% of them had Tertiary Education. Married people formed 71.68% of the respondents while single people are represented by 13.33% of the respondents. Divorce (s) form 6.66% of the respondents while 8.33% of the respondents are widows who have lost either their wives or husbands to the ageing conflict between Farmers and Herdsmen in communities across the North Central region of Nigeria. Respondents are systematically chosen by the Researchers to ensure representation based on population.

Below is as contained in table 1 is the presentation of data collected by the Researchers on "Effective Strategies for Resolution and Management of Farmers-Herdsmen conflict in the North Central Region of Nigeria.

Table 2: Effective Strategies for Resolution and Management of the Conflict

Strategies (S)	0.1	0.3	0.5	1.0
S1. Clear demarcation between farming sites and grazing routes across the North Central region of Nigeria will lead to effective resolution and management of conflict between Farmers and Herdsmen in the region.	2	5	3	50
S2. Adoption and implementation of effective land use and environmental policies by Nigerian government can result in effective resolution and management of the conflict.	3	5	5	47
S3. Proper policing of rural and agrarian communities in the North Central region of Nigeria can lead to effective resolution and management of Farmers-Herdsmen Conflict in the region.	2	4	6	48
S4. Promotion of religious tolerance among Farmers and Herdsmen in the North Central Region of Nigeria is an effective strategy for resolution and management of Farmers-Herdsmen conflict in the region.	2	4	4	50
S5. Stiffer arms possession and usage policy across Nigeria is an effective strategy for resolution and management of Farmers-Herdsmen Conflict in North Central Region of Nigeria.	3	5	7	45
S6. Establishment of mechanism for settling dispute between Farmers and Herdsmen is an effective strategy for conflict resolution and management across the North Central region of Nigeria.	2	2	4	52

Source: Field Research (2017)

Table 2 as given above shows that strong relationship exist between S1, S2, S3, S4, S5 and S6 with Effective Strategies for Resolution and Management of Farmers-Herdsmen conflict in the North Central region of Nigeria. This is represented by 1.0 which is also $1.0=r>0$ where $r>0$ showing strong relationship can also be interpreted as $r>0=+1.0$ where $+1.0$ represent perfect positive correlation between S1, S2, S3, S4 ,S5 and S6 Effective Strategies for Resolution and Management of Farmers-Herdsmen conflict in the North Central region of Nigeria.

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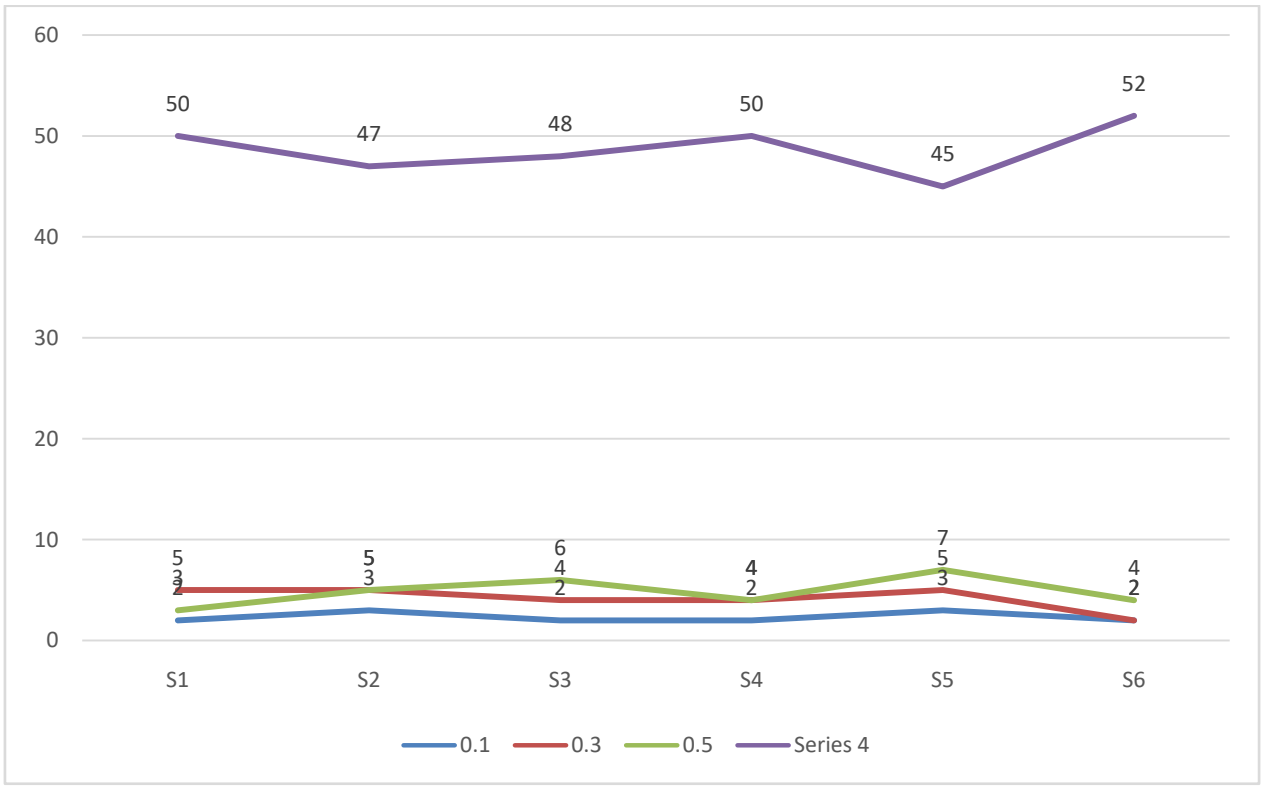

Source: Field Survey (2017)

Figure 1: Effective Strategies for Resolution and Management of the Conflict

VIII. Discussion of Result

Several processes an serve as effective strategies for resolution and management of the ageing conflict between Farmers and Herdsmen in the North Central Region of Nigeria. Clear demarcation of farming sites and grazing routes across the region will serve as an eye opener to the both land users who often complain that there are no signs to show where farming sites actually are and grazing routes follow. Age long established grazing routes have been over grown by bushes and some taken over by development of public structures like markets, schools, hospitals, motor parks among others. And current generation of Farmers and Herdsmen have little knowledge on traditional method of carrying out their occupations. This result in constant trespasses on the land users into each other territories thereby creating frictions between the two land users. The Nigerian government environmental policy is a dormant policy which has failed to address environmental menace in the country. Desert is encroaching south ward into Nigeria at a very faster velocity as a result of poor measures towards afforestation. Water points are drying up especially in the far north as a result of global warming. And drought drying up available pasture up north is forcing Herdsmen South ward in search of greener pasture for their livestock. This drift has culminated in several frictions between the two land users especially in the Central Region of Nigeria. Policing system is not available in several communities across the North Central Region of Nigeria. This has continued to make such communities vulnerable to attacks by armed men and Herdsmen. Although in places where frictions between Farmers and Herdsmen have occurred, security personnel's were deployed and shortly withdrawn after the conflict subsided leading to fresh wave of attacks more severe than initial ones. Farmers and Herdsmen are divided along religion lines in the North Central Region of Nigeria. Majority of the Farmers are Christian while few others are Animist. Herdsmen are predominantly Muslims. This has made friction between them to quickly assume religious nomenclature. And with the exception of Plateau State, the other five states in the region have no established forum or organization promoting religious tolerance among persons of different religious background. As a result of age long insurgency in the North East Region of Nigeria as well as those in neighboring countries and the rebellions in Northern Mali, arms illegally find their ways into civilian possession even more than money and food in Nigeria. Traditional institutions were initially playing active role in settlement of conflict between Farmers and Herdsmen in the North Central Region of Nigeria. But this role has been punctured by party politics. And alleged partiality and manipulation of justice has made the both land

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users to lost confidence much confidence in the public judicial system. Politicized traditional institutions and alleged partial judicial system have left the region with ineffective mechanism for resolution and management of conflict between Farmers and Herdsmen. And this mostly result in frequent friction between the two agricultural land users as each try to retaliate by taking law into its hand. This however calls for urgent need to fashion effective strategies for resolution and management of the conflict.

IX. Major Findings

The Researchers made a number of findings basic among which include:

1. Promotion of religious tolerance will serve as an effective strategy for resolution and management of Farmers-Herdsmen conflict in the north central region of Nigeria.
2. Establishment of effective mechanism for settling disputes between Farmers and Herdsmen will serve as an effective strategy for resolution and management of conflict between the two agricultural land users in the North Central Region of Nigeria.

X. Conclusion and Recommendations

Based on the data collected and analyzed as well as the major findings made in this research, the Researchers recommended that:

1. Forums, groups or associations aimed at promoting religious tolerance among Farmers and Herdsmen be formed in all the six states across the North Central Region of Nigeria. This will go a long way in building religious harmony and tolerance between Farmers and Herdsmen in the region. The Federal Government of Nigeria through its Ministry of Agriculture and Forest Reserve should endeavor to establish a very clear demarcation between grazing routes and farming sites across the North Central region of Nigeria. The land use act of 1978 which established grazing routes across Nigeria is outdated and need to be reviewed to provide for new additional grazing routes across the country. It should establish a more modern use of land across the nation to accommodate innovating changes which has taken place in relations to land usage in the country after 1978. And also, Sound and effective environmental policies should be adopted and implemented to the maximum level by the Nigerian government. The policies should be designed to address environmental problems on geo-political basis across the country.
2. Effective mechanism for conflict resolution and management should be established across the North Central Region of Nigeria. Traditional institutions should be empowered to regain their previous status and recognition as active elements of conflict resolution and management in the North Central region of Nigeria. Recognize responsibility and status should be created for traditional rulers and their dependence on local government authority should be reviewed. Traditional institutions in the North Central Region do not have constitutional roles or duties. There is the need to create some constitutional roles for them. And this should include the informal resolution and management of conflict at the community level. Effective and proper policing system should be established in agrarian and rural communities across the North Central region of Nigeria. Communities without Police outposts should be provided with one. And state as well as local authorities across the region must be made to as a matter of must contribute certain percent of their statutory allocation and resources to the development and sustenance of security across the region. Nigerian government need to improve its border security system by recruiting more officers to ensure that adequate surveillance of the outstanding unmanned borders of the country are put under security checks, control and management. This should be supported with the adoption of a stiffer arms possession and usage policy in the country. Open mobility of persons with sophisticated weapons as well as the usage of same by persons other than the armed forces and other security officials should be seriously prohibited by the government. And finally, this research recommends that future land and natural resource use policy formulation and implementation must involve all the stakeholders or their representatives to avoid any cry of marginalization and non-inclusion in matters that affects them. If this is done establish rules relating to farming and grazing in the region and country in general becomes a regulation which all parties or agricultural land users must obey by virtue of their involvement in adopting such regulations. Ignorance of the rules cannot be claimed anymore by any party and this will lead to amelioration of the conflict.

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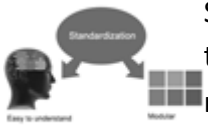

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4. Manuscript's Category,

5. Structure and Format of Manuscript,

6. After Acceptance.

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- One should avoid outdated words.

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34. After conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print to the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects in your research.

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- Significant conclusions or questions that track from the research(es)

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- If well known procedures were used, account the procedure by name, possibly with reference, and that's all.

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What to keep away from

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The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part a entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

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



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Content

- Sum up your conclusion in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In manuscript, explain each of your consequences, point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and comprise remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or in manuscript form.

What to stay away from

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surroundings information, or try to explain anything.
- Not at all, take in raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present the similar data more than once.
- Manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate the identical information.
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Approach

- As forever, use past tense when you submit to your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.
- Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report
- If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results part.

Figures and tables

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Discussion:

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- Make a decision if each premise is supported, discarded, or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."
- Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work
- You may propose future guidelines, such as how the experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details all of your remarks as much as possible, focus on mechanisms.
- Make a decision if the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory, and whether or not it was correctly restricted.
- Try to present substitute explanations if sensible alternatives be present.
- One research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind, where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

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References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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